A presidential mouthpiece:

How Fox News reflect Donald Trump and his government's stance on North Korea within their online discourse
ABSTRACT

Writer: Jordan Bell
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The political tensions between the U.S. and North Korea have been well documented and have made for exciting headlines in the Western news media. Indeed, the 'excitement' of not knowing if the world is heading into a full-scale nuclear war is made even greater by the unpredictability and aggression shown towards North Korea and the country’s leader Kim Jong-Un by the current U.S. president Donald Trump, who officially took office in January 2017. In between North Korea’s internationally-condemned series of missile tests, Trump has not been shy in expressing his opposition towards North Korea and its political regime, threatening to "totally destroy" the country and to bring "fire and fury like the world has never seen", should the U.S. or its allies feel the need to defend themselves. Taking a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach, this thesis uses concepts such as propaganda, war journalism, threat society, hegemony and ideology within Fairclough's (1995) media discourse model with the purpose of exploring how Donald Trump and his government’s aggressive, somewhat 'provocative' stance on North Korea is reflected within Fox News’ online discourse. The analysis focuses on the examination of six linguistic tools: word connotation, lexical choice, overlexicalisation, pronouns, quoting verbs and nominalisation vs functionalisation. In order for this thesis to effectively fulfil its purpose, this study seeks to provide answers to the following research questions: (1) how are North Korea discussed within articles published by Fox News online? Which dominant discourses can be identified? (2) how do these discourses communicate opposition and/or aggression towards North Korea? (3) Is it possible to identify any discourses within which counter perspectives are presented? If yes, what perspectives can be seen? The findings of the study are that North Korea are discussed within seven main discourses which are the following: North Korea's weapon development, their 'deluded dictator' Kim Jong-Un, North Korea as an 'enemy nation', as a threat from which Donald Trump and his government are protecting 'us'. Discourses also cover US-South Korean relations, but also North Korea’s continued relationship with China and finally, a discourse concerning failed efforts of diplomacy, with war being suggested as the only possible resolution. Whilst opposition was mainly communicated through the idea of an 'us vs them' scenario, aggression was communicated through the suggestion that the only way to 'deal with' North Korea was to use military force as they are not open to diplomacy.

Keywords: CDA, journalism, Fox News, North Korea, aggression, opposition, threat, propaganda
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1. Introduction

According to Nohrstedt (2010, 18), we live in a society "obsessed with the fact that our lives are not entirely safe and under our control", an aspect of modern culture which is driven by the media landscape’s equal fascination with that which threatens us. It is perhaps not surprising then that the conflict between current United States (U.S.) president Donald Trump and North Korea’s supreme leader Kim Jong-Un has captured the imagination of the world, but not least, news outlets. The threat of nuclear war offers rich editorial pickings for those willing to follow the volatile situation between the two political leaders. The threat is amplified further given the unpredictability of Donald Trump, somebody who, since his election in 2016, has displayed an undeniably "aggressive nature" (Ferguson 2017) in almost every issue he has faced so far during his presidential tenure. Donald Trump's state of mind was also called into question by his main presidential campaign rival of 2016, Hilary Clinton, who described Trump as a "loose cannon" (Clinton 2016). The differences between Donald Trump and his predecessor Barack Obama's approach to somewhat sensitive situations, can be best observed in their stances on North Korea. Obama, for instance, opted for a “strategic patience” (Spetalnick and Yukhananov 2013) tactic, suggesting that the situation with North Korea would calm down over time, whilst Trump has opted for a more direct approach, threatening to "totally destroy" (Holland and Mason 2017) North Korea. For media outlets and audiences everywhere, the opposition and aggression shown by Donald Trump towards North Korea and its leader Kim Jong-Un has provided the world with a form of "international theater” (Warren 2017), the consequences of which, we would all pay the cost of.

Many well-known scholars who have studied the relationship between Western governments and media outlets such as Herman and Chomsky (2008) have established that the "news media in liberal democracies operates as a propaganda system on behalf of state-corporate elite interests” (Zollmann 2017, 1) and that they act in a way which is “subordinate to political officials” (Zollmann 2017, 35). This study thus assumes that, in news discourse discussing North Korea, news outlets will reflect, at least to some extent, the aggressive, oppositional rhetoric established by Donald Trump towards North Korea. This is an area of study which is made even more fascinating given Trump's disapproval of the US media establishment, many outlets of which he has accused of producing "fake news" (@realDonaldTrump 2017), aimed at damaging his public image. However, this study will focus on online articles published by Fox News, one of the very few American cable news networks which has avoided coming under fire during Trump’s "war on the press" (Alberta 2018).
This paper will use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in order to examine how Fox News uses language in its online articles to communicate a similarly aggressive, oppositional rhetoric to that already established by Donald Trump, and more generally, the U.S. government, towards North Korea and its political regime.

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Donald Trump vs North Korea

Donald Trump, or Donald J. Trump, is the 45th president of the United States of America and is also president of the Republican Party. Trump was elected in November 2016 in the "largest electoral college landslide for a Republican in 28 years" (DonaldJTrump 2018) after victory over his main rival candidate Hilary Clinton of the Democratic Party. Already a successful "real estate developer and professional personality" (Tully and Parloff 2016), Donald Trump officially announced his presidential ambitions in June 2015 eventually succeeding and being sworn into office in early 2017. In a highly controversial campaign which dived America and the world, Trump vowed to 'make America great again' by fixing the 'mess' which he inherited from his Democratic Party predecessor, Barack Obama. The focus of Donald Trump's campaign was on, amongst other issues, immigration, healthcare and foreign policy, subjects which would somewhat define the beginning of his tenure as U.S. president. However, his approach to foreign policy is an issue which somewhat shapes the focus of this thesis, his and his government's stance on the 'threat' posed by North Korea and their leader Kim Jong-Un.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, more commonly referred to as North Korea, has been under the leadership of supreme leader Kim Jong-Un since 2011, although his family "dynasty" (Mark 2018) has ruled the country since 1948. The "totalitarian state that is comparable to Nazi Germany" (The Lancet 2014, 756) has, and continues to face stern condemnation from the international community as a result of "intolerable human rights violations" (The Lancet 2014, 756), as well as Kim Jong-Un's strong desire to continue with the country's nuclear programme. International suspicion is amplified by the fact that North Korea remains a "closed society to the world" (Choi 2010, 392) and information from which is difficult to obtain on an individual level (Choi 2010, 392). Instead, updates coming out of North Korea are commonly obtained through state media channels from which the country's political regime have been able to communicate important developments in their pursuit of their nuclear objectives.

Conflict on the Korean peninsula began at the end of World War II when it was divided in order to accommodate U.S. and Soviet occupation. The North was occupied by the communist Soviet Union, and the South was occupied by the more liberal U.S.
administration. A three-year battle broke out when troops from the North attempted to advance into the South (Stack 2018). At the end of the Korean war in 1953, with no clear winner, an armistice was signed preventing the continuation of war. This also led to the creation of a "demilitarisation zone" (BBC 2015) finally separating the two states. However, as no peace treaty was ever signed, the North and South still technically remain in a "state of war" (Kim 2010), a fact which adds to international concerns over the North and its political regime.

As previously argued, whilst relations between the U.S. and North Korea have historically been rather volatile, tensions were heightened with the arrival of Donald Trump in January 2017, who called for action against the country even before his presidency in 2013, criticising the then president, Barack Obama, for "not doing enough to contain the threat of North Korea" (Mindock 2018). It appears that North Korean leader Kim Jong-Un took the election of Trump in 2016 as a direct threat to his reign and nation, carrying out his first UN-condemned missile launch test as a "show of force" (Fox News, 2017) against the newly-elected U.S. president just a month after he took office. North Korea continued to carry out missile tests throughout 2017, with a 12-month total of 23 tests, including their first intercontinental missile which they claimed could reach the U.S. (Berlinger and Whiteman, 2018). Whilst continued missile tests, condemned by much of the Western world, are key to the political tension between the US and North Korea, so too is the aggressive, oppositional rhetoric established by Donald Trump towards the "hermit state" (Callick 2014) and its leader. Shortly after North Korea’s first test launch in February 2017, Trump reiterated that he, and the U.S. government, were committed to "defending" nearby ally Japan (Mindock 2018). This arguably signalled the start of Trump's 'verbal war' on North Korea and its regime. Throughout the months that followed, Trump's provocative rhetoric gained momentum, threatening Kim Jong-Un with "fire and fury" (Bayoumy 2017) should the U.S. or its allies be forced to defend themselves, mocking the North Korean leader by referring to him as "rocket man" (Thiessen 2017) on Twitter, threatening to "totally destroy" (Mindock 2018) the country, and referring to Kim Jong-Un as a "madman" (Mindock 2018). However, this rhetoric was not met without response from Kim Jong-Un, who, via North Korean state media, accused Trump of "mentally deranged behaviour" (Hamedy and Tseng 2018), also describing the US president as a "dotard" (Hamedy and Tseng 2018), which according to Merriam-Webster (2018), refers to someone who is in "a state or period of senile decay marked by decline of mental poise and alertness".

1.1.2 Fox News

Fox News is an American cable news channel owned by media conglomerate Fox Entertainment Group and describes itself as providing an “all-encompassing news service
dedicated to delivering breaking news as well as political and business news” (Fox News 2018). To offer some further background on the 24-hour news channel, its owners Fox Entertainment Group, is a subsidiary of 21st Century Fox of whom well-known Australian media mogul Rupert Murdoch is Chief Executive Officer (CEO). Perhaps interesting to acknowledge also is the fact that Murdoch is also the CEO of News Corporation, an international mass-media corporation which owns many of the world’s best-known news publications. Based in New York, Fox News was revealed at the beginning of 2018 as "Cable News’ Most-Watched Network For 16 Years Straight" (Katz 2018) and is, according to SimilarWeb (2018) the 39th most visited website in the U.S. The news channel also has a significant social media following of over 37 million users. Within a political context, Fox News has been heavily criticised for taking a strong right-wing stance in support of conservative values, being considered by some "the most bias name in the news" (Ackerman 2001). These accusations have only been amplified by the arrival of U.S president Donald Trump, who appears to heavily favour the publication. "Trump tweets about stories he sees on Fox. He uses Fox graphics to advance his agenda. And he gives his TV interviews to Fox — five of the seven he's sat down for since moving into the White House" (Stelter 2017). Trump and Fox News’ relationship offer important background to the study of how the news outlet cover North Korea, an aspect which is explored in more depth within the 'theoretical framework' section of this thesis.

1.2 Definition of key terms

Up until this point, this thesis has explored and offered examples of the somewhat hostile exchanges between the U.S. and North Korea, with a particular focus on the views expressed by the U.S. president, Donald Trump. In an attempt to characterise the rhetoric established by Trump towards North Korea and its leader Kim Jong-Un, this study will refer to it using two key terms which will contribute heavily to the overall direction of the study, namely, 'opposition' and 'aggression'. Whilst these could be considered as 'common' terms, it is important to establish suitable definitions in order to provide, at least to some extent, the foundations of a framework for the analysis which will take place later on in this paper. To this end, the study defines the term 'aggression' as "feelings of anger or antipathy resulting in hostile or violent behaviour; readiness to attack or confront" (Oxford Dictionaries 2018) and the term 'opposition' as "strong, angry, or violent disagreement and disapproval" (Collins Dictionary 2018).

1.3 Disposition

The following section of this thesis will present the aim, scientific purpose and research questions of this study. Thereafter, previous research conducted within the same, or similar areas will be presented and discussed in relation to how they aid the development of the
2. Aim and research questions

The wider aim of the current research is to contribute empirical knowledge to the study of how Western media outlets reflect the ideas and interests of their own domestic governments regarding those deemed 'the enemy'. The more specific, scientific purpose of this thesis is thus to explore how Donald Trump and his government’s stance on North Korea is represented in Fox News’ online discourse. However, this thesis will also seek to explore if, in an attempt to provide at least some level of balance in their reporting, Fox News construct any discourses which are not aggressive and oppositional towards North Korea, presenting them as a peaceful or misunderstood nation and political regime for example. In order to achieve this, this study will produce answers to the following research questions:

RQ1: How are North Korea discussed within articles published by Fox News online? Which dominant discourses can be identified?

RQ2: How do these discourses communicate opposition and/or aggression towards North Korea?

RQ3: Is it possible to identify any discourses within which counter perspectives are presented? If yes, what perspectives can be seen?
3. Previous research

3.1 Reporting on the enemy/other

The way in which Western media outlets portray individuals and states considered 'the enemy' or 'the other' has attracted much scholarly attention (Steuter and Willis 2009, Melkote 2009, Dimitrova and Lee 2009, Ooi and D'Arcangelis 2017, Rojo 1995). Such studies are important to refer to as, whilst they may not refer to the exact empirical case explored in this paper, they offer important context and insight into how researchers have approached similar topics in the past. They also present a wealth of knowledge and findings upon which this study will be developed.

Steuter and Willis (2009) used discourse analysis to examine and identify the frames used to dehumanise certain actors and construct the enemy within Canadian press reportage of the 'war on terror'. The study focused primarily on article headlines and found that Canadian media had indeed contributed to negative, Western constructions of Islam. Specifically, Steuter and Willis (2009) found that the dehumanisation of these actors was done through the use of animal metaphors, an aspect which is of ideological importance given that such constructions are being disseminated by "monopoly media institutions" (Steuter and Willis 2009, 7). Whilst the current study will not focus on this particular event i.e. 'the war on terror', the results are of particular interest, offering academic insight into how Western media are able to construct, through language, negative sentiment towards those who had become the object of political aggression. Closely linked to the 'war on terror', although focusing on a more specific event, Dimitrova and Lee (2009) examined the U.S. media framing of the execution of former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. The study found that the dominant frames used within the coverage were all geared towards a sense of justice whether that be for the Iraqi people, Americans, or, perhaps surprisingly, Saddam Hussein himself. The study went further to look at the 'interpretive packages' present within this broader frame of 'justice' which were 'flawed execution', whereby details of how the execution was carried out were the focus and discourse was critical towards the humanity of execution. The next package identified was 'punish the dictator' which was focused on the idea of justice being served and that the punishment of death fit the crimes committed by such a “vicious” (Dimitrova and Lee 2009, 545) dictator. The third package identified was ‘failed justice’ within which the media put forward the idea that executing Saddam before he was tried for his biggest crimes was unjust for the Iraqi people, who would never see him brought to full judicial justice. The last package entitled ‘learning democracy’ raised procedural concerns about the nature of Saddam's trial prior to his sentencing. It was suggested that the trial was a failed attempt at a democratic process by letting the Iraqi people decide the fate of Saddam.
In a study also focusing on Western representations of Saddam Hussein, Rojo (1995) analysed how Spanish newspaper *El País* had demonised the former Iraqi leader in the period prior to the Gulf war. Rojo's (1995) results showed that the newspaper had sought to create an image of Saddam as "the stranger", "the irrational being" the madman", "the beast", and finally, "the personification of evil" (Rojo 1995, 49). Whilst this study focused on Spanish coverage, it offers good insight into how, on a more general level, Western news outlets approach the coverage of an individual who was condemned by, most notably, the U.S. as an 'enemy'. Within a study examining a somewhat similar empirical case, Melkote (2009) used framing analysis in order to examine how The New York Times framed predominant issues and actors during the month leading up the 2003 Iraq war. Specifically, the study looked at how the publication had framed Saddam Hussein, George Bush Jr, the United Nations, weapons of mass destruction, the U.S. army, France, Germany and Russia. The study revealed negatively biased coverage of Saddam Hussein and weapons of mass destruction, but also bias when discussing France, Germany and Russia. The results of this study show, above all, the tendency for U.S. media outlets to reflect and favour American political interests within their discourse. However, it also shows that U.S. news outlets again attempt to maintain the negative political sentiment established against Saddam Hussein and the existence of weapons of mass destruction.

Examining how a more complex political situation is covered by the U.S. media, Ooi and D'Arcangelis (2017) used qualitative discourse analysis to explore how American news outlets construct images of China within their discourse. The researchers suggested that discourses surrounding China were aimed at justifying U.S. political actions to 'keep them in line' (Ooi and D'Arcangelis 2017, 269). Despite a mutually beneficial relationship between the U.S. and China, such constructions represented China as a potential enemy and thus, the 'other'. The first of the constructions discussed China as a cheat, with reference to U.S. doubts over how they value their own currency, something which directly impacts on U.S.-China trade relations. The second construction implied that China was a 'cyber thief' and that they had developed ways to infiltrate U.S. government computer systems and thus gain access to confidential information. The last of the constructions identified represents China as a "lawless bully" (Ooi and D'Arcangelis 2017, 276) with reference to its territorial disputes in the South China Sea with neighbouring countries Vietnam and the Phillipines. It is of interest to explore how U.S. news outlets discuss and represent China within their discourse for two reasons. Firstly, the political differences between the two countries mean that, should China not be so powerful economically, it is probable to suggest that they, just like most other nations under a communist regime, would become the subject of U.S.-led sanctions. Secondly, it offers further insight into how the U.S. media attempt to maintain suspicion of
China amongst their readers, which one can credibly assume, would contribute to or go some way to creating a generally negative feeling towards the country within the U.S.

Whilst this introductory section of the research review offers a somewhat general overview of how Western media outlets create and maintain certain actors or nations as the 'enemy' or the 'other', the insights produced by these studies provide important context when looking at how Fox News are able to communicate the aggressive sentiment established by U.S. political elites against North Korea. It, above all, establishes the media's willingness to reciprocate the rhetoric produced by those in power and their equal desire to disseminate such ideas to their audiences. The next section of this literature review will take a more specific look at how North Korea has been discussed within Western news media discourse.

3.2 Western media outlets on North Korea

In order to explore how Fox News discuss North Korea within their news discourse, it is important to note how the broader Western media have approached reportage of the “hermit state” (Callick 2014), an area of study which has also been the focus of much scholarly attention (Dalton et al. 2016, Choi 2010, Yoon and Wilson 2016, Jang 2013, West 2017, Kim 2014).

In critical discourse analysis carried out by Dalton et al. (2016) looking at the dominant metaphors and media frames present in Australian news media coverage of North Korea, researchers found evidence of “media complicity” (Dalton et al. 2016, 523) through a collective willingness to reinforce a “negative, adversarial orientation” (Dalton et al. 2016, 523) towards the country and its political regime. The findings also showed that such constructions often followed the nature of Australian political discourse on the subject and that “US policy and position” (Dalton et al. 2016, 542) often influenced media and political discourse regarding North Korea. Focusing on specifically American media discourse regarding North Korea, Choi (2010) analysed the construction of North Korea’s national image in popular newspapers The New York Times and The Washington Post. During this study, Goffman’s (1986) framing theory provides an important theoretical perspective through which the research is carried out, similar to that of Dalton et al. (2016). Similar too are the findings of the study which again, reiterate the dominance of negative constructions in the representation of North Korea within media coverage. An important link to how the political tensions with North Korea are communicated via media coverage was identified by Yoon and Wilson (2016), who compared the constructions within Western coverage of North Korean participation in the London 2012 Olympic Games with South Korean coverage of the same subject. It was found that Western coverage focused on political controversies and dismissed the efforts of North Korean athletes, whereas South Korean coverage contained
slightly more positive reportage of athletic accomplishments and rarely referenced divisions between the two Koreas. This study again highlighted the existence of a Western, negative and perhaps politically-driven media discourse regarding discursive constructions of North Korea. Once again, framing theory played an important role in demonstrating how dominant, political ideology materialised in the reporting of North Korea, something which was also true in studies carried out by Jang (2013), West (2017) and Kim (2014). The findings of Jang’s (2013) study comparing U.S. and Korean coverage of the six-party nuclear talks from 2003 to 2007 suggested that the nature of news coverage was dependent on the media system’s relationship with the nation’s political interests. This suggests, similarly to some of the studies previously discussed, that political relations with North Korea, news organisations and political elites, have a direct impact on media reportage. These findings also provide an important point of departure for the current study as they suggest that the aggressive rhetoric established between U.S. and North Korean political elites will be recreated in U.S. news discourse.

3.3 U.S. reportage of other conflicts and foreign affairs

In order to understand Fox News’ approach to covering North Korea, it is also important to understand the behaviour of U.S. media outlets in general with regard to their reporting on conflict and foreign affairs. This is also an area which has received much scholarly attention (Saleem 2007, Ibrahim 2008, Bayulgen and Arbatli 2013, Entman 1991, Aday, Livingstone and Hebert 2005, Garyantes and Murphy 2010, Guzman 2016, Sharifi, Ansari and Asadollahzadeh 2017).

In a study carried out by Saleem (2007) in which U.S media framing of foreign countries was analysed, it was found that the frames used to depict countries depended on the interests of the government in them. However, it was also found that in some cases, media frames changed depending on significant differences in stance on certain topics between the news outlet and the government (Saleem 2007, 152-153). Despite this, some of the overall findings of the study were that U.S media coverage ‘projected and protected’ the interests of the ruling elite and that news organisations relied heavily on government sources (the president for example) to shape the nature of coverage (Saleem 2007, 153). The interests of the U.S. government were also found to have a large impact on the framing of Arab countries after the 9/11 attacks by a study carried out by Ibrahim (2008). This study found that Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt were framed in a way which focused on diplomatic and military relations whilst Iraq was framed in the context of future invasion (Ibrahim 2008, 279). Bayulgen and Arbatli (2013) stepped away from the U.S. framing of the Middle East to focus on how American news discourse framed the 2008 Russia-Georgia war. Again, within this study it was possible to see how the political situation and history between the U.S. and Russia may
have had an influence on the coverage of such a conflict. The results of the study reinforced this view as it showed how coverage reflected negatively on Russia and served the function of “perpetuating the Cold War mentality” (Bayulgen and Arbatli 2013, 513). In a politically similar context, Entman (1991) analysed U.S. media coverage of two similar events. In one case, a Korean passenger plane was shot down by a Soviet fighter plane, and in the other, an Iranian passenger plane was shot down by a U.S. navy ship, in both cases there were no survivors. The study found that the first case was framed as a “moral outrage” (Entman 1991, 6) and the second case concerning the U.S. directly was framed as a “technical problem” (Entman 1991, 6).

In a study analysing cross-cultural news coverage of the Iraq war carried out by Aday, Livingstone and Hebert (2005) on stories produced by five American news networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News Channel) and Arab news network Al Jazeera, the majority of networks showed balance in their reporting whilst Fox News Channel showed "strong bias in support of the American-led war effort" (Aday, Livingstone and Hebert 2005, 3). It was found that Fox News Channel generally failed to publish any material which could have been interpreted as being ‘anti-war’ that is, images and/or stories about U.S. and civilian casualties or images/stories about anti-war protests, whilst this was an aspect of the war that Al Jazeera focused on. Furthering the findings of Aday, Livingstone and Hebert (2005), a study analysing the online news coverage given to the Iraqi elections of 2005 by Al Jazeera and CNN carried out by Garyantes and Murphy (2010) found that CNN had framed the elections in a way which showed and promoted a “sentimental patriotism toward western-style democracy” (Garyantes and Murphy 2010, 151). Similarly, a study carried out by Guzman (2016) employed a critical discourse analysis methodology to identify the news frames utilised by Fox News and CNN during news reporting of the 2011 Egyptian revolution. The results of this study pointed out that although there were some differences between the frames adopted by the two networks, overall, they both favoured ‘U.S. political ideology’ which favoured those seeking democracy and showed a wariness of Islam (Guzman 2016, 80).

3.4 The influence of the news media on public/political opinion

Having examined, up until now, how Western media outlets attempt to manipulate news discourse in favour of dominant political ideology, the study will now look at research regarding the impact of media coverage on audiences (Wanta, Golan and Lee 2004, Lee and Hong 2012, Schemer 2012, Lewis 2004, Lim and Seo 2009). This area is explored in order to give a general overview of the power of the news media and how the ideas communicated within it can influence different aspects of society. Whilst it should be reiterated that this
section of the research does not contribute to the overall framework of this thesis, it was considered as providing interesting background knowledge regarding the impact of media reportage on opinion.

By carrying out a national poll and a concluding content analysis with a focus on agenda-setting in U.S. news discourse, Wanta, Golan and Lee (2004) found that the more negative media coverage about a particular nation, the more likely the public were to think negatively about the country, however, positive coverage of a particular nation had no influence on public perception. It was also found that the more a nation appeared in news coverage, the more it was considered to be important to U.S. interests. Similarly, Lee and Hong (2012) studied the impact of international public relations within news discourse on the public perception of foreign nations and their resulting national image in the U.S. Arguably, the most relevant finding of this research with regard to the current study, and one which is closely linked to that of Wanta, Golan and Lee (2004), is that positive or negative coverage of a nation within news discourse was directly linked to how the public felt about it. This conclusion, put forward by both Lee and Hong (2012), Wanta, Golan and Lee (2004) suggests that the U.S. news media are influential in shaping the way the public perceive and thus feel about such nations. Also concerned with media influence on public opinion, but with a focus on a somewhat different case, Schemer (2012) found that negative news coverage given to immigrants increased negative and stereotypic attitudes towards them amongst the public. This finding also reflects the perceived power and influence of the news media to manipulate public perception based on how they cover certain issues.

In a study examining the impact of media coverage on British public opinion towards the Iraq war, Lewis (2004) found that TV news coverage created a "climate" (Lewis 2004, 295) within which opinions supporting the war became more relevant and credible which, in turn, made the idea of war more "acceptable" (Lewis 2004, 295) amongst the public. Lewis (2004) suggested, however, that this was not a result of outright media bias, but more so a result of news routines and values which gave particular credence to certain assumptions and narratives. In keeping with Lewis' (2004) focus on the impact of media coverage on international conflict, a study carried out by Lim and Seo (2009) examined the frames present within U.S. media coverage and policy statements regarding North Korea over a four-month period. The results were then compared against a public opinion poll in order to gauge how these frames impacted public opinion on policy decisions. The results showed that the combination of frames adopted by the media and policy makers produced greater support in favour of economic sanctions as opposed full-scale military intervention. This result offers insight into the power of the U.S. to news media to influence public opinion regarding North
Korea. The result also provides insight into the relationship between the U.S. government, media outlets and public opinion.

Whilst all of the studies discussed so far (Wanta, Golan and Lee 2004, Lee and Hong 2012, Schemer 2012, Lewis 2004, Lim and Seo 2009) focus on the impact of the media coverage on public opinion in different contexts, the findings they produce offer good points of departure for understanding how powerful popular outlets such as Fox News are in reinforcing and maintaining aggression towards North Korea, amongst its audience, and to at least some extent, amongst the country’s political elites. Although the current study will not seek to gauge public opinion, these studies are interesting to note, as they highlight the power of news media discourse to influence on societal attitudes towards certain issues.

3.5 Research gap
This chapter has presented much research (Steuter and Wills 2009, Melkote 2009, Dimitrova and Lee 2009, Ooi and D'Arcangelis 2017, Rojo 1995) about how Western media outlets report in times of conflict, on those individuals and/or nations considered by Western powers as 'the enemy' and, more specifically, how they discuss North Korea. Most of the studies examined adopted a qualitative methodological framework aimed at decoding the constructive properties of such reportage. Many of these studies (Steuter and Willis 2009, Rojo 1995, Melkote 2009, Ooi and D'Arcangelis 2017, Garyantes and Murphy 2010) discovered that the constructions identified were negative in favour of Western ideas, values and interests, and also reflected Western political opinion. Furthermore, much of the research presented concentrates on U.S. media coverage of conflicts and issues in the Middle East. Different to the studies previously explored, this study will make the theoretical assumption from the beginning, that the views, ideas and attitudes expressed by the U.S. political elite will be reflected in mainstream news coverage. Also, as it remains a very contemporary issue, there appears to still be a lack of academic interest in how North Korea is reported on by specifically American media outlets. Furthermore, the study will primarily contribute knowledge about how Fox News promote and reinforce the ideas shared by Donald Trump and his government, although also taking into account any potential discourses which counter their stance.
4. Theoretical frame and concepts

4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Whilst CDA provides the methodological framework for the current study, its reliance on, and historical roots in critical theory mean that it is necessary also to discuss this approach in regard to the theoretical framework of this paper. Critical theory finds its roots within the Frankfurt School, which consisted of a number of influential theorists working within the "Marxist tradition" (Rexhepi and Torres 2011, 685), and it was originally founded during the 1920s in Frankfurt, Germany. At the heart of the critical perspective is a drive to explore the "progressive and conscientious of the manner by which aspects of power and knowledge are produced, disseminated, and ultimately linked" (Rexhepi and Torres 2011, 684). By doing so, critical theory seeks to bring about "(...) emancipation of individuals and society from oppressive forces such as 'dominant discourses and ideologies' as well as 'structural economic forces'" (Hammond 2018, 2). Critical discourse analysis acts as a bridge between these theoretical objectives and provides critically-grounded methodological approach to studying how language is used within discourse, and how this contributes to the creation of meaning in line with dominant ideology. Another more succinct description of the role of CDA is offered by Wodak (2009, 8):

The aim of Critical Discourse Analysis is to unmask ideologically permeated and often obscured structures of power, political control, and dominance, as well as strategies of discriminatory inclusion and exclusion in language use.

In the context of the current study, CDA is crucial for the unveiling of ideas present in Fox News' reporting of North Korea and its political regime. Due to the lack of direct information available from the country within the public sphere, popular news outlets such as Fox News are in a powerful position as a primary source of information, leaving them free to construct discourses in ways which best suit their own interests. The term 'discourse' can be defined as the following

A piece of discourse is an instance of spoken or written language that has describable internal relations of form and meaning (e.g. words, structures, cohesion that relate coherently to an external communicative function of purpose and a given audience/interlocutor. The external function or purpose can only be properly determined, if one takes into account the context and participants (i.e. all the relevant
situational, social and cultural factors) in which the piece of discourse occurs. (Celce-Murcia and Olshtain 2000, 4)

The theoretical and methodological nature of CDA thus allows the current paper to draw out and reveal these discourses and the underlying messages present in Fox News’ discourse, by examining the different communicative choices made by the authors in order to "persuade us" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 1) to think about things in a certain way. This is also important given how popular Fox News are, and thus how potentially influential these representations are on U.S. society particularly. As expressed by Choi (2010), most individuals do not have direct contact with North Korea and thus, their views and opinions are formed almost entirely on media reportage within which, according to Fox News writer Goodwin (2015), "objectivity is a myth".

4.2 Applying Fairclough’s (1995) media discourse model
The complexity of the case being examined in this paper demands an equally comprehensive theoretical approach which acknowledges the multitude of different factors which effect the nature of media discourse. Such factors as Fox news' perceived loyalty to the current U.S. government, the need to produce content which of 'value' to the audience, the business context of the publication (who owns it etc.) and, more broadly the journalistic norms and routines which govern the profession. Fairclough’s (1995) model offers the possibility to acknowledge all of these influences on media discourse including what he refers to as "sociocultural practice" (Fairclough 1995, 59) or "its more immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded within, or the yet wider frame of the society and culture" (Fairclough 1995, 62). Below (Figure 1) is Fairclough’s (1995) media discourse model, which he entitles "a framework for critical discourse analysis of a communicative event" (Fairclough 1995, 59).
In this model, Fairclough sees 'discourse practice', or the production and consumption of media texts, as "mediating between the textual and the social and cultural" (Fairclough 1995, 60) that is, that the specific processes involved in production and consumption that shape the way in which audiences perceive the subjects of media texts. Whilst Fairclough’s (1995) model offers an important way by which this thesis theorises media discourse, it will not be explicitly discussed during the presentation of results, instead it will be reflected upon within a broader context in the discussion section.

4.3 Propaganda, ideology and hegemony in Fairclough’s model
Fairclough’s (1995) focus on how sociocultural practice shapes media texts offers an important theoretical perspective through which to credibly interpret Fox News’ online articles discussing North Korea. Although, one criticism of Fairclough’s (1995) model and general approach to analysing texts is that he attempts to, at least some extent, separate sociocultural practice with text production, whereas it could be suggested that they are more closely linked than Fairclough (1995) suggests.

According to many scholars who are concerned with the relationship between news media and governments (Herman and Chomsky 2008, Zollman 2017), especially in times of conflict, "the news media in liberal democracies operates as a propaganda system on behalf of
state-corporate elite interests" (Zollman 2017, 1). Such claims are given further credence by the findings of the studies explored earlier in this paper (Steuter and Willis 2009, Melkote 2009, Dimitrova and Lee 2009, Ooi and D'Arcangelis 2017, Rojo 1995, Saleem 2007, Ibrahim 2008, Bayulgen and Arbatli 2013, Entman 1991, Aday, Livingstone and Hebert 2005, Garyantes and Murphy 2010, Guzman 2016, Sharifi, Ansari and Asadollahzadeh 2017) which, in the main, all found evidence of U.S. or Western media outlets echoing the interests of the political elite of their respective countries in the context of conflict. Furthermore, Zollman (2017, 66) suggests that if Western political elites seemingly favour the idea of intervention in a foreign state's affairs, this will be communicated by the news media. Zollman (2017, 66) also claims that the Western news media "allows for ad-hoc vilification of states, which have been designated as nefarious". He briefly summarises the process by which Western news media act as propaganda tools, reflecting the ideas of their respective governments who have expressed the need for foreign intervention, be it military or by other means.

The news reporting model works as follows: campaigns of shaming are facilitated by western government spokespersons and pro-Western interest groups. 'Facts' and supporting data are initially manufactured on the basis of hearsay or unsubstantiated evidence. Once a dominant narrative is established, perspectives that serve this party line receive dominant attention in the news media. (Zollman 2017, 66)

This particular aspect of the behaviour of Western news outlets provides one of the key assumptions adopted within this thesis, which is, that Fox News will reflect a similarly aggressive and oppositional rhetoric towards North Korea and its political regime as established by U.S. president, Donald Trump. This is a hypothesis which is given further credence when examining the 'close' relationship between Fox News boss Rupert Murdoch and Donald Trump who maintain a "friendship of convenience" (Chozick 2017) (i.e. Trump receives public support from Murdoch's news outlets whilst they maintain strong links with the president, giving them priority with regard to breaking political stories and a say in any decisions concerning media regulation). Whilst developing relationships with political leaders has always been important to Murdoch and his media empire, it has been suggested that, prior to the election of Donald Trump, this was difficult to achieve in the U.S.

For decades, Rupert Murdoch has used his media properties to establish a direct line to Australian and British leaders. But in the 44 years since he bought his first newspaper in the United States, he has largely failed to cultivate close ties to an American president. Until now. (Chozick, 2017)
Whilst the idea of Western news media outlets behaving as a propaganda system to political elites refers to wider sociocultural practice, this paper will not overlook its direct influence on text production during analysis. Closely linked to the concept of propaganda, are the concepts of ideology and hegemony, which can also shape the nature of media texts (Fairclough 1995, 60).

The concept and study of ‘ideology’ is commonly associated with the work of Italian, Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci who considered it a “political science of the social” (Filippini 2017, 6) and was concerned with power relations in society. Gramsci believed that force and power from the political elite is exerted through the dissemination of ideology by “working on the popular mentality via the institutions of civil society” (Daldal 2014, 150). He also believed that this process aided the establishment of a hegemony (Daldal 2014) or “political leadership based on the consent of the led, a consent which is secured by the diffusion and popularization of the world view of the ruling class” (Bates 1975, 352). The key link between the concepts of ‘ideology’ and ‘hegemony’ comes from Gramsci’s belief that “man is not ruled by force alone, but also by ideas” (Bates 1975, 351).

The relationship between Rupert Murdoch and Donald Trump offers practical credibility to the idea of "political leadership based on the consent of the led" (Bates 1975, 352), giving an example of how political actors and media outlets serve each other. However, the idea of "consent" (Bates 1975, 352) is one which also primarily concerns "text consumption" (Fairclough 1995, 59) and offers the idea that media audiences will accept, without question, the ideas communicated within media texts, something which could be disputed. These concepts also assume that the relationship between Donald Trump and Rupert Murdoch directly influences the nature of Fox News' discourse, echoing the aggressive rhetoric established by Trump against North Korea. They thus ignore the influence of those involved with text production at a lower level such as journalists or editors. However, it has been suggested that Trump does in fact have a rather direct influence on Fox News' reporting, with some describing him as "a Fox News president" (Stelter 2017).

4.4 War Journalism and 'Threat Society' in Fairclough's model

Concerning more practical aspects of journalism, and thus perhaps touching further upon media text production purposes, it is important to theorise the role of the media in times of conflict, and conversely, the role of conflict and threat in journalism. Such theoretical perspectives are important to consider when examining how a news outlet such as Fox News behave during times of conflict and potential danger.
Whilst the conflict between the U.S. and North Korea has so far not materialised into military intervention, the threat of nuclear war has become a "thinkable" (Mason 2017) result of heightened tensions and in many ways, has captured the imagination of the Western media. "As Trump faces down North Korea, it’s alarming to think that most of the world’s nuclear warheads are now in the hands of men who are prepared to use them" (Mason 2017). It is for this reason that it is necessary to also to consider how news media behave in times of conflict, and how this impacts upon how media texts are produced. In order to do this, the concept of war journalism will be discussed and applied during analysis. According to Cozma (2015, 436) war journalism "revolves around conflict as a central news value. As a result, war reporting is often sensational" (Cozma 2015, 436). It is thus credible to assume that this 'reliance' on conflict and sensationalism in reportage forms an important part of editorial routines such as story and language selection, which can contribute heavily to how the audience learns about and perceives conflict.

In the case of North Korea for example, this could materialise as Fox News exaggerating the threat posed by their missile tests, or their potential to attack the U.S., thus “playing up” (Cozma 2015, 436) the 'spectacle' of conflict. To this end, it has also been suggested that the focus of war journalism is on the dissemination of "propaganda and lies", with little regard for reporting the truth (Galtung 2003, 179). Whilst one could question why media audiences continue to consume such a dramatised, in many ways 'constructed' form of reporting, Nohrstedt (2010) suggests that its value is the result of a wider societal change within which society has become "obsessed with the fact that our lives are not entirely safe and under our control" (Nohrstedt 2010, 18). Nohrstedt (2010) refers to this 'obsession' as a key factor in the development as what he coins a 'threat society', whereby he cites the media, but not exclusively, as playing a large role in encouraging societal fascination with that which has the potential to cause us harm.

It seems as if the culture in late-modern society has become obsessed with the fact that our lives are not entirely safe and under our control. And most of us would probably subscribe to the contention that the media have played a great role in that process, particularly because the media culture has such a dominant position culturally, politically and socially. (Nohrstedt 2010, 18)

The development of a 'threat society' can thus be directly linked to the notion of 'war journalism', whereby media outlets attempt to dramatise conflict and danger, and in many ways, make it more 'interesting' for audiences. The combination of war journalism's reliance on conflict as a major news value and society's perceived fascination with potentially harmful
situations, means that conflict between the U.S. and North Korea is a topic which is mutually suitable for Fox News itself, and its audience. In relation to war journalism and threat society, the newsworthiness of U.S. conflict with North Korea becomes more evident when one considers the threat of nuclear war as a potential result of the aggressive rhetoric established between the two nations' political regimes. Furthermore, the threat of nuclear war is specifically discussed by Nohrstedt (2010, 17), who describes how the media presented it as an "acute" threat during the Cold War in the 1960s.

Within Faclough’s (1995) model, such concepts also refer to sociocultural practices, offering further context on both media culture and wider societal culture. However, it could also be argued that such concepts also concern text production and consumption. For instance, war journalism describes conflict as a vital news value which journalists search for in news stories, whilst the concept of a threat society claims that media audiences are attracted by news stories which involved danger and/or conflict. In this respect, these two perspectives present an overall image of the news media landscape within which the ‘sensationalist’ (Cozma 2015, 436) reportage of conflict and danger is seemingly a mutually beneficial practice. The assumption that Fox News opts to communicate opposition and aggression towards North Korea rather than discourses aimed at promoting peace between the two states is thus given further credibility, as it goes someway to maintaining the conflict and the threat of the 'ultimate threat', nuclear war. However, it is also important to acknowledge a concept which offers a contrasting view of journalism, what is commonly referred to as 'peace journalism'. According to Galtung (2003, 179) peace journalism "tries to depolarize by showing the black and white of all sides, and to deescalate by highlighting peace and conflict resolution as much as violence". Galtung (2003, 179) also suggests that peace journalism is a "journalism of attachment' to all actual and potential victims; war journalism only attaches to 'our' side" and that it "stands for truth as opposed to propaganda and lies" (Galtung 2003, 179).

However, such a perspective offers an overly optimistic, somewhat 'rose-tinted' view of journalism, ignoring the industry's apparent fascination with conflict and, furthermore, modern society's 'obsession' with feeling threatened (Nohrstedt 2010, 18). Instead, peace journalism assumes that the primary aim of news media and its audiences is to maintain the wellbeing of society and to thus eradicate conflict.

5. Method

5.1 Critical Discourse Analysis
As previously mentioned, the methodological approach adopted for the current study is Critical Discourse Analysis, a definition of which is offered by Wodak (2013) as being
“characterised by the common interests in demystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual)” (Wodak 2013, xxi). Indeed, CDA aims to position itself as a mid-point between a positivist approach, where it is believed that there exists an objective reality, and a constructivist approach where it is believed that every aspect of reality is a social construct, and thus truth and the notion of ‘reality’ are open to change and interpretation. Whilst the CDA approach is used to uncover, through interpretation, the ways in which ideology, power and discourse are interlinked and constructed, it offers a systematic way of doing so (Dieronitou 2014) through the use of specific tools used to decode meaning. For this reason, CDA is seen as being influenced by the two opposing approaches, focusing on the construction of meaning but also seeking a form of objectivity and truth within interpretations.

The construction of meaning, especially within the media, can take place both within the visual and linguistic aspects of news discourse, especially given the technological capabilities of the Internet, where news producers are able to include video and images in their reports. However, the current study will focus only on the linguistic aspects of Fox News’ online articles regarding North Korea, such as the headlines and main bodies of the articles. This was a choice made mainly due to size of this thesis and the resulting lack of resources available to the research.

5.2 CDA tools
The analysis of the material selected for this study will be carried out with a focus on a purposely-selected group of analytical tools, which will allow the study to effectively explore the chosen material with a focus on answering this study's research questions. Thus, the selection of analytical tools has a particularly important bearing on the validity of this study, as they allow the fulfilment of its overall aim and scientific purpose.

Firstly, the analysis will focus on what Machin and Mayr (2012, 32) refer to as "word connotations" that is, to examine which types of words are used and what they signify. By selecting this analytical tool, "we assume that, since language is an available set of options, certain choices have been made by the author for motivated reasons" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 32). To this end, by analysing the connotations of the words used in Fox News' online articles, the study hopes to extract further meaning from the texts being studied, above and beyond what is communicated on the 'surface'. By analysing the underlying meaning of certain words, one is able to also discuss the intentions of the producer by posing the question – what did Fox News really intend to communicate by using this particular word?
Secondly, and closely linked to the study of word connotations, this paper will explore how Fox News make lexical choices in order to "indicate levels of authority and co-membership with the audience" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 42). It may, for example, look at how Fox News use linguistic choices to 'claim specialist knowledge' (Machin and Mayr 2012, 42) regarding the extent to which North Korea are a threat to the United States. This also allows the study to see how Fox News assign a 'type' of language to the discussion of certain topics, which will again, allow the study to examine the underlying meaning of the texts and Fox News' intent behind such language choices.

Thirdly, this study will explore the authors' use of what Machin and Mayr (2012, 37) refer to as "overlexicalisation", which can be defined as the result of an abundance of "quasi-synonymous terms is woven into the fabric of news discourse, giving rise to sense of overcompleteness" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 37). Machin and Mayr (2012, 37) also suggest that such a technique is commonly evidence "that something is problematic or of ideological contention". Thus, this tool will be used in order to see how, through the consistent use of similar words, Fox News aim to persuade the audience to think about a potentially contentious issue related to North Korea a certain way.

This study will examine Fox News' use of pronouns within the selected material, as it is suggested by Machin and Mayr (2012, 84) that "pronouns like 'us', 'we' and 'them' are used to align us alongside or against particular ideas. Text producers can evoke their own ideas as being our ideas and create a collective 'other' that is in opposition to these shared ideas" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 84). In the particular case explored within this paper, Fox News' use of pronouns will be examined in order to see how the publication use this to construct a sense of collective opposition against North Korea. This tool will thus allow the study to explore Fox News' construction of two opposing sides, 'us' vs North Korea.

In order to see how Fox News portray the actors discussed within its articles, this study will also examine the authors' use of quoting verbs. Machin and Mayr (2012, 57) claim that it can be "extremely revealing if we look closely at the words chosen to represent how someone has spoken". Thus, this tool will be used in order to explore how Fox News view certain actors and, consequently, how the publication wishes to portray them. This tool will be particularly important when looking specifically at how Kim Jong-Un and North Korea are represented within the chosen articles.

To a similar end, this study will also examine how Fox News use nominalisation and functionalisation in order to portray actors in a certain way. Simply put, nominalisation describes when an actor is identified by their name, and functionalisation describes when the actor is referred to through their working title or more generally, what they do. Machin and
Mayr (2012, 81) claim firstly that functionalisation can be used as a way of making actors seem more 'official' which thus connotes legitimacy and gives credibility to them and their ideas (Machin and Mayr 2012, 81). Nominalisation on the other hand, can, according to Machin and Mayr (2012, 81) "sound more personal" and thus, presumably, has the opposite effect of making an actor seem less credible as a source of information and/or ideas within news discourse.

In summary, such a wide range of tools were chosen in order to aid the overall validity of this study. More specifically, by examining a range of different aspects of the chosen texts, one will be able to examine, in a more extensive way, the underlying messages and constructions present within Fox News' discourse regarding North Korea. This is important in the answering of the research questions and thus, the overall validity of the study.

5.3 Material

The study examines Fox News' online discourse throughout a seven-day period of high U.S.-North Korean political tension, beginning from the day of their "highest ever" (BBC 2017) intercontinental ballistic missile test on the 28th November 2017 (including this day), to the 4th December 2017 (including this day). It examines 20 articles overall, the selection process of selection of which will now be presented as a series of steps.

Step 1: I entered the key words 'North Korea' into Fox News' 'search bar' function on their website, I also used the 'date' function in order to specify that I was looking for content published starting from the 28th November 2017 to the 4th December 2017. This result produced too many results (132) for the size and scale of the study as well as many content forms which were not suitable for the study. For example, the search results contained video interviews, which although may contain much communicative value, were not relevant as it was decided that this study would focus on written content only.

Step 2: As the previous step was clearly too broad, it was decided that I would use the 'content type' search function also available on within Fox News' search engine. It was here that I was able to select the content type 'story', to ensure that the results only displayed written pieces of content which were relevant for the study. I then clicked 'apply filters' and the search results were updated. Although the new results showed only relevant content types, there were still too many for the size and scale of this paper (85).

Step 3: Whilst it was still necessary to condense the sample size, the capabilities of Fox News' website search engine did not allow the application of further search filters. It was thus decided that, out of the 85 articles remaining, I would 'hand-pick' the articles which were considered as the most relevant for the study. Before the selection, it was already decided that
the final sample size would be narrowed to 20 articles, due to the limited resources available to the study.

Step 4: The final sample was selected using the following process; (1) I went through the list of 85 search results briefly examining the issues and ideas explored in the article headlines. This examination was primarily focused on whether aggression and/or opposition was immediately evident in the headlines. (2) I thus identified 27 potentially suitable articles to be used in the sample, a number which I reduced even further through (3) the brief examination of the language used in the main bodies of the articles, and how far it displayed examples of the linguistic techniques explored through the study’s chosen analytical tools.

The steps involved in sample selection were taken with a keen interest in maximising the study’s validity. By selecting material in such a way, I was able to ensure that the study would be able to effectively answer its research questions as the sample, to at least some extent, displayed aspects of language used to communicate both opposition and aggression towards North Korea. One potential weakness of this method of sampling concerns discovering discourses which counter these perspectives. Specifically, one could suggest that by selecting material on the basis that it is aggressive and oppositional towards North Korea, it is unlikely that it contains opposing discourses which may, for example, communicate the idea that North Korea and its political regime is friendly and misunderstood. However, this argument can be opposed by putting forward the idea that Fox News may, despite their supposed loyalty to Donald Trump and his government, aim to retain at least some level of journalistic balance in their reporting.

Finally, it is important to point out that the selected material contains news content of varying genres. More specifically, the sample contains both news articles and opinion pieces which were written by different individuals, not only Fox News journalists. For example, opinion pieces were mainly written by individuals affiliated with the U.S. government in some way. However, news reports were, in the main, written by Fox News journalists and, in some instances, external journalists from Associated Press for example. Such a variety of material from different authors could be said to give rise to issues of validity for example where, in cases where articles are not written by Fox News journalists, one could question whether it is only Fox News’ online discourse being examined and not that of the external authors involved. Similarly, it could be argued that opinion pieces and simple news reports serve significantly different functions within the overall construction of news discourse, with one reporting on recent events, and the other offering an individual’s commentary and subjective views on certain issues. Nonetheless, it was decided that, as Fox News decided to publish both types of articles, they are equally as important to constructing the publication’s
news discourse regarding North Korea. One could assume that by deciding to publish the different types of content, the views expressed within them are in accordance with the overarching ideology of the publication as, ultimately, Fox News’ editors have the final say on whether an article is published or not. However, when citations used in the analysis originate from opinion pieces, due to their somewhat more subjective nature, this will be indicated by the abbreviation '(OP)'. Indeed, the citation of alternative actors within the articles who are not the authors will be followed by '(citation of......)' in order to distinguish between the 'journalistic voice' of the writer and the 'voices' of the other actors involved in the discourse. It is however important to point out that material was not selected based on the ideological stance of the individual who wrote it or those cited within it.

5.4 Limitations of this study
In adopting a critical discourse analysis methodology, this study is exposed to inherent critique concerning the CDA research tradition. Firstly, according Herzog (2016, 280), in taking a critical stance against the ideological and hegemonic forces present in society, we automatically accept universal ideas about how the world should be. It is then here that such methodology becomes somewhat problematic as we criticise current practice, in favour of what we, or others, consider to be 'the right way'. With direct application to the empirical case explored in this paper, such criticism could be made as the study is, by 'exposing' dominant discourses in Fox News' online coverage of North Korea, suggesting a rather subjective, normative approach to how they should be discussing North Korea. Subjectivity comes into play when we consider this 'normative' view, which would presumably change from person to person. One may suggest that Fox News should remain neutral in their coverage of North Korea, minimising their level of bias to ensure that reportage is accurate and factual, whilst another may argue that such coverage should seek to unify U.S. audiences against a common enemy that is set on causing them severe harm.

At this juncture, we face the problem of an infinite regress. Even if discourse analysts frequently assume a critical stance towards hegemonic norms, their research is typically based on implicit ideals of freedom or autonomy, for example when these researchers expose the contingencies of hegemonic discourses or propose alternative interpretations and/or emphasize oppressed discourses. (Herzog 2016, 280)

The issue of subjectivity in CDA is something which arguably has the largest bearing on the reliability of our findings. How can a study be repeated when the results are so heavily dependent on one's own view of how the world should be? Moreover, in relation to this study specifically, how can the results achieve a high level of reliability when the researcher has prior knowledge of the political/economic forces potentially impacting on Fox News’
reportage of North Korea? These are concerns which are not only limited to this study, but must be strongly considered when developing the paper's overall framework. An aspect of CDA which goes someway to appeasing these fundamental questions, is the systematic set of analytical tools available to researchers. By choosing to examine word connotations, one can concentrate on ensuring that interpretations of meaning are, at least to some extent, 'reasonable' and justifiable and not entirely the result of one's own convictions. Regarding the validity of the study, whilst the methodological and theoretical frameworks were designed in such a way as to effectively answer the study's aim and research questions, the limited scope and resources available for the study mean that the results, whilst may be valid for the material selected, may not be representative of Fox News' overall coverage of North Korea. Similarly, the material selected for this study was published at a time of heightened political tension between the U.S. and North Korea, and whilst such a sampling method provides appropriate material for this study, it also means that the nature of Fox News' reportage may differ from a time of less political tension. Lastly, it could also be argued that this study is biased, based on the idea that one's definition of what language could be considered 'aggressive' or 'oppositional' may differ between individuals. This is a valid criticism and could have an impact on the value of this study's outcomes. However, one has again attempted to appease such criticism by offering suitable definitions of these terms at the beginning of this study which form the basis for later interpretation.

6. Analysis

6.1 Results

The dominant discourses identified during the analysis of the chosen material will now be presented as 'titles', underneath which will be an examination of how these discourses are constructed in relation to the analytical tools applied, and how said discourses communicate aggression and opposition towards North Korea.

6.1.1 North Korea's 'progressive' weapon development

Arguably the most prominent discourse identified within the material concerns North Korea's "continuing" (Lam and Darrah 2017) (citation of U.S. official) development of weapons and missiles. Weapons which, according to North Korean state media, could one day carry "super-large heavy nuclear warhead" (Associated Press 2017a). Indeed, It could be suggested this discourse heavily relies on society's 'obsession' with situations which put their lives in danger (Nohrstedt 2010, 18).
Firstly, one can observe a heavy overlexicalisation of terms which connote the idea that North Korea's weapons development programme is moving fast. Phrases such as "continuing" (Lam and Darrah 2017) (citation of U.S. official), "continues" (Frilling 2017), "its most powerful weapon test yet" (Associated Press 2017a), "faster-than-expected pace" (Lam and Darrah 2017) (citation of South Korean official), "further attempt" (Thiessen 2017) (OP) and "we're running out of time" (Lam 2017f) (citation of U.S. official), suggest significant momentum and represent North Korea's determination to carry on, despite much international pressure. This linguistic construction has two main functions, the first of which is that it promotes the need for quick and decisive action against what Fox News present as a 'growing' threat. They suggest inexplicitly that failure to intervene would allow the continued development of North Korea's weapon capabilities and the possible achievement of their ultimate end goal, which is to develop a nuclear missile powerful enough to reach the U.S. mainland. In terms of its propagandistic function, this aspect of Fox News' reportage acts as a way of justifying any future action against North Korea taken by Donald Trump and his administration. "If dominant Western elite interests favour intervention – whether through military or other means – then this will be communicated through the news media" (Zollman 2017, 67).

Secondly, Fox News maximise the power and sophistication of North Korea's missile capabilities and thus the 'threat' posed, once again, in order to reinforce the need for political action against them. The publication make the lexical choice to use "specific, officialsounding terms that help to convey authority" and to "tell us that we should understand the world in a particular way" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 42). Specifically, Fox News adopt somewhat technical terminology related to weapons and seek to offer 'expert' opinions when speculating on the power of North Korea's weapons. Such examples include "intercontinental ballistic missile" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP) or "ICBM" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP) for short, "initial assessments" (Lam and Darrah 2017), "significantly more powerful" (Fox News 2017) (citation of 'Pyongyang'), "warhead" (Fox News 2017) (citation of U.S. official), "the Hwasong-15 is longer than the Hwasong-14 by 6.59 feet" (Fox News 2017) (citation of South Korean official), "analysts" (Frilling 2017) and "standard trajectory" (Associated Press 2017a). Furthermore, many of those cited in the articles as giving technical predictions on missile technology or North Korea's overall activity come from government sources, something which is made clear through the use of phrases such as "U.S. official says" (Fox News 2017) and "Pentagon spokesman" (Lam and Darrah 2017). This use of language is exemplified in longer passages of text such as

"The U.S. Department of Defense detected and tracked a single North Korea missile launch today at about 1:17 p.m. EDT", Pentagon spokesman Col. Robert Manning said
in a statement. ‘Initial assessment indicates that this missile was an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM)’. (Pappas 2017)

When combining the 'official-sounding' terminology and the citation of those considered to hold 'expert' positions, it could be suggested that Fox News attempt to position themselves as a credible, 'official' source of 'intelligence', an idea which also reinforces the key theoretical assumption of this paper, that Fox News act as a metaphorical 'megaphone' to Donald Trump and the Republican Party. This offers Fox News a form of authority over the audience originating from their perceived access to government information, which media audiences would not have without their reportage, adding credibility to the ideas they promote. However, this notion could be criticised as suggesting that Fox News' audience is somewhat naïve, believing every piece of 'official-sounding' information they are offered without questioning the author's intentions.

Whilst Fox News position themselves as a credible source of intelligence regarding North Korea's development of weapons, they also adopt vague language when discussing supposed 'facts' or offer somewhat approximative estimates regarding the power of North Korea’s missiles. Such examples include "estimated range" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP), "widely believed to be" (Thiessen 2017) (OP), "suspected to be" (Lam 2017a), "initial assessment indicates" (Pappas 2017) (citation of U.S. official), "appears to be building" (Palkot 2017), "if it could hold a nuclear weapon" (Lam 2017b), "ICBM has potential to reach" (Gaydos 2017) and "the new missile appeared significantly bigger" (Lam 2017c). Whilst it could be argued that this use of vague language is a result of the fact that the Western world has very little contact with North Korea and thus very little concrete information about their weapons development programme, it could also be suggested that Fox News use such language as a way of further constructing and influencing discourse regarding North Korea. It could be said that such language serves the needs of a society which is 'excited' by that which threatens us. Using this type of language gives the impression that whilst 'experts' make estimates regarding the size of the threat posed by North Korea, it is even too big for them to understand. This once again leaves the audience pondering the idea that the world may be even closer to nuclear war than previously suggested. By making these lexical choices, the author acts in a way which downplays Fox News 'authoritative' position by displaying gaps in its knowledge. However, this has the added effect of communicating that even a news outlet so closely-linked to government sources and thus 'official intelligence' cannot completely comprehend the power of the threat, nobody can. This is in line with Nohrstedt's (2010, 18) suggestion that as a society, we are fascinated by the idea that "our lives are not entirely safe and under our control". It could also be argued that Fox News' use of vague language also directly coincides with the idea that news media 'play up' conflict by, in this case, their failure to provide precise
details about what the 'enemy' is capable of. It could be suggested that this is a method used by Fox News in order continue the 'nuclear war rhetoric' by again giving the idea that the U.S. and its allies are facing a somewhat 'unknown' enemy.

North Korean missile development was prominently discussed in relation to its ability to be used to "strike the whole mainland of the United States" (Lam 2017b) (citation of 'North Korea'). In order to exaggerate further the threat posed by North Korea to the U.S., Fox News commonly judged or discussed the success of North Korean missile development based on how likely it was to threaten the U.S. In order to do this, Fox News discusses the potential ability of North Korean missiles to hit highly-populated American cities/areas. Such examples include "North Korea's latest ICBM has potential to reach Washington" (Gaydos 2017), "which would put Washington within reach" (Fox News 2017), "the whole mainland of the U.S." (Lam 2017c), as stated by North Korean state media, "may only be able to reach the West coast of the U.S." (Lam 2017c), "such a missile would have more than enough range to reach Washington, D.C., and in fact any part of the continental United States" (Associated Press 2017a) (citation of U.S. scientist), "an increase compared to the late July ICBM test that had an estimated range of 6,500 miles – still enough to reach Los Angeles or Chicago" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP). In this context, the naming such specific areas of the U.S. serves two main communicative functions. It could be said that the names 'Washington', 'D.C.', Los Angeles and Chicago carry with them much connotative value. Such names are commonly associated with the liberalism of the U.S., the idea of freedom and a general way of life in complete contrast to that which one is able to live in North Korea. Thus, through naming these specific locations, Fox News are communicating the idea that North Korea is set on the destruction of this culture. Furthermore, by naming specific locations, Fox News communicate the idea that the threat is 'close to home', especially amongst their American audience. Whilst these locations may not be geographically close to their own homes, this adds reality to the threat, leaving the audience to consider the potential consequences of a missile hitting Miami for example. This technique communicates and promotes opposition towards North Korea by connoting the idea that they are attacking the audience's 'home' and the values that they hold dear. Lastly, the naming of specific locations contributes to the exaggeration of the threat. By discussing Los Angeles or Washington as potential targets for North Korean missile launches, one is left to ponder the disastrous consequences of a hypothetical missile attack on such built up, lively and densely-populated areas. By doing this, Fox News communicate and reinforce the need for action against North Korea in order to avoid such a catastrophe.
North Korea’s intercontinental ballistic missile fired this week potentially has the capability of reaching targets as far as 8,100 miles away, putting Washington, D.C., within reach, South Korean officials said Friday. (Gaydos 2017)

Together, the various techniques explored within this particular discourse could be said to echo and/or reinforce the aggressive and oppositional ideas expressed by the U.S. government. In a general sense, the linguistic techniques identified all outline and validate the need for action against North Korea in which ever form the U.S. political elite see fit. North Korea’s development of weapons could be seen as representing a wider narrative towards North Korea, suggesting that they are a threat to Western, particularly U.S. values. In presenting North Korea as a progressive threat which the world still knows very little about, Fox News serve two key interests. Firstly, it legitimises and reiterates the need for political and/or military intervention and secondly, it provides news which caters to society's supposed fascination with feeling threatened. Whilst the second interest mentioned could be said primarily concern media text consumption, one could also argue that it maximises the threat of nuclear war and thus goes some way to "manufacturing consent" (Herman and Chomsky 2008) for further action against North Korea. Following the ideas of Zollman (2017) and Herman and Chomsky (2008), by emphasising on the nuclear threat presented by North Korea, Fox News at least go some way persuading its audience that intervention is necessary. Thus, any future actions taken by the U.S. government would be presumably well supported by Fox News online audience which, as already explored earlier in this paper, is the 39th biggest in the U.S. (SimilarWeb, 2018).

6.1.2 Kim Jong-Un, North Korea’s deluded dictator

This section will now explore how the leader of North Korea specifically is discussed within the articles examined from Fox News. In the construction of this particular discourse, Fox News aim to undermine Kim Jong-Un, offering the idea that he is a ‘power-crazed’ dictator who needs to be 'dealt with'.

One could argue that Fox News undermine the power and authority of Kim Jong-Un through nomination or, more simply, referring to the North Korean leader by his name rather than the powerful position he occupies. Whilst nomination is commonly used as a way of making text more personal, communicating who the person is (Machin and Mayr 2012, 81) rather than functionalising them and thus reducing them "to a role which may in fact be assigned by the writer or be generic" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 81), it could be argued otherwise. In the case of Fox News’ discourse, it could be suggested that by not referring to Kim Jong-Un as North Korea’s leader for example, the news outlet reduce his credibility and thus undermine
his authority and in a more general sense, how seriously the audience takes him. In order to ensure that this is achieved, Fox News goes even further, reducing his name down to just his family name "Kim" (Lam 2017c). Whilst in many situations this could be argued to connote a certain level of positive feeling between the author and the individual being discussed, given the supposed impact of politically-elite ideology on Fox News' reportage, it is reasonable to suggest that this is not the case. Instead, it is an attempt to discredit and, in many ways, patronise Kim Jong-Un, somewhat ignoring his identity as the leader of North Korea. However, it could also be argued that this is merely the product of editorial routines, as North Korea and its leader are discussed so regularly within Fox News' online discourse, they decided to reduce the length of his name in order to save time. This argument is unlikely however, given that in some instances, Kim Jong-Un is referred to using his full name.

Furthermore, by not referring to him as North Korea's 'Supreme Leader' or 'Chairman of the Workers' Party of Korea' for example, Fox News attempts to show defiance against Kim Jong-Un, refusing to use the title by which he is known within North Korea. This contrasts heavily against how Fox News refer to Donald Trump which placed a greater emphasis on his role as U.S. president. Such examples include "President Trump" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP), "U.S. president" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP), "President Donald Trump" (Fox News 2017) and "the president" (Pappas 2017, Lam and Darrah 2017).

According to Machin and Mayr (2012, 81) the functionalisation of actors within discourse can suggest that they are more "official" and attach a greater sense of authority to what they are saying or doing. In this case, by functionalising Donald Trump and not Kim Jong-Un, Fox News suggest that the U.S. president is in a greater position of authority than the North Korean leader. This in turn legitimises the ideas, actions and values attached to Trump within the articles and discredits those of Kim Jong-Un. One could also argue that by suggesting that Trump is more 'official' than Kim, Fox News are also communicating the idea that Kim Jong-Un is somewhat of an international outlaw or culprit that should be brought to justice by the 'authorities' i.e. Donald Trump and the U.S. government.

Whilst the previous technique provides an example of how Fox News aim to discredit Kim Jong-Un, the next seemingly aims to reaffirm his power within North Korea by suggesting that he is the 'mastermind' of the political regime. One of the most prominent ways in which Fox News does this, is through the use of possessive pronouns communicating the idea that Kim Jong-Un is the 'owner' of the political regime and thus is responsible of all elements, including weapon development. Such examples include "Kim Jong Un's nuclear bomb" (Lam 2017b) (citation of missile expert) "Kim's rocket" (Lam 2017e), "Kim Jong-Un's regime" (Lam and Darrah 2017), "Kim's regime" (Lam 2017c), "Kim's successors" (Thiessen 2017) (OP).
Whilst it could be argued that by using possessive pronouns Fox News want to emphasise Kim Jong-Un's power and influence within North Korea, it could also be suggested that by doing so, the publication attempts to attach full responsibility of the current situation between North Korea and the U.S. to the North Korean leader. Furthermore, this contributes to the construction of Kim Jong-Un as being a 'power hungry' dictator, reinforcing and supporting the need for action against him, and North Korea more broadly. One could also suggest that by holding Kim Jong-Un responsible, Fox News are putting forward the idea that he is 'the problem' and that North Korea may not have such problems without him. This again, could be seen as a precursor to future action against the North Korean leader, as in the case of missile development, Fox News attempt to generate public support for future decisions taken by Trump, particularly regarding Kim Jong-Un. The responsibility attached to Kim Jong-Un can also be observed when analysing the connotation of the verbs used by Fox News to describe his actions. Such examples include "Kim Jong-Un gave the order (Gaydos 2017), "Kim Jong-Un ordered" (Lam 2017f), "Kim ordered" (Lam 2017d), "Kim wants" (Lam 2017e) and "Kim thanked workers" (Lam 2017d). Such verbs give the idea again, that Kim Jong-Un is in control and that what he says or wants is carried out by those around him without question. This is another way for Fox News to communicate that Kim Jong-Un is the key problem that needs to be addressed which, according to Zollman (2017), is a way by which Donald Trump and his administration attempt to drive public support for future actions in and/or against North Korea. The idea that Kim Jong-Un is 'power-hungry' can also be drawn from the overlexicalisation of verbs such as Kim "boasted that" (Lam 2017f), "Kim also boasted that" (Lam 2017d) and "Kim Jong-Un howling in laughter" (Lam 2017c). Such verbs promote the idea that Kim Jong-Un is somewhat arrogant and is almost taunting the U.S. by suggesting that he is confident that Trump and the U.S government are no real threat to his plans. It could also be argued that such verbs connote the idea that Kim does not take the situation seriously, that it is almost a game for him, portraying him as somewhat of a child.

Kim’s excitement over the Wednesday middle-of-the-night surprise launch was clearly visible as he watched a monitor with supposed flight data. One picture showed him bending over backward in laughter and another had him pumping his fist. (Lam 2017c)

One could suggest that this is one of the ways by which Fox News seek to generate anger and aggression towards the North Korean leader, by suggesting that whilst the whole world is worried about the threat of nuclear war, Kim Jong-Un is enjoying having the power to decide the fate of the world. Again, it could also be suggested that this is a way of "manufacturing consent" (Herman and Chomsky 2008) amongst the public regarding future political
decisions/actions against Kim and his regime. By suggesting that Kim Jong-Un is effectively laughing at society's expense, Fox News are able to create a sense of anger towards Kim and thus, a feeling amongst their audience that he must be stopped. This again could be said to echo the negative, somewhat antagonistic ideas communicated by Donald Trump and his government towards Kim Jong-Un or "little rocket man" (Thiessen 2017) (OP) (citation of Donald Trump), which could also be seen as a method of discrediting and questioning the sanity of the North Korean leader.

Finally, Kim Jong-Un's portrayal as an out-of-control dictator is communicated through terms which, although common within Western media, could be said to be of high communicative value. Such terms include "the regime" (Lam and Darrah 2017) and "the rogue regime" (Lam and Darrah 2017). The word 'regime' connotes discipline and strictness, the type typically attached to an exercise or dieting programme for example. When used in the context of a leader or government, the term 'regime' connotes the level of control over the general population commonly associated with famous dictators such as Adolf Hitler, who one could also describe as being 'systematic' in his control over his people. It is also credible to assume that this choice of words was made intentionally by Fox News as the authors could have opted for an arguably more 'neutral', 'official' term such as 'government' for example. Similarly, the connotations attached to the term 'rogue' suggest that Kim Jong-Un is out of control. The term is can be literally defined as the following: "a dishonest or unprincipled man" or "a person or thing that behaves in an aberrant or unpredictable way, typically with damaging or dangerous effects" (Collins Dictionaries 2018). By describing Kim Jong-Un as 'rogue', Fox News suggest that he operates outside of the way in which the U.S. expect him to behave and thus, he is a problem that needs to be 'dealt with'. However, in interpreting Fox News' description of Kim Jong-Un and his government as a 'rogue regime', one must also ponder the question as to who decides if somebody is 'rogue' or not. It is here that the influence of Western political ideology has a profound impact on Fox News' coverage as Kim Jong-Un's method of leadership is clearly compared and contrasted to the more liberal and democratic political models that the Western world and the U.S. are more familiar with. This is in keeping with findings produced by studies presented in the literature review earlier in this thesis such as Dimitrova and Lee (2009), who discovered that certain Western media outlets communicate democratic political ideals within their reportage of typically 'non-democratic' nations. Furthermore, Fox News' description of North Korea and its political regime as 'rogue' reinforces current U.S. political discourse and specifically, that constructed by Donald Trump himself. "...North Korea is a rogue nation which has become a great threat and embarrassment to China, which is trying to help but with little success."

(@realDonaldTrump 2017)
In summary, this discourse is aimed at presenting Kim Jong-Un in a way which positions him as somewhat of a typical Western, movie-style villain. His power within North Korea as a 'decision-maker' is acknowledged and it is possible to see how Fox News presents him as a real threat to the U.S. and the Western world. However, it could also be argued that by suggesting that the North Korean leader is 'enjoying' being in conflict with the U.S., Fox News undermine his authority and power by suggesting that he is somewhat 'crazy' or 'unstable'. What is more, by suggesting that Kim Jong-Un is enjoying the escalation of a potentially catastrophic nuclear war situation within which the lives of everybody would be in danger, Fox News attempt to generate public anger and aggression towards Kim, ensuring that any actions taken by Donald Trump and his government to remove him from his position as North Korea’s leader, would be supported by Fox News’ audience. Whilst this discourse discusses Kim Jong-Un specifically, it must be considered within a wider discourse concerning the need for action against North Korea, not specifically against Kim Jong-Un, although this can be thought of as an important aspect in Fox News' communication of aggression and opposition towards North Korea.

6.1.3 North Korea – the enemy nation

Whilst this study has so far presented how discourses surrounding North Korean missile development and Kim Jong-Un himself are constructed, this section will now go on to examine how North Korea is discussed as a collective enemy against the U.S. It is thus interesting to note how Fox News change the focus of discussions explored within the previous discourse, which identified a specific actor portrayed as 'the enemy', to being more vague in who they are discussing or describing. Such examples include phrases such as "the rogue regime" (Lam and Darrah 2017), "the North" (Fox News 2017) and "Pyongyang" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP). Whilst the communicative value of such language will be further explored later on in this section, by not identifying a specific actor, Fox News leave the reader asking themselves whether they should be angry towards Kim Jong-Un specifically, or North Korea as a whole. This is a feature which in many ways defines this section of the results as the 'blame' is shifted from Kim Jong-Un to, more generally, North Korea and its 'regime', a term which is equally vague regarding who it refers to.

Regarding how Fox News aim to portray 'North Korea' as a whole as 'the enemy', it is important to examine how the publication uses possessive pronouns, suggesting collective North Korean responsibility for items or issues which one could assume are principally governed by Kim Jong-Un or those close to him and thus not the wider North Korean population. Such examples include "North Korea's Sept. 15 missile launch" (Lam and Darrah
2017), "North Korea's nuclear-tipped missile" (Lam 2017b), "North Korea's state newspaper" (Lam 2017b), "North Korea's latest intercontinental ballistic missile" (Fox News 2017) and "Pyongyang's" (Associated Press 2017a). By suggesting that 'North Korea' as a country share ownership of such things, Fox News communicate the idea that the U.S. face a larger enemy than Kim Jong-Un alone, they face a whole country which is determined to attack the U.S. This again acts as a way to legitimise the future actions of Donald Trump against North Korea and, by suggesting that the enemy is in fact a whole country, Fox News suggest that any actions against North Korea which could have negative impacts of the general population are also justified, as they are part of the 'problem'. Thus, in summary, this technique could again be viewed as a way by which to justify Donald Trump's future decisions regarding action against North Korea and, indeed, communicate Fox News' support for action against North Korea. By placing all responsibility on Kim Jong-Un, future actions such as military invasion would be met with opposition by those who would worry about the impacts of such action on the 'innocent' people of North Korea. Thus, by suggesting that the general population are somewhat responsible too, Fox News attempt to protect the U.S. government from such criticism by again "manufacturing consent" (Herman and Chomsky 2008) for such decisions.

Another way in which responsibility is attributed to North Korea as a nation is through its personification. Specifically, Fox News use regular and quoting verbs in order to suggest that the country as a whole is making a statement or carrying out an action. Such examples of regular verbs include "North Korea fired" (Lam and Darrah 2017), "North Korea understands" (Pappas 2017), "North Korea can" (Lam 2017b) (citation of U.S. missile expert) and such examples of quoting verbs include that North Korea "boasted" (Lam 2017f), "threatened" (Lam 2017f), "said" (Fox News 2017) and "North Korea lambasted the U.S." (Lam 2017d). Through giving the impression that the whole of North Korea contributes to a statement or action, Fox News suggest again, that it is a nation which supports the attitudes, decisions and actions of their government. One could go even further to argue that Fox News discredit the North Korean population by inexplicitly suggesting that they are unable to think or act independently, which could also suggest that they too are a threat to the U.S. as they are, to some extent, 'brainwashed' by Kim Jong-Un. This again could be a way of communicating Fox News' opposition towards North Korea and their resulting support for potential future invasion or political action. However, this could also contribute to constructions of Kim Jong-Un being a 'power hungry' dictator, as he is 'taking advantage' of and manipulating the people of North Korea.

The personification of North Korea could be said to be an attempt by Fox News to communicate the idea that there is one individual who uses his country as a method through which to exert the power that, as explored in the previous discourse, he enjoys. It could also
be argued that the attribution of responsibility is made vague within the articles explored through broad descriptions of actors when Fox News is not referring to Kim Jong-Un directly. Such examples include "the Hermit Kingdom" (Lam 2017a), "the North" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP), "Pyongyang" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP). Again, by using such broad terminology when referring to actors, Fox News intend to create an 'us vs them' or 'U.S. vs North Korea' scenario amongst its readers, suggesting that North Korea as a country is a problem which needs to be dealt with. One could also argue that this goes some way to generating opposition against North Korea amongst Fox News audience. A reason for Fox News' opposition to North Korea as a whole may be linked to fundamental differences in the political cultures of the two nations, North Korea existing as a 'communist dictatorship' and the U.S. as a 'liberal democracy'. This form of Western media opposition to cultural practices condemned by political elites was explored within the literature review presented earlier in this thesis in the context of Islam for example (Steuter and Willis 2009). In the case of North Korea and Fox News however, one could suggest that, due to their political culture, Fox News deem the country 'anti-Western' and thus an enemy and threat to the values upon which the U.S. is constructed.

Continuing on the idea of Fox News attaching 'blame' to North Korea and its people as a whole and the idea that the North Korean population is somewhat 'brainwashed' by their leader Kim Jong-Un, this section will now explore how Fox News communicate the idea that Kim Jong-Un and the people of North Korea share the joy of plotting to attack the U.S. In order to do this, Fox News communicate the idea that missile tests and other such developments are somewhat national celebrations in North Korea, among political leaders and the public alike. Whilst Kim Jong-Un is generally portrayed within Fox News' discourse as somebody which has much control over the North Korean people, using them to serve his own interests, this construction suggests that these interests are in line with those of the general North Korean population. Fox News describe national celebrations within which they give the idea that the whole of North Korea has come together to share in the potential demise of the U.S. after a successful missile test. Such examples of how this idea is constructed are the following "North Koreans held a massive rally on Friday to celebrate the success of Wednesday's missile test" (Lam 2017d), North Koreans "hosted dancing parties in the midst of their celebration" (Lam 2017c) (citation of North Korean state media) and "danced to the tune of songs 'Our Leader Loved by the People' and 'The Country of the People', extending the highest glory...to respected Supreme Leader Kim Jong Un who registered a great success in...completing the state nuclear force" (Lam 2017c) (citation of North Korean state media).
This 'shared excitement' is also communicated through phrases such as "Kim's excitement" (Lam 2017c), "excitement among North Koreans" (Lam 2017c), "middle-of-the-night surprise launch" (Lam 2017c) and "firework display at Pyongyang" (Lam 2017d). Together, words such as 'celebrate', 'dance', 'parties', 'celebration', 'excitement', 'surprise' and 'firework display' all hold positive connotations within which there is commonly a 'party' atmosphere which also suggests the coming together of people to celebrate something. Similarly, by referring to the participants of such celebrations as 'North Koreans' it could be suggested that Fox News are intentionally vague so as to suggest that these celebrations were perhaps more widespread in North Korea than they actually were.

The successful test-fire of the new-type ICBM Hwasong-15 has thrown all servicepersons and civilians of the DPRK into great joy and excitement,” KCNA said in a Thursday statement. “Dancing parties were displayed by working people of various circles and youth and students in different parts of Pyongyang. (Lam 2017c) (citation of North Korean state media)

By doing this, Fox News again suggest that North Korea celebrate in the development of nuclear weapons as a country and not just amongst Kim Jong-Un and those around him. This gives the idea of a collective 'desire' to develop nuclear weapons in North Korea and could be said to be another way in which Fox News aims to construct North Korea as a collective 'them' which again communicates overall opposition towards the country.

In summary, this discourse is an important way in which Fox News' communicate opposition towards North Korea. Whilst other discourses have explored how specific actors or issues are discussed by Fox News, this section of the results explores how North Korea more broadly is positioned as a form of opposition to the U.S. This discourse suggests that the values, ideas and actions of leader Kim Jong-Un represent those shared by the North Korean people more widely and thus, as fundamental to current North Korean culture. It could also be suggested that by attributing responsibility to North Korea as a whole, Fox News suggests that the actions of Kim Jong-Un are also the responsibility of the North Korean people to "overthrow" (Thiessen 2017) (OP) their leader and thus, failure to do so means that they too are "the enemy". Such a construction offers very little sympathy to the North Korean population as victims of Kim Jong-Un's dictatorship, rather reflecting Donald Trump's threat to "totally destroy North Korea" (Borger 2017) within which Kim Jong-Un and the North Korean people are grouped together as a collective enemy which must be dealt with together. Whilst it has already been explained how this discourse could be said to serve a propagandistic function on behalf of Donald Trump, it could also be said that by portraying the whole country as a potential enemy, Fox News somewhat exaggerate the threat posed by North Korea,
suggesting that the U.S. are facing a bigger problem than just a lone, power-crazed dictator. It could also be argued that the spectacle of war is exaggerated also as Fox News suggest that it is nation vs nation i.e. North Korea versus the U.S., the whole population of North Korea versus that of the U.S. Whilst following the notions of war journalism and threat society this may appeal to media audiences as being 'exciting', one could suggest that this is a very exaggerated hypothetical situation. This also has the added effect of suggesting that the U.S. population should equally be involved or at least support the 'battle' against North Korea as it is, according to this construction, a whole country of enemies who revel in the prospect of causing severe harm to the U.S.

6.1.4 In Trump and the U.S. government 'we' trust

This section will now present the main findings regarding how U.S. president Donald Trump and his administration are discussed within the selected material. The findings of this study have so far discussed how Fox News predominantly opted to functionalise the U.S. President using such terms as "President Trump" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP), "U.S. president" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP), "President Donald Trump" (Fox News 2017, Burns 2017, Associated Press 2017a, Pennington 2017), and "the president" (Pappas 2017, Lam and Darrah 2017), as a way of making Donald Trump appearing more authoritative than Kim Jong-Un, who was predominantly referred to by his family name 'Kim'. However, within this discourse, it appears that the technique of functionalisation serves a similar but nonetheless different communicative purpose. Within the selected material, whilst Trump was heavily functionalised, so too were other current government actors. Such examples include "Republican leaders" (Pappas 2017), "Defence secretary" (Pappas 2017, Lam and Darrah 2017), "Pentagon spokesman" (Pappas 2017, Burns 2017), "press secretary" (Lam and Darrah 2017), "U.S. Ambassador" (Lam and Darrah 2017), "Deputy Defence Secretary" (Burns 2017). As mentioned previously by Machin and Mayr (2012, 81) the "use of functionalisation can sound more official" than those nominated and referred to by their names and not their job functions. When considering this technique in relation to Fox News' reportage, it could be argued that by doing this, the authors of the articles attempt to increase the credibility and legitimacy of the ideas and views expressed by those commonly considered as 'U.S. decision-makers'. Given the established ideological influence of Donald Trump and his administration on Fox News, the publication actively attempts to increase the audience's confidence in Trump and his government. This could consequently be viewed as a way to increase public support for future decisions regarding North Korea. By reinforcing the credibility of the government, Fox News could be said to suggest that the decisions they make are well-informed and, more importantly, the 'correct ones'. Thus, if Trump and his government decide to take military action against North Korea for example, Fox News' audience would
supposedly believe that this is the 'right' choice and thus public support for the decision would be high (amongst Fox News' online audience).

Overall, by functionalising Donald Trump and his government, Fox News attempt to increase the public confidence in them to make the 'right' decision regarding North Korea, suggesting that the public should trust such 'official' and thus well-informed individuals. Furthermore, one could also suggest that by increasing public confidence in the government, Fox News are suggesting that what they (Trump and his government) say about North Korea is true and thus, Fox News' audience should also be wary of Kim Jong-Un and North Korea more generally.

Whilst it could be argued that Fox News uses functionalisation in order to increase public confidence in the government's decision-making regarding North Korea, thus legitimising their stance, it was also found that within the citations selected from the government figures mentioned, there was significant usage of pronouns which promoted a sense of 'togetherness' between the U.S. officials and the audience. Such examples include "brings us closer to war" (Associated Press 2017a) (citation of U.S. official), "we do not seek it" (Lam 2017c) (citation of U.S. official), "our territories and our allies" (Lam and Darrah 2017) (citation of U.S. official), "our missile defense" (Lam 2017e) (citation of missile defence expert) "our territories" (Darrah 2017) (citation of U.S. official), "we will take care of it" (Pappas 2017) (citation of Donald Trump), "we take it very seriously" (Pappas 2017) (citation of Donald Trump), "we have a very serious approach" (Pappas 2017) (citation of Donald Trump) and "a situation that we will handle" (Lam and Darrah 2017) (citation of Donald Trump). According to Machin and Mayr (2012, 84), such techniques can be used as a way to "align us alongside" certain ideas. Furthermore, Machin and Mayr (2012, 84) also claim that by using pronouns such as 'we' for example, "text producers can evoke their own ideas as being our ideas and create a collective 'other' that is in opposition to these shared ideas". Through the use of such pronouns and possessive pronouns, Fox News aim to communicate a sense of collectively to its readers. Phrases such as "we do not seek it" (Lam 2017c) (citation of U.S. official) suggest that Donald Trump, his government, and the readers of Fox News have come to a mutual agreement as to how they wish to handle the somewhat delicate situation with North Korea. Similarly, phrases such as "our missile defense" (Lam 2017e) (citation of U.S. official) and "our territories" (Darrah 2017) (citation of U.S. official) offer the idea that the government and Fox News' audience are both under threat from North Korea and thus, have a mutual interest in stopping them. Again, it could be said that, by communicating the idea that North Korea are attacking 'us' and 'our' interests, Fox News attempts to create further opposition against Kim Jong-Un and North Korea, whilst also going some way to pre-legitimising future decisions by the government to take action. By making the reader feel that they too are under
attack, they are more likely to support proposed action against North Korea as they feel that they are being personally targeted. However, it could also be argued that by using pronouns which suggest that 'we' are all under attack, along with reassuring language such as "we will take care of it" (Pappas 2017) (citation of Donald Trump), Fox News also could be said to be actively supporting Donald Trump and the government, by suggesting that they will save 'us' from the threat of nuclear war. This sense of collectivity, as pointed out by Machin and Mayr (2012, 84), has the added effect of communicating that there is a common 'other' that the U.S. must defend itself against which is, in this case, Kim Jong-Un and North Korea.

The reassuring idea of Trump and his administration being 'in control' or 'handling' (Pappas 2017) Kim Jong-Un and North Korea can also be found within the quoting verbs selected by Fox News, particularly when introducing a citation or idea expressed by Donald Trump. In this case, Fox News adopt what Machin and Mayr (2012, 60) refer to as "metapropositional verbs" which can be defined as verbs which "mark the author's interpretation of a speaker". In this case, the authors of the articles examined president Donald Trump as a leader through the use of assertive quoting verbs that give the idea of the U.S. as a collective against North Korea, a collective lead by Trump. Such examples include "urged" (Pennington 2017), "made clear" (Pennington 2017, Associated Press 2017a), "vowed" (Pappas 2017, Pennington 2017, Associated Press 2017a), "declared" (Pennington 2017), "threatened" (Associated Press 2017a) and "told" (Pappas 2017, Lam and Darrah 2017). Such quoting verbs communicate the idea that Trump is almost leading the U.S. into battle against Kim Jong-Un and North Korea. The word "vowed" (Pennington 2017, Associated Press 2017a) offers a good example of the construction of a collective led by Trump as, by 'vowing' something, the president is making more than a promise to carry out what he suggests which in this case, is to “handle” North Korea (Lam and Darrah 2017) (citation of Donald Trump). One could argue that by using the verb 'vow', Fox News aim to reassure its audience that under the leadership of Donald Trump, the U.S. will resolve the situation with North Korea by any means possible. One could also argue that this subsequently communicates support for Donald Trump’s aggressive, oppositional stance on Kim Jong-Un and North Korea as a whole. Similarly, the verbs "told" (Pappas 2017) and "declared" (Pennington 2017) communicate the idea that the reader is being led by Donald Trump, suggesting that he is not afraid to make important decisions. It could also be said that the verb "declared" (Pennington 2017) holds particular connotations regarding the official 'start' of conflict through a 'declaration of war' for instance. One could thus suggest that this term was chosen by Fox News in order to firstly "play up" (Cozma 2015, 436) the spectacle of potential war, but also to communicate its support for Donald Trump and its resulting opposition towards North Korea and its political regime.
In summary, this discourse serves three main functions. Firstly, it attempts to generate and/or increase public support for the current U.S. government, especially the president himself, Donald Trump. Fox News seek to legitimise and add further credibility to the ideas presented by Trump and his administration regarding North Korea, which, as already established, are mainly oppositional and aggressive. By presenting Trump and other government actors as 'official' sources, Fox News suggests that these are the 'right' and 'correct' ideas and views and thus, that it is right to oppose North Korea. It could also be argued that this is a way in which the publication seeks to generate early public support for any future actions that the U.S. government would take against North Korea. By suggesting that the public should have trust in the government's judgement of North Korea and Kim Jong-Un, they are also suggesting that any future decisions would be the correct ones and thus, Fox News' online audience should support them.

The second function of this discourse is that it contributes to the development of a 'collective' against North Korea. By including quotes from Donald Trump which contain pronouns such as 'we' for instance, and possessive pronouns such as 'our', Fox News aim to communicate the idea that everybody should be fighting North Korea together as 'we' are all under threat, not just the government. This notion allows Fox News to generate further support for Donald Trump and his decisions by positioning him as a leader who is focused on protecting 'us' from the threat posed by Kim Jong-Un and North Korea, an idea which is reinforced by reassuring language from the president such as "we will take care of it" (Pappas 2017) (citation of Donald Trump). Such language could be said to connote the idea that Trump and his administration are almost the 'saviours' of the U.S. population, again, promoting public support for the government's stance and potential actions against North Korea but also suggesting that 'they' (North Korea) are the 'enemy'.

Lastly, it could also be suggested that by communicating the idea that Fox News' audience need to be protected from the threat of North Korea by Trump and his government, the outlet also attempts to 'play up' (Cozma 2015, 436) the spectacle of war and the danger of nuclear conflict. By communicating the idea that the government is 'in control' of the situation, the outlet inexplictly suggest that the lives of its audience are out of their control, one of the key features of a 'threat society' (Nohrstedt 2010, 18). By somewhat exaggerating the threat, this again could act as a way for Fox News to legitimise and gain public support for any further action taken against North Korea, as they go some way to reinforcing the need for it.

6.1.5 South Korea – a joint force
When discussing how Fox News discuss South Korea, it is interesting to note that they are considered as allies of the U.S. and have an equal interest in stopping the development of
nuclear weapons in North Korea. Within the context of political culture, South Korea is an open, democratic nation run by the leader of the Democratic Party of Korea, Moon Jae-in. This particular discourse notes how Fox News communicate the idea that the U.S. and South Korea are somewhat of a 'united front' against North Korea.

It is important to examine how South Korea is portrayed and discussed as a 'credible' source of information. Being located on the Korean peninsula offers South Korea the privilege of being a key source of information for Western countries regarding activities within North Korea. The necessity for such sources is made even greater by the fact that the U.S. are unable to obtain much direct information from North Korea, increasing their reliance on South Korean intelligence. One could thus suggest that Western media outlets such as Fox News have a strong reliance on South Korea as a source of 'first-hand' information and thanks to South Korea's geographical position, they are perhaps the most credible sources to discuss what is happening as they, in some instances, are able to witness it themselves. This credibility, contributed to by the fact that South Korea shares a similar political culture to that of the U.S., makes South Korean officials in effect, the perfect, reliable sources to outlets who share Western values. This is reflected within Fox News' online discourse regarding North Korea as the outlet, similarly to when citing U.S. government sources, heavily functionalise the South Korean actors present within the articles. Such examples include "South Korea's military announced" (Lam 2017b), "South Korean officials" (Palkot 2017), "South Korean defence official" (Palkot 2017), "South Korean president" (Fox News 2017), "Seoul's presidential office" (Fox News 2017), "Spokeswoman of South Korea's Unification Ministry" (Fox News 2017) and "Seoul government" (Fox News 2017).

As explored when referring to actors such as Donald Trump and those within his government earlier in this thesis, Fox News attempt to give weight to the ideas expressed by these actors by making them sound more "official" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 81). However, it could also be suggested that the functionalisation of South Korean actors also connotes legitimacy (Machin and Mayr 2012, 81) and whilst this would again suggest that what they say or the ideas they express are 'correct', such a technique may also be used as a way to highlight the illegitimacy of South Korea's neighbour on the Korean peninsula, North Korea. Overall however, by showing support for, and a reliance on South Korean sources, Fox News connote the idea that the U.S. and South Korea are working together closely to oppose Kim Jong-Un and North Korea, an idea which directly reflects the current political situation.

The representation of this 'close' political relationship between the U.S. and South Korea can also be observed through the exploration of the lexical choices made by Fox News authors. It was found that words and phrases which commonly connote togetherness or a 'united front'
were used such as "shared" (Fox News 2017), "commitment" (Fox News 2017), "strengthen" (Fox News 2017), "allies" (Lam 2017d) and "join" (Lam 2017f).

North Korea lambasted the U.S. and South Korea on Sunday for bringing the countries to the “brink of a nuclear war” a day before the allies begin a joint military drill in a defiant show of force against Kim Jong Un less than a week after the regime launched an intercontinental ballistic missile. (Lam 2017d)

Such lexical choices reaffirm the strong relationship between the two countries and, more importantly that they both are in collective agreement that North Korea is a threat which must be dealt with. This goes some way to communicating the idea that there is a collective 'us' against North Korea which expands to nations outside of what is typically referred to as the West. It communicates the idea that there is global opposition to North Korea and that the U.S. is not the only country to fully recognise the threat posed by the North. This is an idea which is given more weight by the fact that South Korea is geographically positioned next to North Korea and thus they are a credible ally who know to some extent what is happening. Thus, if they recognise the need for action against North Korea, it 'must' be well grounded and true. It could also be argued that Fox News reflect current U.S. political ideology whereby South Korea is viewed as a valuable ally in the 'fight' against North Korea.

In summary, one could suggest that this discourse communicates the idea of a united opposition towards North Korea between the U.S. and South Korea. This is important in giving Fox News' and the U.S. government's overall stance on North Korea, credibility. By outlining international condemnation of North Korea, particularly by their neighbours on the Korean peninsula, Fox News add credibility to ideas that North Korea is a problem that needs to be dealt with. In effect, South Korea are discussed by Fox News as first-hand witnesses of what is happening in North Korea thanks to the fact that the two countries share a border. In terms of the way this discourse echoes the current thinking of the U.S. political elite, it is clear to see how South Korea is positively portrayed by Fox News as being valuable to the U.S., however, one must ponder the question, would Fox News communicate the same support for South Korea if the country's political culture was not so similar to that of the U.S.? Regarding the concept of war journalism, this discourse could also be viewed as an attempt to exaggerate the conflict by suggesting that the 'world' is 'at war' with North Korea. One could argue that, as an idea, it bears resemblance to the two World Wars whereby global allies came together to fight a common enemy. Concerning the concept of the 'threat society', it could also be said that by highlighting the idea that North Korea is condemned by the international community, not just the U.S., the urgency and gravity of the potential
repercussions are exaggerated. One could suggest that, particularly regarding Fox News' American audience, that South Korean support of the U.S. represents validation of the fact that North Korea presents a real threat that must be stopped. Again, this could also be interpreted as an attempt by Fox News to communicate and promote support for action against North Korea, be it military or otherwise.

6.1.6 China, can 'we' trust you?

In the literature review presented earlier on in this thesis, Ooi and D'Arcangelis (2017) examined the complexity of U.S.-Chinese political relations. Ooi and D'Arcangelis' (2017) research found that U.S. media outlets framed China, despite having important economic ties with the U.S., with suspicion and as a 'potential enemy'. From an ideological perspective, one could suggest that this 'suspicion' is influenced by the fact that, unlike South Korea and like North Korea, the current Chinese leader is the General Secretary of the Communist Party of China. Despite vast differences in the political culture, the U.S. and China maintain a somewhat 'distanced' relationship within which the two countries are mutually suspicious of one another. Some key findings of this study were that American news coverage was aimed at justifying U.S. political actions to 'keep them in line' (Ooi and D'Arcangelis 2017, 269) and that China was represented as the 'other'. Whilst this study has already been discussed, it offers important context for the examination of this discourse, as the suspicion and fragility of the relationship between the U.S. and China is communicated within the context of dealing with North Korea. This relationship is made more complex due to the fact that China maintain relations with North Korea, which are mainly economic in nature.

As pointed out by Machin and Mayr (2012, 37), overlexicalisation "gives a sense of over-persuasion and is normally evidence that something is problematic or of ideological contention". One could thus argue that Fox News' overlexicalisation of words which aims to reassure the audience of China's commitment to helping the U.S., do the opposite of suggesting that China is a valuable ally of the U.S. By over emphasising their commitment, one could argue that Fox News are actually communicating their underlying suspicion towards China, as such linguistic techniques suggest that it is in "ideological contention" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 37), which would reflect the political suspicions between the U.S. and China pointed out by Ooi and D'Arcangelis (2017). Such examples include that Chinese president Xi Jinping "vowed" (Associated Press 2017a) that sanctions placed on North Korea would be increased, that China's deputy U.N. ambassador "reiterated" (Associated Press 2017a) his support for the ending of missile testing, and that China "remained determined" (Associated Press 2017a) to ensure that the Korean Peninsula was free of nuclear weapons. Whilst it could be suggested that Fox News are in fact suspicious of China, it could
nonetheless be said to communicate the idea that there is a global, collective opposition of
North Korea and condemnation of their actions that goes beyond differing relations between
countries. This in turn, also creates and 'us vs them' scenario whereby North Korea is
alienated by Fox News from the rest of the world, who are supposedly determined to stop
Kim Jong-Un and North Korea. Again, this form of journalism 'plays up' the spectacle of war
and conflict (Cozma 2015, 436) as it gives the impression that the world is somewhat coming
together to fight this threat. One could again argue that this feeling of global 'togetherness'
connotes the idea that this is, or will be, a huge conflict similar to the World Wars, whereby
countries from across the world fought together to defeat an enemy which threatened them
all. Overall, by giving the idea that 'even' China, who have interests in North Korea, condemn
their development of nuclear weapons, Fox News reinforce the idea that the world must take
action in order to stop them.

However, it was also found that Fox News emphasised on North Korea's reliance on China in
order to keep functioning. This was done through language which connote a sense of
'friendship' and that China aids North Korea in its survival. Such examples are "Chinese
support" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP), "North Korea's main backer" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP), "Chinese
banks that are key to North Korea's continued sanctions evasion" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP),
"Chinese banks and front companies propping up the regime of North Korean dictator Kim
Jong-un" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP), "gives Kim's regime the ability to avoid begging China or
other friendly countries for the technology" (Lam 2017c). Here, it is important to note the
specific lexical choices which connote the idea that China is physically 'holding North Korea
up' and, without Chinese support, they would 'fall'. Within the examples explored above, such
terms as 'propping up', 'support', 'main backer', 'key', 'begging', 'friendly countries', all
connote North Korea's reliance on Chinese support. This part of Fox News' discourse is
particularly interesting given that it shows a large contrast between the message
communicated through the previous linguistic techniques explored within this discourse,
which suggested that China was determined to help the U.S. combat North Korea. Again, this
shows significant similarities with the findings of Ooi and D'Arcangelis' (2017) study
whereby, although China has a mutually beneficial relationship with the U.S., political
suspicion of China was identifiable within U.S. media discourse. The examples given above
also connote the idea that China is key to stopping North Korea as, without them, Kim Jon-
Un's dictatorship would come to an end. It could thus be argued that Fox News communicate
the idea that Chinese action would be the most effective in stopping North Korea, as it would
force them to negotiate.
Such interpretations are given credibility when examining the next linguistic technique utilised in the construction of this discourse. Specifically, this section of the results concerns the connotations of the words selected by Fox News to describe the pressure placed on China by the U.S. government to act against North Korea. Such examples include the idea that Donald Trump "urged China’s leader to use all available levers" (Pennington 2017) to convince "its wayward ally" (Pennington 2018) to give up its development of nuclear weapons. The term 'all available levers' in this case suggests that China is not doing everything it could to support the denuclearisation of North Korea and the term 'wayward ally' connotes the idea that North Korea is somewhat China's 'crazy friend' whom China have the ability to calm down and, consequently, make them consider denuclearisation. It could also be argued that Fox News support the idea of action against China to force them into dealing with North Korea through their use of verbs. Firstly, they claim that Trump is the first U.S. president to have "acted against China" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP), however, they later go on to somewhat criticise Trump and his administration for continuing to "pull its punches" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP) against Chinese banks which support the North Korean regime. Although the word 'acted' is quite broad in nature, it connotes level of decisiveness in action, like the actor concerned, in this case Donald Trump, knows what he is doing. However, the term 'pulls its punches' connotes the idea that although Trump has the ability to 'hurt' China, he has so far chosen not to for a reason that is unknown.

In summary, this discourse represents the mixed political feeling between the U.S. and China. On one hand, China are presented as willing U.S. allies who share the U.S. government's view that North Korean development of nuclear weapons must be stopped. On the other hand, however, Fox News present the idea that China's opposing friendship with North Korea means that they are reluctant to take any real action against them. This suggests the idea, as also pointed out by Ooi and D'Arcangelis' (2017) study, that China is presented as being somewhat untrustworthy and having ulterior motives which are perhaps not in line with those of the U.S. government. Nevertheless, this discourse could be said to be similar to the previous discourses explored, in the sense that it emphasises the need for action against North Korea, by whatever means possible. It suggests that North Korea must be 'tackled' from every angle possible, which includes cutting off the economic support provided by China. To this end, this discourse also goes someway to exaggerating the threat of war and conflict by suggesting that the U.S. are somewhat desperate to stop the development of nuclear weapons in whichever way possible, even if that means working with 'communist' China, with whom they have a historically unpredictable relationship.
6.1.7 ‘We’ have no choice, war it is

The final discourse to be explored concerns possible resolutions between the U.S. and North Korea. It suggests in brief, that North Korea are closed to the idea of sensible, diplomatic resolutions and thus, the U.S. are forced into a position where physical warfare is the only viable option remaining. It is necessary to look at the connotations of particular word choices made by the authors, within phrases which discuss the idea of diplomatic resolutions, or indeed, efforts already made on the part the U.S. government. Such phrases include "U.S. officials have sporadically floated the idea of direct talks with North Korea if it remained restraint" (Associated Press 2017a), the idea that the recent North Korean missile test "ruins nascent diplomatic efforts" (Associated Press 2017a) and has the added impact of "shattering the misguided hopes" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP) that the lack of missile tests recently before it was a "signal of North Korea's openness to diplomacy" (Ruggiero 2017) (OP). The terms 'nascent', 'hopes', 'efforts' and 'openness' all have positive connotations, that the notion of peaceful, diplomatic talks are still very much possible. The word 'nascent', which is defined by Collins Dictionaries (2018) as "just coming into existence and beginning to display signs of future potential", suggests that there may even be new opportunities for such talks to take place in the future. However, the authors also describe these hopes as being 'ruined' and 'shattered' by the behaviour of North Korea, thus suggesting that such hopes are also unrealistic and 'misguided'. By doing this, Fox News suggests that the U.S. is somewhat naïve in still having hopes of a peaceful resolution with North Korea. Whilst this could be said to reflect negatively on the U.S. government as it shows weakness, it could also be argued that in doing this, Fox News are able to portray the U.S. government as 'the good guy' seeking peaceful resolutions rather than war, whilst it enables them to portray Kim Jong-Un and North Korea as 'the bad guy' who will not listen to such ideas.

By doing this, Fox News themselves have decided that the only way to resolve the situation with North Korea is through non-peaceful means i.e. war. Whilst this, according to the concepts of threat society and war journalism, suits media consumers, it also has the added impact of negatively influencing the way in which North Korea is viewed by Fox News' audience, as a country and political regime which is 'out of control' and determined to cause harm to the world. Furthermore, this has an important propagandistic function of somewhat justifying the threats made by Donald Trump towards North Korea and any potential military action taken in the future. In effect, Fox News communicate the idea that the U.S. have done everything to avoid physical conflict, but North Korea are 'asking for it'. This idea is exemplified explicitly in one of the articles, within which the author claims that "the bottom line is that there is no negotiating with North Korea. There is no diplomatic solution that is possible with Kim Jong-Un in office" (Thiessen 2017) (OP).
Fox News’ lack of optimism thus indicates the idea that the only way to deal with North Korea is through war, something which has been explicitly or implicitly suggested in all of the discourses presented in this analysis. Within the identified discourse presented, this paper drew attention to how the authors of the selected articles used words which connote the idea that North Korean missile development was continually advancing. However, in order to develop on the idea that Fox News only fully support war as a resolution, it is important to examine the lexical choices involved in communicating the idea that war is gradually 'getting closer' and thus, being portrayed as somewhat of a 'definite' outcome. Such examples include the idea that the world is "closer to war" (Associated Press 2017a) (citation of U.S. official) as a result of the recent missile test, that the world is on the "brink of a nuclear war" (Lam 2017d) (citation of 'North Korea'), and that there could be "nuclear war at any moment" (Lam 2017d) (citation of 'North Korea').

Similarly, North Korea was discussed within articles concerning military matters such as drills involving South Korea, military funding and the continued use of certain weapons. Within an article discussing the fact that the U.S. were postponing a proposed ban on 'cluster bombs' in combat, it is suggested that "they could be considered important for use in large-scale conflict such as a ground war against North Korea" (Burns 2017). Similarly, in a quote from Donald Trump in another one of the articles, it was claimed that "after the North Korea missile launch, it's more important than ever to fund our gov't & military" (Pappas 2017) (citation of Donald Trump). All of these examples communicate the idea that the U.S. is a country heading or preparing for war, not a country that is, or should be, seeking diplomatic solutions. It is here that Fox News only see one outcome as, apart from within the few examples given above, North Korea is not discussed in the context of diplomatic actions or solutions. One could go further to say that Fox News' reporting is provocative in relation to the idea of war, and do not communicate any real support for the other methods of resolution.

In summary, this discourse could, as previously mentioned, communicate Fox News’ support for physical warfare as the only possible resolution to tensions between North Korea, the U.S. and to a wider extent, the world. It presents the idea that whilst the U.S. have attempted to resolve the situation in a peaceful way, North Korea are unwilling to partake in diplomatic discussion about denuclearisation. This is perhaps not surprising given the idea that war journalism "revolves around conflict as a central news value. As a result, war reporting is often sensational" (Cozma 2015, 436). To this end, it is possible to explain Fox News' stance on potential resolutions by the suggestion that diplomatic discussions would not make for 'exciting' news to an audience and society which is "obsessed" (Nohrstedt 2010, 18) with
feeling that their lives are in danger and thus, out of their control. However, one must not overlook the impact of Donald Trump and the U.S. government on such reporting. This approach to discussing North Korea serves an important propagandistic function, that is, to justify the future actions of Donald Trump and his government towards North Korea. By suggesting that the U.S. government have exhausted all other possibilities of resolution, Fox News communicate the idea that there is only one more option, to go to war. This could be directly linked to aggressive comments from Donald Trump towards North Korea such as his threat to "totally destroy" (Holland and Mason 2017) North Korea or his intent to bring "fire and fury like the world has never seen" (Bayoumy 2017). This offers a practical example of Zollman's (2017, 66) suggestion that if Western governments favour, in this case, military intervention, then this will be communicated in the mainstream media. This idea is given even more credence due to close relationship between Fox News and Donald Trump. Whilst Zollman (2017) speaks of Western media outlets in general, this particular notion ignores the differing intensity of media-government relations per outlet. Thus, this discourse acts in a way which is beneficial for Fox News and their audience, as well as Donald Trump and his government.

6.2 Discussion

6.2.1 Discourses

In response to this study’s first research question, the prominent discourses identified within the chosen material are the following 'North Korea’s ‘progressive’ weapon development', within which the threat of the country’s missile and nuclear capabilities are somewhat exaggerated as a 'threat' to the U.S., 'Kim Jong-Un, North Korea’s deluded dictator', which discusses Kim Jong-Un himself and, whilst highlights his powerful position, mainly discredits his as being just another power-crazed authoritarian that nonetheless poses a problem to the U.S. and the West. Next, 'North Korea – the enemy nation', within which North Korea as a whole nation is discussed and positioned as a collective enemy of the U.S., 'In Trump and the U.S. government we trust', within which Donald Trump and his government's approach to North Korea is discussed and where they are portrayed as 'our' saviours from the threat posed by the country. Also, 'The U.S. and South Korea – a joint force', within which America’s alliance with South Korea and shared objective of stopping North Korea’s development of weapons is discussed, and then 'China, can we trust you?', within which Fox News suggest that China should take more action against North Korea and that they do not because they are allies of the North. Lastly, 'We have no choice, war it is', within which North Korea's supposed rejection of diplomatic resolution is discussed and thus, Fox News suggest that the only way to resolve issues is through military force, which, according to the publication, is imminent. Whilst the discourses identified discuss North
Korea and its political regime in varying contexts, they together constitute a negative, oppositional stance by the publication, which is in line with that expressed by Donald Trump and his government. Furthermore, some discourses did not directly aim to represent North Korea or its leader Kim Jong-Un in a particular way, such as those discussing South Korea or China for example. They all communicated a sense of opposition to North Korea which, in some instances, could also be said to be 'aggressive' as they were aimed at supporting or promoting the need for military action against North Korea. Also, although Fairclough's (1995) theoretical model of media discourse was not explicitly mentioned within the analysis presented, its influence on the way in which the selected media texts were interpreted must not be ignored. Regarding 'text production', it is clear from the analysis that 'playing up' the spectacle of war and conflict formed an important routine in the creation of Fox News' online articles, which was present in all of the discourses identified. Concerning 'text consumption', it was equally clear that the texts were produced to cater for a society and thus audience which was interested or 'entertained' by this style of reporting. The section of Fairclough's (1995) model entitled 'discourse practice' is arguably the most important. It is here that it is possible to observe how text production and consumption attach meaning to the articles examined. Specifically, the focus on war and conflict in articles regarding North Korea communicate the idea that they are indeed the 'enemy' which needs to be dealt with. Finally, in relation to 'sociocultural practice', it is possible to observe the heavy influence of the negative political ideology of the current U.S. government. However, it is also possible to see the financial influence on Fox News to 'sell' their articles, by appealing to an audience 'obsessed' with conflict and war. This is also evident in the publication's failure to present alternative perspectives on North Korea and its political regime to those expressed by Donald Trump and his government. Finally, it is important to note that Fox News relied heavily on citations from Trump and other actors from within his government. By giving voice to such actors, it could be suggested that Fox News share the ideas and values communicated within their quotes which were, in the main, aggressive and oppositional towards North Korea and Kim Jong-Un. Similarly, opinion pieces were written by authors affiliated with the U.S. government in some way and have served under previous Republican leaders such as George W. Bush for example. This not only exemplifies Fox News' support for the Republican Party and its ideas, but it also adds credibility to the publication's generally oppositional stance on North Korea, as such attitudes are also expressed by 'official', government-affiliated authors.

6.2.2 Aggression and opposition

The following section will aim to provide a response to this study's second research question, 'How do these discourses communicate opposition and/or aggression towards North Korea?'. In reviewing the discourses identified and presented within this section of the paper, one
could argue that, in a very general sense, Fox news discusses North Korea in a negative way, which is perhaps not surprising given Donald Trump and the U.S. government's fragile relationship with Kim Jong-Un and thus, North Korea more generally. In this respect, the chosen sample worked well as the aim of the study was not to see if the negative rhetoric established by Trump and his government was reflected in Fox News’ online discourse, it was instead to explore how.

As the nature of Fox News’ discourse was unsurprisingly negative towards North Korea, condemnation and opposition to the actions of Kim Jong-Un and the country as a whole was somewhat self-evident. However, one particular aspect of their reportage must be discussed as it was present within the construction, at least to some extent, in all of the discourses identified. Specifically, the notion of ‘us vs them’ or the 'U.S. vs North Korea. It was highlighted throughout the sample that both Kim Jong-Un and the North Korean people shared significantly different values as those from the U.S. and that the ambitions of the North Korean leader and his public were to attack the U.S. or 'us', as Fox News insinuated. This immediately communicates the idea that there are two opposing sides to this ‘issue’ and that the people of the U.S. and its government should work on defending their liberal, free-thinking values from this ‘dangerous, communist threat’. They also aim to generate further feelings of opposition within the public by somewhat sensationalising the threat that a North Korean missile could hit the U.S., particularly in lively, well built-up areas where many people live. In doing so, Fox News communicate to its American audience especially, that there is an external threat endangering themselves and their 'home'. This again communicates the idea that North Korea is a 'stranger' and thus a 'them' to Americans.

Furthermore, as well as taking a very nationalist approach to the construction of an 'us vs them' scenario, Fox News also communicate opposition on an international scale, that is, a collective 'us' in reference to its allies South Korea and China. They discuss the condemnation of North Korea from both countries and reinforce their alignment with the objectives of Donald Trump and the U.S. government. By discussing and outlining the existence of this level of international opposition towards North Korea, Fox News give credibility to the argument that North Korea is, and should be, considered as 'them' and thus the opposing side. Fox News’ communication of the idea that there exists two ‘opposing’ sides is key to understanding the publication’s overall approach to discussing North Korea and must thus be considered when discussing how Fox News report in a way which communicates aggression.

As set out earlier in this thesis, the definition of the term 'aggression' adopted for the purpose of this study was "feelings of anger or antipathy resulting in hostile or violent behaviour; readiness to attack or confront" (Oxford Dictionaries 2018). This definition became even
more important during the analysis when the particular phrase "readiness to attack or confront" (Oxford Dictionaries 2018) taken from within this definition, became very prominent in relation to the material studied.

It is important to point out that although Donald Trump has been very expressive and open regarding his aggression towards North Korea, threatening to "totally destroy" (Holland and Mason 2017) the country as just one example, Fox News’ aggression was not so direct or 'emotional', which is perhaps not surprising. Instead, aggression is communicated in a more subtle way, such as by discussing the country in relation to domestic military affairs such as the need to increase army funding following North Korea's latest missile test for example. This was Fox News' general approach communicating aggression, whilst it does not explicitly communicate the idea that the U.S. should carry out a full-scale military assault on the country, such views are communicated in a way which is more 'suggestive' in nature. Similarly, by suggesting that Kim Jong-Un and the North Korean people are 'anti-U.S.', Fox News understand that this is likely to create negative, aggressive sentiment towards North Korea amongst its audience, but they choose to do so anyway.

Whilst these are some specific examples of the way in which Fox News communicate aggression towards North Korea one key general finding that should be pointed out is that, within almost every discourse identified, Fox News seemingly provided a reason as to why action needed to be taken, or, more specifically, why North Korea was a 'problem' which needed to be dealt with. In the case of Kim Jong-Un for instance, Fox News portray him as a dictator who is power-crazed and laughing at the world whilst everybody within the U.S. and beyond is panicking out of fear. It is within such cases that the "readiness to attack or confront" (Oxford Dictionaries 2018) part of the definition given previously comes into play. By communicating a number of different reasons as to why North Korea needs to be dealt with, whether that be because of their ever-developing missile capabilities or because of the fact that they are lead by a communist dictator, Fox News could be said to communicate the same 'readiness to attack' as Donald Trump and, to a lesser extent, his government had recently expressed. Fox News' aggressive stance on North Korea is also exemplified by their communication of the idea that the tensions between the U.S. and North Korea are destined to end in nuclear war, which, according to the publication could happen at "any moment" (Lam 2017). This leaves one pondering the question – how could they be so sure that North Korea would not change their minds in favour of diplomatic discussions? Do they suggest this because they would like Donald Trump and the U.S. government to make the first move and attack North Korea?
It is somewhat understandable that Fox News choose not to be as openly aggressive towards North Korea as the U.S. president as they are a publication within which, one assumes, editors and other journalists have a say in the content of the article, thus making it less personal and, presumably less emotional. Also, one must consider that, although it has already been established that Fox News maintain a close relationship with Donald Trump and his government, it remains a news outlet, and is thus expected to report something resembling the 'truth'. This may explain why aggression is communicated in a rather abstract or 'suggestive' way, as Fox News do not want to appear as directly reflecting the views of the president, opting instead to present similarly aggressive messages in the form of a 'typical' news piece covering developments on the Korean Peninsula. However, it could also be argued that the hidden discourses presented within this analysis reveal an overly 'anti-North Korea' rhetoric within Fox News' online articles which discuss the country predominantly suggesting that it is a country which deserves to be met with "fire and fury like the world has never seen" (Bayoumy 2017) from the U.S.

6.2.3 Counter perspectives
In response to this study's third research question, 'Is it possible to identify any discourses within which counter-perspectives are communicated?', a general answer would be no. From the discourses identified within the 20 articles examined, Fox News did not communicate in anyway which could be said to counter the aggressive stance towards North Korea previously established by Donald Trump and his government. To this effect, there were no signs that Fox News had attempted to promote peace between the two countries for instance, or that they judged diplomatic solutions to be the best way of resolving the situation.

7. Conclusion
Using a somewhat limited sample, this thesis has explored and demonstrated the ongoing influence of the political elite on mainstream news discourse. Whilst wider generalisations about news outlets cannot be made from this thesis, it is possible to observe how dominant U.S. political ideology is communicated through one of the most popular and thus, most influential media organisations in the country. What this thesis has demonstrated is that Fox News act in a way which reinforces the political rhetoric established towards North Korea, that is, one of opposition and aggression. Thus, one could argue that this paper offers a practical example of hegemony or “political leadership based on the consent of the led, a consent which is secured by the diffusion and popularization of the world view of the ruling class” (Bates 1975, 352). In this case, the 'world view' being diffused is one which suggests that North Korea is an enemy of the U.S. and its 'popularisation' is carried out through the use of a heavily influential news outlet. This is also an aspect which offers a fundamental link
back to the concept of ideology whereby Donald Trump and his government could be viewed as “working on the popular mentality via the institutions of civil society” (Daldal 2014, 150). To this end, the U.S. political elite, or more specifically, the Republican Party, appear to maintain a close relationship with Fox News, who seem to be key disseminators of their ideas regarding North Korea. In this sense, this paper has demonstrated how Fox News could be considered as a source of propaganda which spreads, and in many ways, legitimises the ideals of the current U.S. government. It could also be said that by presenting North Korea as an ‘enemy’ of the U.S. and, more widely, the world, Fox News attempts to gain public support for future actions against the country and its political regime, a key propagandistic function the Western media pointed out by both Zollman (2017) and Herman & Chomsky (2008).

Furthermore, this study provides an example of the mainstream media's tendency to sensationalise and perpetuate conflict, which serves the needs of a society which has become fascinated with the fact that their lives may be in danger. One can thus argue that the political conflict between the U.S. and North Korea has become an important narrative within Fox News' reportage, as the promotion of peaceful resolution may not be as interesting to the audience. The conflict is thus maintained and to some extent exaggerated, creating the idea that the world is on the verge of nuclear war which, may or may not be true.

With regard to the previous research explored earlier in this thesis, an important link can be made. As already discussed, this study has demonstrated how Western, particularly U.S., political rhetoric influences news media discourse. Specifically, how news outlets discuss those (individuals and countries) portrayed in political discourse as the ‘enemy’. Whilst this had been explored within previous studies in the context of the war in Iraq for example or the framing of individuals such as Saddam Hussein, little research had been carried out in specific context of North Korea. To this end, the results of this thesis contribute knowledge to the study of how dominant political ideology is reflected in mainstream news discourse, using an empirical case which is somewhat recent and thus, has not yet attracted much scholarly attention.

However, the results of this study should be considered within their specific context and are thus somewhat limited in terms of the generalisations that can be made from them about wider journalistic practice. It is important to remember that Fox News was chosen due to its ‘close’ relationship with the current U.S. government and its tendency to reinforce, support and reflect its views within its news discourse. It is thus probable to assume that other American news outlets such as CNN, would approach reportage of North Korea differently. Taking this into account, a suggestion for further research within this area could be to carry out a comparative study of two or more outlets in order to examine how their approaches to the coverage of North Korea differ. The findings of this study could also be developed upon
through the use of alternative methods such as quantitative content analysis for example, whereby such research could identify correlations and recurrences of certain types of language used by media outlets to discuss North Korea. This approach to research would offer the added benefit of being able to study a broader sample of material, allowing for broader generalisations to be made, something which the findings of this short, somewhat limited paper do not allow.
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