Identity Framing of South Korea in the Japanese Press:

The 2019 Boycott Movement

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Abstract

The South Korean boycott movement of Japan that emerged over the summer of 2019 represents a drastic decline in Japan-South Korea relations. This thesis focused on how the boycott movement was framed in the five big national Japanese newspapers over a 50-day period in August and September 2019 in order to understand how the Japanese press constructs South Korean identity vis-à-vis Japan. Drawing on social constructivism and theories on *Self-Other* discursive representations in international relations, the thesis conducted a framing analysis by examining the *identity frames* and *topic frames* used by the newspapers. This illustrated how two opposing narratives of South Korea existed in the Japanese press relating to the boycotts: a negative, which constructed Korea as uncivilised/emotional, unlawful/untrustworthy, unreasonable, distinctively Asian, and responsible for the deterioration of Japan-Korea relations, and a positive where Korea was viewed as a valued partner who is just another country, not anti-Japanese, and not individually to blame for the declining relationship. These narratives were, however, represented differently between the newspapers, and the thesis thus argued against the claim that the Japanese press is homogeneous.

Keywords: Japan-South Korea relations, 2019 South Korean boycott movement, Social constructivism, Self-Other representation, Identity, Framing analysis, Japanese media

Acknowledgments

Writing a master's thesis is never a quick task; writing it during a rapidly spreading pandemic… Let's just agree that it provides some extra challenges on several levels. For this reason, I would like to first and foremost thank my supervisor, Paul O'Shea, for being flexible, understanding, and supportive throughout the writing of this thesis and for always providing thorough and useful comments on my work.

In addition, I would like to thank the Centre for East and Southeast Asian Studies at Lund University as well as all affiliated teachers and staff for giving me a place to expand my interest in Asia and a safe space amongst fellow, just as Asia-enthusiastic classmates. I will always be grateful for the two years I spent at the Centre and forever miss the wonderful environment that so quickly became a place of belonging. Be it the tea club (future students, I hope someone still keeps it alive?), the lunch hour(s) in the kitchen, or the days spent studying in the reading room.

I am further grateful for the data collection stay at Waseda University, the support of Waseda International Gate, and my tutor, Kate Elwood, for providing me with additional inspiration for this thesis.

Thank you to all my friends in Lund, Denmark, and across the world; you kept my loneliness at bay this semester, when days in self-isolation in my nice, yet 'boxy', student apartment became weeks and then months. Last, but not least, I am grateful to my family for always being supportive of my ideas, no matter where in the world they take me and how strange they may seem at first. This gratitude extends to my wonderful host family in Japan, who has given me a place to call 'home' in Tokyo for close to a decade.

Notes on Language and Translations

Japanese is romanised according to the modified Hepburn system.

All translations of the dataset from Japanese to English are my own.

Both Japanese and Korean names are written in the order: last name – first name. Exceptions occur in the reference list for entries with several authors, as appropriate for the reference style.

Abbreviations

GSOMIA: General Security of Military Information Agreement

LDP: Liberal Democratic Party

METI: Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry

Nikkei: Nihon Keizai Shimbun

RCEP: Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership

WTO: World Trade Organization

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1.0 Introduction

Over the summer of 2019, an extensive boycott movement of Japanese products emerged in South Korea. Ignited by a series of Japanese export control measures towards Korea[1], these boycotts targeted various Japanese products and trips to Japan and were accompanied by countless anti-Japanese and anti-Abe Shinzō demonstrations (Oka Norimatsu 2019). Consequently, Japanese exports to Korea decreased 9.4% in value in August with exports of beer decreasing to a historic low of 99.3% measured in liters in November compared to 2018. For the year 2019 overall, Korean tourists to Japan decreased 27.1%, and Japanese exports to Korea decreased 12.9% (*Nikkei* 2019o; *Nikkei* 2019n; *Nikkei* 2020a; *Nikkei* 2020b).

The boycotts began after Japan on July 1st 2019 announced restrictions of exports to Korea of fluorinated polyimide, hydrogen fluoride, and photoresists, which are essential to the Korean manufacturing industry.[2] The new procedures took effect on July 4th and meant that instead of being able to apply for a three-year approval of the resources, each shipment needed individual assessment. Japan further tightened export controls to Korea on August 2nd by announcing that Korea would be removed from Japan's whitelist of trading partners on August 28th; a list of countries receiving preferential treatment in trade and to which Korea had been added in 2004 as the only Asian country. While Japan argued the tightening was a necessary precaution against the misuse of resources and increasing mistrust, Korea accused the measures for being retaliation for a number of court rulings against Japanese companies that compelled Koreans to work during the colonial period (S. Sugiyama 2019b, 2019a; *The Korea Herald* 2019).

Korea responded by announcing that Japan likewise would be removed from the Korean whitelist on August 12th, enforced on September 18th (Shin 2019). Additionally, Korea threatened not to prolong the General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA) and requested a dispute settlement with Japan at the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Johnson and Murakami 2019; World Trade Organization 2019). While GSOMIA was eventually extended and the dispute settlement withdrawn in the autumn, the boycotts extended into 2020 and are thus to an extent still in action at the time of writing (Yoshida and Sugiyama 2019; Oka Norimatsu 2019; B. Kim 2020).

Although the seemingly endless deterioration of Japan-Korea relations has long caught scholarly attention, the cold political relationship between Japan and Korea has traditionally not influenced their economic relations nor transmitted widely to civil relations. Indeed, prior to the

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[1] Unless otherwise specified, 'Korea' henceforth refers to South Korea.
[2] A timeline of events most relevant to the trade dispute and the boycott movement is attached in appendix A.

boycotts, Vekasi and Nam (2019: 320) argued that Koreans separate political frictions from economic activity, as they "seem to embrace the concept of economic interdependence with Japan" and have not formed "collective action to boycott Japan in trade or tourism". The boycott movement and its related trade dispute thus exemplify an unusually deep low in Japan-Korea relations and are argued to "[mark] the worst-ever relations between the two countries since World War II" (Hahm 2020: 63). The shift towards greater civil frictions encourages a study of how the boycotts were reported to the Japanese public. Thus, this thesis focuses on the boycott movement as it was reported in Japanese newspapers over 50 days during the summer of 2019 through a framing analysis of identity and topic frames, studying the narrative that is created of Korean identity in Japanese media.

1.1 Research Demarcation and Research Questions

This thesis is theoretically based in social constructivism and emphasises the importance of culture, values, and discourses in shaping the relationship between states. It is vital to analyse how identity is discursively constructed to understand the undercurrents that influence the larger socio-political picture. In this, it is essential to examine how identities of other states are constructed and projected to the public from a bottom-up perspective, since discourses are commonly argued to influence the perception of the readership (Iida 2018; Shinoda 2007). Therefore, this thesis studies the Korean boycott movement of Japan as reported in the Japanese press, as the interest is in enquiring how the boycott movement was explained to the Japanese public and, specifically, how this connects to Japanese identification of Korea.

Kožíšek (2016: 29, original emphasis) argues that "[s]tudying the discourse utilised by large national newspapers (…) helps uncover discursive practices that aim to construct particular imagery, often based on a relational dichotomy where the domestic *Self* is sharply contrasted with a distant alien *Other*, conveniently constructing a black and white imagery of internal unity and integrity". This thesis agrees that it is important to dissect how the press participates in creating a Self-Other relationship, but instead of focusing on the projection of a particular Japanese Self, the thesis is interested in understanding what Korean Other is created by the press within the case of the boycott movement. The focus on the press motivates a framing analysis, since framing concerns how the conveyance of information impacts "human consciousness" through the inclusion and/or exclusion of certain elements such as "stereotyped images" – or, in this case, stereotyped identification of others (Entman 1993: 51–52). Thus, the research questions and related sub-questions of the thesis are:

1) How is South Korean identity constructed vis-à-vis Japan in the Japanese press?

2) How do the five major national Japanese newspapers frame the South Korean boycott movement of Japan over the summer of 2019?
    a. What frames are drawn on in the newspapers?
    b. How is South Korea identified in the discourse of the newspapers?
    c. Is the framing and identity construction homogenous across the five newspapers?

1.2 Academic Contribution

The thesis connects the field of international relations with media studies and adds to the literature on identity in Japan-Korea relations. Few studies have thus far investigated how identity plays out in media depictions from an international relations perspective, particularly within studies on Japan and Korea and within one specific case. Furthermore, the novelty and exceptionality of the boycott movement mean that it has been sparsely studied academically as of the writing of this thesis. The thesis finds that several negative identification characteristics of Korea as e.g. emotional and backwardly Asian are mirrored both in the previous literature and in the dataset, particularly in the conservative press. Meanwhile, the liberal press favours positive and neutral/nuanced identity framing of Korea, emphasising e.g. the value of cooperating with Korea and intercultural understanding. This means that the framing of the boycott movement argues against the alleged homogeneity of the Japanese press.

1.3 Disposition

The thesis is organised into six chapters of which this first and current chapter introduces the research demarcation and the boycott movement. Chapter 2 presents background knowledge for the thesis and is divided into two sections: section 2.1 explains Japan-Korea relations in a historic as well as identity perspective, while section 2.2 situates the thesis within literature on Japanese media. Chapter 3 then explains the theoretical basis of the thesis regarding social constructivism, identity, and the focus on discursive constructions. Chapter 4 introduces the methodological choices regarding framing analysis as well as ethical and reflexive considerations of the study. Chapter 5 firstly presents an overview of the dataset and the frame findings in sections 5.1-5.3 before presenting the findings in more details in sections 5.4 and 5.5. These latter sections are structured according to the identity frames, and the chapter ends by briefly discussing the prevalence of neutral/nuanced articles in section 5.6. Lastly,

chapter 6 ties the findings together and illustrates how both a negative and positive identity narrative of Korea persist in the Japanese press.

2.0 Background and Literature Review

The Korean boycotts originate in a long history of disputes between Japan and Korea. This chapter begins with an overview of Japan-Korea relations in a historic and identity perspective before presenting previous research on Japanese media. These sections situate the thesis within research on Japan-Korea relations and Japanese media, providing inspiration and justification for the theoretical and methodological choices of the thesis.

2.1 Japan-Korea Relations in a Historic Perspective

Japan and Korea have a long history of disputes, dating back to the Mongol invasions of Japan through Korea in 1274 and 1281, as well as the Japanese invasion of the Korean peninsula in 1592-1598. Although both were eventually unsuccessful, the invasions have stayed in Japanese and Korean memory as respective signs of the threat the other poses to national security (Ebrey and Walthall 2013; Tamaki 2010).

Most significant to current relations is the Japanese colonisation of the Korean peninsula in the early twentieth century. Beginning with the Kanghwa treaty of 1876, the Japanese influence over Korea expanded from the signatory of an unequal treaty to becoming a Japanese protectorate in 1905 and colony in 1910. The Korean peninsula was part of the Japanese Empire until the end of the Pacific War in 1945. Many of the current issues date back to the colonial period, including comfort women, forced labour, controversies regarding Yasukuni Shrine where war criminals are enshrined, zainichi-Koreans, and demands for Japanese apologies of wrongdoings during the war (Seth 2008; Ebrey and Walthall 2013; Tamaki 2010). These disputes have been instrumental in deciding the trajectory of Japan-Korea relations in the post-war period.

The process towards normalisation between the new Republic of Korea and Japan took almost fourteen years from 1951 until the signing of the Basic Treaty on June 22nd 1965. The period in-between was influenced by Korean and Japanese discrepancies regarding the legitimacy of the 1910 Annexation Treaty as well as the need for Japanese apologies. In the end, the treaty was facilitated by the inauguration of Park Chung-Hee, whose strong ties to Japan enabled a more favourable policy towards Japan than during former president Rhee Syngman (Tamaki 2010; Kohli 1994). However, Tamaki (2010: 103) argues that "the treaty effectively was a 'marriage of convenience' between Tokyo seeking to expand business opportunities, on the one hand; and Seoul in dire need of hard currency, on the other". This means that the treaty did not address or seek to resolve the frictions in the Japanese-Korean relationship.

The Basic Treaty is key in understanding relations between Japan and Korea, as many issues today stem from discrepancies regarding whether the Basic Treaty included Japanese amendments for its wrongdoings. For Japan, issues regarding any type of compensation, including claims of forced labour, were settled with the Basic Treaty, whereas Korea denies such claims (Tamaki 2010). Controversies in this case arise as the Basic Treaty itself only vaguely mentions these issues by stating that former "treaties or agreements concluded between the Empire of Japan and the Empire of Korea (…) are already null and void" (*Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea* 1965, art.2).

The late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have seen a sequence of events and issues that strain the Japanese-Korean relationship even further. These include, but are far from limited to, the Takeshima/Dokdo territorial dispute (see e.g. Bukh 2015, 2020), the 2015 Comfort Women Agreement (Chun 2019), historic revisionism and Japanese textbooks (Hagström and Isaksson 2019), and the Japanese political visits to the Yasukuni shrine (Koga 2016). These issues have led to a peculiar relationship between Japan and Korea, having exerted a primarily negative influence on the political relationship, while the economic collaboration between the two has deepened. This has influenced the manner that Korea is identified in Japan.

2.1.1 The Construction of Korean Identity vis-à-vis Japan

Identity is often constructed in a *Self-Other relationship*, where an exterior person, social group, or – in the case of international relations – country act as the contrasting *Other* to form a generally positive depiction of the *Self* (Hagström and Gustafsson 2015). While the theoretical explanations and implications for this are clarified in section 3.2, it is firstly necessary to elucidate how this Self-Other relationship has been applied to Japan and Korea.

Although Japanese identity has been constructed in relation to a diverse range of Others, the Self-Other relationship with Asia is of a distinctive character and amongst the most resilient features of the Self-Other identification in Japan. Japan has often been depicted as distinctive and more advanced than the rest of Asia, in modern times with a particular focus on Japanese westernisation and advanced development vis-à-vis the relatively less developed, primitive or threatening Asia. The relationship with Korea has been of special interest to such studies due to the cold political yet warm economic ties between the two (Hagström and Gustafsson 2015; Bukh 2015; Tamaki 2015).

This Self-Other relationship between Japan and Korea is a resilient feature that dates back to at least the Meiji period and has taken different shapes over time (Tamaki 2010, 2015; Bukh 2015).

Thus, in the Meiji period, Korea, which was tributary state to China, was seen in opposition to independent Japan and as a potential threat that could facilitate an invasion similar to the failed Mongol invasions (Tamaki 2010). In the colonial period, Japan was seen as the "guide and teacher" of the racially similar Korea who represented "the others within", whereas the post-war period saw a distinction between the "democratic, industrialized, prosperous and 'westernized' Japan" against the "unruly, authoritarian, impoverished and 'Asian' Korea" (Bukh 2015: 61; Tamaki 2010: 98). During the Park Chung-Hee administration, Japan was likewise depicted as superior on the basis of its economic and technological strength vis-à-vis the dependent Korea. However, the subsequent democratisation and rapid economic growth of Korea challenged this narrative, which throughout the 2000s has shifted to focusing on the Korean reaction to e.g. the introduction of Takeshima Day and the Comfort Women issue (Bukh 2015). Although some traces have lingered over time, particularly the focus on Koreans as emotional and 'unruly', there has thus been a shift in the narrativisation of Korea.

Hagström and Gustafsson (2015: 10) note that "the Self is often represented as rational and unemotional, whereas the Other is depicted as excessively emotional in its expression of national identity". This postulation is reflected in the above paragraph as well as in Bukh's (2015: 62–63) argument that Korea is depicted as a "coarse, uncivilized nation engaged in collective lying", whereas Japan is seen as culturally superior by being "law-abiding" and "'non-nationalistic'". Tamaki (2010: 106, 112) likewise argues that Koreans are portrayed as "'lazy'", "'undisciplined'", and "as only interested in exploiting Japan's guilt complex" relating to the war. Korea is argued to similarly be engaged in a Self-Other identification with Japan as its Other (Ku 2016; Sakaki and Nishino 2018).

While it is not the aim of this thesis to evaluate the extent to which these claims are legitimate, they provide interesting and provocative background knowledge for the subsequent analysis. As the focus of the thesis is on the depiction of Korea in Japanese media, it is further necessary to examine previous studies on Japanese media in order to connect media studies with identification of Korea.

2.2 Literature on Japanese Media Studies

The Japanese media landscape includes an increasingly diverse range of platforms but is well-known for its preference for the traditional physical newspapers, which are accordingly the focus of this thesis. Despite mirroring the global trend of declining circulation of the physical press, 0.66 newspaper per household was purchased daily in 2019, amounting to a total daily circulation of 46,233,347 newspapers including morning and evening editions (Shinoda 2007; Nihon Shimbun Kyokai 2020). In 2016, four of Japan's daily national newspapers were amongst the top ten best-selling in the world,

with *Yomiuri Shimbun* being the by far best-selling newspaper worldwide (Milosevic 2016). The major national newspapers are, in order of circulation, *Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Asahi Shimbun*, *Mainichi Shimbun*, *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* (*Nikkei*), and *Sankei Shimbun*[3] (Fuwa 2019; Shinoda 2007). While these newspapers are far from the only media outlets available in Japan, they are often the focus of Japanese media studies as explained below.

2.2.1 Studies on Japanese Newspapers

Japanese media has been studied from a wide range of perspectives with foci on many themes and issues. These include, but are not limited to, constitutional revisionism (Shinoda 2007), sexual harassment and other issues of gender (Kasianenko 2019; Bobrowska and Conrad 2017), whaling (Murata 2007; T. Kimura 2014), 9/11 (Saft and Ohara 2006), and the Great East Japan Earthquake and related nuclear disaster (Fontenot, Luther, and Coman 2014; Sato and Waragai 2017; Tollefson 2014; Y. Uchida et al. 2015).

While several scholars have examined Japanese non-media discourses concerning Korea or related issues, limited research is available on Japanese media depictions of Korea in the English sphere of academic literature. Outside the media-focused literature, Tamaki (2020) studies the discourse of Japanese and Korean policy elites, Yang (2008) focuses on blunders by Japanese elites, and Hagström and Isaksson (2019) study the consistent creation of a pacifist national identity in Japanese junior high school textbooks.

However, Korea has been the focus of a few studies on Japanese media. Seaton (2006) studies the emergence of the comfort women issue in the Japanese press in two different time periods in 1991-1992, concluding that the issue is represented differently across the press. Pak (2016: 1020) likewise examines comfort women through a framing analysis and notes that there is a higher prevalence of "conflict and morality frames" when Japan and Korea face conflicts, indicating that Korea is more negatively depicted in times of crisis. Killmeier and Chiba (2010) study to what extent Japanese newspapers related the contested Yasukuni Shrine to war crimes and criminals during the Koizumi administration. Although this particular study does not relate the media depiction to Korea, it is relevant to studies of Japan-Korea relations due to the controversies regarding the shrine.

Furthermore, a small number of studies examine the relation between media and identity construction of the Korean peninsula. Iida (2018: 8) studies how public opinion on South Korea is influenced by how often the country is mentioned together with North Korea in the press, arguing

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[3] The newspapers will henceforth be referred to as *Yomiuri*, *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, *Nikkei*, and *Sankei*.

that media depictions influence the creation of "group identit[ies]" amongst different countries, as public opinion will associate these countries with one another. The study suggests that the public perception of South Korea is dependent on this construction of group identities with other countries and in particularly North Korea. Public opinion is connected to identity, as the manner a country is commonly identified likely will be reflected in its public perception. In this way, Iida's study is of particular relevance to this thesis, as it indicates that South Korean identity in several cases is negatively correlated with North Korea, despite the vast political differences between the two.

Kožíšek (2016) connects the depiction of North Korea in Japanese newspapers to identity construction of North Korea. The study concludes that North Korea is constructed as "one of Japan's Others" in the news reports on several of the North Korean bomb and missiles tests (10). Kožíšek argues that this Othering is reinforced in four ways: 1) by mentioning "seemingly unrelated references" and events, which serve to emphasise the untrustworthy or unruly nature of North Korea, 2) by referring to North Korea through negatively connoted words, 3) by constructing Kim Jong-un as the "visual representation of North Korea as a whole" who seeks to secure power through an aggressive foreign policy, 4) and by using 'North Korea' as the synonym for a smaller section of society or of the government, thus constructing a coherent irrational Other (25). Kožíšek interestingly finds that North Korea is discursively constructed in a similar fashion to how South Korea is often depicted according to Bukh (2015) and Tamaki (2010) by negatively identifying North Korea as uncivilised. Meanwhile, none of these studies focus on the construction of South Korean identity within a specific case, thus motivating the writing of this thesis.

Studies on Japanese media draw on numerous newspapers as data, although many have a preference for *Yomiuri* and *Asahi* (e.g. T. Kimura 2014; Kožíšek 2016), with *Mainichi* and *Nikkei* being analysed often as well (e.g. Killmeier and Chiba 2010; Kasianenko 2019). *Sankei* and local newspapers are analysed less frequently, although several studies exist. These include Rausch's (2014) study of the framing of the 2011 disaster in regional newspapers and Shinoda's (2007) analysis of constitutional revisionism across the five big nationals. The vast majority of studies of Japanese newspapers focuses on the Japanese language versions, although there are several studies which use the English language versions or *The Japan Times* as the only data or in addition to the Japanese versions (e.g. Chaban, Schneider, and Malthus 2009; C. J. Kim 2017; Seaton 2006). This illustrates a preference for understanding how Japanese media presents issues to the Japanese public.

Although many scholars focus solely on Japanese newspapers, several comparative studies have been done between Japanese and Korean newspapers, including Chaban, Schneider and Malthus'

(2009) framing analysis of images of the European Union and Pak's (2016) framing analysis of the comfort women issue. Japanese media has likewise been analysed in comparison to several other foreign media outlets (e.g. Kasianenko 2019; T. Kimura 2014; Murata 2007; Sato and Waragai 2017).

Methodologically, Japanese media is popularly analysed through critical discourse analysis (e.g. Bobrowska and Conrad 2017; Kožíšek 2016; Murata 2007), framing (e.g. Chaban, Schneider, and Malthus 2009; Kasianenko 2019; Rausch 2014), and content analysis (e.g. Killmeier and Chiba 2010; T. Kimura 2014; Miyawaki et al. 2017). The preference for various methodologies means that Japanese media studies are both qualitative (e.g. Bobrowska and Conrad 2017; Killmeier and Chiba 2010; Murata 2007) and quantitative (e.g. Iida 2018; T. Kimura 2014; Rausch 2014).

As this thesis is situated within qualitative framing studies, it is primarily inspired by research on Japanese media that incorporate framing analysis, although the thesis differs methodologically from most of these studies as will be clarified in chapter 4. Framing analysis is applied in various ways and is noticeably often used in combination with other methods such as content analysis (Chaban, Schneider, and Malthus 2009), critical discourse analysis (McDougall 2018), and thematic analysis (Rausch 2014). These studies share similarities in data preferences, as all draw on several newspapers and frequently use large datasets. This means that framing analysis can be both qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods (e.g. McDougall 2018), and deductive or inductive with some studies drawing on both types of reasoning (e.g. Kasianenko 2019). As a result of the diversity in data and methodology, many studies on Japanese media examine similarities and differences across various newspapers. Within these studies, the discussion on the homogeneity of the Japanese press has received particular academic interest and is consequently also considered in this thesis.

2.2.2 The Debate on the Homogeneity of the Japanese Press

A feature of Japanese media that often sparks scholarly attention is the dependency on the *kisha clubs* (reporter clubs), where access to e.g. governmental institutions is granted through membership to recognised news media. Although similar systems can be found in other countries, the kisha clubs are criticised for limiting access particularly to international and independent reporters and for creating too close ties between the media and politicians. Critics argue that this leads to uncritical reporting and widespread "self-censorship" in the Japanese media (Kingston 2016: 84; Killmeier and Chiba 2010; Seward 2005; O'Shea 2018). As a result, Seaton (2006: 101) notes that Japanese media is often criticised for being "subservient and homogeneous". The kisha club system is amongst the reasons

for Japan's position in a 67th place on the World Press Freedom Index in 2019 (Reporters Without Borders 2019). Several studies on Japanese media focus on this widespread claim of homogeneity.

On the one hand, some scholars claim that there is little difference across Japanese newspapers. Through a deductive framing analysis studying comfort women in Japanese newspapers, Pak (2016) finds that there is uniformity in the way Japanese media reports on the issue, as there is little divergence in frame usage across the different newspapers. The argument of widespread self-censorship is also reflected on in e.g. Kingston (2016).

On the other hand, many scholars find that there is no ground for the claim of homogeneity. Seaton (2006) finds that there is a significant difference in the reporting of the comfort women issue in 1991-1992, with the liberal *Asahi* and *Mainichi* as well as *Nikkei* generally recognising support for the claims for compensation. Only *Yomiuri* is found to follow the stance of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) government at the time by denying claims for compensation, whereas *Sankei* denies both claims and the existence of comfort women. This split between the liberal *Mainichi* and *Asahi* and the conservative *Yomiuri* and *Sankei* is found in much of the literature that studies Japanese media as primary data. The financial *Nikkei* is placed in the middle of this spectrum and can reflect either side depending on the issue (C. J. Kim 2017; Killmeier and Chiba 2010; O'Shea 2018; Shinoda 2007). These studies indicate that ideology is more visible in Japanese media discourses than often claimed.

Interestingly, Fontenot, Luther, and Coman (2014) argue that this split is also visible in the sources that Japanese newspapers draw on in their study of the 2011 tsunami in Japanese and American newspapers. They find that *Asahi* uses more non-official and bottom-up sources such as social media and reporters on the ground than *Yomiuri*, which relies more on official and governmental sources. They further conclude that there is no statistical variance between the sources used by Japanese and American newspapers, challenging the postulation that the Japanese press is more reliant on information provided through press clubs than other news media around the world.

While it is likely that this scholarly division regarding homogeneity is affected by differences in methodology, topic, and dataset, Kožíšek (2016: 12) argues that Japanese media discourse is "exceptional[ly] [vague]" as "meaning … [is not] expressed explicitly but is instead interpreted from the context". He notes that this is used as a linguistic tool in the construction of North Korea as Japan's Other. This relates to Killmeier and Chiba's (2010) argument that Japanese media only reports public and official principles without disclosing any intentions or opinions hidden behind this façade (Sugimoto 2014). Interpretation of Japanese newspapers is thus highly dependent on context,

and ideology is often implicitly indicated rather than explicitly stated, which may affect the debate on homogeneity.

2.3 Positioning of the Thesis

Japanese media studies thus focus on a variety of topics based on different methodologies and a general preference for the big five nationals. Likewise, the frictions in Japan-Korea relations have been widely studied. However, there is a gap in the literature concerning South Korean identity and Japanese media studies, as the majority of studies examine domestic Japanese cases or North Korea. This thesis seeks to fill this gap by connecting literature on Othering of Korea with identity construction in the Japanese press within the case of the boycott movement.

3.0 Theoretical Foundation

The previous chapter situated the thesis within Japan-Korea relations and studies on Japanese media, the findings of which motivates further discussions on the theoretical basis behind the thesis. The first section of this chapter contextualises Japan-Korea relations within theories of international relations, giving particular attention to social constructivism and the appropriation of international relations theories in studies of Japan. The second section further details identity and Self-Other constructions within a discursive framework, which form the theoretical foundation for the combination of framing analysis and identity studies and thus the basis behind the identity frames.

3.1 Theories of International Relations

International relations have gone through increasing diversification in recent years in attempts to elucidate the constantly changing realm of global politics, although originally a predominantly two-theory field. These traditional theories are realism and liberalism, both of which are ontologically based in realism and maintain the existence of one true objective and measurable reality. Although both include several sub-theories such as structural realism and neo-liberalism, at the base these sub-theories are largely grounded in the same claims: namely, in the case of realism, that the international scene is a systemic anarchy in which states self-interestedly seek to ensure their own survival. Contrastingly, theories of liberalism promote international cooperation and claim that global peace can be achieved through democratisation (Burchill and Linklater 2013; Baylis, Smith, and Owens 2014). While these theories have been applied to global politics as a whole, Inoguchi (2010) argues that such positivist theories have not been popular in Japanese studies of international relations.

Indeed, realism and liberalism fail to provide convincing explanations for Japan-Korea relations, as the rationality of both theories suggests that Japan and Korea should increase cooperation. From a realist perspective, the mutual military alliance with the US and the threatening presence of China and North Korea mean that cooperation would increase the security of both states. Meanwhile, liberalists would stress that Japan and South Korea are natural partners as liberal democracies and market economies. Although scholars propose various reasons for their deteriorating relations (e.g. C. H. Park 2008; Cha 2000), the tendency is irrational from these viewpoints.

As an alternative, social constructivism has gained popularity. Often argued to be "an analytical approach" instead of a theory, social constructivism is based in constructionism and interpretivism and maintains that reality is a social construct (Burchill and Linklater 2013: 230). Reality is co-constructed between actors in a constant process of change and is neither measurable nor does one

objective reality exist. This means that for social constructivists, it may be more appropriate to speak of realit*ies* in the plural rather than the singular (Burchill and Linklater 2013; Baylis, Smith, and Owens 2014; Wendt 1992).

The approach takes an ideational and normative stance where features such as identity, culture, and norms are seen as "structural factors" that shape the behaviour of actors (Baylis, Smith, and Owens 2014: 137). This further means that language, as the conveyer of ideas, has a central role in the understanding and creation of realities. Depictions in newspapers are thus consequential for the creation of national identities as they affect this co-construction of reality. By focusing on the manner that Korea is identified in the press, this thesis similarly claims that language and linguistic depictions play primary roles in shaping international relations.

However, although the thesis supports the claims of social constructivism as the most compelling explanation for international relations, it simultaneously recognises criticism of both the approach and the field of international relations as a whole. Most importantly, international relations have primarily developed within a Western and predominantly American context (Qin 2016). This problematises the application of the theories and approaches in Asian contexts despite the global usage of both realism, liberalism, and social constructivism.

Nevertheless, social constructivism has repeatedly been argued to be the most suitable for studying Asia due to the significance the approach places on identity and history. These arguments are highlighted by a group of scholars, most prominently led by Qin Yaqing, who asserts that social constructivism is the most appropriate tool to study Asian affairs, as it has the capacity to emphasise e.g. Confucius values and the "relationality" that Qin (2016: 35) argues to be shaping the behaviour of states. Although Qin primarily argues on the basis of Chinese affairs, similar arguments can be made for the case of Japan and Korea, as identity and history continue to influence their relations (Section 2.1). Such issues are also highlighted in Japanese studies of international relations, which adds to the suitability of social constructivism for this thesis (Inoguchi 2010).

3.2 The Role of Identity and the Power of Language

Section 2.1.1 presented some of the research on Korean identity as constructed vis-à-vis Japan. Several approaches have been suggested for studying identity within international relations. Hagström and Gustafsson (2015: 2) argue that there are two frameworks from which Japanese identity is typically studied, namely "'norm constructivists'" and a "'relational' approach". Norm constructivists draw on the idea that Japan is "pacifist" and "antimilitarist", but Hagström and Gustafsson find fault

with such studies, as they tend to study Japanese identity as resilient and disregard the importance of non-domestic factors in creating identity (4). Contrastingly, the relational approach emphasises "how 'Japan' is constructed vis-à-vis particular 'Others'" and thus provides a more flexible analysis of Japanese identity construction (2). While Hagström and Gustafsson go even further by proposing a three-layered hierarchical approach to identity construction, this thesis is interested in understanding how Korean identity is constructed in relation to Japan and thus follows a relational approach. This approach additionally shares similarities with Qin's (2016) concept of relationality by emphasising the relation between actors as a decisive instrument.

This emphasis means that the relational approach highlights identity creation through "binary opposites" and Self-Other relationships (Simpson and Mayr 2010: 22). Here, the Self attains meaning through differentiating it from the Other, a process commonly referred to as *Othering*, which is the focus of the identity frames explained in section 4.2.1. Although Othering is often accomplished by constructing the Other as negative and the Self as the positive superior as signified in section 2.1.1, the Other can be constructed in a variety of ways and is not always depicted as a flawed inferior (Simpson and Mayr 2010; Hagström and Gustafsson 2015). In either case, a Self-Other relationship can serve to create a stereotyped image of the identity of an Other and is often achieved discursively.

This means that language assumes an important role in the understanding of identity creation and illustrates the appropriation of media studies for this thesis. Discourse legitimises particular ideas while delegitimatising others, thus creating certain value systems and understandings of reality. In a social constructivist sense, discourse is of particular importance as "shared meanings [are] embedded in language" (Burchill and Linklater 2013: 231; Simpson and Mayr 2010). In other words, by analysing language use, scholars can dissect how reality is understood by the author and in turn, what values and common-sense assumptions are projected to the reader. A surge in discursive and linguistic focused studies have thus followed the spread of social constructivism (Milliken 1999), and this thesis further adds to these studies. Importantly, the focus of this thesis is on *what* these discourses on Korea entail through framing, not evaluating *how* or *if* they influence the reader of the newspaper. The following chapter details the framing approach applied in this thesis, which is motivated by these theoretical considerations.

4.0 Methodology

This thesis focuses on bottom-up understandings of international relations by studying the manner that Korea is identified in Japanese media. This means that the thesis is ontologically and epistemologically grounded in constructionism and interpretivism, as language is perceived to have both the ability to shape the perceived reality of the individual and, through this, to affect international relations (Bryman 2014). This chapter focuses on the methodological considerations that lay behind this decision as well as how these methods shaped the thesis. The chapter firstly justifies the case and timeframe selections before thoroughly explaining both the operationalisation of framing and the data collection. Lastly, ethical and reflexivity issues are considered.

4.1 Selection of Case and Timeframe

Chapter 2 illustrated that limited research on Japan-Korea relations is available from a media perspective, opening a relatively large window of cases for this thesis to choose from. The Korean boycott movement of Japanese products over the summer of 2019 was chosen as the case, as the thesis first of all seeks to study contemporary issues in Japan-Korea relations, and secondly, the case in itself is a culmination of the numerous issues that influence their relationship. This means that the case in many ways can be defined as a reactional movement against existing issues in addition to the strengthening of Japanese export restrictions.

The timeframe was set to the period between August 2nd and September 20th 2019 (50 days); that is, between the day Japan announced that Korea would be removed from the Japanese whitelist and two days after the Korean removal of Japan went into effect. The two days after were added as a buffer zone in case relevant articles were published in the immediate days after the removal. Although the boycotts began in July, the August-September timeframe is more appropriate for the study for two reasons; firstly, the economic effects of the boycotts only began to be visible in this period, and secondly, initial data searches showed that there was a spike in articles concerning the boycotts in August and September, with fewer articles being published in July (Section 4.3). The boycotts did extend into the autumn and are to a degree still in action, but since the interest of this thesis is to look at the framing when the boycotts emerged, the timeframe was not extended further.

4.2 Methods and Research Design: Framing Analysis

The case and timeframe decisions had implications for the available methods. Various methods were considered in this phase including qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis, as these

are frequently drawn on in media studies (Section 2.2.1). In addition, narrative analysis was considered due to the interest in studying identification and narrativisation issues (Creswell 2013; Bryman 2014). Ultimately, framing analysis was chosen as the most appropriate method for this study, as framing analysis focuses on projection through language and as the interest is in understanding whether Korean identity is constructed through any patterned perceptions of reality.

Although widely used by scholars across different disciplines and study fields, there is no definite definition of framing (Kohring and Matthes 2002; Entman 1993). As a result, framing is adapted in a variety of ways with both qualitative and quantitative qualities (Kohring and Matthes 2002; Pak 2016; Dalton et al. 2015; McDougall 2018). While this means that there is no linear thread for the researcher to follow, increasing the likelihood of methodological headaches, it creates leeway for methodological adjustments and allows the researcher to 'frame' framing in a way that is most befitting for the respective study. This means that framing in many ways resembles more of an approach than a distinctive method.

Framing is widely connected to Entman, and it is also his definition of framing that this thesis predominantly draws on. Framing is in this understanding the decision to include certain parts "of a perceived reality and make them more salient … in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" in a text (Entman 1993: 52). Pak (2016: 1007) further defines framing as a way for media "to help readers process the flood of news reports, and perceive and identify salient messages". The role of framing analysis, then, is to dissect texts in order to understand which frames they use and how these frames encourage a certain understanding of reality.

This thesis operationalises framing qualitatively and inductively. While the thesis includes several calculations of the frame findings, the analysis is qualitative as this allows a more detailed study of each news article than what is possible through quantitative methods. Many studies exist which propose a framing approach that can be applied to other studies deductively, but these have primarily been created based on Western, English language media (see e.g. Boydstun et al. 2014; Pak 2016). Although they provide ground for inspiration, they were deemed inappropriate as the thesis studies Japanese media, which is its own unique type of information dissemination that is distinct from Western media. No academic work has been located that proposes specific lists of frames for Japanese media that can be used deductively by other researchers. In addition, frames do change over time (Kohring and Matthes 2002), and it was therefore decided that a more dynamic approach was

appropriate. This was thus also a decision to use "issue-specific frames" rather than "generic frames", which are shared across news outlets (McDougall 2018: 42).

Initially, the approach of this thesis was inspired by Kohring and Matthes (2002), who study framing inductively through content analysis. The ultimate approach meanwhile differs greatly from their quantitative content analysis study, which nevertheless gave the initial idea of drawing on different methods to derive frames inductively.

This thesis uses thematic analysis to extract frames. A theme "represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set", making thematic analysis appropriate as the method to determine frames (Braun and Clarke 2006: 82, original emphasis). Thematic analysis further enables the researcher to derive these themes inductively. The frames were decided based on the following five steps of Braun and Clarke's (2006: 87) approach to thematic analysis:

1. Familiarisation with the data – reading the dataset from start to finish without coding
2. Generation of initial codes
3. Searching for themes across the dataset
4. Reviewing the themes
5. Defining final themes – defining the frames

The articles were coded in the data analysis software NVivo with additional assistance from Microsoft Excel. The function "nodes" was used to code initial codes, while the function "cases" was used to generate the final frames to separate them from the initial codes. In addition, the function "query coding" was used to compare and correlate the final frames. Microsoft Excel primarily served to keep an overview of the articles by noting on which ones had been read, initially coded, finally coded, toned etc.

4.2.1 Two Types of Frames: Identity Frames and Topic Frames

As the thesis is interested in how Korea is identified, the analysis notes on two types of frames which relate to different thematic levels. The first and primary type is the *identity frames,* which tell a specific story of Korean identity, often vis-à-vis Japan; examples being *Korea is emotional/uncivilised* and *Korea is just another country*. These frames were derived through a combination of a thematic analysis as outlined above and a tone analysis of the articles. Inspired by Boydstun et al. (2014) and Pak (2016), the articles were coded according to their tone towards Korea in three categories: *positive*, *neutral/nuanced*, and *negative*. The tone refers to the attitude an article signals towards Korea and is

thus related to Entman's (1993: 52) definition of frames as "moral evaluation" and "moral judgments". The identity frames were then divided between positive and negative frames.

The second and supplementary type is the *topic frames*; these relate to broader subjects such as *politics* and *economy*, sharing many similarities with generic frames, which can be located across various cases. These two coding schemes facilitate reflection on the general topic of the article as well as how this topic is connected to Korean identity, allowing a thorough understanding of the connotations regarding Korea. This combination further enables a better comparison between newspapers regarding the narrativisation of Korea. Importantly, an article can be coded with several topic and identity frames. All articles are coded with one topic frame as the minimum, but several of the neutral articles do not incorporate any identity frames.

4.3 Data Collection

Inspired by the weight given to the five major national newspapers in media studies on Japan (Section 2.2.1), the dataset was located across the Japanese language versions of *Asahi*, *Yomiuri*, *Nikkei*, *Mainichi*, and *Sankei.* Only the Tokyo editions were used to narrow the searches as it was deemed appropriate to use the capital edition instead of smaller localised versions. The dataset only incorporates articles published in the print version of the main newspaper, since articles only published on the papers' online platforms were excluded to avoid 'quick news'. As Japan has a high readership of physical newspapers (Section 2.2), this decision is not judged to limit the scope of the thesis significantly.

The data collection was completed during a fieldwork stay at Waseda University in Tokyo in January and February 2020 through the online newspaper search engines provided by the university: *Kikuzo II Visual* for *Asahi*, *Yomidas Rekishikan* for *Yomiuri*, *Maisaku* for *Mainichi*, *Sankei Shimbun Databases*, and *Nikkei Telecom21*. The search words were decided after reading several articles on the boycott movement and noticing their word choices. As the interest was on South Korea and the boycott movement, articles had to either include *South Korea (kankoku)* or *Republic of Korea (daikanminkoku)* as well as the Japanese words for *boycott (fubai/boikotto)*. This yielded a total of 133 articles of which 5 that did not mention the boycotts were removed. The final dataset includes 128 articles, amongst which 21 are from *Asahi*, 16 from *Yomiuri*, 31 from *Nikkei*, 23 from *Mainichi*, and 37 from *Sankei*.

The dataset includes all types of articles. Although it was considered whether e.g. letters to the editor and external opinion pieces should be excluded, it was decided that they add a valuable

perspective to the framing of the issue. While not written directly by the newspaper, such pieces have been accepted by the editors and can serve to justify the general line of the paper. To avoid misrepresentation, chapter 5.0 details the type of article any quote stems from.

4.4 Ethical Considerations and Reflexivity

The thesis did not encounter any ethical issues in relation to sensitive information of the individual, as all articles are already publicly available. This includes articles that incorporate civilian quotes as well as letters to the editor, where consent has already been given for publication. However, this does not mean that the thesis is devoid of ethical issues (Bryman 2014).

The theme of this thesis, identity, is a sensitive issue in itself, particularly when it concerns identification of foreign countries and even more so when such identification negatively stereotypes a certain nationality. It is important to emphasise that this thesis does not seek to morally judge or evaluate the accuracy of any frames, nor to generalise any claims across the Japanese population. The interest is purely to understand how Korea is identified in the press.

4.4.1 Positionality

Recognising researcher influence on the dataset is especially important for qualitative studies, as the frames, regardless of attempts to be objective, did not simply "'[emerge]' from the data" (Braun and Clarke 2006: 80). Rather, these frames materialised as a result of my own interpretation of the dataset based on my academic and social background as well as ontological position. For the sake of clarity, a brief note on positionality is therefore necessary.

My academic background equips me with a primarily cultural-political perspective on societal issues through my bachelor's degree in International Studies and English Language and this master's degree in Asian Studies. I am primarily educated in Scandinavia but have been on study exchanges to both Japan and Korea. This means that although I primarily study Japanese media with the perspective of an 'outsider', I also have experience from the 'inside' of both countries. The knowledge I have obtained throughout my connection to Japan particularly helped my understanding of several emic codes present in the dataset. My competences in Japanese are upper-intermediate to pre-advanced, and I have passed the second highest level, N2, of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test.

4.4.2 Limitations

My position as a non-Japanese studying Japanese media increases the likelihood of misinterpreting cultural codes and further means that I may have interpreted frames differently from what a Japanese student/researcher would have done. Meanwhile, framing analysis always has this drawback of being very researcher-dependent (Kohring and Matthes 2002).

This thesis additionally only has the capacity to detail how Korea is identified and cannot reflect on e.g. whether the boycott movement is justified or certain events are excluded.

Furthermore, articles may have been missed in the data collection, as 'boycott' can be expressed in a variety of ways in addition to the nouns and noun-derived verbs included as search words. The decisions to exclude online media and regional papers further limit the scope of the study. It is thus important to stress that the findings of this thesis only are representative of the collected dataset and not generalisable for all Japanese press coverage of the boycott movement.

5.0 Empirical Findings

This chapter applies the framing method explained in the previous chapter and discusses the empirical findings of the thesis in order to answer how Korean identity is constructed vis-à-vis Japan in the Japanese press in coverage of the boycott movement. The chapter is divided into six sections. Section 5.1 gives an overview of the collected dataset in relation to the focus given to the boycotts, and section 5.2 presents the tone findings of the articles regarding positive, neutral/nuanced, and negative tones. Section 5.3 briefly presents the findings of identity frames and topic frames, which are detailed in sections 5.4 and 5.5. These sections illustrate that both a negative and positive narrative of Korean identity is present in the dataset, advancing different claims relating to e.g. Korean emotionality and responsibility blaming of the deteriorating relationship. Section 5.6 lastly notes on the presence of neutral/nuanced articles, offering a balanced analysis of the framing of the boycott movement before moving on to the conclusion.

5.1 Overview of the Articles

The articles are firstly divided into three categories depending on whether the boycotts are mentioned in passing or is the focus or a partial focus of the article. The categories are individually assessed for each article, as e.g. a quantitative measure would undermine the diversity of the content. Of the 128 collected articles, 48 are marked as *focus*, 43 as *partial focus*, and 37 as *in passing*. The division between the newspapers is showed in table 1:

Newspaper	Total articles	*Focus*		*Partial focus*		*In passing*	
Asahi	21	10	48%	8	38%	3	14%
Mainichi	23	8	35%	9	39%	6	26%
Nikkei	31	7	23%	11	35%	13	42%
Sankei	37	15	40%	14	38%	8	22%
Yomiuri	16	8	50%	1	6%	7	44%
Total	128	48	37%	43	34%	37	29%

Table 1: Numbers and percentages of article categories.

As can be seen, there is a relatively high difference between the focus the boycotts are given in the articles across the newspapers. *Nikkei* has the lowest percentage of *focus* articles, *Yomiuri* the lowest amongst the *partial focus* articles, and *Asahi* the lowest for *in passing* articles. *Yomiuri* has the lowest

number of total articles, and *Sankei* the highest. While this may be connected to differences in the discourse of the newspapers and whether the keywords used in the data collection succeeded in locating articles on the boycotts, Seaton (2006) and Pak (2016) interestingly found the same pattern of fewer *Yomiuri* articles in their studies of comfort women. Although more research is needed to reach a definite conclusion, this indicates that *Yomiuri* has a lower tendency to publish articles relating to Korea than the remaining newspapers.

Uchida and Uchida (2008: 28) emphasise that Japanese newspapers print the main articles of the day on the front page, while the remaining pages are divided into themes such as "general", "economy", and "politics". A total of 19 articles were located on the front page; six *focus*, seven *partial focus*, and six *in passing*. While it is significant that 19 out of 128 articles were deemed important enough by the editorial team to be given a primary position in the newspaper, this means that very few *focus* articles were published on the front page over the 50 days long period. Indeed, the initial expectation was that more than six *focus* articles would be on the front page, considering the seeming gravity of the case prior to initiating this research.

5.2 Tone Direction

The articles are then coded according to tone direction towards Korea, which forms the basis for subsequently locating the identity frames of the articles. The articles are coded in three tones: positive, neutral/nuanced, and negative. The positive and negative tones represent a one-sided depiction of Korea, where the article frames Korea or a close Japan-Korea relationship as primarily positive or negative. This can either be by directly noting on certain aspects of Korea or by using quotes and facts in such a way that the opposite argument is either entirely absent or unquestionably wrong. The middle category includes articles which are completely neutral towards Korea or nuanced in the sense that both a negative and a positive perspective is represented equally, illustrating an unbiased tone towards Korea. The findings are illustrated in figure 1:
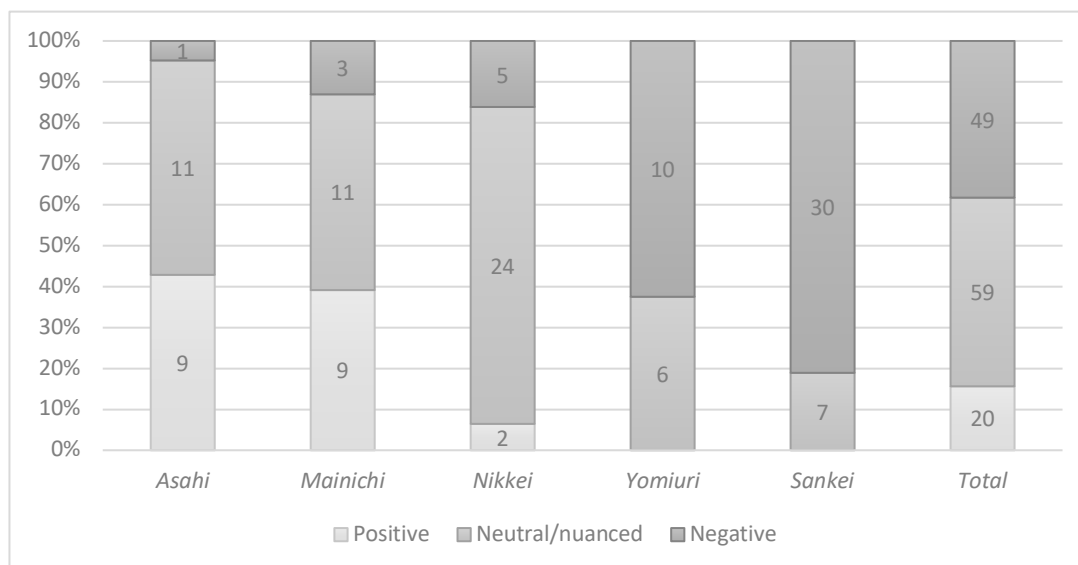
Figure 1: Tone direction towards Korea in the articles.

This tone coding reveals a big difference in the attitude towards Korea across the five newspapers, with *Yomiuri* and particularly *Sankei* illustrating a remarkable tendency towards negative depiction. *Asahi* and *Mainichi* have a more balanced tone with an inclination towards positive and neutral/nuanced representation, while *Nikkei* shows a preference for unbiased reporting, mirroring the findings of section 2.2.2. In total, the dataset has 20 positive, 59 neutral/nuanced, and 49 negative articles. Although this indicates a tendency towards neutral/nuanced and negative representation of Korea, the findings cannot be used as a general indicator of Japanese media reporting of Korea due to the visible differences between the five newspapers. This additionally does not undermine the importance of the tone direction towards Korea, as the tone likely affects the viewpoint of the readership (Section 2.2; Iida 2018; Shinoda 2007).

5.3 Overview of Identity Frames and Topic Frames

This section introduces the frame findings of the analysis before moving on to a detailed explanation of each frame in sections 5.4 and 5.5. These subsequent sections are ordered according to the identity frames, which tell a specific narrative of Korean identity vis-à-vis Japan and are grounded in the tone findings and the theory on Othering (Sections 5.2, 3.2). Meanwhile, the topic frames reflect the overall theme of the articles and serve to illustrate which subjects the identity frames are connected to.

5.3.1 Identity Frames

Although 59 articles were coded as neutral/nuanced, only positive and negative frames are derived as the neutral articles provide sparse information on the identification of Korea and the nuanced articles often include both positive and negative narratives of Korea. These nuanced articles thus also serve to strengthen certain images of Korea, be they positive or negative.

The initial coding process resulted in 37 identity codes, nine positive and 28 negative. By further thematising the initial codes and correlating them with the tone findings, nine identity frames were identified:

Negative:

- *Korea is emotional/uncivilised*
- *Korea is at fault for worsening ties*
- *Korea is unlawful/untrustworthy*
- *Korea is unreasonable*
- *Korea is 'just' Asian*

Positive:

- *Korea is a valued partner*
- *Japan is also/Both are at fault for worsening ties*
- *Korea is not anti-Japan*
- *Korea is just another country*

5.3.2 Topic Frames

While the neutral articles largely do not draw on any identity frame, all articles in the dataset belong to one or several topic frames. These topic frames are a result of a correlation and re-evaluation of 113 initial topic codes and include a total of nine frames, four of which are primary frames and five of which are subframes:

- *Boycotts*
- *Economy*
  - *General economy*
  - *Economic consequences*
- *Politics*
  - *General politics*
  - *Japan-Korea relations*
  - *Moon Jae-in*
- *Tourism*

An additional frame, *Politics → Overdependency on China*, was identified in a *Nikkei* article. However, as this article was coded as neutral, it did not provide any significant information for the subsequent analysis and was thus removed from the overview.

5.4 The Negative Identity Frames

This section presents empirical findings that portray Korea negatively in relation to the boycotts, illustrating how Korea acts as a negative Other to Japan. Table 2 shows the correlation between these

negative identity frames and the topic frames. The following five sections detail each identity frame and are ordered according to the prevalence of the frames in the dataset.

Identity Frames	Boycotts	Economy	...General economy	...Economic consequences	Politics	...General politics	...Japan-Korea relations	...Moon Jae-in	Tourism	Total occurrences of identity frames
Korea is emotional/uncivilised	13	7	3	4	21	2	13	8	2	35
Korea is at fault for worsening ties	5	3	2	1	14	2	11	3	1	20
Korea is unlawful /untrustworthy	3				12	1	10	3		15
Korea is unreasonable					5	1	2	2	1	6
Korea is 'just' Asian					5	1	4	1		5

Table 2: Negative identity frames and topic frames.
One article can be coded under several frames, thus the sum of frames does not correspond to the sum of articles.

5.4.1 Korea is emotional/uncivilised

This frame is by far the most predominant identity frame in the dataset with a presence in 35 articles distributed between *Asahi* (1), *Mainichi* (3), *Nikkei* (6), *Yomiuri* (3), and *Sankei* (22). *Sankei* stands out, as 59% of all *Sankei* articles in the dataset frame Korea as emotional/uncivilised. This frame refers to articles where Korea is seen as overreacting, misbehaving, or showing traits of being generally uncivilised. The emotional and uncivilised features are linked, as excessive exhibition of emotions in public is scorned in Japanese society. This is related to the previous discussion on the vagueness of the Japanese press: such negative feelings should neither be displayed in the press nor in the public sphere and least at all to people outside one's closest social group (Section 2.2.2; Sugimoto 2014).

The *Korea is emotional/uncivilised* frame reflects the argument that Othering Korea as emotional is persistent in Japanese identification of Korea (Section 2.1.1). It is connected to all topic frames but is most common in the *politics* primary topic frame (21), with a preference for *Japan-*

Korea relations (13) and *Moon Jae-in* (8). However, the frame is also the most common identity frame that is combined with the *boycotts* (13) topic frame and is also used in several of the *focus* articles. This makes the following *Sankei* commentary quote particularly representative of this frame:

> Although Japan only decided to keep a normal relationship instead of preferential treatment from now on, the boycott movement of Japanese products continues in Korea. There has even appeared a trend of cursing people who travel to Japan by calling them "traitors". (*Sankei Shimbun* 2019a)

Here, the uncivilised nature of Korea is represented in two ways. Firstly, by the continuation of the boycotts, which are described as a reaction to the Japanese export restrictions that in this case are presented as justified. Secondly, the new movement of calling Koreans who visit Japan "traitors"[4], which signals the extreme emotionality of Korea's reactions.

This frame also includes articles where the boycott movement is seen as an anti-Japanese sentimental movement rather than a political reactional movement. Thus, several articles refer to the boycott movement as the "anti-Japan movement" or by the worsening relations as the "deterioration of anti-Japanese sentiments" (e.g. Namura 2019b; Shimatani 2019). *Sankei* particularly draws on these phrasings, often portraying this frame through sarcasm and by offensive comparisons. This is most vividly reflected in the column series "*Yeoboseyo*[5] from Seoul" and exemplified in the following quote:

> Is Korea's "anti-Japanese boycott movement" interesting? Incitement continues through the Internet and television, and all sorts of funny and strange performances are introduced. There is even a "made in Japan boycott segment" during the morning TV programme for housewives. A family, who has cancelled their summer vacation to Japan and gone on a domestic trip, appear and make their kindergartener-like children criticise Japan. It is just like North Korean television. (Kuroda 2019a)

Other articles in this series likewise compare South Korea to North Korea or a "totalitarian state" and connect the media to a higher political goal of promoting anti-Japanese sentiments and the boycott

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[4] Which, in this article, noticeably is written with the characters 売国奴 (*baikokudo*) - a fellow who sells his country!

[5] '*Yeoboseyo*' means 'hello' in Korean.

movement (e.g. Kuroda 2019c). These sarcastic comparisons amply the effect of the *Korea is emotional/uncivilised* frame and negatively groups South Korea with North Korea in a similar fashion as noted on by Iida (2018). The fact that these Korean media outlets are generalised as "the media" and "television" without further specifications implies that all Korean media participate in this uncivilised anti-Japan movement. However, one column in the series published in the beginning of August does specify the media outlet, although with equally degrading sarcasm:

> The highlight(?) of the anti-Japanese boycott movement this week was KBS television. At the end of the news programme, the newscaster closed by saying: "during the broadcast, we received a protest phone call from a viewer asking if the ballpoint pen in my hand wasn't made in Japan. We fully feel how much anger the public feels towards Japan, but this pen is produced in Korea".
>
> As one would expect, there were critical voices from inside the broadcasting department as well that this was "too much", but it makes one realise how the Korean television world agitates anti-Japanese feelings. I have heard that there were ironic remarks inside the department saying "then what should we do about the made-in-Japan broadcasting equipment like the TV cameras?" (Kuroda 2019b)

The sarcasm in this column is strengthened by the inclusion of the question mark as it emphasises the absurdity of the situation. Furthermore, the criticism from within the broadcasting bureau indicates that some Koreans recognise the uncivilised nature of the movement and likewise look down on it. This results in a silly and comic depiction of the participants of the boycott movement and KBS television alike.

Sankei thus represents the extreme way of using this frame. In contrast, *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, and *Nikkei* frame Korea as emotional/uncivilised in a more moderate and indirect fashion. This is illustrated by a news report in *Mainichi*:

> [Prime minister] Lee Nak-yeon repeated the criticism of Japan during the multilateral meeting on the 2nd as well, but participating nations raised voices in bafflement and asked to "discuss it between Japan and Korea". (…)
>
> A ministerial meeting for the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) was held in Beijing on the 3rd. When Korea's Minister of Trade, Yoo

Myung-hee, raised criticism of Japan's stricter export controls, Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), Sekō Hiroshige, in opposition said that "it is indeed regrettable to raise matters that have absolutely no relation to the RCEP negotiations". (Akiyama, Shibue, and Akama 2019)

In this case, Korea is not directly said to be uncivilised, but it is implied that Korea lacks appreciation for professionalism and situation appropriation as Lee and Yoo two days in a row are rebuked for their inappropriate criticism of Japan. This report further adds to a Self-depiction of Japan as correct and righteous by describing how other "participating nations" criticise Korea on the 2nd before Japan does so on the 3rd. Thus, the Self counterpart to this Korean identity frame is that Japan is civilised and behaves correctly; or, in other words, superior to Korea. This Self-depiction is hinted at in several articles, but rarely explicitly stated in the newspapers. This makes this *Yomiuri* letter to the editor stand out:

In Korea, a boycott movement against Japanese products is being promoted, but Japanese people seem forbearing. I don't think it's because Japanese are indifferent to politics, but because they calmly follow the common sense of economics of accepting good products. In Korea, the quality of the products doesn't matter, and they reject the products just because they are made in Japan. I wonder if it's possible to discuss calmly with people who are emotional. I would like the Koreans to be calmer. (Samejima 2019)

This letter relates to the writer's experience at a Korea fair in a Japanese supermarket, which, despite the Korean boycotts of Japan, was popular amongst the customers. As it is a letter to the editor, these are not the direct words of *Yomiuri*, but the article still adds to the negative frame of Korea by being published in the newspaper.

The *Korea is emotional/uncivilised* frame is thus the most common in the dataset and is represented in a variety of ways across the newspapers. Although this makes it a good example for the Self-Other representation of Japan and Korea in Japanese media, this dichotomy is also present in less prevalent identity frames.

5.4.2 Korea is at fault for worsening ties

The *Korea is at fault for worsening ties* frame is present in 20 articles distributed across the newspapers, but most prevalent in *Yomiuri* (6) and *Nikkei* (6), then in *Sankei* (5), *Mainichi* (2), and *Asahi* (1). Similarly, it draws on all topic frames, although *Japan-Korea relations* (11) is the most prevalent, followed by *boycotts* (5) and *Moon Jae-in* (3). This makes the *politics* primary topic frame the most typical combination with a presence in 14 articles.

The frame includes articles where Korea is blamed for worsening the relationship between Japan and Korea. In several articles, this frame also gives Korea the primary responsibility for bettering the ties and depicts Korea as the one who should initiate reconciliation. The following quote from an opinion piece in *Nikkei* illustrates this responsibility blaming:

> In order for Japanese-Korean relations to get better, it is needless to say that political leadership is necessary particularly on the Korean side. The work of Moon Jae-in and his successors is to first set an example for how the future should be and proclaim a new future where the past is settled. (Breen 2019)

Interestingly, this viewpoint is presented as common sense by arguing that it is so obvious that Korea needs to act that "it is needless to say". The article further argues that although Japan has a stake in the worsening relationship, Korea holds the primary responsibility. This viewpoint is most prominent in the liberal press and further exemplified by an opinion piece in *Mainichi* arguing that "it is wrong for the Japanese to ignore the past, but it is even more of a mistake that Korea continues to be dominated by the past" (Iokibe 2019). Significantly, both articles note on the historic issues in Japan-Korea relations (Section 2.1). The first exemplifies an insistency on the Japanese view of history, as it is the Korean leadership which needs to take measures to resolve the historic issues, while the second criticises Korea for politically misusing history.

The opinion piece from *Nikkei* further places responsibility on Moon. This emphasis on Moon is a reoccurring topic across the different identity frames and is often framed relating to the boycotts. This means that Moon is frequently depicted as the promoter of the movement, which is exemplified in a *Nikkei* feature article arguing that "the Moon administration … has stirred 'anti-Japanese public sentiments' to take its own support base into consideration" (Onchi 2019a). In fact, the majority of the Moon topic frames are negatively toned. Of the 18 articles that include the Moon frame in the dataset, 17 articles incorporate a negative identity frame and 15 of these have a negative tone. These references to Moon share similarities to Kožíšek's (2016: 25) findings regarding the

usage of Kim Jong-un as the "visual representation of North Korea" in Japanese media. Although the references to Moon do not generalise South Korea in as extreme a fashion, they similarly remove agency from the individual participants of the boycotts by constructing the Moon administration as the mastermind behind.

Lastly, a *Sankei* feature article under this frame constructs Korea as the indirect promoter of the anti-Korea movement in Japan:

> Korea is the only country that makes false accusations of things like "Fukushima" and the Tokyo Olympics. Korea is indifferent to how this type of "sabotaging Japan by all means"-behaviour fuels anti-Korean sentiments and hatred of Koreans amongst the Japanese. (Kuroda 2019e)

Fukushima refers to Korea's embargo on food products produced close to the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant as well as other Korean concerns on radioactivity following the meltdown in 2011 (Oka Norimatsu 2019). The article claims that it is the Koreans which are responsible for stirring anti-Korea sentiments in Japan, thus disregarding the agency that Japanese participants may have in this movement. Another interesting aspect of this quote is how 'Korea' is used to refer to the boycotters. Here, we again see similarities to Kožíšek's study, where 'North Korea' was used to refer to a smaller segment of the North Korean population.

5.4.3 Korea is unlawful/untrustworthy

The *Korea is unlawful/untrustworthy* frame is represented in 15 articles in the dataset and refers to articles that construct Korea as acting illegally or dishonestly. These claims reflect arguments in previous research of a dichotomy between the law-abiding Japanese Self and unlawful Korean Other (Section 2.1.1). This frame is primarily represented in *Sankei* (10) with the remaining articles distributed between *Yomiuri* (3), *Mainichi* (1), and *Nikkei* (1). It is most common in the *politics* primary topic frame (12) and often connected to *Japan-Korea relations* (10), although *Moon Jae-in* (3) and *boycotts* (3) are present as well.

The frame is often used to justify Japan's export restrictions towards Korea, illustrated by a news report in *Yomiuri*:

The Korean government heavily opposed when the Japanese government on the 2nd decided to further strengthen export control measures towards Korea. Even if the US, which has an alliance with both Japan and Korea, enters as a mediator, prompt reconciliation will be difficult because the underlying reasons for the strengthening is Korea's violation of international law concerning the former conscripted worker lawsuits. (Abe and Yokohori 2019)

This article also belongs to the *Korea is at fault for worsening ties* frame by arguing that the deterioration of Japan-Korea relations is because of the Korean court rulings which violate international law. The emphasis on the international level is reflected in several of the articles and relates to the Self-representation of Japan as a promoter of international peace and law. This is further exemplified in an opinion piece in *Sankei*:

Korea criticised the series of measures taken by Japan as countermeasures against the "conscripted worker" lawsuit for violating the rules of the WTO. However, this point is off the mark.

Export controls to guarantee security are measures to prevent the proliferation of e.g. weapons of mass destruction, and proper operation of this is Japan's responsibility to fulfil for the international community. Far from being against free trade, these are vital for free trade not to be abused. (*Sankei Shimbun* 2019b)

This article reflects the official Japanese reason for the export restrictions by emphasising Japan's responsibility to uphold international regulations against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. By using this justification as a rebuttal to Korea's argument that the export restrictions are due to the issues regarding forced labour, the article depicts Korea both as acting against these regulations and as behaving unreasonably. However, Korea is not just argued to be violating international law in this frame, but also to be generally untrustworthy. This is illustrated by a *Sankei* editorial:

Based on fake stories (fake history) like "Korea is a victorious nation", the Moon administration ignores the Basic Treaty signed in 1965 because of the comfort women and "conscripted worker" issues and draws policies one after the other that annoy the Japanese.

As known, the centre of the Moon administration overreacted against Japan's "revenge measures" and defied accepted norms by leading the boycott movement against Japanese products, just because of Japan's reasonable measures of removing Korea as a "whitelisted country". (*Sankei Shimbun* 2019e)

While Korea also violates international agreements in this quote by ignoring the Basic Treaty with Japan, Korea additionally creates fake stories about history and uses other historic issues only to annoy Japan. This is further stressed by arguing that Japan's actions are "reasonable" – thus, Korea is both untrustworthy and acts against common sense.

The above editorial further exemplifies a negative article of the *Moon Jae-in* topic frame. The *Moon* articles of the *Korea is unlawful/untrustworthy* identity frame stress how the Moon administration in particular cannot be trusted. An article in *Sankei* quotes an opinion piece by Hosokawa Masahiko, former director-general at METI, who after explaining that the decision to include Korea on the list of preferential trade partners in 2004 was based on a trusting relationship with the administration at the time, notes that:

"Korea under the Moon administration is as if transformed. We cannot have the close exchange of ideas that was the condition of making Korea a whitelisted country. Exchanging ideas is especially necessary because improper circumstances are occurring, but Korea has not complied with this these three years". (…) Hosokawa argues that "it is natural to remove Korea as a whitelisted country and return it to treatment as before 2004, when the trust relationship of export controls, which is its condition, has broken down". (*Sankei Shimbun* 2019g)

This piece interestingly claims that Korea under Moon has had the opportunity to change its behaviour to prevent the implementation of Japanese export restrictions yet has chosen not to follow. This distrust is again illustrative of the generally negative tone of the *Moon* topic frames. Moon is further related to the boycotts in a *Sankei* news report noting that "it contradicts international regulations when a government promotes boycotts of a specific country's products" (Sakurai 2019a). This emphasis on the illegality of the boycott movement is illustrative of all the articles belonging to the *boycotts* topic frame within the *Korea is unlawful/untrustworthy* identity frame. Thus, this identity frame depicts Korea as acting against international law and as being unworthy of trust.

5.4.4 Korea is unreasonable

The *Korea is unreasonable* frame is most prevalent in *Sankei* (5) but also present in *Nikkei* (1) with a total of six articles. Five of these are within the primary *politics* topic frame and equally divided between its subframes. The last article belongs to the *tourism* frame. This identity frame thus encompasses a variety of arguments and combines articles which note on diverse types of Korean unreasonableness and stupidity.

An editorial in *Sankei* mentions how Korea seeks to cooperate with peaceful nations, but instead of choosing the pacifist Japan, seems to prefer the "hegemonic" seeking China and "the US which dropped the atomic bomb" (*Sankei Shimbun* 2019e). The *Nikkei* opinion piece is a nuanced article, but criticises the Korean policies towards North Korea and China as a "mistaken course" (Akita 2019). Similar to other negative identity frames, this frame is often accompanied by a Self-depiction of Japan as superior to Korea, illustrated by an opinion piece in *Sankei*:

> Korea will remove Japan from treatment of a so-called "whitelisted country", but there is no country in the world that maintains a similar system which does not target Japan. There are countries and regions like Europe and Australia that do not target Korea. At what reason is Korea removing Japan? Korea even loudly presented its case [for dispute settlement] at the WTO. (Sawada 2019)

Here, Korea is framed as foolish through the decision to remove Japan, as it goes against the common sense of the whitelist system. The reference to Korea's appeal to the WTO further emphasises the stupidity, as it contradicts Korea's measures against Japan and this common sense of including Japan on whitelists.

5.4.5 Korea is 'just' Asian

As noted in section 2.1.1, Asia has historically played a significant role as Japan's backward Other to show contrast to the advanced Japanese Self which is different from and more superior than the rest of Asia. This negative perception of being Asian is reflected in the dataset, where Korea on several occasions is grouped with Asia. Although this frame is the least prevalent of the negative identity frames with only five articles, divided between *Asahi* (1), *Mainichi* (1), *Nikkei* (1), and *Sankei* (2), it is a historic significant frame due to its resilience.

The five articles all belong to the *politics* primary topic frame with a preference for *Japan-Korea relations* (4). In the cases of *Asahi*, *Mainichi* and *Nikkei*, this identity frame is present through quotes by politicians and used to justify Japan's decision to remove Korea from its whitelist (Itō et al. 2019; Akiyama et al. 2019; Suzuki and Sugihara 2019). Meanwhile, *Sankei* is again more explicit in its degradation of both Korea and Asia as a whole in the following justification of the whitelist removal in an opinion piece:

> This measure simply gives Korea, who has been the sole Asian country to receive preferential treatment, the same status as other Asian countries. Even so, Korea is "group B" and more favoured than "group C" countries like China and Taiwan. To begin with, the European Union and European countries such as the UK, Germany and France only have preferential treatment towards eight countries including Japan, and here Korea is not included. This measure is just on the same level as Europe's procedures. (*Sankei Shimbun* 2019g)

The quote illustrates a Self-Other depiction where the Japanese Self is acknowledged by Europe and is superior to such Asian countries as Korea, China and Taiwan. This European acknowledgement of Japan and disregard of Korea not only justifies Japan's export restrictions, but also the idea that Korea and the rest of Asia is less than Japan, since they do not enjoy similar status. This further indicates that Japan should not be grouped with Asia but rather with the 'advanced' nations in Europe.

5.4.6 Summary

The negative identity frames thus depict Korea as an uncivilised, unlawful, unreasonable, and backward Asian country who is responsible for the worsening ties with Japan. Many of the articles under these frames portray Japan in a contrasting positive light with a presumption of Japanese superiority. In this way, the frames reflect several of the arguments from section 2.1.1. The frames are most often seen in connection with topic frames such as *boycotts, Japan-Korea relations,* and *Moon Jae-in*. While the frames are represented in all newspapers, they are most prevalent in *Sankei* and least in *Asahi*.

5.5 The Positive Identity Frames

The previous chapter illustrated how Korea is depicted negatively in the dataset. However, as mentioned in section 3.2, the discursive construction of an Other is not inherently negative. The following four sections present the frame findings where Korea is contrastingly portrayed positively. These are mentioned in order of prevalence in the dataset. Table 3 illustrates the relation between these positive identity frames and the topic frames:

Identity Frames	Topic Frames: Boycotts	Economy	...General economy	...Economic consequences	Politics	...General politics	...Japan-Korea relations	...Moon Jae-in	Tourism	Total occurrences of identity frames
Korea is a valued partner	3	2	2		22	3	18	1		23
Japan is also/Both are at fault for worsening ties	1	3	2	1	9	2	7			10
Korea is not anti-Japan	6				1				1	6
Korea is just another country	2				4	1	2	1		5

Table 3: Positive identity frames and topic frames.
Similar to table 2, the sum of frames may not correspond to the sum of articles.

5.5.1 Korea is a valued partner

The *Korea is a valued partner* frame is the most prevalent of the positively toned identity frames with 23 articles. It is frequently included in *Mainichi* (10) and *Asahi* (8), but also present in *Nikkei* (5). The frame refers to articles that argue in favour of a close relationship between Japan and Korea and primarily occurs in correlation with the *politics* topic frame (22). Amongst its subframes, *Japan-Korea relations* (18) is by far the most common combination, although *boycotts* (3) and *economy* (2) are used as well.

This frame is often represented by outlining the benefits of cooperating. An *Asahi* editorial thus focuses on the economic gains of the relationship:

> With the establishment of diplomatic relations half a century ago, the economic
> cooperation funds provided by Japan have not only built the foundation of present-

day Korea, but also contributed to the growth of the Japanese economy. Both countries have a track record of developing through a reciprocally beneficial relationship. (*Asahi Shimbun* 2019c)

Importantly, the article emphasises that Korea and Japan mutually benefitted from the transactions that were facilitated by the normalisation of relations. Thus, instead of creating a hierarchical Self-Other depiction of the relationship as previously noted on, the writer assumes that Japan and Korea are of equal status.

Other articles incorporate the frame by noting on the necessity of the relationship. The following is a quote from a *Mainichi* feature article published as a response to the Korean decision to withdraw from GSOMIA on August 22nd:

According to the leadership of the Ministry of Defense, Japanese ground radars cannot detect North Korean missiles immediately following their launch. Conversely, in cases where the missiles land in the Sea of Japan or the Pacific Ocean by the Japanese coast, the Korean radars cannot detect them, and information from both sides become necessary to obtain a complete picture. (…) inside the Japanese government there is a confident analysis that "as long as Japan and the US exchange information tightly, there will be no effect of the GSOMIA withdrawal. It is Korea that will be in trouble". However, former Minister of Defense Nakatani Gen of the LDP denies that this system will function and says that "in the case of a missile launch, Japan, the US, and Korea will combine information on the launch and judge the estimated fall point and prepare for inception. The system will stop functioning". Another experienced person from the Ministry of Defense points out that "if information is exchanged through the US, speed will be lost". (Shibue, Tanabe, et al. 2019)

The article is simultaneously part of the *Japan is also/Both are at fault for worsening ties* frame and although it criticises the Korean GSOMIA decision, the message is that Japan and Korea have to cooperate closely because of the uncertain security situation in Northeast Asia.

The favourability of Korea as a partner is further portrayed through bottom-up experiences. The following is a news report from *Asahi* on Korean participants in the atomic bomb memorial service in Hiroshima on August 5th:

> There were also calls for friendship from the students. Sobu Eitsuki (23) from Waseda Graduate School said that "exactly because of these times, it is meaningful people from both Japan and Korea gathered at the occasion for the memorial service for Korean victims. I hope good relations will begin from the small place of our young generation". (Mitsui and Kitamura 2019)

The article exemplifies that there are civil voices who work to better the relationship between the two countries, thus adding a more nuanced perspective on Japanese-Korean relations. This viewpoint is further represented in a *Mainichi* feature article on the Korean boom amongst young Japanese (Kusakabe 2019). These articles illustrate the differences across the newspapers in the dataset, as they paint a very different portrayal of Koreans compared to the bottom-up experience from *Yomiuri* that was quoted under *Korea is emotional/uncivilised*. Based on the findings thus far, it is very unlikely that similar articles would have been published in either *Yomiuri* or *Sankei*: indeed, there are no articles present in the dataset from these newspapers that argue for a positive perspective on Korea.

5.5.2 Japan is also/Both are at fault for worsening ties

This frame is the second most common amongst the positive identity frames with 10 articles and combines articles arguing that Japan is partially responsible for the deteriorating relations with Korea. Thus, it is the counter-frame to *Korea is at fault for worsening ties*. This frame is distributed between *Asahi* (3), *Mainichi* (3), and *Nikkei* (4). The identity frame occurs in all topic frames apart from *tourism* with a preference for the *politics* frame (9) and within this *Japan-Korea relations* (7). It is furthermore commonly connected with the *Korea is a valued partner* identity frame (e.g. Jin 2019).

The general argument of this frame is that although Korea has not behaved well, Japan is not without blame in the downturn in Japan-Korea relations. This means that several articles frame this argument by criticising both governments equally. The following opinion from *Nikkei* thus begins with arguments that mirror *Korea is at fault for worsening ties* before arguing that Japan is responsible as well:

The Moon administration did not protect the Comfort Women Agreement between Japan and Korea and ignored the 1965 Settlement Agreement. When seen from Japan, Korea's actions are indeed strange, since this became the trigger for the worsening of Japanese-Korean relations.

However, it is not good to just refute Korea. Japan's attitude is also somewhat overbearing. Why is the Korean government not doing anything although Japan's sentiments towards Korea are worsening? Korea surely also has suitable reasons, but there was no mood towards understanding this at all from the side of Japan. (Ogura 2019)

This quote is particularly interesting because Japan is argued to be "overbearing" or "authoritarian" (*itakedaka*) in its treatment of Korea, which speaks against the previous arguments of Japanese superiority over Korea. The frame thus adds a critique to the Japanese political approach towards the issue, which is further represented in the following *Mainichi* column:

The Japanese strengthening of export controls towards Korea has hurt the feelings of the Korean citizens, and the boycott movement of Japanese products is a force that can ignite a boycott of the games at next summer's Tokyo Olympics. That it has come to this mess is the political responsibility of the leadership of both Japan and Korea. However, if prime minister Abe Shinzō wants to genuinely discuss the issue of history understanding, shouldn't he change his attitude of slamming the door to Korea's proposals? It is important to have a discussion process with trust as its base instead of hurrying to solve the problem, since the controversy regarding history understanding can open the wounds of the past. (…)

The governments of Japan and Korea blame each other for the conscripted worker problem, saying that "the ball for solution is in the other's court". (Horiyama 2019)

The writer here justifies the development of the boycott movement based on the Japanese export restrictions as these have hurt the feelings of the Koreans. Japan is thus not just framed as being partly responsible for the worsening ties, but also the emergence of the boycott movement itself. The quote

further illustrates a critical stance towards Abe, which is reflected in many articles in *Mainichi* (e.g. Akiyama et al. 2019; Shibue, Tanabe, et al. 2019).

Korean experiences are further embraced by incorporating civil Korean voices. The following *Asahi* news report interviews a Korean man about the boycotts:

> A Korean male office worker in his 50s who supports the conservative opposition believes that "it is liberal organisations and people who pull the boycott movement. Recently the Korean side uses the situation politically". On the other hand, he also warns against the Japanese side. "The reason why the problem became so big is surely not because only one part of Japan and Korea behaved badly?" (Itō et al. 2019)

The inclusion of these Korean voices isolates the boycott movement as a single segment of the Korean society instead of generalising the movement as a representation of Korean society as a whole, which was seen in the negative narrative. Furthermore, the interview makes Korean experiences of Japanese measures visible to the readership and thus creates a more balanced view of the movement.

5.5.3 Korea is not anti-Japan

The *Korea is not anti-Japan* frame is a response frame to the arguments that anti-Japanese sentiments penetrate all of Korean society. There are six occurrences of the frame distributed between *Asahi* (3), *Mainichi* (2), and *Nikkei* (1). All articles belong to the *boycotts* topic frame while one *Asahi* article simultaneously is part of the *Moon Jae-in* frame. This means that all articles of this frame argue against the claim that Korea is all anti-Japanese within reports on the boycott movement. The following quote from a column published in *Mainichi* is thus representative of the frame. After mentioning her experiences of the boycotts in Korea, the write notes:

> However, it's not like all people sympathise with the boycotts. Just as I was home in Japan, I received a call from my friend Kim Yu-na (43) that she "was thinking about going to Japan". She didn't seem to care about the recent atmosphere since "politics are politics". Another friend confessed that "I want to go to Japan, but if I go I can't even post pictures on Instagram". Recently, I have received increased worry from my friends whether I "hadn't had any unpleasant experiences?" or if I

"was okay?". In Korea just now, it's difficult to publicly support Japan, so I don't think it's right to lump Korea together as "anti-Japanese". (Shibue 2019)

The bottom line is that although anti-Japanese feelings do exist within the boycott movement, it is just as prevalent not to have anything against Japan. A similar argument relating to Instagram is reflected in an *Asahi* news report, where it is noted that one of the reasons for an 80% drop in tourist going to Japan through the travel agency HANATOUR is that the travellers cannot brag about their trip on Instagram (Takuya Suzuki 2019). These experiences serve to illustrate that some of the participants of the boycott movement only follow it due to social pressures and not because they are fundamentally anti-Japanese. In addition, the concern of the Korean friends in the quote above serve to illustrate the warmth of the Korean people, who again are not constructed as a fearful Other. Instead, the article demonstrates that Korea is not a generalisable society where all mindlessly follow the boycotts against Japan.

5.5.4 Korea is just another country

Korea is just another country is the least common of the positive identity frames with a total of five articles in *Asahi* (3) and *Mainichi* (2). These articles are distributed between the *politics* topic subframes (4) and the *boycotts* frame (2) and promote a nuanced understanding of Korea, where Korea is recognised as just being another country that is of equal value to Japan. Thus, the following opinion piece published in *Asahi* advocates intercultural understanding between Japan and Korea:

> In Japan we eat with a rice bowl, but the Korean eating manners are different. As a neighbouring country, the appearances are similar, so we tend to look at Korea with a similar sense as we look at Japan, but because it is a foreign country, differences in thoughts are natural. People who have travelled between Japan and Korea tend to feel familiarity with the people of the other country. The only way to solve the conflict and grudge between Japan and Korea is by increasing opportunities for cultural exchange to get to know the other party. (Kohari 2019)

The effect of this promotion is that Korea is not Othered negatively, and the article thus again exemplifies how many of the positive articles do not create a hierarchical Self-Other representation of Japan and Korea. Instead, it is the similarity between the two that facilitate a sense of "familiarity"

and which should make intercultural understanding easy when properly attempted. This frame is thus in stark contrast to the negative Othering of Korea present in the negative identity frames.

5.5.5 Summary

Similar to the negative identity frames, the positive identity frames are primarily connected to the *boycotts* and *Japan-Korea relations* topic frames and construct Korea as a naturally different, but not negative, Other that is of value to Japan. However, the positive frames are only present in *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, and *Nikkei*, with a particular prevalence in the first two; no article in *Yomiuri* or *Sankei* draw on the positive identity frames. While this is related to the fact that these papers do not have any articles within the positive tone (Section 5.2), it is significant that none of the nuanced articles in either newspaper incorporate positive identity frames on Korea. This illustrates a visible difference in the framing across the newspapers in the dataset.

5.6 The Neutral/Nuanced Articles

The previous two sections detailed the identity frame findings of the thesis, illustrating how Korea is identified as both an emotional and faulty Other as well as a valued partner. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse in detail, this section briefly discusses the neutral/nuanced articles to present a balanced understanding of the framing of the boycott movement and Korean identity.

A total of 41 articles coded as neutral/nuanced present no reflections on identification of Korea. These articles are distributed across all newspapers although they are most prevalent in *Nikkei* (13), followed by *Asahi* (9), *Sankei* (7), *Mainichi* (6), and *Yomiuri* (6). This means that a majority of the 59 neutral/nuanced articles as shown in figure 1 (section 5.2) and thus 32% of the dataset do not include any identity frame on Korea. A majority of 24 of these articles are situated within the *economy* primary topic frame, although all topic frames are represented in these neutral articles. While topics less controversial than the boycott movement likely will be represented more neutrally, the sheer number of neutral/nuanced articles are indicative of the prevalence of unbiased reporting in Japanese media as demonstrated by several scholars (Section 2.2.2; Kožíšek 2016; Killmeier and Chiba 2010).

Amongst the topic frames of this study, *boycotts* is likely the most contested. Of the 39 articles coded within the *boycotts* topic frame, 11 are coded as neutral/nuanced and simultaneously not connected to any identity frame. This means that 28 and thus most of the *boycotts* framed articles participate in the identity framing of Korea, although it is significant that 28% of the articles framed within such a controversial topic represents it through unbiased discourses. This means that, despite

the prevalence of articles without an identity frame in the dataset, the *boycotts* topic frames are most commonly described in a way that either negatively Others or positively supports Korea.

Thus, although the Japanese press is often argued to be homogenous, self-censored and neutral (Section 2.2.2), within the case of the boycott movement as reported over the 50 days period in this study, the five big national newspapers in Japan most commonly reports on the issue in ways that negatively or positively create certain narratives of South Korean identity. As illustrated throughout this chapter, the movement is connected to as disparate identity frames as *Korea is emotional/uncivilised* and *Korea is a valued partner*. The following chapter now sums up the thesis and discusses implications of these findings.

6.0 Conclusion

The five big national Japanese newspapers frame South Korean identity through nine identity frames and nine topic frames in articles on the Korean boycott movement of Japanese products published between August 2nd and September 20th 2019. These frames were extracted through an inductive analysis of themes and tones of 128 articles across *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, *Nikkei*, *Yomiuri*, and *Sankei*. The combination of identity and topic frames constructs two opposing narratives of Korean identity and the boycott movement.

The first narrative, and across the dataset the most common, is a negative identification, where Korea is depicted as an emotional/uncivilised, unlawful/untrustworthy, unreasonable, and distinctively 'Asian' Other who is at fault for worsening the relationship between Japan and Korea. Korea is constructed as an exploiter of Japanese goodwill, and the boycotts as unreasonable protests against Japan's rational decision to restrict exports to the disruptive Korea. This narrative reflects previous research on identity in Japan-Korea relations, particularly relating to the persistency of constructing Koreans as emotional and uncivilised as well as the allusions to a Japanese Self that is superior both in character and knowledge (Tamaki 2010; Bukh 2015; Hagström and Gustafsson 2015). The narrative construction shares similarities with Kožíšek's (2016) study on North Korean identity by frequently generalising Korea as one coherent unity and referring to Moon Jae-in as a representation of Korea as a whole.

The second narrative differs starkly from these claims by framing Korea as a valued partner, who is not anti-Japanese, but rather just another country with different cultural values compared to Japan. This narrative further insists that both Japan and Korea are responsible for their declining relations and thus represent a more favourable depiction of Korea. The participants of the boycott movement are here argued to be just one small group within a diverse Korea and in several cases as partaking in the movement because of social pressures rather than deep-rooted anti-Japanese sentiments. This illustrates how Othering is not inherently negative as noted on by Hagström and Gustafsson (2015), since e.g. cultural differences are argued to be natural rather than signifying inferiority.

Although there are fewer instances of this latter positive narrative in the dataset as a whole, there is a significant difference across the newspapers. Most visibly, *Yomiuri* and *Sankei* do not include any positive identity frames on Korea, and the negative identity frames are likewise most common in these conservative newspapers. While *Asahi* and *Mainichi* do participate in the negative Othering of Korea, they primarily draw on the positive narrative of Korea and particularly stress the importance of Japanese-Korean cooperation. *Nikkei* includes both negative and positive

narrativisations of Korea but is predominantly neutral/nuanced. This study thus supports the claims that the Japanese press is not homogeneous as there is a very visible split between the liberal and the conservative press, while *Nikkei* is placed in-between (C. J. Kim 2017; Killmeier and Chiba 2010; O'Shea 2018; Shinoda 2007; Seaton 2006; Fontenot, Luther, and Coman 2014).

Whether the emphasis on the positive narrative signifies an additional shift in Japanese identification of Korea towards more positive characteristics, as discussed in section 2.1.1, is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis. Still, the boycott case illustrates that Japanese identity construction of South Korea is not a one-sided negative stereotype, even if this negative narrative is widely represented in the conservative press

Nevertheless, the persistency of a negative narrative may further strain both political and civil frictions between Japan and South Korea. Although this thesis cannot evaluate the impact of this identification, framing serves to legitimise and delegitimise certain reality constructions to the readership. The complete absence of a positive narrative of Korea in *Yomiuri* and *Sankei* is thus likely to influence public perceptions with a largely one-sided narrative that faults Korea while justifying the Japanese actions, even if a more positive and nuanced perspective is represented in the liberal and financial press. If such a narrative becomes ingrained in society, ameliorating decades of harsh political rhetoric and tensions has bleak prospects.

Meanwhile, although most *boycott* topic frames are connected to identity frames and thus a narrative, a large part of the dataset is coded as neutral/nuanced. While several of these articles do incorporate claims of either the positive or negative narrative, the majority incorporates no identity frame of Korea and reports in a largely identical manner. Studies on less controversial issues may thus find a greater tendency towards homogeneity in the Japanese press; Pak (2016) indeed did argue that Korea is represented more negatively in the press during crises with Japan. Yet, this thesis illustrates that even articles which mention the contested boycott movement frame several topics, such as economy, largely neutrally.

This study thus suggests that, although the boycott movement and related trade disputes are claimed to represent a historic low in Japan-Korea relations, the Japanese press is split between a primarily negative identity framing in the conservative papers and a tendency towards more positive identity framing in the liberal papers. Importantly, these findings are limited to the case of the boycott movement and, within this, the five chosen newspapers and the selected timeframe. These findings could be further validated through additional studies of Japanese constructions of Korean identity through other cases, such as the comfort women and the Takeshima/Dokdo issues. Such studies could

develop on the approach suggested in this thesis by e.g. focusing more on the construction of a Japanese Self-identity vis-à-vis the Korean Other. This would simultaneously enable a comparison of Korean identity construction in the Japanese press across cases and time, thus addressing several of the limitations of this thesis. The prevalence of neutral/nuanced articles and their impact on the framing of Korean identity would additionally comprise an interesting study, adding to the debate on the Self-Other identity dichotomy in Japan-Korea relations.

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Appendix A: Timeline of the Trade Dispute

Timeline outlining key events leading up to the emergence of the boycott movement. Only events most relevant to this study are mentioned; the timeline stops after the timeframe of this study expires.

1997		Two former works sue Nippon Steel & Sumimoto Metal on allegations of forced labour at a Japanese court, but lose the case.
2004		South Korea is added to Japan's whitelist as the only Asian country.
2005		The plaintiffs from the 1997 case and two additional former workers take their case to South Korean courts, but lose.
2012		The 2005 case is reassessed in a lower court after a decision by the Korean Supreme Court.
2013		A lower court ruling decides that Nippon Steel & Sumitomo Metal shall compensate the four former workers. The company appeals. Other cases follow, amongst these a case against Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, who is demanded to compensate five former workers and likewise appeals.
2015		Signing of the Comfort Women Agreement.
2016		Signing of GSOMIA.
2018	**Oct. 30**	The Korean Supreme Court confirms the 2013 case, demanding compensation from Nippon Steel & Sumitomo Metal to four former workers. Similar cases follow in November. All companies involved have their assets in Korea seized, since they refuse to pay compensation.
2019	**Jul. 1**	Japan announces restrictions of fluorinated polyimide, hydrogen fluoride, and photoresists which are used in the manufacturing of e.g. smartphones and television screens by South Korea. Japan argues that this is necessary due to security concerns that the materials may have been smuggled to e.g. North Korea, Iran, and Malaysia.
	Jul. 4	The Japanese restrictions take effect.
	Jul. 24	Korea addresses the export tightening at the WTO General Council.
	Aug. 2	Japan announces that it will remove Korea from the Japanese whitelist of trading partners.
	Aug. 12	Korea announces that it will remove Japan from the Korean whitelist.
	Aug. 18	Korea announces that it will abandon GSOMIA.
	Aug. 28	Korea is officially removed from the Japanese whitelist.
	Sep. 11	Korea requests a WTO dispute settlement with Japan.
	Sep. 18	Japan is officially removed from the Korean whitelist.

Timeframe of the study (bracket spanning Aug. 2 to Sep. 18)

Sources: Choe 2018; Choe and Gladstone 2018; *The Japan Times* 2019; Johnson and Murakami 2019; Kyodo 2019; S. Sugiyama 2019a, 2019b; Shin 2019; World Trade Organization 2019.