Thesis
Bachelors

Manipulation in Newspaper Articles

A Political Discourse Analysis of Lexical Choice and Manipulation in Japanese Newspaper Crisis Reporting in the case of North Korea

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Abstract
This paper analyzes some forms of linguistic manipulation in Japanese in newspapers when reporting on North Korea and its nuclear tests. The focus lies on lexical ambiguity in headlines and journalist’s voices in the body of the articles, that results in manipulation of the minds of the readers. The study is based on a corpus of nine articles from two of Japan’s largest newspapers Yomiuri Online and Asahi Shimbun Digital. The linguistic phenomenon that contribute to create manipulation are divided into Short Term Memory impact or Long Term Memory impact and examples will be discussed under each of the categories.

The main results of the study are that headlines in Japanese newspapers do not make use of an ambiguous, double grounded structure. However, the articles are filled with explicit and implied attitudes as well as attributed material from people of a high social status, which suggests that manipulation of the long term memory is a tool used in Japanese media.

この論文は日本語の新聞中の北朝鮮と核実験に関する報告記事の曖昧さと操作的な態度についてである。この研究は特に北朝鮮について新聞の記事中の計画的で無意識に言語的な操作態度についてである。記事の見出しと読者の心意を関わる曖昧さについてである。全部の記事は読売新聞と朝日新聞に取ったが、全部の中に、多大態度がある。調査は日本の最大の新聞読売オンラインと朝日新聞デジタルの九の記事のコーパスに基づいてである。研究の主な結果は、日本の新聞の見出しあいまいな構造を利用していないことだが、記事は明示的な態度だけでなく、多大な引用文で満たされている。

Keywords: ambiguity, articles, attitudes, headlines, long term memory, manipulation, North Korea, short term memory
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Notes
Translation:

All of the translations done throughout the thesis has been done by the author of the thesis. This is done because the original material used does not have a counterpart in English language, which was directly applicable.

Definitions:

All definitions throughout the thesis have been collected from the Linguistics Encyclopedia unless there were specific definitions found in the theories used for the thesis. This is due to the fact that in the sources used as theories it is implied that the reader has a general understanding of what the words suggest.
1 Introduction
When we read newspapers, we are usually affected by what the journalists have written and tend to form an opinion based on what these media tell us. The news is supposedly objective; however, there are always subconscious (and conscious) attitudes present in an article written by journalists, who by themselves have a subjective view on the situation they are reporting on, and are edited by news boards which may have political agendas.¹ It is plausible that attitudes are more prevalent when reporting on crises situations because of the strategic interests involved. It is perhaps even more likely that these attitudes become a tool to strategically affect the popular discourse on such topics, and manipulate that discourse (and the public participating in it), when the crisis is of the kind that can threaten the very existence of a nation and the lives of the subjects in it. The salience, and perhaps even the moral need to linguistically shape and affect public understanding is probably most pressing when that existential threat is one which has been encountered before and has been etched into collective memory – such as the case of nuclear threats in Japan.

Linguistic manipulation has been intensely researched, and has preoccupied academic scholars, governments and applied researchers such as media analysts. In academia, manipulation has been explored on various levels, from the relation between language and the understanding of reality to the specific uses of linguistic tools on presenting and simplifying complex issues. Practically, manipulation has interested governments, researchers and the corporate sector through its relation with concepts such as propaganda and effective marketing. However, the added value of these discussions are foremost focused on western languages and traditions and are usually not concerned with specific types of news.² This gap in research and theory application is especially evident in Asian news and security topics. Meanwhile, there are undeniably existential concerns present in Asian societies and news that not just stimulate and mingle factual truths with attitudinal and emotional truths.

The case of Japanese nuclear crisis discourse is one such existential concern which has been reoccurring through the modern history. From the indiscriminate and massively destructive bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II to recurring threats from a dictatorial antagonist in North Korea and natural disasters exposing risks in the peaceful use

² See for example Thomson, White, and Kitley, 2008
of nuclear power, Japan is constantly reminded of nuclear threats. While Japan, the regional hegemon and political state has become a diplomatic champion for international nuclear demobilization, Japan the nation (its people) suffers constant physical reminders of the inter-generational effects of nuclear radiation on public health. Nuclear threats have arguably become a part of the Japanese political self, a projection of Japanese identity.

In this research I will look at the presence of attitudes and linguistic tactics associated with manipulation in the headlines and body of articles, on the North Korean nuclear threats in Japan, to explore lexical practice that may have a manipulative effect on the people that read the articles. There are a few ways to determine if an article can be considered manipulative and the two main things that this study will be focusing on are Short Term Memory (STM) and Long Term Memory (LTM) that are the main frame memory aspects, present in the brain and that conceive and stores personal experiences as well as general and socially shared information such as language. STM is the memory affected by the headlines and LTM the one that could be affected by the body of the article.

1.1 Aim and Quandaries

The aim of this thesis is to scope the tools of manipulation employed by Japanese media in reporting on North Korean nuclear policy. The inspiration for this study is the article written by Thomson, who has done a study on comparison of hard news reporting across languages and cultures. She claims that the “neutrality” of news is often filled with both explicit and implied attitudes that makes the reader react to the news in different ways.

To determine whether or not ambiguity is present in the news reporting of North Korean issues in Japanese newspapers, the following questions will pose as guidelines.

**Question: How do Japanese newspapers use ambiguity in North Korean nuclear crisis reporting?**

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4 Thomson, White, and Kitley, 2008
There are also a couple of sub-questions that will help in answering the main question and these are:

**Q1: Are the headlines double grounded?**

**Q1.1: How?**

If the answer to Q1 is “yes” then Q1.1 will be applied to see what kind of double grounding the headline consists of and what message it possibly wants to convey, before moving onto Q2. However, if the answer is “no” then Q2 will be proceeded onto.

**Q2: Are there “attitudes” present in the body of text?**

**Q2.1: What do they convey?**

The types of attitudes are the ones presented above and are the “inscribed”, “invoked” and “attribution” that are always present in an article and thus “help” the reader to create a mindset. These attitudes can also be divided into smaller categories to help determine what type they belong to and what effect they may have.5

1.2 Definitions:

As there are lexical difficulties present throughout the study and mainly in the theory, below are a few definitions that are presented to eliminate possible confusion.

**Ambiguity:**6 a word or expression that can be understood in two or more possible ways; refers to the possibility that the same sequence of words may be assigned different structures.7

**Manipulation:**8 to use or change information in a skillful way or for a particular purpose; control or influence cleverly or unscrupulously;9 alter or present (data) so as to mislead.

**Crisis:**10 an unstable or crucial time or state of affairs in which a decisive change is impending; *especially:* one with the distinct possibility of a highly undesirable outcome.

**Double Grounding:**11 a form of intentional ambiguity often used in the construction of headlines.

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5 Thomson, White, and Kitley, 2008
8 Merriam-Webster, Definition of Manipulation
10 Merriam-Webster, Definition of Crisis
Neutrality: the quality or state of not supporting either side in an argument.

Discourse: the use of words to exchange thoughts and ideas; or a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world).  

Short Term Memory (STM): refers to some form of temporary storage where manipulation of information, within the time range of a few seconds is necessary for performing virtually all cognitive operations.

Long Term Memory (LTM): our memory of communicative events – which are among our everyday experiences – is stored in episodic memory/LTM.

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12 Merriam-Webster, Definition of Neutrality
14 Strasny, Philipp (ed.), 2005
2 Background – A Brief History of Japan and Nuclear Crises

Of all states and nations in the world, few can claim the formative interaction with nuclear threats than Japan. Famously, it was on the 6th and 9th of August, 1945 that the Truman Administration, with the aim of forcing Japan to accept peace in the Pacific, dropped two atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki and allegedly wiped out over 100,000 Japanese lives in a matter of minutes.16 The magnitude of the events at that time is difficult to fathom, yet Robert Oppenheimer, one of the project leaders in creating the bombs, had been heard quoting ancient Hindu scripture saying “Now I am become death, the destroyer of worlds.”17

A testimony of a 14-year old survivor was collected and has been saved for generations to come at the Atomic Bomb Museum.18 Part of it reads:

I was suffering and ashamed of my keloid burns all the time, and I did not know how to make a living. I felt like shouting at the top of my voice in despair. But I could only murmur, “If only the A-bomb had not been dropped!” I was completely overwhelmed with grief, which resulted in the autism from which I suffered for a long time after the war.

To date, Hiroshima and Nagasaki remain the only cases where nuclear bombs have been used in warfare. It was not a one-time threat in modern Japanese history however. From follow-up surveys conducted in the 1970s and saved at the Atomic Bomb Museum, it is clear that the radiation had protracted effects on the exposed population, ranging from hematological conditions to motor dysfunctions.19 Recently, Japan also experienced the risks inherent in the peaceful use of nuclear power. In 2011-2012 Japan grappled with the effects pollution from a nuclear reactor that was damaged by a tsunami near Tokyo.20 However, as the generation of survivors from the Hiroshima and Nagasaki attacks diminishes, it is arguably the antagonism of the North Korean missile threat that has become one of the most recurring and imminent reminders of the peril of nuclear weapons. Below follows a brief account of current events in the Japanese-North Korean nuclear relations.

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16 History Channel, History of WWII: Atomic Bomb, the History Channel n.d., http://www.history.co.uk/study-topics/history-of-ww2/atomic-bomb (accessed 8 June, 2014).
17 Ibid.
2.1 The North Korean Nuclear Threat

The security situation between Japan and North Korea has been very tense since 1980’s when North Korea started manufacturing and deploying Scud missiles. Continuing in the 1990’s when the development of long-range ballistic missiles became known, and which have been launched at three separate occasions in 1993, 2006 and 2009, and the most recent being the Taepodong-2, attempted in April 2012.\(^{21}\) There has been a growing public recognition in Japan of the ballistic missile threat since the missile demonstration and North Korean Taepodong tests in 1996 and 1998.\(^ {22}\)

However, the recent events of the missile launches and threats from Kim Jong-Un have created an even tenser situation as posited in Japan’s White Papers, stating that “North Korea’s military behavior has heightened tension over the Korean Peninsula, and constitutes a serious destabilizing factor for the entire East Asian region, including Japan.”\(^ {23}\) North Korea carried out nuclear tests in February 2013, disregarding the protests of the international community. As the nuclear tests conducted by North Korea are considered in conjunction with their reinforcement of ballistic missile capabilities and WMD’s they constitute a major threat to Japanese security and regional strategic interests. As it is vital, for the interests of Japan to maintain the peace and stability in the entire East Asia region, any escalation of nuclear missile capabilities are a negative progression.\(^ {24}\)

Analysts observe that events of 2014 are exacerbating tensions and taking a turn for the worse. Washington and Seoul have since the end of February 2014 started to exert pressure on Pyongyang. They have launched a series of large-scale military exercises, among others.\(^ {25}\) Even though the United Nations Security Council’s (UNSC) has banned the launches of North Korean ballistic missiles North Korea refuses to comply with the resolutions imposing the bans. Hence there are two possible scenarios that could develop out of the situation in 2014: it could be either a confrontation or a dialogue, and the requirements remain for re-starting the constructive dialogue between the South and the North launched in February.\(^ {26}\)

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\(^{23}\) Annual White Paper, 2013, pg: 15-16

\(^{24}\) Ibid., 2013, pg: 14-16


\(^{26}\) Alexander Vorontsov, April 27th 2014
3 Literature Review

The purpose of this section is to outline the current state of knowledge on manipulation in discourse and discourse analysis. In the theory section, I will discuss the deeper understanding of the relationship between our understanding of the world around us, the discourse of communicating complexities and manipulation. The technical uses and tools for manipulation will also be elaborated further under the theory section. I will seek to highlight some general trends in the study of the manipulation in media, discussing the studies conducted so far categorically and briefly present examples of method within the previous research section.

3.1 Theory

3.1.1 Communicating sensitive and complex issues

Not all things in life are simple, or can be represented simply in writing and speech. Sometimes, our cultural conventions demand that we are able to do so nevertheless. According to discourse analytical approaches, our access to reality is always through language. It is through language that we create representations of reality and through which we contribute to constructing reality. Moreover, meaning and representations are real, physical objects are real, reality is real – and all of this gains meaning through discourse.  

Or in the words of Jorgensen and Phillips: “Language, then, is not merely a channel through which information about underlying mental states and behavior or facts about the world are communicated. On the contrary, language is a ‘machine’ that generates, and as a result constitutes, the social world.”

Yet, culture and circumstance don’t always provide the same opportunities to challenge established realities, our conventional constructions of realities. Yet, in times of crises, a window of opportunity arises. In Culture, crisis and America’s war on terror, Croft states that a “crisis represents a point of rapture, and is subject to a variety of narratives” that are all shaped by selectivity and adaptability. These narratives constitute a new strategic trajectory and once this is formed there is a period of stability, during which a new crisis will develop and the process starts over again. Given the recurrence of nuclear crises stemming from both man-made threats and natural risks, it is likely that Japanese media, and the experts and

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28 Ibid., pg. 9
policy-makers commonly quoted in media, have adapted certain linguistic tools to deal with the complexity of the threats and seize on the opportunities that the crises present.

Below I outline a theory of manipulative discourse. I begin by addressing some of the reasons for manipulating, i.e. the need for manipulative linguistics in communicating complexities. I then cover the relationship between the manipulator and its audience and the relationship between language, manipulation and memory.

3.1.2 The need for linguistic tools for communicating complexities

The media and policy spheres communicate complexities with certain linguistic tools for a number of reasons. Firstly, when communicating with a wide audience (and through written media), there may be pressure to be concise. Secondly, both media and policy representatives have a need to market their ideas to the audience. Thirdly, these professions are expected to be both informed and opinioned, and to have the rights information. Sometimes, getting the rights background information can be difficult, in which case language much be used in order to shape statements by adapting them to a variety of scenarios.

One of the most illustrative cases of need to write briefly and concisely is an article’s headline. The headline must give a summative overview of the subject matter in an article yet be short enough to be understood at a glance. Headlines are simple and fragile linguistic constructions that summarize the entire contents through only a few words. Dor described the tension between semantic and pragmatic function of headlines as: “Newspaper headlines are relevant optimizers: They are designed to optimize the relevance of their stories for the readers.”

Example: “Boeing shares are going sky-high since last February”  

According to the study conducted by Brône and Coulson intentional ambiguity in headlines is argued to have a double communicative function. Not only does the double grounding attract the reader’s attention but also highlight the article topic. They also found that people spend more time reading double grounded headlines than single grounded ones. Hence Brône and

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30 Brône and Coulson, 2010, Pg: 220
31 Ibid., pg: 215
32 Ibid., pg: 215, 229
Coulson would describe the example above as having a marketing function. It is catchy and thus makes the point more attractively and effectively.

Obeng states that “[…] politicians avoid candid or obvious statements and choose to communicate indirectly, especially when the topic of the discourse ‘communicates difficulty’.” According to his statement, these strategies of communication are motivated by face-saving and political necessity. The need to use these linguistic tools may be especially dire in situations where events are still evolving and are unpredictable, as implied by Obeng’s findings. Ambiguity is thus a phenomenon in language which occurs at all levels of linguistic analysis. Syllables, for example are almost always ambiguous in isolation and can therefore be interpreted as giving incomplete information. Syntactic ambiguity – the ambiguity created through sentence structure, and semantic ambiguity – the ambiguity created through different meanings of a word or phrase, are frequent enough to present a substantial challenge to natural language processing. Ambiguity, is used for communicating difficulties or complex issues, and hence ambiguity could be said to be used to manipulate. However as will be elaborated below, a certain relationship must arise, and does between a successful manipulator and their audience.

3.1.3 The relationship between the manipulator and the audience
Manipulation is often viewed as a communicative and interactional practice where the “manipulator” i.e. the speaker or writer exercises control over other people or their audience. Manipulation is, according to this view, done in the best interest of the manipulator and is hence usually done against the recipients will/ knowledge and mostly against their best interests. Manipulation has a negative association, because it violates social norms, and is also an illegitimate practice in a democratic society, because it produces or may reproduce inequality. Since no language user would call their own discourse manipulative, it is an “observer’s category”, i.e. the reader, or analyst who can determine whether a discourse is manipulative or not. Manipulation may also be exercised through media and we can see that many forms of communication through media is manipulative. Dijk suggests that

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37 Dijk, 2006
manipulation is a triangulated phenomenon, and below are the three phenomenon included in creating a manipulative discourse.\(^{38}\)

i. Social phenomenon – because it involves interaction and power abuse between social actors

ii. Cognitive phenomenon – because manipulation always implies the manipulation of minds, and

iii. Discursive-Semiotic phenomenon – because manipulation is exercised through text, talk and visual message.

According to Dijk, it is important that a manipulator holds a certain social representation if he is to successfully manipulate. An example of people that achieve the amount of social representation are journalists manipulating the recipients of the media discourse. This is important because in order to manipulate others through text or speech, one needs to have access to some form of public discourse such as newspaper articles. He also states that, manipulation is a discursive practice of dominant groups through providing information or instruction aimed to influence knowledge and beliefs. Even though manipulation is considered to be of the negative nature, i.e. illegitimate, it can be seen that some types of manipulation is considered legitimate, such as journalists providing information for their audience.\(^{39}\)

3.1.4 Language, manipulation and memory

Cognitively, it is believed that to affect a person’s perception of reality, their memory must first be activated. Dijk has constructed a framework that focuses on the relations between political discourse and political cognition, and distinguishes between different types of ‘memory’. This framework focuses on how different types of information is stored and used in ‘memory’.\(^{40}\) The distinction of different ‘memory’ is made between Short Term Memory (STM), and Long Term Memory (LTM). The reason for this is that that the actual processing of information (discourse understanding) is done in STM, which makes use of information i.e. knowledge stored in LTM, which consists of Episodic Memory – that stores personal experiences from STM, and Semantic Memory – that stores general and socially shared

\(^{38}\) Dijk, 2006

\(^{39}\) Ibid

\(^{40}\) Ibid
To determine a manipulative effect of an article, STM and LTM are used as main frame memory aspects, where STM is the memory affected by the headlines and LTM the one that could be affected by the body of the article.

Besides knowledge, people also have other socially shared information, group attitudes, ideologies, norms and values, which are often defined as evaluative and (inter)subjective, because they essentially vary between different groups in society. Social knowledge is the general political knowledge that we have about politicians, parliamentary debates, elections, political propaganda or political demonstrations. Dijk, in this instance, defines knowledge as shared factual beliefs of a group or culture, but important to remember is that what may be 'knowledge' for one group may be considered to be mere 'beliefs' or 'opinions' by other groups. And he also means that people also have personal experience and knowledge, represented in their Episodic Memory, which are represented in mental models created by a person as an interpretation (knowledge and opinion) of an event, hence being subjective. Both in production and understanding, people construct a model of an event, or the text of an event, or action and are thus the cognitive basis of individual discourse. According to Dijk then, models embody both personal and social information, and hence serve as the core of the interface between the social and the individual. For the same reason, when shared, generalized, abstracted from, and socially normalized, models may constitute the basis of experiential social and political learning.

Generally, the goals of manipulative discourse would thus be to trigger memory and to control the shared social representations of groups, because these social beliefs in turn control what people do and say, usually over a relatively long period of time. This is where manipulation is a both a cognitive and social discourse. However, in order to operationalize this both in the practice of manipulating and as a matter of analytical method, the manipulative messages need to be disaggregated into certain linguistic components, specific linguistic tools that can be used to manipulate. For example, one of the strategies used is generalization, i.e. a specific impact of a discourse is generalized or assigned to fundamental ideologies. In these cases, knowledge of the actual facts that may contribute to resist manipulation are not emphasized

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42 Ibid
43 Brône and Coulson, 2010 Pg: 220
44 Ed. Chilton and Schäffner, 2002.
and usually hidden by euphemism, ambiguity, metaphors etc.\textsuperscript{46} While this example is suggestive, as more thorough description of how this is done practically will be discussed in the method section.

3.2 Previous Research
This section will present some of the previously conducted research that has inspired and supported the construction of this thesis. The first part presented is on political discourse and the use of indirectness, done by Samuel Gyasi Obeng in 1997. This research is relevant as it points out the use of linguistic tools when communicating complex issues.

The second part is on deliberate ambiguity in headlines, which was done by Brône and Coulson in 2010 as well as on lexical and syntactical ambiguity done by Chiara Bucaria in 2004. Both of these researches focuses on the manipulation of the STM through the double grounding and ambiguity of headlines.

The third and final part presented in this section is on the attitudes within newspaper articles and what they convey. The research was conducted by Thomson, White and Kitley in 2008 and is the main inspiration for this thesis, as it is the operationalizing tool used through this thesis, and because it presents the tools of manipulation used to affect LTM.

3.2.1 Indirectness in political discourse
Obeng shows that politicians use indirectness as a face-saving act, as they avoid obvious statements when communicating difficulty. They tend to communicate in vague ways to protect their own careers and to gain advantage. He presents four strategies through which indirectness finds expressions in political discourse, and finishes by suggesting that verbal indirection should be included into existing theories of political communication.\textsuperscript{47}

Obeng demonstrates that indirectness is used to protect the politicians’ jobs and is also a face-saving or face-maintaining strategy as well as a marker of diplomacy and politeness. Polite speech finds expressions of euphemism and other figurative expressions. Hence, indirectness plays an important role in political discourse, especially to manage verbal conflicts. IN accordance with the above statement, he has used the main types of indirectness as distinguished by Schottman in 1993.\textsuperscript{48} The types are distinguished as following:

a) ‘that which is formulated indirectly’

\textsuperscript{46} Ed. Chilton and Schäffner, 2002.
\textsuperscript{47} Obeng, 1997 pg: 49
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid, pg: 49-51
b) ‘that which is addressed indirectly’
c) ‘that which has an indirect author’
d) ‘that which is indirect because of its “key”’

Following these four types, Obeng has chosen the indirectness strategies to be: evasion – an act of avoiding something, circumlocution – the use of more words than necessary, innuendo - statement to suggest immoral/ improper behavior, and metaphor - a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is applied to an object or action to which it is not literally applicable.\(^{49}\) For my study, I’ve chosen to look at two of the above strategies and have looked at the descriptions used by Obeng, who concludes that the use of evasion is 45.4% and the rest of the strategies are at 18.2%. Evasion however, can be used in combination with other strategies and may hence be present in more material than any of the other strategies presented.

3.2.2 Ambiguity in headlines
Headlines have been subject for research at several occasions and below are two reports that will be discussed. The first is on double grounding in newspaper headlines and was done by Brône and Coulson in 2010. They found that double grounded headlines were rated higher by the readers hence revealing the aesthetic effect of double grounding. They also state that headlines are fragile linguistic constructions and yet they serve as eye-catchers and communicate a whole range of purposes. Hence, the linguistic foregrounding techniques in this study were puns, alliterations and metaphors.\(^{50}\) They have conducted two experiments to investigate the cognitive and aesthetic impact of double grounded headlines, where they looked for reading time and rating of single grounded and double grounded metaphors.\(^{51}\)

The other research was about ambiguity for humor in headlines, conducted in 2004 by Bucaria, in which she studied 135 headlines, with the majority of them having some type of ambiguity. She focused her research on lexical ambiguity (found in 52.59% of the material) and syntactic ambiguity (found in 46.66% of the material).\(^{52}\)

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\(^{49}\) Obeng, 1997 pg: 49  
\(^{50}\) Brône and Coulson, 2010, pg: 212, 221  
\(^{51}\) Ibid  
Lexical ambiguity of nouns was found in 38 headlines, verbs in 25 headlines, prepositions in five, and the examples as presented below show some of these ambiguous structures used\textsuperscript{53}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Prepositions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor sent to jail for not finishing sentence</td>
<td>20-year friendship ends at altar</td>
<td>Women off to jail for sex with boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men recommend mode clubs for wives</td>
<td>Red tape hold up bridge</td>
<td>Old school pillars are replaced by alumni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1: Lexical Ambiguity*

In the examples above in table 1, all the underlined words could be interpreted in two, or more, different ways and hence create a humorous ambiguity.

Syntactical ambiguity on the other hand was found to be structural in 34 headlines and other types in 30 headlines\textsuperscript{54}. Below is table 2, which gives a few examples of the types of syntactical ambiguity that was found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class ambiguity</th>
<th>Attachment ambiguity</th>
<th>Referential ambiguity</th>
<th>Phonological ambiguity</th>
<th>Other types of ambiguity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Kelly was fed secretary</td>
<td>New housing for elderly not yet dead</td>
<td>Two soviet ships collide – one dies</td>
<td>Is there a ring of debris around Uranus?</td>
<td>Babies are what the mothers eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealer will hear car talk at noon</td>
<td>Killer sentenced to die for second time in 10 years</td>
<td>Threatened by gun, employees testify</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2: Syntactical Ambiguity*

In the above examples in table 2, the sentences which use syntactical ambiguity do not necessarily depend on a specific word but on the construction of the entirety of the sentence.

### 3.2.3 Attitudes in newspaper articles

Thomson writes that through the use of appraisal theory. Both positive and negative assessments can be grouped under the heading of “attitude”. These can be either for emotional reactions, assessments of human behavior or the assessment of texts, state of affairs, processes etc. She also states that all of these attitudes are used by journalists either explicitly or through

\textsuperscript{53} Bucaria, 2004, pg: 287-288

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid, pg: 285
implied methods in order to create a manipulative effect on the minds of the readers. Her research provides a general understanding of the non-existence of “objectivity” in modern news reporting. In order to support her statement about the use of attitudes, she follows the structure of an inverted pyramid where the “most important information” comes first and the “less important information” follows after. In her findings, it is clear that headlines start the manipulation by being at the top of the inverted pyramid, i.e. “the most important information” which is then followed by the rest below, following the structure of the inverted pyramid.55

Thomson has in 2008 also conducted a research 'Evaluating "Reporter" Voice in Two Japanese Front-page Lead Stories'. In that report two front page articles were selected to investigate the nature of the ‘reporter’ voice in Japanese, and analyzed as per the analytical tools presented in appraisal theory. The study demonstrates that these lead stories are far from being 'neutral' and 'objective', and concludes that the definition of 'reporter' voice, as it applies to English, applies equally to these two Japanese news stories.56 However, this seems to be the only study done in English, on attitudes in Japanese articles. To further define and conclude that reporters voice is in fact a praxis in news reporting these days, more than two articles need to be analyzed and as for this research that is to be conducted on the special case of North Korea it is of interest to see what type of tools are used and how these could manipulate the mind of the readers.

4 Method and Material
The method of choice is a combination of manipulation theory and appraisal theory. As presented above in the theory section, Dijk has presented manipulation as a triangulated phenomenon combining social, cognitive and discursive phenomenon, and constructed a framework that focused on the relationship between discourse and cognition.\(^57\) The reason for including the above framework is to attempt to create a complete structure to be able to determine if articles in themselves can be considered to be manipulative because of their structure and combination of either ambiguous headline formulations as well as by use of journalists’ voice/attitude in the body of the article text. Headlines are what affect STM and the article body text affects LTM.\(^58\) Appraisal theory, has been developed to better deal with the way that language interprets attitude. According to appraisal theory, attitudes hold both negative and positive assessments and can be divided into several attitudes\(^59\), which are explained thoroughly below in step 3.

4.1 Material
The material that will be used for the study are articles taken from two newspapers called Yomiuri Online – which is a right wing, conservative newspaper, and Asahi Shimbun (朝日新聞) Digital – which is a left wing newspaper, both high quality newspapers. The two newspapers have been selected on the basis that they are national newspapers, of different political stance and that they are two of the largest in the country. These were also the most available newspapers to be found online, that had the facility of access to some more recent articles.

4.2 Procedure
4.2.1 Step 1: Articles
The articles will be chosen on the basis of if they are reporting on the recent North Korean security crisis. The definition of crisis will be used as presented above, and the main keyword that will be used when looking for articles will include 「北朝鮮」“North Korea”, and/or 「ミサイル” “missile”, and/or 「核実験」 “nuclear (bomb) test”. Articles will be chosen on the basis of having any of the above words in their headlines. These will help in capturing the articles that report news about the recent missile launches that North Korea has conducted and

\(^{57}\) Dijk, 2006

\(^{58}\) Dijk, 2006, pg: 365-367

the articles of interest will be from the year of 2014 because, according to Vorontsov, the events in the Korean Peninsula of 2014 are intensifying tensions. It’s not as bad as it was in 2013, but it is clearly taking a turn for the worse. Washington and Seoul have since the end of February 2014 started to exert pressure on Pyongyang, and the UNSC (United Nations Security Council) has banned the launches of North Korean ballistic missiles, but North Korea refuses to comply with the resolutions imposing the bans. Hence it is of interest to see how Japan is reporting on the issue at hand.

4.2.2 Step 2: Ambiguous Headlines

It will be determined what kind of ambiguity the article headline express and they will be divided into categories of ambiguity, as per definition if they have any of the below categorical ambiguity. These have been collected from previous research and cover the biggest area. The types of ambiguity (and their definitions from the Linguistics Encyclopedia and Merriam-Webster) are as following:

- Pun – a joke exploiting the different possible meanings of a word or the fact that there are words which sound alike but have different meanings.
- Alliteration – the occurrence of the same letter or sound at the beginning of adjacent or closely connected words.
- Metaphor – a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is applied to an object or action to which it is not literally applicable.
- Metonym – a word, name, or expression used as a substitute for something else with which it is closely associated.
- Innuendo – statement to suggest immoral/ improper behavior.

4.2.3 Step 3: Journalist’s attitudes

There are several types of attitudes according to appraisal theory. They are both negative and positive and can be divided into three attitudes that can be used to deal with the way language interprets attitude and viewpoint of a reporter. These are produced on a basis of appraisal theory and explained to be inscribed attitudes, invoked attitudes and attributions.

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60 Vorontsov, April 27th 2014
61 Obeng, 1997
62 Brône and Coulson, 2010
The inscribed and invoked attitudes are ones that are expressed by the journalist within the text and may therefore lay an evaluative groundwork that are indicated via implication and association, and there is attributed material, which are not the reporters own ‘voice’ but a citation or a third party observation.\textsuperscript{65}

- **Bold underlining** = inscribed attitudes (explicit)

  Appraisal theory applies the label “inscribed” attitude to expressions that carry an attitudinal value which is largely fixed across a wide range of contexts. This is for example done through lexical items such as corrupt, skillfully, etc.\textsuperscript{66}

- **Italics** = invoked attitudes (implied)

  As opposed to the above, “invoked” attitude is used with formulations where there is no single item that carries a specific value, but where a viewpoint is activated through various mechanisms of association. These will often be conditioned by co-text and subject to interpretations.\textsuperscript{67}

- **Boxed** = attributed material (quotes)

  Both of the above are attitudes expressed by the journalist, however, the use of attributed material allows the journalist to convey attitude without using reporter’s voice but instead through the words of an outside source.\textsuperscript{68}

There are further three types to take into consideration when analyzing text. Through all of the three types above, there are three sub-types of attitude that is conveyed. These three are:

- Affect – which is an emotional reaction i.e. fear, pleased etc.
- Judgment – being a normative assessment of human behavior, such as “they suddenly…”
- Appreciation – assigning a social value to objects etc. such as “North Korea threatens”

\textsuperscript{65} Thomson, White, and Kitley, 2008.
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid, pg: 221
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid
5 Results and Analysis

5.1 Step 1 – Articles
It is important to note that there are only nine articles in total that have been analyzed within the timeframe for this particular study. It is also important to note that all the articles are about the North Korean missile tests and do hence not in any way a produce a generalizable result. However, interesting is to see how these articles are written in order to find some common denominators. There are four articles related to North Korea’s nuclear test and missile launches found in Yomiuri Online and five articles in Asahi Shimbun Digital. All of the articles are from March and April of 2014 and are hence representative of the intensifying tensions of this year.

5.2 Step 2 – Ambiguous Headlines
Out of the nine articles found in the two newspapers, two headlines were found to have an ambiguous message. Both were found in Asahi Shimbun and both were found to be implying innuendo – a statement to suggest immoral or improper behavior. However, in previous research it has been found that there are more of the other ambiguous implications that are expressed above. It has been found that the majority of headlines in English language, present some sort of lexical ambiguity.⁶⁹ It can be found that none of the below headlines present any other type of ambiguity, and none of the other headlines present any type of ambiguity what so ever.⁷⁰

1) 北朝鮮核実験場、動き活発
Vigorous activity at the North Korean nuclear test site.

2) 北朝鮮核実験の実態いまだつかめず、証拠隠し「巧みに」
Evidence is hidden skilfully, difficult to grasp the reality of North Korean nuclear tests.

Innuendos are goal-oriented and their implications quite obvious to the target. In politics and normal conversation, innuendo is used to talk about delicate issues without engaging in verbal dueling.⁷¹ Both the above examples show an insinuation on an interactant’s character while still avoiding any verbal conflict. They insinuate that North Korea is active with their

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⁶⁹ Bucaria, 2004, Pg: 285
⁷⁰ See appendix 1 – articles from Yomiuri Online and appendix 2 – articles from Asahi Shimbun Digital.
⁷¹ Obeng, 1997, pg: 56
development of nuclear tests and that because of their shielding from the outside world, it is difficult to know the extent of the development that has been, and is taking place.

5.3 Step 3 – Journalist’s attitudes
The Japanese have attitudes present in their articles, and the same can be found in English language newspaper articles. The following examples will help to define and defend the attitudes found. The amount of appreciation is clearly the majority attitude present. Appreciation is a positive or negative assessment of objects, artefacts, happenings and state of affairs in terms of aesthetic and other systems of social valuation.72

The table below shows the amount of times each attitude was found throughout all the articles within the newspaper.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Type of Attitude</th>
<th>Inscribed attitude</th>
<th>Invoked attitude</th>
<th>Attributed material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affect</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judgement</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appreciation</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Type of Attitude: Journalist’s attitude in the body of articles

5.3.1 Affect
As explained above, affect is a positive or negative emotional response to a situation, and hence an explanation of how someone or something has responded to a situation.

Inscribed
As seen in the table above, an inscribed (explicit) affect attitude was, in total, found in five instances. An author reporting that people were “upset” or “angry” is using reporter’s voice. Inscribed attitudes are applied to expressions that are stable across several contexts. The following examples show such expressions, and are hence marked as inscribed affect.

1. 実施する恐れがある[af]とみて警戒[ap]している
   There seems to be a warning [ap] of a risk/liability [af] for implementation

2. 怒り[af]の声をあげた。
   Raised their angry voices

In the above examples, the individual words that are marked as inscribed affect give a direct and stable connotation towards a negative emotion/feeling regardless of the content that they

72 Thomson, White, and Kitley, 2008, pg: 221
are in. Both risk/liability (恐れがある) and angry (怒り) are emotions of response whereas warning (警戒) is an assessment of a happening and hence an appreciation and not an affect.

**Invoked**

The invoked (implied) affect attitude was, in total, found in twelve instances. These are the expressions that need co-text to create an attitudinal effect and do not have a certain value to specific lexical items. The following sentences, use the beliefs and expectations of the reader to create an interpretation.

3. 北朝鮮の核開発阻止が論議されており[af]
   Discussions about blocking North Korea’s nuclear development

4. 関係者は坑道が封印された時期は明かさなかったが[af]
   Officials did not reveal the time the tunnel has been sealed

Any invoked attitude is in need of a context in order to present a specific response and the above examples show an occurrence of co-text in a manner that creates an interpretation in the mind of the reader. None of the words within the sentences have a fixed meaning across contexts and can thus only present a specific emotional response in combination with other lexical items that together form an affect.

**Attributed**

The attributed affect attitude was only found in two instances throughout the entire material. Attributed material is always an expression used by an outside source and not the journalists own voice. However, the use of specific attributed material can be indicators of the journalists own personal beliefs and attitudes.

5. オバマ米大統領の韓国訪問（25、26日）に合わせ、「万全を期すために延期した」[af]（政府関係者）という。
   Obama, the president of the United States visit was jointly “postponed to make absolutely sure”, says government officials.

The attributed attitude above is an example of how a third party quote can be used to insinuate a negative emotional response towards a situation. In the example, it’s quite clearly stated that Obama’s visit to South Korea had to be cancelled due to uncertainty about North Korea’s intentions.
It is important to note that all of the above sentences mark a response to the situation at hand, i.e. the North Korea’s nuclear test. In the two types of attitude – inscribed and invoked – it can be seen that a “journalist’s voice” is present. Hence, affect is mostly dominated by journalist’s voice, whereas not as much attributed material presents affect.

5.3.2 Judgment

Judgment is a positive or negative assessment of human behaviour in term of social norms. Therefore, it is always an assessment of what someone has done.

Inscribed

As seen in the table above, an inscribed (explicit) judgement attitude was, in total, found in nineteen instances. Usually inscribed judgement is confined to attributed material. However, in this study, there were several inscribed judgements used by the authors/journalist. The following examples present cases where the judgement was used as journalist’s voice and both the examples are of a very explicit nature as they have an attitudinal value attached to their lexical expressions itself.

6. 発射したと発表した。
   Announced a firing (of a ballistic missile)

7. 3か国をけん制する狙いとみられ
   The three countries are expected to aim for restraint (of nuclear development)

Both the lexical items firing (発射) and restraint (けん制) in themselves carry an attitudinal value of a negative nature and are hence defined to be inscribed in nature, and because they make an assessment of behaviour, they are defined as judgement.

Invoked

The invoked (implied) judgment attitude was, in total, found in six instances. The following example sentences use people’s beliefs to create a manipulative effect of negativity about the situation.

8. 意図的に緊張を高める狙いがあったとみられる。
   Seems like the aim is to increase tension intentionally

73 Thomson, White, and Kitley, 2008, pg: 222
Concerns have been raised about a concrete work schedule, and allusion has started about North Korea’s fourth possible nuclear test.

In both the above examples, the sentences present an attitudinal value only through the context of its entirety, and does not in particular have locutions with attitudinal value assigned to them. In both examples, there is an overall negative insinuation towards the new nuclear test that North Korea has engaged in.

Attributed

The attributed judgment attitude was, in total, found in three instances. As mentioned earlier, attributed material is always an expression used by an outside source and not the journalists own voice. The following attributions mark negative situations involving North Korea, and even here the use of specific attributed material can be indicators of the journalists own personal beliefs and attitudes.

10. 「けしからん。いかなる国の、いかなる核実験も許し難い」

“Any kind of nuclear test, in any country, is intolerable and outrageous.”

11. 北朝鮮の証拠隠しが「非常に巧妙」になったと指摘。

Identification of “very skilfully” hidden evidence by North Korea

These examples, are both statements from government officials and are, as any attributed material, presented more as “hard-news” rather than attitudes. However, they do present an overall negative attitude towards the situation. As seen in table 1 above, most judgmental attitudes were presented through an inscribed/explicit nature and hence, as opposed to in English language, the journalist’s voice has been used in expressing judgment on human action and behaviour.

5.3.3 Appreciation

Appreciation is a positive or negative assessment of objects, artefacts, happenings and state of affairs in terms of aesthetic and other systems of social valuation.

Inscribed

As seen in table 1 above, an inscribed (explicit) appreciation attitude was, in total, found in twelve instances. These usually occur where inscribed judgement does not. However, they
also occur, in low frequencies, in some regularity across newspaper articles. The following examples are defined to be inscribed appreciation because the lexical items in themselves carry an attitudinal value, as both missile attack (ミサイルの奇襲) and atomic bomb (被爆) carry a negative value to them, and as they are both assessments of happenings.

12. 北朝鮮はミサイルの奇襲能力を誇示して
   North Korea has put on a display of having an ability of a surprise missile attack

13. 被爆地広島の人々
   Hiroshima victims of atomic bombing

However, the example 13 above, is an example of an expression somewhere between judgement and appreciation. The reason for the expression being in the appreciation section is that it is assessed not to be a behavioural assessment as the Hiroshima bombing took place a long time ago and hence “atomic bombing” is not fit to be assigned as a behaviour but is instead a state in which the people of Hiroshima find themselves to be/ have been in.

**Invoked**

The invoked (implied) appreciation attitude was, in total, found in fourteen instances. The implied attitudes are applied to entire sentences that are conditioned interpretation based on the readers’ beliefs and expectations. Both example sentences below, as they do not include lexical items that in themselves carry an attitudinal value, but instead need co-text to create a sense of attitude towards a situation, as appreciation is an assessment of happenings etc.

14. 移動式車両から発射したとみられるという【ap】。
   Seems to have been fired from a moving vehicle.

15. 多くの活動が感知されているとし【ap】
   Many activities are being sensed.

**Attributed**

The attributed appreciation attitude was, in total, found nineteen times in the articles. Ones again, attributed material is always an expression used by an outside source and not the journalists own voice. The following attributions mark situations involving North Korea’s progress about their nuclear test. The use of specific attributed material can be indicators of the journalists own personal beliefs and attitudes.

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74 Thomson, White, and Kitley, 2008, pg: 222
16. ミサイルは発射基地のない平壌北方の肃川一帯から発射され[ap]
Missile was not fired from the firing base but from the Sukchon region in northern
district of Pyongyang.

17. 「核実験への過程は完了した」[ap]
Process for the nuclear test has been completed

The examples above, are quite free from any attitudinal value, even when compared to
attributed material of both affect and judgement. They are closer to “hard-news” reporting
than any other materialised attitude found throughout the study. The following examples are
mere facts about what has taken place and do not in any way convey neither a negative or
positive assessment of the happenings.

Attributed material is largely found in appreciation, and hence it seems that assessment of
objects or happenings by reference to social valuation is more accepted when done by a figure
of social status. Both of the above examples, are statements by government officials and are
placed within the text as facts or “hard-news” rather than attitudinal values.
6 Discussion

Following the above analysis, this section covers a discussion about the findings and what the implication of these findings might be. It is seen through the material and examples above that the use of attitudes, both journalists voice and attributed material, is present throughout the articles analysed and hence the strategies to manipulate the minds of the readers are present in this kind of media, i.e. newspapers.

Question: How do Japanese newspapers use ambiguity in North Korean nuclear crisis reporting?

This paper presents two main findings with regard to how Japanese newspapers use ambiguity in their reporting of the North Korean nuclear crisis. Firstly, it is found that the newspapers generally employ strategies aimed at affecting the long-term memory of the reader, rather than the short-term memory. Secondly, it is found that there is a varied use of manipulation but a preference evident in the material to use inscribed and invoked manipulation.

Short Term Memory (STM) and Long Term Memory (LTM) are the main frame memory aspects that are present in the brain that stores personal experiences and socially shared information such as language. It is thus the STM memory which is affected by the headlines and LTM the one that could be affected by the body of the article. The general restraint from frequent or varied applications of ambiguity in the headlines indicate that the STM is not the main memory being targeted. The headline is thus simply used as a very concise summary of the article. However, there is a lot of attitude present in the articles themselves. Most of the attitudes are explicit or attributed and hence the LTM of the readers will most likely be affected.

The material indicate a rich use of all the manipulation strategies available to the journalists, with a preference to inscribed and invoked attitude. The inscribed attitude is especially prevalent in judgment and appreciation categories whereas the invoked attitude is mostly used for appreciation and affect. Whereas the sample is too small to be statistically significant, the overall trend indicates a strong presence of the journalists’ (and newspapers’) own voice in the manipulation affecting the people’s minds on human behavior or emotional responses, as opposed to the external voice in the attributed manipulation which focuses on the manipulation of happenings and objects in the context of social valuation.

Q1: Are the headlines double grounded?
Q1.1: How?

While two headlines were found to be of an ambiguous nature in Asahi Shimbun and both follow the definition of innuendo there was no evidence of a double-grounded headlines. The use of ambiguity (and innuendo) in general reflect a preparedness to use linguistic manipulation strategies in headlines as well as article corpuses. Had there been no manipulation present in the headlines, the conclusion could have been drawn that Japanese newspapers prefer to attract readers with the appearance of “hard-news” titles which also may have the characteristic of being syntactically simpler in structure and quicker to comprehend. In this situation however the selectiveness in the use of tools may rather indicate a deliberate choice in manipulation strategy. It is likely that double-grounding is excluded as it is often associated with humor. Within the Japanese historical experience, nuclear issues are probably anything but humorous.

Q2: Are there “attitudes” present in the body of text?
Q2.1: What do they convey?

The overarching message conveyed by the manipulation is of open criticism and towards a clear North Korean agency in the nuclear crisis. Firstly, the primary indicator supporting this argument is the trend in attitudes within the material. Secondly, there is a clear difference in the manipulation used by journalists themselves and the attributed material. Finally, the material indicates a conscience strategy of emphasizing North Korea’s agency in the crisis.

The newspapers take a position of open criticism without limiting their use of the full range of manipulation strategies. All three types of attitudes were present with all three sub-attitude categories with a preference for inscribed and invoked attitudes. The attitudes were found to be present in all the articles and with a clear distinction. They all convey affect, judgment and appreciation in accordance with the operationalizing system presented above by Thomson. The overarching manipulation was negative. So while being explicit with their position on the events, the media isn’t limiting their linguistic alternatives to deliver criticism.

The study also finds an inconsistency in the use of attitude types across the three categories of attitude portrayal. The newspapers were more likely to use affect and judgment in the inscribed and invoked attitudes than in the attributed attitudes. Whereas the judgment and affect used in the attributed attitudes was more inflammatory than the ones used by the journalists themselves, most attributed material was presented as “hard-news” statements.
18. 例：「報道官によると、ミサイルは発射基地のない平壌北方の肅川一帯から発射され、約650キロメートル飛行したという。」
Ex: “According to the spokesperson, the Missile was not fired from the firing base but from the Sukchon region in northern district of Pyongyang, and made a flight of approximately 650 km.”

Two implications are thus evident. Firstly, there is difference between the role of the journalist, which is formative actor in the discourse and public opinion and the expert/policy-maker which is informative or diplomatic. This could be a product of the political sensitivity of the issue and an avoidance of escalating the conflict. In that case, the inflammatory attributed attitudes may be the product of experts/policy-makers who (ab)use the vacuum for hardline politics amongst their peers to appeal to certain categories of followers.

There further seems to be a strong portrayal of agency in the case of this crisis. When reporting on the views of Hiroshima victims within these crises, the newspapers adopt a clinical language with regards to their past experience. The language is clinical in as much as their experience with nuclear radiation is portrayed as the main issue and the source of the problem within itself, almost like a natural hazard. No references are made to the underlying case of the radiation, i.e. the US bombing of Hiroshima. In the case of North Korea, the language is quite different.

19. 例：「北朝鮮の核実験を受け、被爆地広島の人々は怒りの声をあげた。」
Ex: “In response to North Korea's nuclear test, the victims of Hiroshima atomic bomb voice their anger.”
7 Conclusion and further research

Attitudes can be found in all of the articles analyzed and hence it can be concluded that ‘neutrality’ and ‘objectivity’ in modern news reporting might not be used as their definitions should suggest, but are instead another “strategy” in obtaining full effects in manipulation of the reader, i.e. in order to manipulate the readers into a specific mindset. This is done through the use of attitudinal language to add certain nuances to the news. Even though there is not much research done on this topic, and available research papers are far between, it is of growing interest to look into the linguistic and political phenomenon of media. But, that is in the case for English language media, and it is hence a fact that even less research has been done in cultural specific and comparative fields. The objective of this paper is to inspire towards an Asia specific media research, both cross-linguistic and otherwise.

The lack of double grounded headlines could have several reasons. A double grounded headline usually intend to create a humoristic response. Double grounding has not been used in any of the headlines analyzed in the material and hence it is likely that double grounding is excluded as it is often associated with humor. Within the Japanese historical experience, nuclear issues are probably anything but humorous.

The research on newspaper headlines is quite extensive in English language, but not in any specific genre of news reporting. This paper has been focusing on the difficult security situation concerning North Korea and in the amount of time, and the limited material, not much ambiguity or double grounding was found in the headlines. This can however, not determine whether or not double grounding is present or absent in Japanese newspapers and hence a thorough study is needed, maybe only on headlines throughout newspapers. Another option could be to do a comparative study on two Japanese newspapers to find if there are any actual differences to be found, depending on their political agenda.

As seen in the study, there is not much evidence to suggest a manipulation of STM but rather the LTM. It was suggested by previous research and the theories that manipulation is done gradually and by the use of both a short term strategy – manipulation using headlines by making them double grounded or otherwise ambiguous, as well as long term strategy – manipulation by affecting the readers’ hearts and minds by adding subtle nuances to the news. As seen above in the theory section, a manipulative discourse is suggested to be a triangulated phenomenon combining the following:
i. Social phenomenon – because it involves interaction and power abuse between social actors

   As seen through the material, and the examples above, the use of attitudes was quite high. Both the use of journalists’ voice and attributed material was of such a large quantity, it is clear that a power abuse between social actors is a strategy used within news to manipulate.

ii. Cognitive phenomenon – because manipulation always implies the manipulation of minds

   All of the attitudes that are included in the articles serve the purpose of manipulating the mind of the readers as to have a certain feeling of negativity towards North Korea and their actions. There has been a growing public recognition in Japan of the ballistic missile threat since the missile demonstration and North Korean Taepodong tests in 1996 and 1998 and therefore, Japan and North Korea have since had diplomatic, and non-diplomatic difficulties and were hence not on good terms even before the recent events of 2014. The effect on the readers, when reading these articles, will be on their minds, and mostly their LTM. Due to the attitudes present in the articles. Hence the articles are designed as a cognitive phenomenon designed in order to affect and manipulate the minds of the reader.

iii. Discursive-Semiotic phenomenon – because manipulation is exercised through text, talk and visual message.

   In this study, focus has been placed on newspaper articles that present a manipulative effect on people through text. The newspapers selected are the two largest newspapers in Japan and hence reach a great number of audience. Because there are two newspapers, one conservative and one liberal, the attitude spreads widely rather than in one specific political group.

   The aim of this thesis has been to scope the tools of manipulation employed by Japanese media in reporting on North Korean nuclear policy, and through the study, it has been seen that the tools of manipulation used when reporting on the North Korea situation are mainly through the manipulation of LTM.

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76 Ed. Green, Cronin, 1999. Pg: 177
8 References

http://atomicbombmuseum.org/6_1.shtml.


http://www.history.co.uk/study-topics/history-of-ww2/atomic-bomb


Appendices

Appendix 1 – Articles from Yomiuri Online

北朝鮮、ノドン2発発射…日米韓会談けん制77
【ソウル＝吉田敏行】韓国国防部報道官は２６日朝、緊急記者会見を開き、北朝鮮が同日午前２時３５分と同４２分、平壌の北方から日本海に向けて弾道ミサイル[ap]２発を発射[j]したと発表した。

日本のほぼ全域を射程に収める中距離弾道ミサイル[ap]「ノドン」（射程１３００キロ・メートル）を移動式車両から発射したとみられるという[ap]。ノドンの発射は２００９年７月以来。
オランダ・ハーグで午前２時４０分頃から日米韓首脳会談が開かれ、北朝鮮の核開発阻止が論議されており[af]、北朝鮮はミサイルの奇襲能力を誇示して[ap]、３か国をけん制[j]する狙いとみられる。

報道官によると、ミサイルは発射基地のない平壌北方の栄川一帯から発射され[ap]、約６５０キロ・メートル飛びましたという。日本の防衛省は２６日、「（２発の弾道ミサイルは）朝鮮半島の東約５００キロ・メートルの日本海上に落下したと推定される」[ap]と説明した。

北朝鮮報道官、新形態の核実験に「時効ない」78

【ソウル＝豊浦潤一】朝鮮中央通信によると北朝鮮の外務省報道官は２９日、オバマ米大統領のアジア歴訪を「危険な行脚」と改めて非難し[ap]、同省が３月３０日の声明で「新たな形態の核実験も排除しない」とした「宣言」には「時効がない」[ap]とする談話を発表した。
韓国政府は、北朝鮮が北東部・豊渓里の核実験場で４回目の核実験の準備を完了させた[j]との見方を示している。韓国政府関係者は、準備完了から７〜１４日以内に実験に踏み切る可能性を示唆する意向に見られると考えられている。

能性があるとし、4月下旬から5月初旬にかけて実施する恐れがあるとみて警惕している。
今回の談話は、この時期を過ぎても核実験を実施する可能性を示唆したものだ。

北朝鮮、砲撃訓練50発...南北軍事境界線付近

【ソウル=中川孝之】北朝鮮軍は29日、黄海上の南北軍事境界線にあたる北方限界線（NLL）近くで、南方向に砲撃訓練を行った。砲撃は約50発に及んだが、韓国側海域には着弾しなかった。北朝鮮は、25日の米韓首脳会談について「（対北朝鮮）全面対決宣言だ」と反発しており、意図的に緊張を高める狙いがあったとみられる。

韓国軍合同参謀本部の関係者によると、砲撃は午後2時から約10分間続いた。日朝、北朝鮮軍・西南戦線司令部が韓国海軍に、白■島北東など2海域で「通常の砲撃訓練を行う」と通告していた。沿岸の洞窟などに配備した海岸砲を使用したと推定され、NLL北方約3キロ・メートルに着弾した。

北朝鮮軍は3月31日にもNLL付近で砲撃訓練を行っており、その際は約100発が韓国側海域に着弾したため、韓国軍が対応射撃を行った。韓国軍は今回も、F15K戦闘機を緊急出動させて警戒に当たった。

「北朝鮮、核実験の準備完了」...韓国政府関係者

【ソウル＝豊浦潤一】韓国政府関係者は24日、北朝鮮北東部・豊渓里の核実験場について、「坑道に核物質、核爆発装置、計測機器などを搬入済みで、（入り口の）封印作業も終わったようだ。準備は完了したとみている」と明らかにした。

韓国政府関係者が、具体的な工程を挙げ、北朝鮮の4回目の核実験の可能性に言及するのは初めて。
関係者は坑道が封印された時期は明かさなかったが【af】、「通常は核物質を搬入し、7～14日の間に核実験は行われなければならないと判断している」【ap】と述べた。また、
「（北朝鮮は）政治的決断さえあればいつでも核実験が可能だ」【ap】と指摘し、オバマ米大統領の25日からの訪韓と前後して実験を強行する可能性も排除しなかった【af】。ただ、
「（核実験を）【ap】行うふりだけで欺く【j】目的の可能性」【ap】も依然としてあるとの見方を示した。

Appendix 2 – Articles from Asahi Shimbun Digital

北朝鮮の核実験、準備完了の見方 韓国政府関係者

韓国政府関係者は24日、北朝鮮北東部・豊沢里（プンゲリ）の核実験場での動きについて「核実験への過程は完了した【ap】」と述べ、実施の準備が整っているとの見方を改めて示した【1st-af】。国防省報道官は同日、核実験の代わりに中長距離のミサイルを発射する可能性にも言及した【ap】。

政府関係者は、核実験をする坑道に「核物質、起爆装置などがすでに入っているようだ【ap】」とし、政治的決断があればいつでも実施が可能だと強調【af】。「通常、核の搬入から1～2週間の間に実験をしなければならない【ap】」とも述べた。

ミサイル破壊命令、きょう解除 安倍政権

安倍政権は、北朝鮮の弾道ミサイル発射に備え【j】、3日に自衛隊に出したミサイル【ap】破壊措置命令【j】を26日に解除することが分かった。当初の期限は北朝鮮軍の創建記念日の25日だったが、オバマ米大統領の韓国訪問（25、26日）に合わせ、「万全を期すために延期した【af】」（政府関係者）という。

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今回の破壊措置命令は非公表で、地対空誘導弾パトリオット3（PAC3）は配備せず、海上配備型迎撃ミサイル（SM3）搭載のイージス艦が、日本海で警戒に当たっている。

「許し難い」 北朝鮮核実験への怒り、広島でも

【後藤洋平、森泉萌香】北朝鮮の核実験を受け、被爆地広島の人々は怒りの声をあげた。実態のわからない在朝被爆者にも思いを寄せつつ、北朝鮮の孤立化を懸念する声も聞かれた。

県被団協の坪井直理事長（87）は「けしからん。いかなる国の、いかなる核実験も許し難い」と話した。北朝鮮が国際社会から取り残されている現状を指摘し、「閉鎖された国は、追い込まれるだろう」と懸念する声も聞かれた。

もう一つの県被団協の大越和郎事務局長（72）も「米国が実験すれば北朝鮮も、北がやれば米国も、と続いていっているように思える。」と述べた。

北朝鮮核実験場、動き活発

北朝鮮が４度目の核実験に踏み切るおそれが指摘されている。韓国国防省報道官は２２日、北朝鮮東北部の豊渓里（プンゲリ）にある核実験場で多くの活動が感知されているとし、「短期間内に核実験ができる段階だ」との見方を示した。同省は２１日に対策チームを設置。米国とも情報を共有しながら兆候を評価していく。

ただし、一連の動きは、核実験を準備していると見せかける偽装戦術の可能性もあるという。

北朝鮮核実験の実態いまだつかめず、証拠隠し「巧みに」

[ワシントン／ソウル ２０日 ロイター] 今月１２日に３度目の核実験[j]を強行した北朝鮮。しかし、米国や欧州、韓国の当局者によると、各国の情報機関は、使用された核物質の種類を含む核開発[ap]技術の進展具合について、その実態をいまだにつかめていないという。[ap]

米当局者によると、米空軍が北朝鮮の核実験[j]実施後に大気を収集できる航空機を飛ばし、実験で放出された残留物を収集しようとしたが、検出できなかったという[ap]。米空軍の報道官は、同機が派遣されたことを確認したが、その結果は発表できないとしている。

今回の核実験[j]で重大とされる点の１つは、北朝鮮が使用した核燃料が過去２回の実験と同じとみられるプルトニウムなのか、それともウランなのかということ[j]。北朝鮮は２００７年にプルトニウムの製造を放棄したが、その後、高濃縮ウランを生成する施設の建設を認めている[j]。

また、実験に使われた装置の正確な規模や構造のほか[ap]に搭載するための小型化がどの程度進歩しているかについても不明なままだという[ap]。

欧州の治安当局者は、北朝鮮の証拠隠しが「非常に巧妙」[j]になったと指摘。今回の実験に詳しい韓国当局者も、北朝鮮が実験のトンネルを深くして探知されるのを防いでいるとし[ap]、「何も発見できないかもしれない」[ap]と語った。

また、米国、欧州、韓国の当局者では、証拠が急速に消えてしまうことも懸念[af]。高濃縮ウランの場合、実験から数日で崩壊[ap]し、検出できなくなるという。先の韓国当局者は「まだ時間はある程度残されているが、証拠を発見できる可能性はますます低くなっていている」と語った。