

Portrayal of THAAD's Political, Economic, and Cultural Implications in Korean and Chinese Newspapers

A Comparative Analysis in "The Korea Times" and "Global Times" Coverage

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Abstract

This thesis analyzed the portrayal of the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system in South Korea by “The Korea Times” and the “Global Times,” focusing on its political, economic, and cultural implications. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) within Fairclough's three-dimensional framework, it examined how these newspapers depict THAAD and its broader impacts. The research found that “The Korea Times” often presents THAAD in a balanced way, emphasizing security needs and diplomatic efforts with language supporting proactive defense and international cooperation. In contrast, the “Global Times” uses a more assertive tone, framing THAAD as a threat to regional stability and Chinese sovereignty, closely aligning with Chinese government policies. This analysis also revealed that both newspapers' portrayals reflect and influence their countries' socio-cultural and political contexts. “The Korea Times” reflected South Korea’s diplomatic struggles and sovereignty concerns, while the “Global Times” reinforced China's stance against U.S. hegemony and its regional ambitions. The study highlighted the media's critical role in international relations, showing how THAAD narratives shape and are shaped by geopolitical contexts, emphasizing the need for critical engagement with media content to understand underlying national and international agendas.

Keywords: THAAD, Media portrayal, South Korea, China, Critical Discourse Analysis, International relations, Global Times, The Korea Times

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Background

On August 23, 2023, China and South Korea celebrated the 31st anniversary of their diplomatic relations, highlighting three decades of significant economic, cultural, and diplomatic growth. On this day in 1992, in Beijing, the two parties formalized their friendship through a joint declaration, underscoring mutual equality and peaceful coexistence. This declaration also included a mutual recognition of the ‘One China’ principle and a pledge towards the ‘peaceful reunification of the Korean Peninsula,’ marking the start of a new era of cooperation (Hwang, 2021, p. 218). Since establishing ties in 1992, South Korea's exports to China have increased by more than 160 times, according to the latest figures, reflecting their intertwined economic relationship (Chen & Liu, 2022). Regarding North Korea policy, both parties agree on the critical need for the ‘freeze-for-freeze’ strategy, which mandates the simultaneous suspension of North Korea's nuclear and missile tests and ROK-U.S. joint military exercises. This strategy is viewed as necessary for facilitating the ‘dual-track’ approach, which pursues concurrent denuclearization and peace treaty discussions (Hwang, 2021, p. 219). However, the current state of relationship between the two nations is defined by a myriad of issues, the most serious of which is the deployment of Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD)¹ and the resulting economic sanctions imposed on South Korea.

On July 8, 2016, South Korea and the United States declared their intention to install the THAAD system in South Korea to counter North Korean missile threats. Despite significant resistance from China, the system was deployed in 2017 (Ha, 2023, p.325). China criticized the deployment as a national security threat, arguing that the system's radar capabilities could reach its territory and undermine its strategic deterrence (Han, 2019, p.540). Chinese concerns extended to fears that THAAD could intercept its missiles and allow the U.S. to enhance its

¹ “THAAD is designed to intercept short- and medium-range ballistic missiles up to 200 kilometers (125 miles) away and up to 150 kilometers (93 miles) in altitude as they descend to their target, and is far superior to other land-based missile defense systems deployed in South Korea (Republic of Korea or ROK). [...] According to most estimates, THAAD’s X-band radar has a range up to approximately 2,000 kilometers (1,243 miles) in “forward-based mode,” which reaches most of the eastern half of China from the deployment site in the southeastern county of Seongju, North Gyeongsang Province, South Korea” (Meick and Salijanova, 2017, p.3)

surveillance and bolster its military presence in East Asia (Seo, 2021, p.198). This has led China to impose economic sanctions on South Korea , restricting tourism, cultural exchanges, and trade, subsequently weakening economic interactions between the two nations (Han, 2019, p.540). Furthermore, the THAAD controversy has strained economic relations and significantly affected the social and cultural connections, shaping how Korean and Chinese citizens view each other. As Lee (2022, p. 27) notes, the THAAD debate has become a defining factor in South Korea-China relations, creating a demarcation line between the periods before and after THAAD.

Seo (2021, p.196) points out that the THAAD deployment decision escalated tensions between China, South Korea, and the United States, turning the issue into a widely discussed topic across mainstream and regional media outlets in East Asia . She further notes that media coverage on the THAAD deployment varied significantly, with reports showing clear divisions in support or opposition, influenced by the national and regional perspectives of the respective media outlets (Seo, 2021,p.196). Ha (2023, p.324) argues that while media outlets have the potential to positively impact global events through raising awareness and suggesting solutions, they also risk perpetuating conflicts by disseminating misinformation and biased perspectives. Consequently, it becomes essential to explore how the media portrays such an issue, especially given the substantial role of media in international politics.

2. Research Problem

Despite the strategic geopolitical significance of the THAAD system's deployment in South Korea, there remains a significant gap in scholarly literature regarding how this issue is portrayed in the media of the most directly impacted nations—South Korea and China. While many studies have focused on the immediate political and economic impacts, less attention has been paid to the media's coverage of the issue. To address this gap, this thesis analyzes news reports from the English-language editions of two national newspapers: the “Global Times” (Chinese) and “The Korea Times” (Korean). These newspapers were selected for their influential status in their respective countries, with the Global Times representing state-aligned perspectives and The Korea Times providing views from public media. Their English-language editions offer a unique perspective, positioning domestic narratives for an international audience and thus allowing an exploration of how these narratives are crafted to influence global perceptions of the issue.

This thesis will employ critical discourse analysis (CDA), using Fairclough three-dimensional analysis to examine the linguistic strategies and narrative frameworks used by these newspapers. CDA is particularly suited for this study as it allows for the examination of the ways in which language contributes to the construction of social and political realities. Specifically, this analysis will focus on how these publications use language to portray THAAD's political, economic, and cultural implications. This includes examining specific linguistic features found such as lexical choices, which can reveal underlying ideologies. This comprehensive approach aims to deepen the understanding of the THAAD controversy's broader implications, shedding light on how these narratives reflect and shape the socio-cultural context.

To effectively address the research problem, the study will be guided by the following research questions:

- How do The Korea Times and The Global Times portray the political, economic, and cultural implications of THAAD?
 - How do these newspapers use linguistic devices and narrative frameworks to discuss these implications?
 - How does the media narrative of THAAD's implications reflect and reproduce the broader socio-cultural contexts in these two countries?

3. Research Motivation

This thesis is motivated by the crucial need to explore how significant defense policies like THAAD are portrayed in media across different national contexts, specifically in South Korea and China. It seeks to uncover the role of media in framing national security discussions and their broader socio-political effects. By analyzing the narrative strategies and contextual presentations in The Korea Times and The Global Times, the study aims to shed light on how media narratives can influence public perceptions related to THAAD. This approach is expected to provide valuable insights into the dynamic interplay between media coverage and international relations, enriching our understanding of how strategic defense matters in South Korea and China are conveyed to the public.

4. Demarcation

The scope of this thesis is specifically demarcated to examine the portrayal of the THAAD system within two prominent newspapers: The Korea Times and the Global Times. This study focuses exclusively on the English-language editions of these papers to understand how THAAD is represented in a format accessible to an international audience. It is important to note that while these newspapers are influential within their respective nations, they represent only a segment of the broader media landscape. Therefore, findings from this study should be considered within the context of these specific media outlets and not generalized to all media in South Korea and China. Additionally, the analysis is confined to 15 articles from each newspaper, published from the time THAAD was deployed in 2017 up to 2023, providing a contemporary view of the media narrative that does not necessarily reflect historical perspectives or future trajectories.

5. Disposition

The subsequent sections of this thesis are organized as follows. The first chapter provides a comprehensive literature review that traces the evolution of the THAAD issue. Subsequently, the theoretical and methodological framework is outlined in a dedicated chapter, elucidating the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. The analysis section is divided into two chapters: the first delves into textual and discourse practice analysis, while the second explores socio-cultural contextual factors. Lastly, the conclusion and discussion chapter integrates the findings of the thesis and addresses the research questions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

1. Introduction

The Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system's deployment in South Korea has spurred a great deal of scholarly research, encompassing economic repercussions, geopolitical dynamics and strategic responses, and the interplay between public opinion and media narratives. These studies collectively address the multifaceted impacts of THAAD, revealing the depth of its implications for regional security, international diplomacy, and domestic political landscapes. Through this structured review, the aim is to identify existing research gaps and provide a solid foundation for this study's investigation into how the political, economic, and cultural implications of THAAD are represented in Chinese and Korean newspapers.

2. Economic Repercussions

Amidst the fallout of the THAAD controversy, scholarly inquiry has extensively explored its economic ramifications, particularly concerning South Korea's trade relations with China. Kong's (2022) analysis delves into the economic repercussions of the THAAD conflict, highlighting a pronounced downturn in South Korean exports to China amid heightened political tensions. This study emphasizes the pivotal role China plays in South Korean trade, highlighting the intricate relationship between economic interdependence and political discord. Leveraging the Double-difference model, Kong unveils that while the aftermath of the conflict witnessed a significant decrease in exports, the subsequent enactment of the South Korea-China Free Trade Agreement (FTA) somewhat mitigated the adverse effects, albeit falling short of fully countering the downturn. Concurrently, Yang (2019) delves deeper into China's response mechanisms, depicting South Korea's THAAD deployment as a trigger for targeted sanctions, particularly affecting cultural exports and tourism. This retaliatory measure reflects China's strategic leveraging of economic power to sway political decisions, exploiting the imbalanced interdependence between the two nations and leaving South Korea particularly vulnerable due to its heavy reliance on Chinese trade. Yang's exploration unveils the intricate levels of economic coercion, illustrating a direct correlation between political actions and ensuing economic consequences.

Expanding on the discussion of economic retaliation, Lim & Ferguson (2022) investigate the nuanced nature of China's informal economic sanctions. By documenting the

targeted disruptions across various South Korean industries, their work delves into the specificities of economic coercion beyond broad trade restrictions, highlighting the targeted nature of Chinese sanctions intended to inflict economic pain while attempting to minimize backlash against Chinese interests. This nuanced approach suggests a strategic, rather than blanket, application of economic pressure. Hundt et al. (2023) take the analysis further by examining South Korea's strategic responses to Chinese economic coercion. Their investigation into South Korea's diversification and de-risking strategies illustrates the proactive measures undertaken by Seoul to mitigate the impact of China's retaliatory actions. The study points to an evolution in South Korea's economic policy, aimed at reducing dependency on the Chinese market by exploring alternative markets and bolstering domestic industries. This strategic pivot is indicative of the broader implications of economic coercion, prompting states to reassess and adapt their economic policies in the face of geopolitical tensions. Collectively, these studies provide a comprehensive understanding of the economic fallout from the THAAD controversy, illustrating the intricate interplay between political decisions and economic realities, and the adaptive strategies employed to navigate challenges arising from geopolitical tensions.

3. Geopolitical Dynamics and Strategic Responses

The intricate web of geopolitical dynamics and strategic responses surrounding the THAAD deployment in South Korea provides a rich tapestry for understanding the complex interplay between regional security concerns, alliance politics, and the broader U.S.-China strategic competition. Han's (2019) exploration sets the stage by contextualizing the THAAD deployment within the historical and strategic dynamics of Sino-ROK relations, shaped by the overarching shadow of U.S.-China rivalry. This deployment, perceived by China as a direct security threat, prompted a series of diplomatic and economic reactions that reshaped regional security architectures and tested the resilience of longstanding alliances. Han's narrative underpins the strategic motivations behind the deployment, framed largely by the U.S.'s desire to bolster its missile defense capabilities in the face of North Korean provocations, yet inadvertently heightening Chinese fears of encirclement. Building on this premise, Choi (2023) delves into the psychological undercurrents influencing South Korean security policy highlighting Seoul's fear of abandonment by the United States and its consequent alignment with U.S. strategic goals despite risks of economic and diplomatic fallout with China. Such alignment underscores the delicate balance Seoul must strike between its security ally and

largest trading partner, encapsulating the classic security dilemma faced by smaller states in the midst of great power competition. Jo (2022) examines the repercussions of South Korea's strategic decisions within the framework of bilateral alliances, noting how China's opposition to THAAD, manifested through economic and diplomatic pressures, inadvertently solidified the U.S.-ROK alliance rather than weakening it. This unintended consequence of China's coercive diplomacy highlights the complexities of influence and counter-influence in international relations, where actions intended to drive wedges between allies can reinforce their bonds instead. Jo's analysis complements Choi's by demonstrating how external pressures can strengthen alliance cohesion, particularly when they touch upon core security interests.

Lee (2021) offers a nuanced examination of South Korea's diplomatic challenges following the THAAD deployment, scrutinizing the Moon administration's maneuvers to balance strategic interests between the U.S. and China. This delicate diplomatic dance reflects the broader pursuit of strategic autonomy by middle powers navigating the currents of great power competition. Connolly (2023) shifts the focus to technopolitics, exploring how THAAD deployment materializes U.S. strategic interests while embedding geopolitical narratives into the Korean Peninsula's physical landscape. This perspective highlights the tangible aspects of geopolitical strategies, where technology becomes a conduit for broader political assertions. Yeo (2023) challenges the effectiveness of economic coercion as a tool for geopolitical strategy. By dissecting the limitations of China's sanctions against South Korea in the wake of the THAAD deployment, Yeo's work questions the common belief that economic pressure can easily translate into political leverage. This critical examination adds depth to the analyses provided by Han, Choi, and JO, by suggesting that the relationship between economic coercion and strategic behavior is more complicated and contingent than what is typically assumed.

4. Public Opinion and Media Influence

This section explores the interplay between national narratives, media framing, and public sentiment within the context of the THAAD deployment in South Korea, reflecting on how these elements both influence and reflect broader geopolitical tensions and domestic politics. Ha (2023) provides a critical starting point by examining the portrayal of THAAD in the China Daily, highlighting how the state-aligned newspaper serves as a conduit for the Chinese government's stance, shaping public opinion through nationalistic and confrontational rhetoric. This framing is instrumental in understanding how state narratives can mold public perceptions, particularly in framing the THAAD deployment as an extension of U.S. hegemony,

thus positioning South Korea as complicit in broader geopolitical strategies against China. The portrayal feeds into existing narratives of national pride and sovereignty, deepening the socio-political divide between China and South Korea. In parallel, Seo (2021) delves into the linguistic battleground of the THAAD controversy, comparing how Chinese and Korean media construct and convey their respective national stances through news headlines. This linguistic analysis unveils the strategic use of language to evoke certain emotions and perspectives, thereby guiding public opinion. The divergence in the framing between Chinese and Korean newspapers not only underscores the polarized views on THAAD but also reflects broader cultural and political undercurrents shaping each country's diplomatic posture.

Building on the media's role, Lee et al.(2022) explore the implications of rising anti-China sentiment within South Korea, propelled by the THAAD fallout and media narratives. This shift in public sentiment presents a pivotal moment for U.S.-ROK relations, as it opens avenues for strengthening military and strategic ties in the face of growing public distrust towards China. The authors argue that this changing public sentiment provides a strategic opportunity for the United States to deepen its alliance with South Korea, leveraging media-influenced public opinion to solidify geopolitical alliances against the backdrop of regional tensions. The collective insights from these scholars underscore the crucial role of media and public sentiment in today's geopolitical landscape, especially concerning sensitive issues like the THAAD deployment. They demonstrate how media narratives, shaped by national interests and geopolitical agendas, have significant influence over public opinion, thus molding the trajectory of international relations and domestic policies. This complex relationship between media influence and public sentiment provides a nuanced perspective on the socio-political dynamics that both drive and reflect broader geopolitical strategies and conflicts.

5. Conclusion

The literature review underscores existing gaps within the array of scholarly works concerning the THAAD deployment, particularly in the realm of media representation and analysis. While the studies conducted by Seo (2021) and Ha (2023) mark significant initial explorations into the media landscape surrounding THAAD—Seo employing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) limited to headlines and Ha utilizing framing analysis on a single Chinese newspaper—there remains a substantial gap in comprehensive media narrative examination. Specifically, the in-depth analysis of full news stories, as opposed to merely headlines, and the comparative assessment across multiple Chinese and Korean news outlets

have not been adequately explored. Moreover, while most research on THAAD has primarily concentrated on its political, economic, and strategic impacts, there has been less emphasis on how the media shapes public opinion and national narratives. Recognizing the significant role that media discourse can play in international relations, particularly in forming the socio-political context in which THAAD is perceived and understood, would further enrich the existing literature.

The present research, therefore, seeks to bridge this critical gap by conducting an extensive Critical Discourse Analysis of news stories from both Chinese and Korean newspapers. By expanding the scope of analysis beyond headlines to entire news narratives and encompassing a broader spectrum of media outlets, this study aims to provide a more nuanced understanding of the portrayal of THAAD's political, economic and cultural implications by Chinese (Global Times) and Korean (The Korea Times) newspapers . This approach will not only contribute to our understanding of the interplay between media representation and international relations, but will also offer new insights into the dynamics of Sino-Korean ties amidst the THAAD deployment.

Chapter 3: Theoretical and Methodological Framework

According to Holzschleiter (2014, p.144), the significance of language in international politics is widely recognized, shifting scholarly focus towards exploring the intricacies of its importance. This evolving perspective has given rise to diverse discourse approaches in contemporary studies, particularly in constructivist research, which posits that our understanding of social life and the objects of our knowledge are intrinsically linked to our interpretations and language. Holzschleiter (2014) articulates that constructivists commonly use the concept of discourse to define and apply social constructs like ideas, identities, or norms, illustrating that these constructs are not inherent but are instead shaped by discursive practices and the structures of shared social meanings. An example of this is the idea of 'nuclear danger,' which is formed through discourse (p.145).

To capture intersubjective meanings, constructivists use different methods, one of which is discourse analysis. While critical theorists initially highlighted the role of discourse analysis in international relations, constructivists have further developed this approach. They not only emphasize the importance of interpreting international actions to comprehend interpersonal relationships but also maintain that these actions are themselves products of socially constructed discursive practices (Godinho, 2014, p.6). The framework for this study is further informed by developments in discourse analysis as discussed by Ghica (2013). Discourse analysis has evolved across three generations, each adopting different perspectives on discourse, ranging from treating language as a textual unit to viewing it in the context of social practices, with a significant influence from Foucault and Derrida (Ghica, 2013). This evolution underpins the adoption of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), an approach significantly developed by Norman Fairclough (Ghica, 2013, p.5).

Since its establishment in the 1980s, CDA has evolved into a prominent field within the social sciences, as noted by Wodak (2014, p. 302). According to Van Dijk (2015, p.465), 'Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)' is discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context". In a similar vein, Fairclough (2010) defines Critical Discourse analysis as:

“Discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices,

events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony”(p.93)

Wodak (2014, p. 302) elaborates that CDA represents a “problem-oriented interdisciplinary research program,” bringing together diverse approaches. Despite their different theoretical frameworks and methodologies, these approaches share a collective focus on the semiotic dimensions of power, inequality, and shifts within social, political, economic, or cultural contexts. According to Aydin-Düzgit (2014, p. 357), CDA methodologies typically treat discursive practices as vital social mechanisms that fundamentally shape the societal framework, including how identities and relationships are formed. These methodologies focus on elucidating the discursive dimensions of social and cultural transformations and dynamics, while differentiating and linking discursive elements with non-discursive aspects of social life. Van Dijk (2015, p. 468) notes that the majority of critical discourse analyses focus on how specific discourse structures contribute to the preservation of social domination, regardless of genre or context, such as conversations, news stories, or other formats. As a result, many CDA researchers' research and analysis revolve around important ideas such as power, dominance, hegemony, and ideology..

In the 21st century, the understanding and assessment of power and ideology is increasingly dependent on information and discourse conveyed through communication channels and mass media. Given the international system's increased reliance on evolving information and communication technologies, politicians, state officials, and international bodies are recognizing and leveraging communication as a vital resource of power (Coban, 2016, p. 55). Building on this premise, it becomes imperative to delve into media discourse, which consists of structured interactions through broadcast platforms, targeting an audience that traditionally cannot respond immediately—a situation that is evolving with new media technologies. This form of communication, being public and intentionally crafted, necessitates an in-depth analysis of its construction methods and the ideological content it carries (O’keeffe, 2011, p.441). Notably, there has been a significant rise in CDA research examining news coverage, of crucial social and political events like the Gulf and Iraq wars, the war on drugs, and terrorism (Van Dijk, 2015, p.477). Fairclough, for instance, delves into the hidden

ideologies within news reports and his seminal work, *Media Discourse*, provides a comprehensive review of various media discourse methodologies and introduces his ‘sociocultural approach’ for the analysis of media texts (Yu and Zheng, 2022, p.349). His analytical framework, known for its depth, examines the complex interplay between discourse, ideology, and power, particularly in discursive events.

1. Fairclough three-dimensional approach

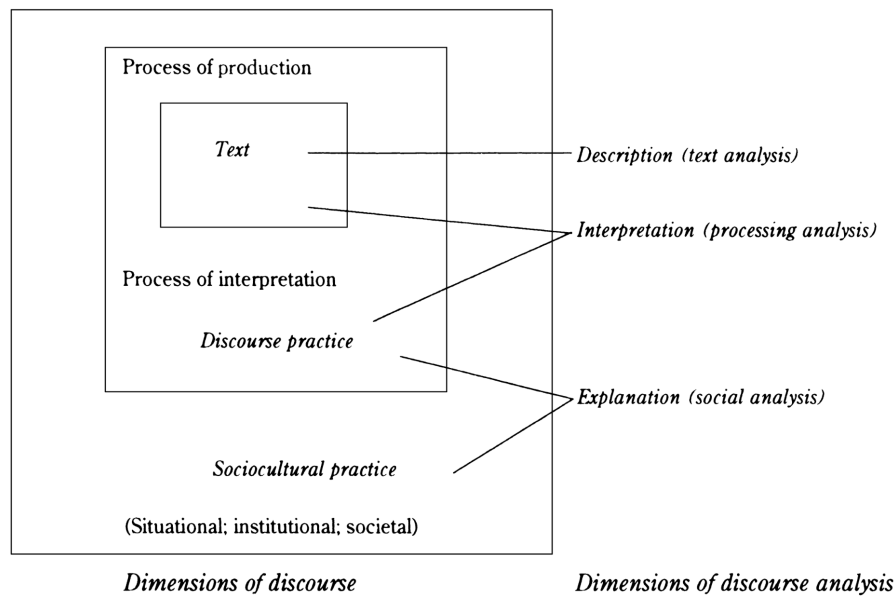


Figure 1: CDA Three Dimensional Approach (Fairclough,2010,p.133)

Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which is fundamental to this study, methodically examines the relationship between discourse and social structures. Fairclough posits that each discursive event encompasses three interrelated aspects: it is realized as a text, either spoken or written; it involves discourse practice, encompassing the production and interpretation of the text; and it acts as an element of social practice, embedding the language within a wider societal context (Fairclough, 2010, p.94). These levels of discourse align with his proposed three stages of CDA: firstly, a linguistic ‘description’ that examines the language within the text; secondly, an ‘interpretation’ of how discursive activities, both in terms of production and interpretation, interact with the text; and finally, an ‘explanation’ of how these discursive activities are connected to wider social contexts (Fairclough, 2010, p.132). This framework is useful for analyzing how media representations of political, economic, and cultural issues, such as those surrounding THAAD,

are not only constructed through language but also serve to construct reality within public discourse.

1.1. The First Dimension: Textual Analysis/Description

Fairclough (2010) introduces a text analysis model that seamlessly integrates the structure and meaning of texts. He organizes text content into three primary categories: 'ideational', focusing on the portrayal of experiences; 'interpersonal', aiding in shaping personal and social identities; and 'textual', managing the distribution of information. Within the 'interpersonal' dimension, he distinguishes two key functions: the 'identity' function, which is concerned with forming personal and social identities, and the 'relational' function, which structures relationships (Fairclough, 2010, p.94). Fairclough employs an extensive set of analytical tools to examine texts, which aid in identifying various patterns and interactions. These tools include grammar (transitivity and modality), transformations (nominalization and passivisation), activation, and vocabulary (word meaning, wording, and metaphor) (Fairclough, 1992, p.234-237; Billig, 2008, p.785). Among these linguistic features, wording, transformations and activation will be analysed as they uncover how subtle changes in language choice and structure can reveal underlying biases and manipulate perceptions within media narratives about THAAD. Wording examines how meanings are constructed differently across various texts, aiming to reveal the underlying interpretive perspectives that inform these constructions (Fairclough, 1992, p.236-237). Transformations such as nominalization, which turns phrases into nouns, and passivization, which converts active sentences into passive forms, can obscure the roles of agents. This obscurity can serve to hide ideological biases within a text (Fairclough, 1992, p.27). Additionally, the choice to use active voice, termed activation, will be analyzed, as its use is not random but ideologically driven, underscoring the importance of linguistic choices in conveying ideological stances (Billig, 2008, p.785).

1.2. The Second Dimension: Discourse-Practice Analysis/Interpretation

Fairclough (1992, p.95; 2010, p.94) states that discourse-practice analysis focuses on the sociocognitive elements involved in the creation and dissemination of texts. Fairclough stresses that this analysis closely examines immediate interactions between participants as they generate and interpret texts, underscoring the value of conversation analysis and pragmatics in this context. It also examines the connections between these interactions and the wider discourse structure, analyzing the specific discursive practices used and their various

combinations (Fairclough, 2010, p.95). In this thesis, the focus on discourse practices is centered around the concept of interdiscursivity, which exposes the “heterogeneity of texts” by demonstrating how they are shaped through the interplay of various genres and discourses. This concept is deeply connected to intertextuality, which adopts a historical lens, viewing texts as transformative mediums that carry forward existing conventions or earlier texts into contemporary contexts (Fairclough, 2010, p. 95). In this thesis, the analysis will focus on three intertextual elements to examine the production of text samples: reported speech, direct quotes, and the specificity of news sources. According to Yu and Zheng (2022, p. 358-359), news sources can be categorized as specific, semi-specific, or unidentified . The specificity of these sources is directly correlated with the objectivity of the news report; more specific sources tend to enhance the report's objectivity. These elements were selected for their critical roles in constructing the narrative and credibility of news articles. The use of reported speech and direct quotes provides insight into the journalistic practices of framing and representation, which can influence the audience’s perception of the news. Additionally, the specificity of sources is directly correlated with the objectivity of the news report; more specific sources tend to enhance the report's objectivity.

1.3. The Third Dimension: Socio-Cultural Practice Analysis/Explanation

In the explanation phase, Fairclough seeks to uncover the socio-cultural conditions that shape discursive practices within texts. His method involves analyzing the discursive event through the lens of social practice, exploring its impact at multiple levels of social organization, from the immediate context of the situation to broader institutional and cultural societal contexts (Fairclough, 2010, p.95). Fairclough (1992, p.237) points out that analyzing social practices within discourse is complex and goes beyond mere checklists; it involves broad principles that help elucidate the nature and effects of social practices, the reasons behind certain discursive actions, and their wider societal impacts. He emphasizes the ‘social matrix of discourse’ to detail the social and hegemonic relations and structures that characterize particular social and discursive practices, assessing whether they uphold, challenge, or alter these structures, and exploring their role in either perpetuating or modifying them (Fairclough, 1992, p.237). Likewise, the concept of ‘orders of discourse’ is designed to examine the interaction of a specific discourse with established discourse frameworks, evaluating its role in either reinforcing or altering these frameworks (Fairclough, 1992, p.237-238). Furthermore, the analysis extends to the ideological and political consequences of discourse, including the

exploration of knowledge systems, social relationships, and identities (Fairclough, 1992, p.238). This multi-layered approach ensures a comprehensive exploration of discourse as a dynamic element within social practice.

This comprehensive framework underpins the analysis in this thesis, which meticulously examines how “The Korea Times” and the “Global Times” use discourse to construct and communicate national identities within the socio-political context of THAAD, revealing the intricate ways media narratives shape and are shaped by underlying social structures and power dynamics.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

1. Research Design

This thesis adopts a qualitative approach grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis, particularly Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to investigate how “The Korea Times” and the “Global Times” portray the political, economic, and cultural implications of the THAAD within the distinct political and cultural contexts of South Korea and China. It examines extracted sentences that specifically discuss these implications in 30 news articles from the two newspapers. To complement the detailed qualitative analysis, quantitative methods through frequency distribution analysis are employed to quantify the prevalence of specific linguistic and discursive elements across the selected articles. This quantitative support not only backs the qualitative findings but also highlights the frequency and consistency with which linguistic and discursive devices are utilized, enhancing the depth of the analysis and facilitating the comparative analysis of the two newspapers.

Grounded in a constructivist ontology, which “asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors” (Bryman, 2015, p.29), the research posits that media do not merely reflect but actively construct realities. These narratives are shaped by and help shape the social and political environments, influencing public perception and policy. This perspective is complemented by an interpretivist epistemological stance, which values subjective interpretation over objective measurement (Bryman, 2016, p.26). Such an approach is vital in media studies, particularly effective for understanding the nuanced portrayals that significantly impact public and policy perspectives.

By focusing on a detailed examination of specific text samples, the research design allows for an in-depth exploration of how each newspaper discusses THAAD’s political, economic, and cultural implications. This focused exploration reveals the unique ways each newspaper frames these issues, reflecting their respective national perspectives and editorial policies.

2. Material

This study focuses on “The Korea Times” and the “Global Times” due to their prominent roles in shaping discourse within their respective countries and their broader influence on international audiences. “The Korea Times,” South Korea's oldest English-language newspaper, provides insights into how South Korea communicates its defense strategies and geopolitical

stances to a global audience, making it an essential source for understanding regional perspectives on THAAD's implications. Similarly, the "Global Times", known for its direct ties to the Chinese government's views and its English edition aimed at international readers, offers a crucial counterpoint from China's perspective. To capture the full scope of the discourse from January 2017 to December 2023, a systematic initial collection of all articles mentioning THAAD was performed. This extensive time frame was chosen to encompass the evolving discussions on THAAD, beginning from its significant surge in media attention in early 2017 and extending to capture subsequent developments over the years. This period is critical for analyzing both the immediate and long-term implications of THAAD as covered by the two newspapers.

Articles were systematically retrieved using each newspaper's digital archives, employing keywords such as "THAAD", "missile defense" and other related terms to ensure comprehensive coverage. Each article was initially reviewed based on its headline and summary to determine relevance. If an article was deemed pertinent, it was downloaded in full for detailed analysis. This methodical screening process ensured that the data collected was directly relevant to the study's focus on the political, economic, and cultural discussions surrounding THAAD. From the initial dataset, purposive sampling was utilized to select 15 articles from each newspaper that most thoroughly discussed THAAD's implications. This method, as described by Bryman (2016, p.408), strategically selects cases that are highly relevant to the research questions, ensuring a focused and deepened analysis of the aspects of THAAD that are critical to this study. Once the most pertinent articles were identified, a detailed extraction process was initiated. During this phase, specific sentences pertaining to the political, economic, and cultural implications of THAAD were extracted for analysis.

3. Data Analysis

This thesis employs a qualitative approach to analyze the portrayal of THAAD's political, economic, and cultural implications in "The Korea Times" and "The Global Times". The analysis is based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis, which enables a comprehensive examination of textual elements, discourse practices, and socio-cultural contexts within the media narratives. The textual and discourse practice analysis delves deeply into the linguistic and discursive constructions of THAAD narratives. The analysis involves a thorough examination of linguistic devices including lexical choices where

words are classified into nouns, adjectives, and verbs and given sub-themes². The analysis also identifies the voice of the sentences to determine their active or passive construction, which highlights the portrayal of agency within the articles. Additionally, nominalizations are extracted to uncover instances where dynamic processes are represented as static entities, which can obscure the agency and influence reader perception. The analysis further delves into discursive elements that shape the narrative framework. This involves analyzing reported speech and direct quotes to evaluate how sources are presented and the effect of direct speech on the narrative. The specificity of sources cited in the articles is assessed to understand their impact on the credibility and objectivity of the presented information.

To complement the qualitative insights, quantitative methods are employed to measure the frequency distribution of identified linguistic and discursive features. The distribution of each feature across political, economic, and cultural implications in each newspaper is calculated using Microsoft Excel. This analysis involves applying the following formula:

$$\text{Frequency distribution(\%)} = \left(\frac{\text{Number of occurrences of the feature}}{\text{Total occurrences of the feature in the newspaper}} \right) \times 100$$

This quantitative analysis quantifies transformations (nominalization and passivization), and activation within the texts, as well as the use of reported speech, direct quotes, and the specificity of sources³. This approach not only provides empirical support for qualitative insights but also enhances the analysis by allowing a comprehensive comparison of the linguistic and discursive features presented in each newspaper.

In the socio-cultural analysis, the focus is on exploring how the media narratives surrounding THAAD's implications are both influenced by and contribute to the broader socio-cultural contexts of South Korea and China. By conducting a close reading of the dataset, this part of the study focuses on how each newspaper, "The Korea Times" and the "Global Times," constructs its country's national identity through the media portrayal of THAAD. This includes examining the influence of historical and cultural contexts on the depiction of this defense system. Furthermore, the analysis delves into the power relations of both countries as portrayed by the two newspapers, investigating how they reflect and reinforce perceptions of national power and international relations. This examination helps to uncover how the narratives crafted by each publication not only mirror but also potentially shape the socio-political landscape

² See tables 1,2 & 3, Appendix 1

³ See tables 4, 5,6 & 7, Appendix 1

regarding THAAD, highlighting the role of media in the interplay of cultural and historical narratives with current geopolitical dynamics.

Discourse analysis of the first generation, which draws from sociolinguistics and focuses on analyzing the linguistic and semantic dimensions of both spoken and written texts (Ghica, 2013, p.4), was initially considered but ultimately dismissed. This is due to its primary focus on the linguistic and structural features of texts, which do not adequately address the socio-cultural contexts that shape these discourses. In contrast, the choice of CDA is well-justified, as it extends beyond mere textual analysis to include the production and consumption contexts that influence discourse. This aligns with the constructivist perspective that underpins this study, emphasizing the interplay between language, power, and society. CDA's emphasis on power relations, ideology, and hegemony makes it particularly suitable for examining how language in media can influence public perception and policy. This approach provides a nuanced exploration that extends beyond mere content description to include an examination of the social functions and effects of discourse. By analyzing how each newspaper frames THAAD, this study highlights similarities and differences in their narrative strategies, offering insights into the geopolitical biases that may influence these portrayals. This comparative analysis is crucial for understanding the diverse editorial strategies and perspectives that shape public discourse in South Korea and China.

4. Limitations, Reflexivity, and Ethical Considerations

This study examines media portrayals of THAAD using articles from “The Korea Times” and the “Global Times,” which, while influential, are only two voices in a vast media landscape. Focusing solely on these publications might not capture all perspectives or narrative variations present in other media outlets. Additionally, the analysis is limited to articles published within a specific period, which could miss newer or evolving discussions on THAAD that occurred before or after this timeframe. Such limitations may affect the study's breadth and the applicability of its findings beyond the chosen newspapers and timeframe.

Recognizing the potential biases in interpreting the data, a commitment to reflexivity is emphasized in line with Bryman's (2016) perspective. Reflexivity calls for an acute awareness of the researcher's cultural, political, and social context. It recognizes that knowledge from a reflexive position is a reflection of the researcher's location in time and social space (Bryman, 2016, p.388). This commitment to reflexivity fosters ongoing self-awareness and reflection on positions, mitigating any potential influence on data interpretation. This practice was crucial to

ensure that the conclusions drawn were supported by the data and not influenced by my personal perspectives.

Throughout this study, maintaining high ethical standards was paramount to ensure the integrity of the research process. All data used were derived from publicly available sources, carefully following legal and ethical guidelines to respect copyright laws and the intellectual property rights of the original publishers. Additionally, the research strictly focused on the analysis of published content, carefully avoiding personal judgments about the motivations or integrity of the journalists or media outlets involved. In adhering to these principles, the study also ensured that all interpretations and conclusions were based on the data itself, avoiding speculation or assumptions beyond the presented evidence.

Chapter 5: Textual And Discourse-Practice Analysis

1. Textual analysis

In this section, I will conduct textual analysis, concentrating on the linguistic devices used by The Korea Times and the Global Times as they address the multifaceted implications of THAAD deployment. The investigation will analyze lexical choices, transformations (Nominalisation and passivization), and activation within the articles, probing into how these elements are employed across political, economic, and cultural dimensions.

1.1. Lexical Choices

The Korea Times and The Global Times present unique, yet occasionally convergent narratives about the political ramifications of THAAD deployment, each reflecting its national viewpoint through deliberate word choices. To analyze these linguistic strategies, sentences from both newspapers were first assigned subthemes related to these implications. Subsequently, specific words used to describe these implications were identified and classified into verbs, nouns, and adjectives⁴. This categorization helps readers discern and understand the underlying meanings conveyed by the text.

1.1.1. Political Implications

The Korea Times focuses on the “Deterioration of Diplomatic Relations,” using terms like “standoff,” “sanctions,” and “boycott” to highlight the escalating tensions and breakdown of ties. The lexicon of proactive engagement (“defend,” “have been grappling,” “persuade,” “impede”) underscores serious diplomatic maneuvers. For instance, the term “defend” is specifically used to describe South Korea's stance, as seen in this statement: “three months after Seoul agreed to host a Terminal High Altitude Area Defense system (THAAD) to better defend itself against North Korea's constant military threats.”⁵ This example not only shows the application of the word in a defensive context but also reflects the newspaper's portrayal of South Korea's actions as necessary measures for national security. Moreover, the use of descriptors such as “temporary,” “economic,” and “full-fledged,” further illustrates the seriousness and complexity of the diplomatic interactions. Additionally, it discusses “Security

⁴ See tables (1, 2& 3), Appendix 1

⁵ Article 16: 05-03-17-KT, Appendix 2

Concerns and Military Strategies” with terms emphasizing defense and threat (“opposition,” “threat,” “missile shield,” “countermeasures”) and strategic responses (“voiced,” “dealt,” “deter,” “contain”) shifting to a hopeful tone in “Diplomatic Engagements and Resolutions” through words like “relations,” “restoration,” “settled,” and “restore,” suggesting a commitment to dialogue and cooperation.

Conversely, The Global Times presents a multi-dimensional narrative emphasizing urgency and defense under the theme “Security Concerns and Strategic Interests” (“THAAD,” “national security,” “strategic security interests”), portraying the missile system as a direct threat to China’s sovereignty and regional stability and the U.S. as a destabilizing force. This perspective is illustrated by statements such as, “China opposes the US using South Korea’s territory to threaten China’s national security and thus affect bilateral relations with Seoul.”⁶ The Global Times further underscores the theme “Deterioration of bilateral relations” with phrases like “tensions,” and “eroded trust,” and suggests a regression in relations with words like “worsened.” The discourse under the theme “Political Strategies and Diplomatic Efforts” also includes a focus on diplomatic efforts (“diplomacy,” “bilateral ties,” “cooperation”) and uses optimistic terms such as “political trust” to assert China’s readiness for ongoing diplomatic engagement despite geopolitical challenges as seen in this example: “Chinese President Xi Jinping had a phone conversation with South Korean President Moon Jae-in on January 26, and the two sides have taken a positive posture of cooperation and political trust”⁷

1.1.2. Economic Implications

The Korea Times and the Global Times analyze the economic repercussions of THAAD deployment with distinct emphases and lexical choices reflecting the nuanced impacts on South Korea. The Korea Times frames its discussion around three themes: “Impact on Specific Industries and Companies” highlights severe losses in key sectors like Hyundai and Kia using terms like “experienced,” “vanished,” “plunged,” and “significant drop”, suggesting dramatic and potentially irreversible impacts due to China’s economic retaliation. To illustrate, The Korea Times reports that “due to their poor performances in the Chinese market, Hyundai and Kia’s global sales also plunged 11.7 percent and 13.2 percent, respectively, last month.”⁸ This example vividly demonstrates the use of the word “plunged” to describe the sharp decline in

⁶ Article 12 :16-09-22-GT, Appendix 2

⁷ Article 10: 05-02-21-GT, Appendix 2

⁸ Article 17 : 10-05-17-KT, Appendix 2

sales, underscoring the immediate and significant economic impact of the diplomatic tensions on South Korean corporations. The theme “Strategic Business Adjustments and Market Diversification” emphasizes resilience, with terms like “decrease sales dependency”, “diversifying” and “enhancing promotion operations” to describe South Korean companies' shift towards alternative markets to mitigate fallout as seen in this example: “In order to decrease their sales dependency on China, the two carmakers are diversifying overseas business operation.”⁹ Lastly, the theme “Economic Retaliation and Sanctions” underscores the coercive measures implemented by China, using “retaliation” and “ban” to highlight their significant effects on South Korean businesses.

Conversely, the Global Times presents a narrative that emphasizes China's strategic and justified responses to THAAD. The theme “Economic Sanctions and Their Implications” uses aggressive terminology such as “sanctions” and “retaliate,” aligning with a narrative of economic warfare where China is depicted as both reactive and strategic. The “Market Dynamics and Consumer Behavior” theme captures the volatility in trade and consumer markets with terms like “downturns” and “decreased dramatically,” pointing out the broad economic disruptions caused by geopolitical strife. For example, the Global Times reports a significant decline in tourism: “the number of mainland tourists visiting South Korea has decreased dramatically, as has the number of South Koreans visiting China.”¹⁰ This use of “decreased dramatically” effectively emphasizes the sharp reductions in cross-border travel, illustrating the tangible impacts of diplomatic strife on ordinary citizens and economic interactions. The theme of “Impact on Specific Businesses and Industries” uses terms like “slumped”, “mushrooming losses”, and “withering” to highlight the economic losses experienced by South Korean Businesses, due to the retaliations imposed by China. Finally, “Strategic Economic Adjustments and Trade Relations” discusses how South Korea is navigating these challenges, using terms such as “diversify” and “manage” to indicate strategic recalibrations aimed at strengthening economic resilience and reducing vulnerabilities.

1.1.3. Cultural Implications

The Korea Times and The Global Times detail the cultural implications of THAAD deployment through themes that reflect the impact on bilateral cultural exchanges and public

⁹ Article 17: 10-05-17-KT, Appendix 2

¹⁰ Article 4: 31-05-17-GT, Appendix 2

perceptions. In The Korea Times, the “Cultural Exchange and Visibility” theme emphasizes the strong cultural ties between South Korea and China with terms like “culture,” “shows,” and “A-listers.” For example: “China has been one of the top consumers of Korean pop culture.”¹¹ effectively demonstrates the use of the word “culture”. This highlights China's significant role in consuming and popularizing South Korean entertainment, reflecting the deep cultural ties that extend beyond diplomatic and economic relations. The theme also notes disruptions such as “blocked,” “banned,” and “cancelled” actions, which affect the visibility of South Korean cultural content in China due to “unofficial restrictions” and “technical reason”. The Korean Times also addresses the resilience of the Korean cultural industry under the “Industry Adaptation and Sustainability” theme, using terms like “bubble,” “market,” and “competitiveness,” and discusses strategies to overcome challenges, such as “take steps” and “find new markets” in response to China's boycott of Korean cultural products. Additionally, “Public Perception and Media Influence” explores the rise of reciprocal nationalistic sentiments, termed “anti-Korean” and “anti-China,” which are fueled by THAAD, highlighting the societal backlash and growing disdain in both countries.

Conversely, The Global Times focuses on the repercussions of THAAD within the “Cultural Exchanges and Influences” theme, using verbs like “banned,” “blamed,” and “hurt” to describe the significant disruptions caused to South Korean cultural exports and artists, painting these as reactions to perceived political threats. The “Tourism and Cultural Visits” theme uses words like “not many Chinese tourists” to point out the decline in Chinese tourist visits, underlining the socio-economic and cultural interaction reductions due to deteriorating relations. The theme “Media and Public Perceptions” delves into the role of media in shaping public sentiment amidst these diplomatic tensions. Terms like “media and online hypes” are used to describe how media coverage can exacerbate issues, as evidenced by the statement, “But the debates are prone to easily evolve into significant problems through media and online hypes.”¹². The theme also highlights that, despite political challenges, enduring cultural connections persist, as evidenced by the use of terms such as “ready acceptance,” “attaches,” and “great importance” in relation to “cultural and personnel exchanges.” These phrases emphasize the ongoing commitment to maintaining and valuing cultural ties, suggesting that these connections are seen as crucial elements of the bilateral relationship that continue to receive significant attention and support, even amidst geopolitical tensions.

¹¹ Article 16 : 05-03-17-KT, Appendix 2

¹² Article 11: 18-08-22-GT, Appendix 2

In conclusion, the comparative analysis of lexical choices by The Korea Times and the Global Times in their coverage of THAAD's political, economic, and cultural implications illuminates distinct editorial strategies that reflect and influence the newspapers' respective national contexts. In political implications, The Korea Times employs a vocabulary that emphasizes tension and proactive diplomacy, highlighting the complexities of South Korea's geopolitical situation. Conversely, the Global Times uses language that frames China as a defensive actor facing external pressures, reinforcing its position with a narrative of sovereignty and resilience. In economic implications, The Korea Times underscores the direct impacts and adaptive strategies of affected industries, reflecting the nuanced challenges faced by South Korean businesses. The Global Times, meanwhile, portrays economic actions as strategic responses, emphasizing the strength and deliberateness of China's economic policy in the face of international challenges. In cultural implications, The Korea Times highlights disruptions to cultural exchanges and the subsequent adaptive measures within the cultural sector, painting a picture of resilience amidst adversity. The Global Times focuses on the enduring nature of cultural ties, suggesting that these connections withstand even significant political tensions. This comparative lexical analysis not only sheds light on the differing perspectives and responses to THAAD but also illustrates how media in both countries strategically deploy language to shape public opinion and influence international perceptions regarding the deployment. Each newspaper tailors its discourse to resonate with its audience's sentiments and national perspectives, using lexical choices as tools to frame THAAD in a context that supports their respective geopolitical narratives.

1.2. Transformations and Activation Analysis

1.2.1. *Nominalizations*

In their coverage of THAAD, The Korea Times and The Global Times frequently use nominalization, a stylistic technique that transforms action-oriented verbs into static nouns. For example, instead of saying “South Korea decided to deploy THAAD” the phrase becomes “South Korea’s decision to deploy THAAD”¹³. This shift not only makes the language seem more formal and definitive but also impacts how readers perceive the events. By presenting actions as completed facts rather than ongoing processes, nominalization can make situations

¹³ Article 6, 30-07-18-GT, Appendix 2

appear more settled and beyond debate, influencing public perception by reducing the sense of urgency or possibility for change.

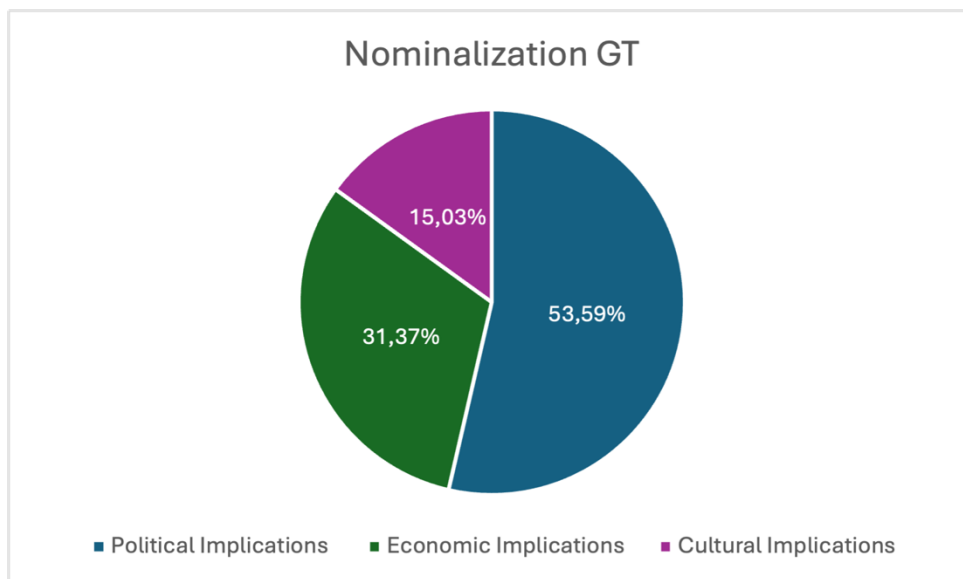


Figure 2: Nominalisation in The Global Times

The Global Times employs nominalization, particularly in the political domain, where terms like “deployment,” “opposition,” and “decision” appear as static nouns in over half of the discourse (53.59%). This usage conveys a sense of inevitability and permanence to the actions related to THAAD, subtly downplaying the active, contentious dynamics involved and aligning with a narrative that presents these actions as completed and unchangeable, thus potentially shifting focus away from ongoing debates or decision-making processes. For example, the use of the noun “deployment” instead of the verb form “deploy” can be seen in the statement: “The South Korean government has reportedly advanced the deployment of the US Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) anti-missile defense system, by granting more land to the US for the operation of the unit in Seongju.”¹⁴ This choice emphasizes the action as a *fait accompli*, reinforcing a narrative that the decision and its implementation are established facts, thereby diminishing the perception of ongoing or potential future contention.

When discussing economic implications, nominalization occurs less frequently (31.37%), yet significantly transforms active economic conflicts and measures into outcomes like “sanctions,” “impact,” and “losses,” which might lead readers to view the economic strife

¹⁴ Article 13: 19-09-22-GT, Appendix 2

as a concluded fact rather than an ongoing issue, possibly deflecting attention from current challenges or the need for remedial actions. For instance, the sentence “The THAAD system caused significant losses for the industry, which has also been affected by nuclear shadows on the peninsula”¹⁵ uses the term “losses” instead of “lose.” This use of nominalization portrays the economic consequences as fixed states, detracting from the ongoing nature of the economic impact and subtly reducing the urgency to address these effects actively.

Cultural discussions show the least nominalization (15.03%), with terms like “decline,” “acceptance,” and “restriction”, suggesting a more fluid and adaptable scenario, indicating an editorial choice to portray cultural relations as evolving despite broader geopolitical tensions.

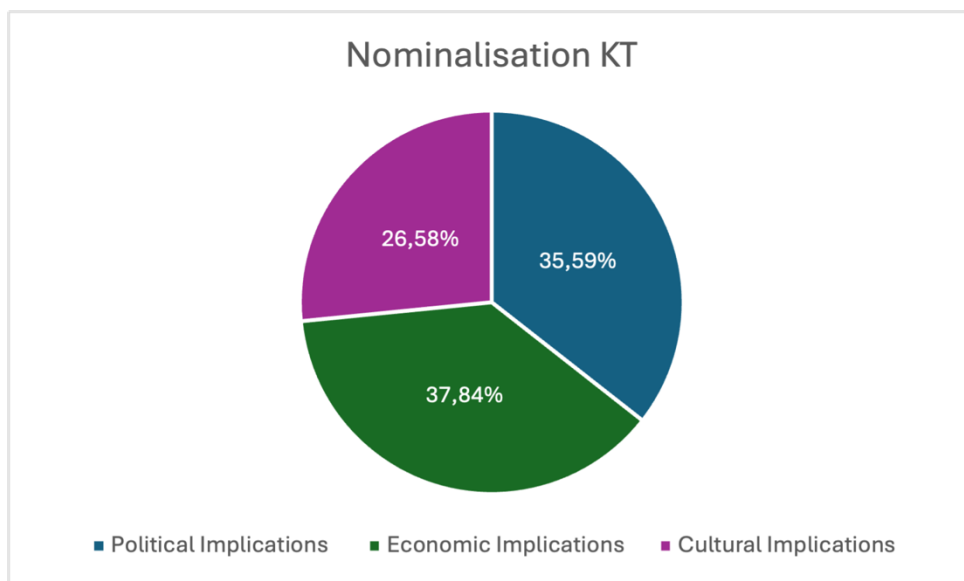


Figure 3: Nominalisation in The Korea Times

Conversely, The Korea Times uses nominalization across all discussions on THAAD to emphasize the broader implications rather than immediate actions. In political contexts, 35.59% of the discourse features nominalizations such as “deployment,” “retaliation,” and “decision,” which frame THAAD not merely as isolated events but as part of a broader continuum of state and policy impacts. For example, the statement, “The Chinese government's trade retaliation against Korea over the deployment of a Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) battery here has dealt a severe blow to Korean carmakers' sales...”¹⁶ illustrates this approach. Here, the use of “retaliation” instead of “retaliate” shifts the focus from the act itself to its

¹⁵ Article 4: 31-05-17-GT, Appendix 2

¹⁶ Article 17: 10-05-17-KT, Appendix 2

sustained impact, portraying it as a fixed element within the landscape of international relations, which has significant and lasting effects on the South Korean economy.

In the economic sphere, 37.84% of nominalizations condense complex activities into metrics like “sales performance” and “promotion operations,” simplifying the narrative to fit business and economic analytical frameworks, thereby facilitating discussions on market behaviors and economic relations. Cultural implications also see significant use of nominalization (26.58%), where terms like “ban” and “views” convert ongoing exchanges and cultural policies into fixed conditions, enabling a detached examination of cultural diplomacy and influencing public sentiment towards these issues. For example, the statement, “Among the retaliatory measures were a ban on charter flights between China and South Korea, regulations curbing activities of South Korean businesses in China and restricting K-pop stars' activities in the country,”¹⁷ uses the noun “ban” instead of the verb “to ban”. This usage frames the action as an established fact, emphasizing its enduring presence in the diplomatic landscape rather than an active, ongoing process.

1.2.2. Passivization and Activation

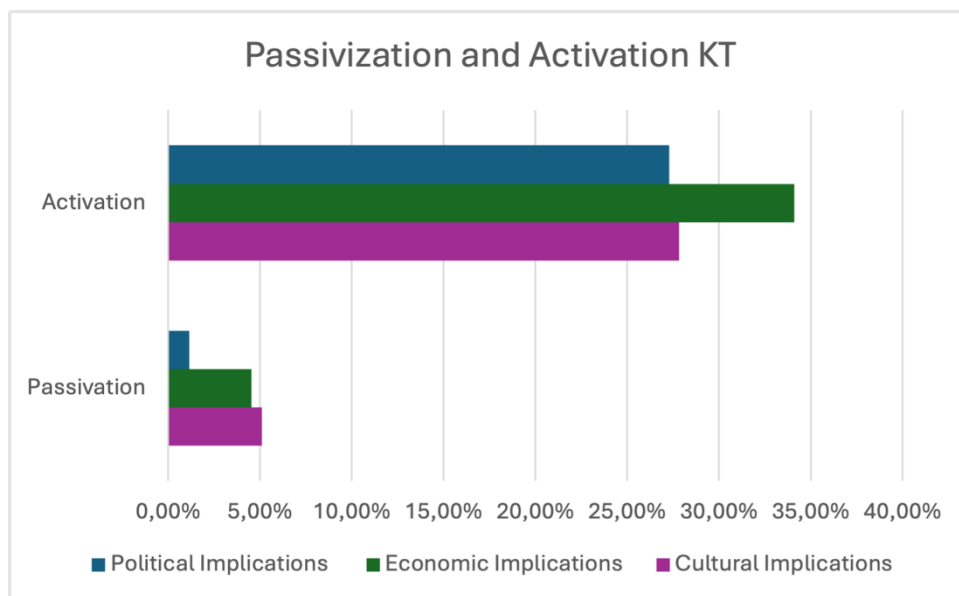


Figure 4: Passivization and Activation in The Korea Times

¹⁷ Article 23: 13-11-19-KT, Appendix 2

In The Korea Times, THAAD coverage predominantly uses active constructions, reflecting a clear preference for attributing actions and responsibilities to specific agents. Activation, which comprises 27.27% in political, 37.84% in economic, and 26.58% in cultural discussions, actively assigns agency, as seen in statements like “The Chinese government's trade retaliation against Korea... has dealt a severe blow to Korean carmakers' sales,”¹⁸ where the Chinese government is portrayed as an active agent directly impacting South Korea. Similarly, in economic contexts, Korean firms are described as proactively adjusting to challenges, exemplified by “Many Korean firms downsized their presence in China”¹⁹, emphasizing strategic responses to adversity. Cultural narratives also employ active voice, attributing direct actions to China, such as in “China blocked access to newly updated clips of South Korean music and dramas,”²⁰ highlighting active censorship.

Conversely, passivization is sparingly used, evident in only 1.14% of political, 4.55% of economic, and 5.11% of cultural content. This passive voice often obscures agency, as in “Korean films, dramas, and concerts were practically banned in China,”²¹ focusing on the state of being banned without specifying the agent. Economic narratives similarly use passivization to depersonalize actions, as in “LG Chem and Samsung SDI were removed from a list of battery manufacturers,”²² which avoids direct blame. A political example is “The anti-missile system was deployed on a golf course owned by Lotte Group in Seongju County,”²³ which centers on the deployment act without identifying the deploying body, potentially diffusing responsibility or depersonalizing the action.

¹⁸ Article 17: 10-05-17-KT, Appendix 2

¹⁹ Article 18: 12-11-17-KT, Appendix 2

²⁰ Article 16: 05-03-17-KT, Appendix 2

²¹ Article 24: 26-03-20-KT, Appendix 2

²² Article 20: 12-03-18-KT, Appendix 2

²³ Article 23 : 13-11-19-KT, Appendix 2

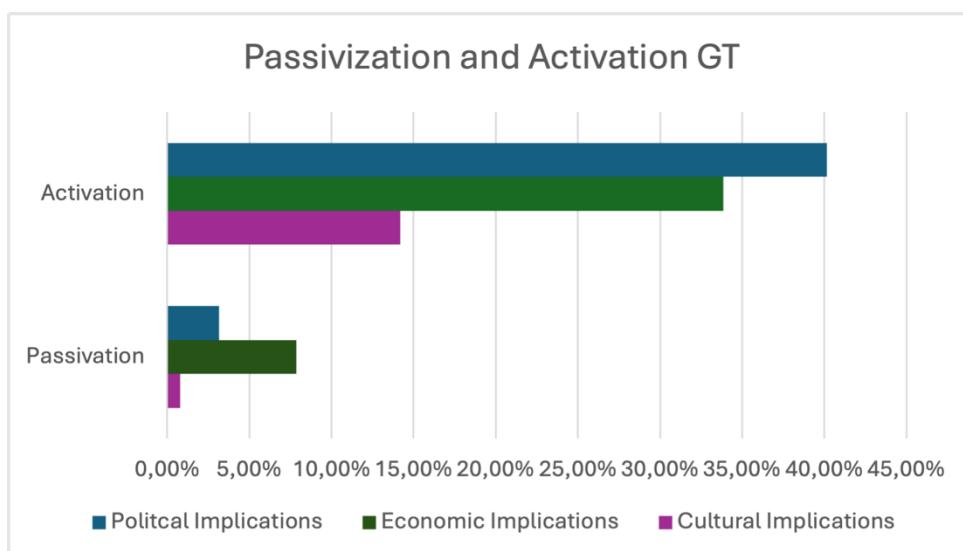


Figure 5: Passivization and Activation in the Global Times

The Global Times extensively employs activation in its discussions on the political, economic, and cultural implications of THAAD, highlighting a narrative strategy that emphasizes direct agency and accountability. The frequency of activation is notably high in political implications (40.16%) and economic implications (33.86%), with a significant presence in cultural implications as well (14.17%), underscoring the newspaper's focus on clear causality and direct attribution of actions to agents. In political implications, statements like “China has held a consistent stance that friendly countries can develop relations with other countries based on their interests”²⁴ assign a deliberate, strategic role to China in international diplomacy. For economic implications, the phrase “Many South Korean companies have seen a significant drop in revenues in the Chinese market since 2016”²⁵ links companies directly to financial outcomes, which emphasizes the consequences of market strategies instead of the sanctions imposed by China. In cultural implications, activation is highlighted by phrases such as “China attaches great importance to cultural and personnel exchanges with South Korea,”²⁶ promoting active engagement in cultural diplomacy.

In the Global Times, passive constructions are less common but still more prevalent than in The Korea Times. They are used to emphasize results or impacts rather than the actors involved. This usage is noticeable across different contexts: 3.15% in political discussions, 7.87% in economic contexts, and 0.79% in cultural discussions. In political implications, the use of passive voice in “the current bilateral relationship is being overshadowed by Seoul's insistence

²⁴ Article 13: 19-09-22-GT, Appendix 2

²⁵ Article 15: 05-07-23-GT, Appendix 2

²⁶ Article 11: 18-08-22-GT, Appendix 2

on deploying the THAAD system”²⁷ shifts the focus to the impact of actions rather than on the actors themselves. In economic implications, statements like “two Lotte malls in Tianjin and Weihai would be 'closed down completely' due to mushrooming losses”²⁸ highlight economic outcomes without attributing direct responsibility. In cultural discussions, passive constructions in phrases like “South Korea claimed that its performers were banned in China”²⁹ place emphasis on the experiences and perceptions of South Korean performers rather than on direct actions by Chinese authorities. This strategic use of passivization helps to diffuse responsibility and soften the portrayal of contentious issues.

2. Discourse-Practice Analysis

In this section, I will delve into an analysis of intertextuality, focusing specifically on the use of direct quotes, reported speech, and news source specificity within the discourse-practice framework. These elements are crucial for understanding how *The Korea Times* and *The Global Times* craft their narratives around the political, economic, and cultural implications of THAAD. By examining how each newspaper incorporates these textual features, we can discern the editorial strategies employed and how they influence the reader's perception of THAAD's broader impact. This analysis will reveal the underlying contexts and biases that shape the information presented, offering insights into the interplay between text and the wider socio-cultural discourse.

²⁷ Article 1 : 30-01-17-GT, Appendix 2

²⁸ Article 6: 30-07-18-GT, Appendix 2

²⁹ Article 1: 30-01-17-GT, Appendix 2

2.1. Political Implications

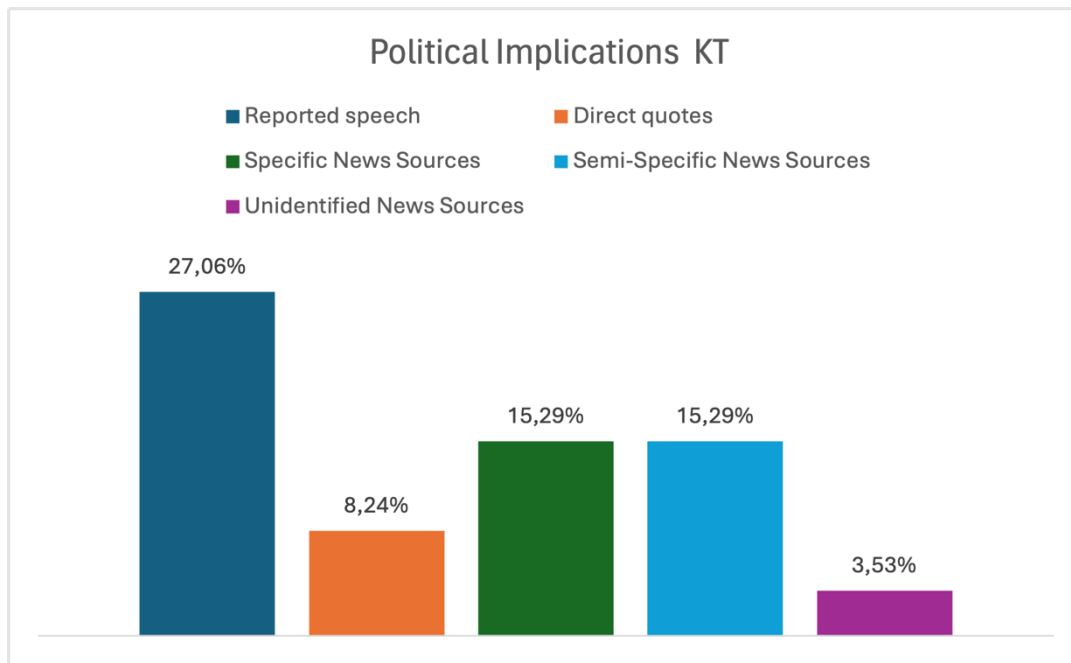


Figure 6: Discourse Practice Analysis of Political Implications in The Korea Times

In the political coverage of THAAD by The Korea Times, reported speech is prominently utilized to convey the general opposition stance of the Chinese government and stances of Korean officials, as seen in 27.06% of the occurrence in extracted sentences on the political implications of THAAD. For example, the statement “Beijing has long voiced opposition to THAAD, saying its deployment on the Korean Peninsula threatened Chinese national security interests”³⁰ effectively communicates China's position, generalizing it across the entire government rather than attributing it to individual policymakers.

Direct quotes in newspaper coverage provide immediate access to the voices involved in the discourse. For example, an official from the Korean Chamber of Commerce and Industry is cited discussing South Korea's efforts to justify the THAAD deployment to Beijing, alongside China's gradual shift in its position: “Seoul has been working hard to persuade Beijing about the logic behind the deployment of a Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) battery, while China has been easing its stance on the anti-missile system”³¹. Although such direct quotes appear in only 8.24% of political articles, their inclusion is critical

³⁰ Article 16: 05-03-17-KT, Appendix 2

³¹ Article 18: 12-11-17-KT, Appendix 2

as they bring a sense of urgency and specificity, giving readers a glimpse into the official conversations and stances on the matter.

The specificity of sources is carefully managed, with The Korea Times often citing specific individuals, contributing to 15.29% of the political implications coverage. High-profile figures such as “Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi” and “Seoul's foreign ministry spokesman Noh Kyu-duk” are mentioned by name, providing a strong authoritative base for the information presented. Semi-specific sources like “an official from the Korea Chamber of Commerce and Industry” or “the Seoul government” are also employed with a frequency of 15.29%, allowing the narrative to reflect a collective stance without direct attribution to individuals, balancing personal and institutional narratives. The sparing use of unidentified sources, present in only 3.53% of the articles, reflects the paper's careful approach to attribution and its commitment to journalistic credibility.

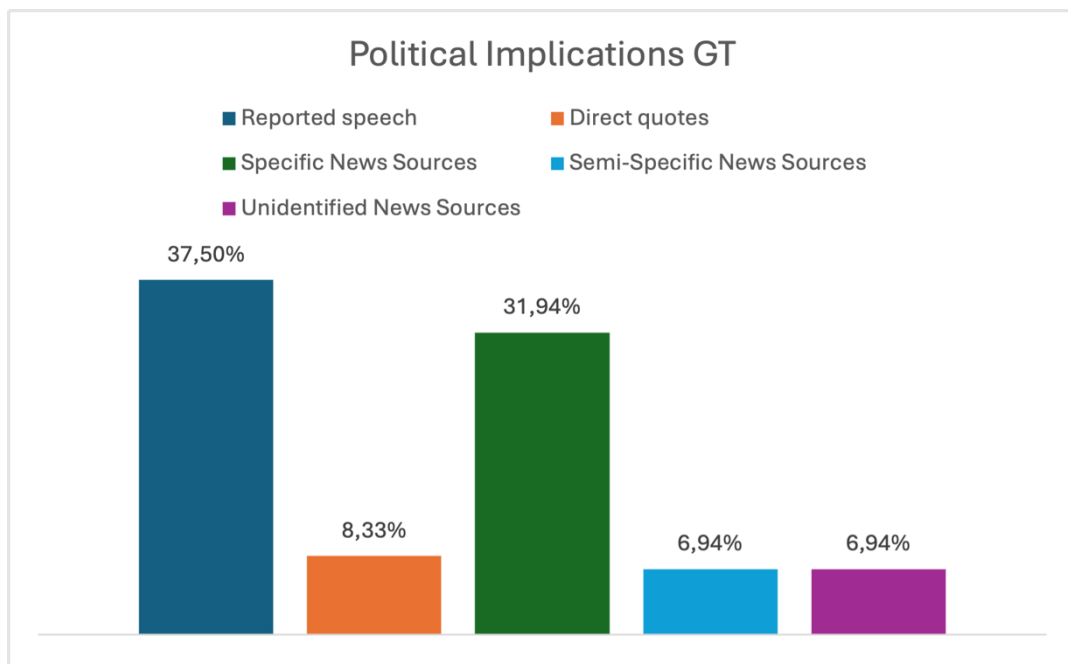


Figure 7: Discourse Practice Analysis of Political Implications in the Global Times

In its coverage of the political implications of THAAD, the Global Times strategically employs reported speech, direct quotes, and a variety of source specifications to construct an authoritative and nuanced narrative. Reported speech is prominently used, as seen in 37.50% of political coverage, to present statements mainly from high-ranking Chinese officials and

experts. This approach is exemplified in the portrayal of the Chinese Ambassador to South Korea Xing Haiming, whose comments are integrated to add depth and context. For instance, the ambassador is quoted saying, “Chinese Ambassador to South Korea Xing Haiming denied the so-called ban on South Korean entertainment, citing imports of cultural products since 2021”³², which embeds the official stance within the broader dialogue. This method allows the newspaper to incorporate official stances directly into its articles while maintaining control over the narrative structure.

Direct quotes are less frequently utilized (8.33%), serving to underscore specific viewpoints or lend authenticity to the narrative without dominating the discourse. For example, Park Yong-hwan, the senior deputy director of the China Team at the Korea Tourism Organization, is quoted to provide insight into the demographics of tourists visiting the DMZ. He states, “Most foreign tourists who visit the DMZ are European and American, and not many Chinese tourists visit the DMZ”³³. This example highlights specific details that support the article's focus and provide a concrete snapshot of the situation.

Regarding news source specificity, the Global Times often cites specific sources, making up 31.94% of the political implications’ coverage. The inclusion of names like “Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi” and other high-profile figures adds substantial credibility and frames these voices as central to the understanding of the geopolitical context. Semi-specific and unidentified sources, each used at a frequency of 6.94%, play crucial roles in the Global Times’ coverage. Semi-specific sources such as “business representatives from Dongdaemun and Myeongdong markets” and “South Korean media” allow the representation of broader institutional or collective perspectives without personalization, contributing to a narrative that reflects general sentiments or positions. Unidentified sources like “analysts” and “observers” are used to suggest a broader consensus or general opinion, which supports the newspaper's narrative without necessitating direct attribution.

³² Article 11: 18-08-22-GT, Appendix 2

³³ Article 4: 31-05-17-GT, Appendix 2

2.2. Economic Implications

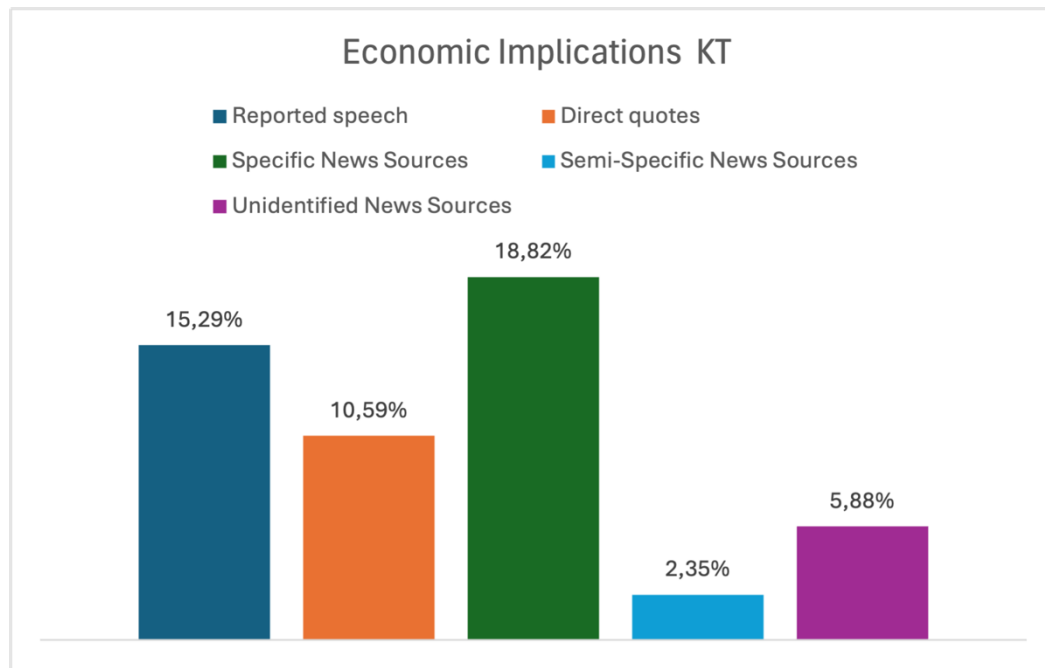


Figure 8: Discourse Practice Analysis of Economic Implications in The Korea Times

In its coverage of the economic implications of THAAD, The Korea Times employs a sophisticated mix of reported speech, direct quotes, and a detailed spectrum of source specificity to construct a nuanced and impactful narrative. The newspaper effectively uses reported speech, evident in 15.29% of relevant articles, to present significant economic data. For instance, the dramatic decline in sales for South Korean automakers in China is captured through the statement, “According to sources, Korea's carmaker duo Hyundai Motor and Kia Motors jointly sold only 51,059 cars in China last month, a 65.1 percent nosedive year-on-year”³⁴ This approach allows the newspaper to convey sensitive market information in a detached manner, helping to maintain journalistic neutrality while still informing the public about critical economic consequences.

Direct quotes are employed in 10.59% of economic implications and add a layer of immediacy and authenticity to the articles. For example, Lee Jin-Seong, chief of King Kong by Starship, emphasized the tangible consequences of geopolitical tensions in an interview with Yonhap News Agency: “The company has earned not a penny from China due to the political

³⁴ Article 17: 10-05-17-KT, Appendix 2

row over THAAD”³⁵. This not only personalizes the economic impact but also highlights the direct consequences of geopolitical issues on business operations. This brings abstract statistics to life, emphasizing the real-world effects of international policies on individual companies.

Source specificity in The Korea Times is discerning, with specific sources cited in 18.82% of the economic coverage. The newspaper frequently cites specific and credible sources, such as “Lee Jin-Seong, chief of King Kong by Starship”, “Yonhap News Agency”, and entities like “Hyundai Motor” and “Kia Motors”, enhancing the reliability and transparency of its reporting. This includes names of corporate officials, researchers, and academic experts, which bolsters the narrative's credibility. Semi-specific references account for a frequency of 2,35%, with references such as “China” or “Korea” that allow for discussion of broader economic trends or policies without attributing actions or effects to particular individuals, thereby broadening the scope of coverage. Meanwhile, unidentified sources are used with a frequency of 5.88%, including references like “sources” or “a company official,” which allows for the inclusion of general market sentiments or emerging trends that add depth to the economic analysis, even though they may not provide a direct line to traceable facts.

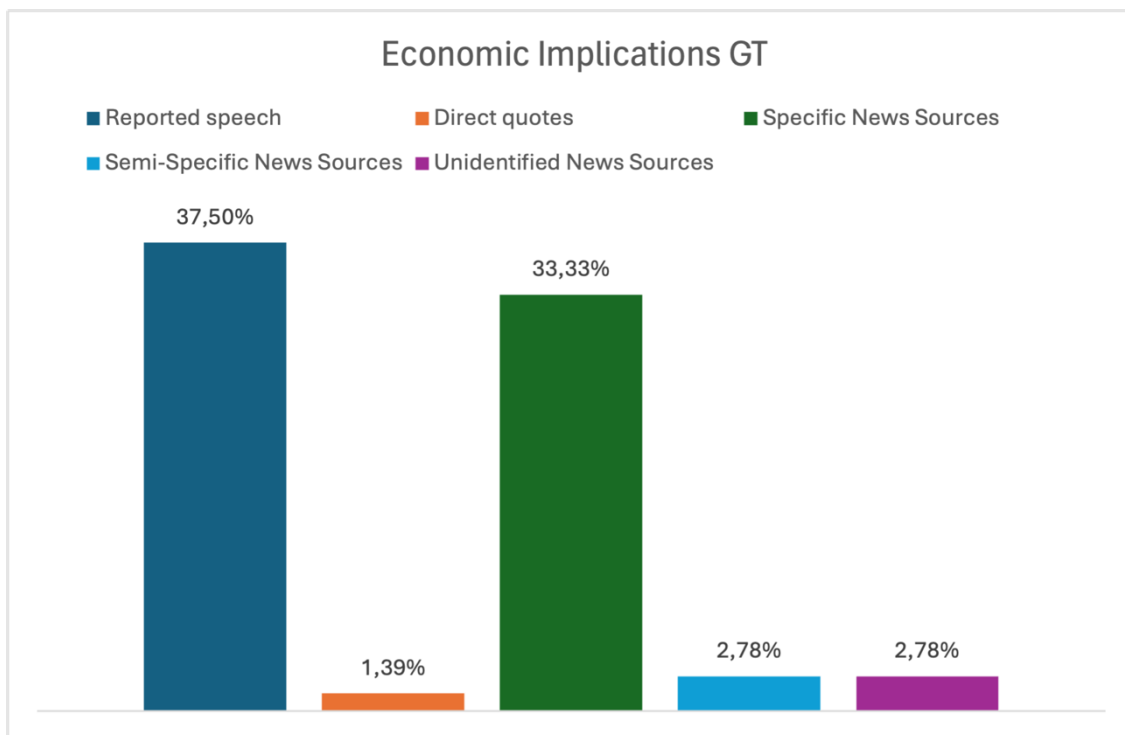


Figure 9: Discourse Practice Analysis of Economic Implications in the Global Times

³⁵ Article 16: 05-03-17-KT, Appendix 2

In its coverage of the economic implications of THAAD, the Global Times employs a blend of reported speech, direct quotes, and varying source specificity to construct a nuanced narrative. The Global Times utilizes reported speech extensively, comprising 37.50% of its economic reporting. An example of this is the statement, “For the mainstream media outlets in South Korea, THAAD deployment is unlikely to make a considerable impact on the country's relations with China”³⁶. This presents South Korea’s mainstream views on the impact of THAAD, suggesting minimal effects on South Korea-China relations. This approach enables the paper to articulate broader assessments, maintaining journalistic detachment and reflecting a collective analytical perspective.

Direct quotes, though utilized less frequently at 1.39%, provide tangible evidence and personal insights. For example, the owner of Sengdong Shoe Company shares, “We had plans to export South Korean shoes to China and vice versa, but now everything stopped. Why would something like THAAD happen?”³⁷ This statement not only conveys the tangible impact of geopolitical decisions on business operations but also encapsulates the frustration and confusion felt by those directly affected. This method lends authenticity to the economic discussions and makes the consequences more relatable to readers.

The Global Times ensures credibility in its reporting by citing a variety of specific sources, making up 33.33% of the economic coverage. It includes individual experts and official data, offering multiple verification points for readers. Semi-specific sources and undetermined sources are both employed at a frequency of 2.78%. Semi-specific sources like “business representatives from Dongdaemun and Myeongdong markets” and general references such as “South Korean media,” provide insights into broader community reactions without individual attribution. Unidentified sources like “media reports,” are used sparingly, enabling the newspaper to incorporate widely recognized information or prevailing sentiments, painting a picture of the overall economic climate shaped by THAAD without specific attribution.

³⁶ Article 1: 30-01-17-GT, Appendix 2

³⁷ Article 2: 22-03-17-GT, Appendix 2

2.3. Cultural Implications

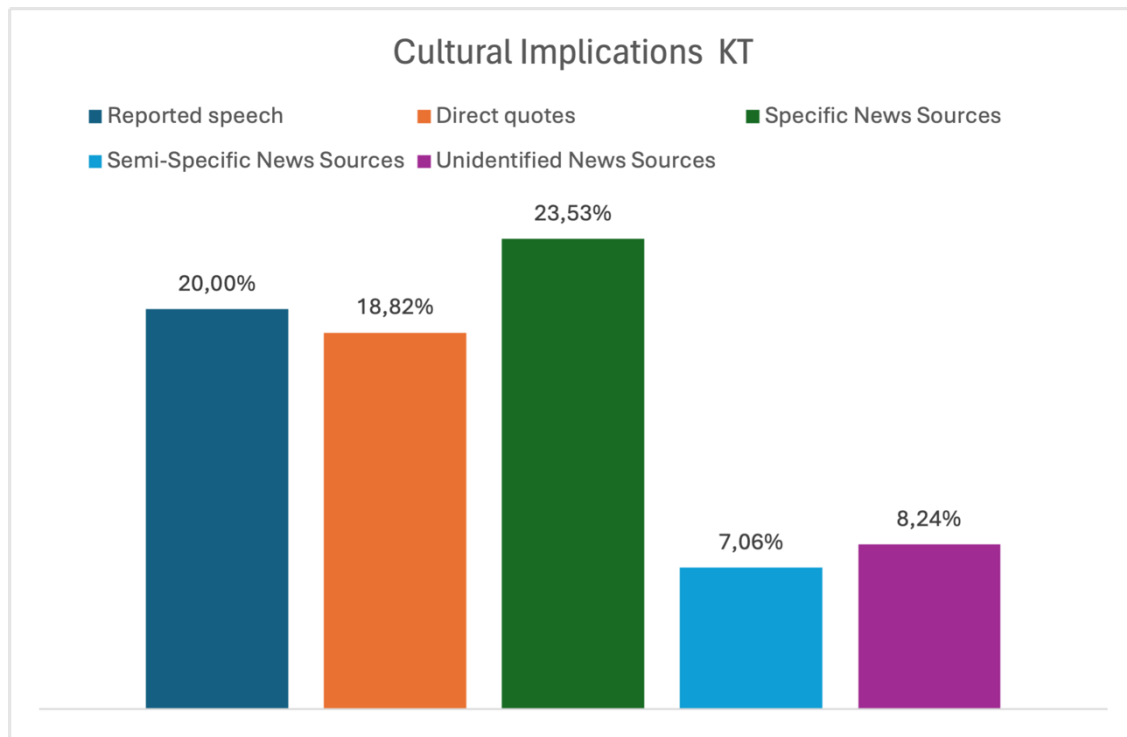


Figure 10: Discourse Practice Analysis of Cultural Implications in The Korea Times

In analyzing the cultural implications of THAAD, The Korea Times demonstrates a nuanced narrative approach, skillfully integrating reported speech and direct quotes to add depth and perspective. For instance, reported speech is employed to convey the sentiments of the Chinese Ambassador to Korea, Xing Haiming, who criticized the Korean media for fostering anti-China sentiment. He stated, “Chinese Ambassador to Korea Xing Haiming blamed the Korean media for creating anti-China sentiment among the Korean public, claiming that some media outlets are using China coverage as click bait”³⁸. This shows the newspaper’s capacity to situate individual viewpoints within a broader discourse, accounting for 20% of the cultural implications content.

The utilization of direct quotes provides an authentic voice to those within the cultural sector, capturing their personal insights and experiences, as seen in 18.82% of the articles. For example, Hwang, a stakeholder in the cultural industry, remarks, “There was a bubble in the Chinese market,”³⁹ and suggests that “Korean stars need to take steps to remove the bubble and

³⁸ Article 27: 15-12-22-KT, Appendix 2

³⁹ Article 16: 05-03-17-KT, Appendix 2

increase their competitiveness.”⁴⁰ This inclusion not only lends authenticity to the narrative but also effectively intertwines individual experiences with broader cultural dynamics. This method allows the newspaper to construct a complex picture of the cultural landscape, blending individual narratives with wider societal commentary.

The specificity of the sources in The Korea Times' reporting ranges from very detailed to more general, with specific references like “Lee Jin-Seong and Lim Dae-Geun, a professor of Chinese Cinema Studies”, making up 23.53% of cultural discussions. These specific citations add substantial authority to the economic discourse. Semi-specific sources are mentioned less frequently, appearing in 7.06% of the content. They include entities such as “industry sources in Beijing” and “an official from the Korea Chamber of Commerce and Industry,” which provide context and support broader institutional narratives. Unidentified sources, found in 8.24% of cultural articles, offer a more general perspective, with references such as “media reports” and “a survey” that add to the narrative without pinpointing specific individuals, allowing the paper to discuss broader trends and collective sentiments.

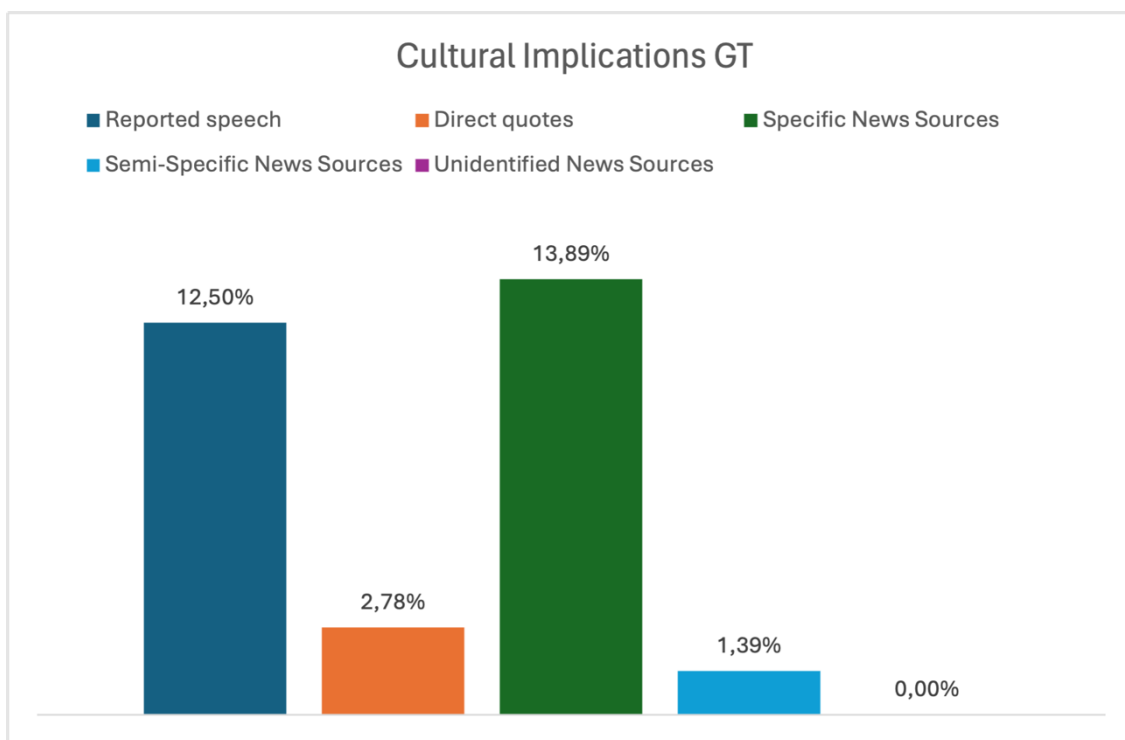


Figure 11: Discourse Practice Analysis of Economic Implications in the Global Times

⁴⁰ Article 16: 05-03-17-KT, Appendix 2

In its coverage of the cultural implications of THAAD, the Global Times employs a structured approach by integrating reported speech, direct quotes, and clearly attributed sources. This narrative method is evident where reported speech is prominently utilized, making up 12.5% of the cultural content. For instance, in reporting South Korea's grievances, the newspaper states: "South Korea claimed that its performers were banned in China and blamed the Chinese authorities for every little mishap between the two countries"⁴¹. This choice of phrasing places responsibility on South Korea, suggesting an overstatement of conflicts and framing the narrative to align with a specific interpretative angle.

Direct quotes are sparingly used, comprising just 2.78% of the cultural coverage. An illustrative quote is from Park Dong-Hee, the owner of Sengdong Shoe Company: "But South Korea and China are close neighbors; Chinese companies are the best partners for their South Korean counterparts. I really hope the two countries can work in harmony and reach a win-win result."⁴² This can serve to inject a note of optimism and suggest potential reconciliation between the two nations. This not only highlights aspirations for mutual benefit but also strategically positions the narrative towards a positive outlook on future relations.

The specificity of sources is carefully curated to enhance the credibility and clarity of the narrative. Specific sources are utilized in 13.89% of the cultural coverage, featuring direct citations from prominent individuals such as "the Chinese Ambassador to South Korea". This method of sourcing adds significant authority to the articles and ensures direct engagement with the issues discussed, facilitating a clear connection between the statements made and their origins. Semi-specific sources are employed less frequently, appearing in only 1.39% of the cultural coverage. These references often involve broader entities or groups, providing a perspective that reflects wider but still identifiable segments of society or national viewpoints such as "South Korea", without directly attributing statements to specific individuals. Notably, in cultural implications, unidentified sources are completely absent from the Global Times, reflecting a deliberate editorial choice to rely solely on verifiable information.

In conclusion, the use of intertextuality by The Korea Times and the Global Times in their coverage of THAAD's political, economic, and cultural implications reveals their distinct editorial strategies and impacts on public discourse. In political implications coverage, The Korea Times uses a mix of direct quotes and reported speech to provide a balanced view,

⁴¹ Article 1: 30-01-17-GT, Appendix 2

⁴² Article 2: 22-03-17-GT, Appendix 2

offering firsthand insights along broader governmental stances. This approach allows for a nuanced exploration of political dynamics, enhancing the reader's understanding of complex diplomatic relationships. Conversely, the Global Times predominantly employs reported speech to convey a unified national perspective, emphasizing official positions that align with state policies, thus reinforcing a cohesive narrative supportive of government viewpoints.

In economic implications, The Korea Times again employs a detailed blend of direct quotes and specific sourcing to dissect the economic repercussions of THAAD. The Global Times, however, focuses on broad economic assessments through reported speech, often downplaying adverse impacts and promoting a narrative of minimal disruption to the South Korean economy. Culturally, The Korea Times uses intertextuality to highlight diverse cultural exchanges and tensions, integrating direct quotes from cultural figures to personalize the discourse. This enriches the cultural narrative, providing a multifaceted view of THAAD's impact on cultural interactions. The Global Times, in contrast, employs a more selective use of direct quotes and focuses on reported speech that favors a narrative of cultural resilience and cooperation between nations, thus fostering a positive outlook on international cultural relations.

Both newspapers effectively use intertextuality to shape their narratives on THAAD, but their differing approaches reflect their unique editorial missions and target audiences. The Korea Times, with its detailed and exploratory style, caters to readers seeking an in-depth understanding of THAAD's broad implications, while the Global Times provides a more streamlined narrative that reinforces a unified national perspective. This analysis of intertextuality not only sheds light on how each newspaper constructs its narratives but also illustrates the powerful role of media in influencing and shaping public opinion on significant geopolitical issues.

Chapter 6: Socio-Cultural Context Analysis

1. Media Portrayal and Social Identity

1.1. Constructing Social Identities Through Media

The portrayal of social identities in *The Korea Times* and the *Global Times* concerning THAAD is a critical aspect of how these newspapers communicate and influence perceptions about the geopolitical situation surrounding this missile defense system. The way each newspaper depicts the social identities of South Korea and China provides deep insights into the broader societal and cultural contexts within which these media operate. This analysis can illuminate how national identities are constructed, contested, and communicated in the context of international relations and security concerns.

1.1.1. The Korea Times: Depicting South Korea's Identity

Based on a close reading of the data set, the *Korea Times* portrays South Korea's social identity, especially in the context of THAAD's deployment. The newspaper crafts a narrative that emphasizes South Korea's geopolitical vulnerabilities and the complexity of its diplomatic relationships, particularly with North Korea, China, and the United States. This portrayal underscores a dual reality: South Korea's need for strong defense capabilities to secure its sovereignty, illustrated by its deployment of THAAD, and the simultaneous diplomatic challenges this presents, especially with China viewing THAAD as a strategic threat to its national security interests. This duality is effectively captured in this statement “Beijing has long voiced opposition to THAAD, saying its deployment on the Korean Peninsula threatened Chinese national security interests”⁴³ The *Korea Times* highlights how these security measures are essential yet complicate South Korea's diplomatic endeavors, portraying the nation as striving for stability in a region fraught with historical and contemporary tensions. Under President Yoon Suk-yeol's administration, this narrative extends to emphasize a strategic balancing between security concerns and economic interests, reflecting a more pronounced stance on national security that may prioritize defense initiatives over economic repercussions, which is particularly important given the delicate relationship with China. For example, the statement “Yoon Suk-Yeol declared his support for the controversial THAAD system, already causing frosty responses from China”⁴⁴ illustrates how the administration's firm position on

⁴³ Article 16: 05-03-17-KT, Appendix 2

⁴⁴ Article 26: 04-04-22-KT, Appendix 2

defense issues can provoke significant diplomatic reactions, thereby influencing the broader geopolitical discourse. This coverage not only reflects but also shapes South Korea's identity as it seeks to maintain its economic vibrancy while navigating the intricate web of regional security dynamics.

1.1.2. The Global Times: Depicting China's Identity

The Global Times constructs a narrative that positions China as contending with external geopolitical pressures, primarily from the United States. This portrayal is deeply strategic, fostering a national identity centered around themes of victimization, defiance, and the assertion of sovereignty. By depicting China as “a victim” of U.S. military strategies, with THAAD serving as a symbol of unwarranted military encroachment, the Global Times taps into the collective memory of the “Century of Humiliation”⁴⁵ to rally national support against perceived threats. This narrative is complemented by a portrayal of China as a defender of its national interests, standing against external pressures. For instance, the paper states, “China is the victim on the issue and has the right to speak out and express concerns, and take measures to safeguard its interests, Xing said, hoping South Korea can understand it.”⁴⁶ This quote underlines China’s stance as defensively responding to threats, justifying its diplomatic, military, and economic measures as essential for protecting its sovereignty and regional stability. Furthermore, the Global Times emphasizes China's proactive stance in international affairs, showcasing its efforts to shape a new global order that aligns with its emerging status as a world power. This narrative is vividly illustrated in the statement, “China opposes the US using South Korea's territory to threaten China's national security and thus affect bilateral relations with Seoul.”⁴⁷ This not only supports China's current geopolitical strategies but also aims to position it as a central player in redefining international norms and power structures.

⁴⁵ “a term referring to the period of foreign invasion and subjugation of China from the start of the First Opium War in 1840 to the founding of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. During this time, China suffered a series of military defeats at the hands of Western powers, leading to major concessions, including large reparations, the opening of ports for trade, and the leasing or ceding of territories such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao” (Xu and Zhao, 2023,pp.2-3)

⁴⁶ Article 11: 18-08-22-GT, Appendix 2

⁴⁷ Article 12: 16-09-22-GT, Appendix 2

1.2. Influence of Historical and Cultural Contexts

1.2.1. *South Korea: Navigating a Historical Nexus*

South Korea's complex historical experiences, marked by colonization, the Korean War, and the ongoing tensions with North Korea, deeply influence its media portrayal of THAAD. The Korea Times contextualizes THAAD within South Korea's post-war dynamics and division from North Korea, emphasizing the system's role in ensuring national security against potential northern aggression. This narrative reinforces a national identity rooted in resilience, reflecting ongoing historical tensions. Moreover, following its remarkable economic rise, South Korea has become a significant global player, integrating deeply into the world economy. This transformation is also a critical element in media discussions about THAAD, particularly regarding its economic implications with China. The Korea Times frequently addresses the potential economic fallout from strained Sino-Korean relations due to THAAD, highlighting concerns that South Korea's economic achievements could be at risk due to current geopolitical tensions. This is amplified by lexical choices such as “blow”, “plunged”, and “struggling” which depict the economic losses faced by Korean companies due to Chinese sanctions. This is illustrated in the statement, “Given that chemical and retail are Lotte's key businesses, it would be another brutal blow to the nation's fifth-largest conglomerate,” highlighting the severe economic impact on major South Korean businesses. This dual focus in media narratives illustrates how South Korea's historical legacies and contemporary global stature shape its approach to security and diplomacy, underpinning the broader discourse on national identity and strategic priorities.

1.2.2. *China: The Century of Humiliation and Its Aftermath*

China's opposition to THAAD, as depicted by the Global Times, can be regarded as deeply rooted in the historical context of the “Century of Humiliation,” where China suffered under the dominance of Western powers and Japan. This period has left an enduring mark on the collective memory of the nation, fostering a cultural narrative that emphasizes resistance against foreign domination. The deployment of THAAD is portrayed as yet another encroachment on Chinese sovereignty, with media narratives employing historical grievances to justify a strong defensive stance. This approach not only taps into nationalistic pride but also supports a broader narrative of China reclaiming its strength and status on the international stage. As China has ascended to global power status, this resurgence is accompanied by a

strategic assertiveness that The Global Times highlights not merely as a defensive reaction but as an affirmation of China's rightful role as a regional leader and an emerging global power. This is exemplified by the statement “China has held a consistent stance that friendly countries can develop relations with other countries based on their interests, but those relations should not target China or harm Chinese interests”⁴⁸. This shift towards a more confident and assertive national posture is in line with the government's ambitions for national rejuvenation, reflecting a cultural shift towards greater self-assurance in China's international interactions and strategic decisions.

1.2.3. Cultural Exchanges and Mutual Perceptions

The historical and cultural exchanges between South Korea and China significantly shape the discourse surrounding THAAD, impacting both public sentiment and national identity. In South Korea, the use of soft power through cultural exports like K-pop and dramas plays a crucial role in its global integration strategy. The Korea Times frequently addresses how geopolitical tensions from THAAD deployment negatively affect these cultural exports, potentially undermining South Korea's efforts to extend its cultural influence and achieve soft power objectives. Additionally, these tensions can occasionally fuel anti-Chinese sentiments, as public reactions to diplomatic and military conflicts spill over into cultural perceptions. This is exemplified in the statement: "...growing anti-China sentiment in Korea as Koreans believe Beijing's retaliatory measures following the deployment of the Terminal High-Altitude Area Defense system (THAAD) has been at the center of Koreans' negative perceptions of China.”⁴⁹

Conversely, the Global Times highlights the deep-rooted historical and cultural connections between the two nations, framing these ties within the context of THAAD-related tensions. By emphasizing the longstanding cultural affinity and historical interactions, the newspaper often uses these elements to argue for a more harmonious bilateral relationship, despite the current geopolitical frictions. This perspective is illustrated by the statement: “Not only are the two countries close to each other both geographically and culturally, China also has a huge number of fans of South Korean pop culture.”⁵⁰ This approach not only serves to mitigate the security-focused narrative surrounding THAAD but also to remind readers of the mutual respect and intertwined history that have characterized Sino-Korean relations. Such coverage reflects China’s strategy to soften security tensions by invoking shared cultural and

⁴⁸ Article 13: 19-09-22-GT, Appendix 2

⁴⁹ Article 27: 15-12-22-KT, Appendix 2

⁵⁰ Article 7:27-02-19-GT, Appendix 2

historical bonds, suggesting that preserving strong ties aligns with both nations' interests, despite the disruptions caused by THAAD deployment. This narrative in the Global Times aims to influence public perception, promoting a view of THAAD as a disruptor of a historically collaborative relationship.

The media portrayal of THAAD in The Korea Times and the Global Times not only reflects the ongoing construction of national identities in South Korea and China but also actively influences how these identities are understood both domestically and internationally. By analyzing these portrayals, we gain insights into the complex interplay between media, national identity, and international relations, revealing the deep-seated narratives that underpin and propel the socio-political dynamics between these two influential Asian countries. This analysis helps to understand the broader implications of media narratives in shaping not only public opinion but also national policy and international diplomacy.

2. Power Relations: Media Portrayal of THAAD

2.1. The Korea Times: Navigating Complex Power Dynamics

The Korea Times offers a nuanced portrayal of South Korea's strategic diplomacy, especially evident in its handling of the THAAD missile defense system. This deployment is framed not merely as a military strategy but as a pivotal element of South Korea's foreign policy, reflecting its middle-power status amidst global superpowers. The Korea Times articulates South Korea's efforts to balance its sovereignty and national security needs with the geopolitical pressures and expectations stemming from its primary alliances, particularly with the United States, while also managing complex and often sensitive regional relations with China and North Korea. This is captured in this example: “The two allies [South Korea and the U.S.] viewed THAAD as critical for North Korea's ballistic missile threat. But Beijing argued THAAD's long-range radar could be used to spy on Chinese military activities and that it is a part of the U.S. strategy to contain an emerging China.”⁵¹

The newspaper emphasizes South Korea's agency in its security decisions, often highlighting how the decision of THAAD deployment is made autonomously yet deeply influenced by its strategic alliances. This coverage challenges the international perception of South Korea as merely a passive player under the influence of more dominant global powers. Instead, The Korea Times underscores South Korea's proactive stance in upholding its

⁵¹ Article 23: 13-11-19-KT, Appendix 2

sovereignty while carefully fulfilling alliance obligations. This is portrayed through active voice constructions that emphasize deliberate actions taken by South Korea, such as “Korea decided to host THAAD”⁵² which conveys a sense of strategic intent.

Furthermore, The Korea Times delves into how South Korea navigates the diplomatic fallout from such security decisions, particularly the adverse reactions from China. The deployment of THAAD has been a contentious issue, eliciting strong responses due to its implications for regional security dynamics. The newspaper meticulously covers South Korea's diplomatic engagements, portraying them as sophisticated, calculated, and responsive to the broader concerns of regional peace and stability. It highlights how South Korea is not just reacting to external pressures but is actively engaging in shaping the diplomatic landscape to mitigate tensions through talks and official visits. This is highlighted in this statement: “The foreign ministers of Korea and China held a virtual meeting where they agreed to strengthen bilateral diplomatic ties through 'high-level exchanges,' including a possible visit to Seoul by Chinese President Xi Jinping for a summit.”⁵³

By detailing these dynamics, The Korea Times not only informs its readership of the ongoing strategic developments but also contributes to a broader understanding of how middle powers like South Korea navigate their roles on the global stage. It shows how the deployment of THAAD is a microcosm of larger power relations, reflecting both the opportunities and challenges faced by countries that seek to assert their sovereignty while engaging in an increasingly multipolar world order. Through this comprehensive coverage, The Korea Times positions South Korea as a nuanced and active participant in global affairs, capable of influencing regional and international outcomes in its pursuit of national security and stable diplomatic relations.

2.2. The Global Times: Asserting China's Power and Sovereignty

The Global Times frames China's response to the deployment of the THAAD system as part of a broader strategic narrative that confronts American influence in Asia, advocating for China's own regional dominance. This narrative is embedded within a grand strategy that sees existing global power structures, particularly those underpinned by U.S. policies, as barriers to China's rise as a global power. The newspaper presents THAAD not merely as a military installation, but as a symbol of American efforts to strategically encircle China and

⁵² Article 18: 12-11-17-KT, Appendix 2

⁵³ Article 27: 15-12-22-KT, Appendix 2

curb its burgeoning influence. Such portrayals are instrumental in depicting China's response as a justified act of safeguarding national sovereignty against foreign domination.

Through its coverage, the Global Times emphasizes a dual theme of resistance and proactive leadership. It frequently portrays THAAD as a direct threat to the regional balance, framing China's vehement opposition as a stalwart defense of its territorial and strategic interests. For instance, according to the newspaper, "If China loosens its stance, other similar problems will arise that will have a more serious impact on China-South Korea relations because the US will definitely swoop in and continue to magnify the problem."⁵⁴ This example illustrates how the Global Times characterizes China's reaction to THAAD deployment as part of a broader resistance to perceived American encroachment in Asia, emphasizing its proactive stance against external influences.

The deployment of THAAD has led China to implement economic sanctions against South Korea, which vividly illustrates the intense power dynamics at play. The newspaper details these economic actions using terms like "restriction", "sanctions" and "ban", which are presented through nominalization to emphasize their role as deliberate strategic tools of state policy. These linguistic choices transform the ongoing economic retaliatory actions into definitive consequences, directly linking them to South Korea's security decisions.

These sanctions are targeted at key South Korean companies like Lotte, Samsung, and Hyundai, serving as punitive measures that underscore the significant geopolitical consequences of aligning security interests in ways that China deems adverse to its own. Through this narrative, the Global Times portrays these economic measures not just as reactions but as stark warnings about the costs of decisions viewed as contrary to China's regional ambitions and strategic goals. In this way, China is depicted as not only reinforcing its influence but also clearly articulating the serious repercussions of policy choices that conflict with its vision for regional dynamics and its broader global stance.

Furthermore, it can be inferred from the narrative that the Global Times promotes China's vision of spearheading a new regional order, that "respects the sovereignty and interests of Asian nations" more than the American-led security alliances. This discourse is aimed at both a domestic and an international audience, bolstering internal support while also appealing to neighboring states that might share apprehensions about their strategic autonomy under a U.S.-dominated order. The Global Times thus not only covers the geopolitical implications of

⁵⁴ Article 12: 16-09-22-GT, Appendix 2

THAAD but uses the issue as a platform to project China as a credible alternative to American influence, capable of leading a collective regional response that offers a vision of shared security and prosperity. Such narratives play a crucial role in China's broader diplomatic efforts, as they seek to reshape perceptions of China's role on the world stage from that of a reactive player to a proactive leader, ready to assert and defend its place in a rapidly changing global order.

The portrayal of power relations by The Korea Times and The Global Times reflects their respective national interests and geopolitical strategies. While The Korea Times highlights South Korea's efforts to assert its sovereignty and engage strategically with all global powers, the Global Times underscores China's resistance to U.S. influence and its ambition to redefine power structures both regionally and globally. These narratives not only inform public understanding of THAAD but also actively participate in shaping the geopolitical landscape by reinforcing or challenging existing power dynamics. Through their coverage, both newspapers play crucial roles in either stabilizing or transforming the perceptions and realities of international relations in the region.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

This thesis has sought to uncover the complexities of media representation surrounding the deployment of THAAD in South Korea and its political, economic, and cultural implications, as portrayed by two major newspapers: The Global Times from China and The Korea Times from South Korea. The research was guided by the following central questions, where the main research question (**How do The Korea Times and The Global Times portray the political, economic, and cultural implications of THAAD?**) was approached through two secondary questions, with the first being: **How do these newspapers use linguistic devices and narrative frameworks to discuss these implications?** This question was explored in the textual and discourse practice analysis.

The use of linguistic devices and narrative frameworks by The Korea Times and The Global Times profoundly shapes the portrayal of the political, economic, and cultural implications of THAAD. The comprehensive analysis of lexical choices, transformations, and discourse-practice elements reveals how each newspaper crafts its narrative to align with and promote national interests, reflecting broader geopolitical strategies.

The Korea Times employs vocabulary that portrays THAAD in a nuanced, balanced manner, consistent with South Korea's strategic need to balance security concerns with diplomatic repercussions. This is achieved through the use of specific terms that encapsulate both the defensive nature of THAAD and the complex international dynamics it triggers. The predominance of active voice in its narratives assigns clear agency and highlights South Korea's proactive engagement in addressing security challenges. Supporting these observations, Seo (2021, p. 218) notes that the Korean media strategically selects attitudes in headlines to foreground a positive stance around THAAD, using linguistic strategies to undermine opposing views and downplay the conflict between China and South Korea.

In contrast, The Global Times uses a more assertive lexicon that frames THAAD as a direct threat to China's sovereignty and regional stability. The strategic use of nominalizations presents the deployment and opposition to THAAD as fixed realities, reducing the perception of these issues as ongoing or debatable. This approach aims to influence readers to view the situation as more definitive and unchangeable, while the use of passivization, particularly, when discussing economic sanctions on South Korea, helps diffuse responsibility, framing China as being acted upon rather than as an active participant.

Intertextuality plays a crucial role in how both newspapers substantiate their narratives. The Korea Times integrates direct quotes and reported speech from a diverse range of sources, enhancing the credibility and depth of its reports and reflecting democratic values that prioritize a comprehensive and balanced discourse. This method supports the portrayal of South Korea as thoughtfully engaging with its international challenges. Meanwhile, The Global Times strategically selects sources that bolster its narrative, frequently citing government officials to reinforce the national stance. This selective use of sources ensures that the narrative not only aligns with but also supports state policies, promoting a unified national perspective that underscores government views and nationalistic sentiments. The employment of these linguistic devices and narrative frameworks by The Korea Times and The Global Times is instrumental not only in informing their readership but also in actively shaping their perceptions and opinions regarding THAAD's implications.

The answer to the second question (**How does the media narrative of THAAD's implications reflect and reproduce the broader socio-cultural contexts?**) was explored in the analysis of the socio-cultural context.

The narrative strategies employed by The Korea Times and the Global Times in their coverage of THAAD's implications significantly reflect and reproduce the broader socio-cultural and political contexts of South Korea and China, respectively. The Korea Times crafts a narrative that highlights South Korea's geopolitical vulnerabilities and the necessity of balancing security with delicate diplomatic relations. It portrays South Korea as a nation striving for stability amidst regional tensions, emphasizing the dual necessity and complexity of deploying THAAD. This reflects South Korea's ongoing struggle to maintain sovereignty while engaging in nuanced diplomatic maneuvers, particularly with China and the United States, resonating with the historical context of South Korea's experiences with war, division, and the continuous threat from North Korea.

Conversely, the Global Times frames China as a victim of U.S. military strategies, tapping into historical sensitivities such as the "Century of Humiliation." The portrayal emphasizes China's defiance and the assertion of sovereignty, projecting an image of China as a defender against external pressures, particularly from U.S. policies. This narrative not only mirrors but actively reinforces the socio-cultural context of a rising China, which views itself as reclaiming and asserting national sovereignty and pride, aligning with broader nationalistic sentiments and China's rising status as a global power. Ha (2023, p.334) articulates a similar

perspective, noting that the China Daily capitalizes on incidents like THAAD deployment to further China's national and ideological goals, often overlooking South Korea's interests and sovereignty in the process. This insight from Ha highlights that the Global Times, akin to the China Daily, leverages the THAAD issue to strengthen a narrative supportive of China's geopolitical posture.

In terms of power dynamics, The Korea Times showcases South Korea's nuanced diplomacy and strategic autonomy, portraying it as an active player in global politics, navigating complex relations with both the U.S. and China. This portrayal supports a socio-cultural context where South Korea is seen not just as a recipient of geopolitical influences but as a shaper of its diplomatic and security environment. The Global Times depicts China as assertively challenging U.S. influence in Asia and positioning itself as a leader capable of defining regional order. This narrative supports China's vision of itself as a central figure in global politics, advocating for a new balance of power that respects the sovereignty and interests of Asian nations.

To conclude, this thesis' analysis of how The Korea Times and the Global Times utilize linguistic devices and narrative frameworks has provided a deep understanding of their portrayal of the THAAD deployment's political, economic, and cultural implications. The findings demonstrate that each newspaper crafts its narratives to align with and propagate national interests, which in turn reflect broader geopolitical strategies.

The Korea Times adopts a nuanced approach, balancing the necessity of THAAD for national security with the complexities of international diplomacy. Through specific lexical choices and the predominant use of active voice, it highlights South Korea's proactive measures in addressing security challenges while managing diplomatic relations, particularly with China. This balanced narrative not only informs but also shapes public perception, emphasizing South Korea's strategic diplomacy in a regional context marked by tension.

Conversely, the Global Times presents THAAD as a direct threat to China's sovereignty, employing a more assertive tone and using linguistic strategies like nominalizations and passivization to solidify its stance. This portrayal taps into nationalistic sentiments and historical narratives of resistance, positioning China as a victim of external aggression. By doing so, it reinforces the government's viewpoint and mobilizes domestic support against foreign military presence.

Furthermore, the narrative strategies employed by each newspaper do not merely reflect their respective socio-cultural and political contexts but actively reproduce them. The Korea Times reflects South Korea's ongoing struggles for sovereignty and diplomatic tact, while the Global Times reinforces China's defiance against perceived U.S. hegemony and its broader aspirations for regional dominance.

These insights underline the significant role of media in international relations, demonstrating how strategically crafted messages influence public opinion and national policy. The research reveals the depth and complexity of media portrayals concerning THAAD, highlighting the impactful role of media in shaping public perceptions and international discourse, which answers the central question of this thesis. This not only provides a clearer picture of media influence in geopolitical narratives but also emphasizes the importance of critically engaging with media content to discern underlying national and international agendas.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Lexical Choices in Political, Economic and Cultural Implications

Table 1: Lexical Choices in Political Implications

Political Implications						
Lexical Choices	The Global Times			The Korea Times		
	Security Concerns and Strategic Interests	Deterioration of Bilateral Relations	Political Strategies and Diplomatic Efforts	Deterioration of Diplomatic Relations	Security Concerns and Military Strategies	Diplomatic Engagements and Resolutions
Nouns	THAAD, national security, interference, strategic security interests	tensions, deployment, diplomatic relations	diplomacy, bilateral ties, political trust, diplomatic ties, posture	standoff, sanctions, agreement, backlash, rift, deployment, boycott	opposition, deployment, interests, blow, missile shield, opposition, threat, countermeasures, interests, security, airspace	relations, bilateral ties, bilateral conflict, restoration, values, attitude, security interests, economic retaliation, unofficial sanctions, deployment, THAAD-related issues, declaration, diplomatic ties, high-level exchanges
Verbs	deployed, jeopardized, safeguard, undermine	eroded, worsened, magnify, reversing	develop, stressed, resolve	defend, grapple, persuade, impede, resolve, enforce, widen, sour	voiced, dealt, deter, spy, monitor, contain, threatened, directing	settled, restore, valued, deploying, joining, handle, soured, raised, easing, agreed, strengthen
Adjectives	strategic, nuclear, reliable	irreversible, steeply, significant, trivial	diplomatic, positive, strategic, active	temporary, economic, full-fledged, abrupt, pro-U.S.	Chinese, severe, heavy, critical, emerging, national, threatening	optimistic, next level, proper, possible, economic

Table 2: Lexical Choices in Economic Implications

Economic Implications	
	Global Times
	The Korea Times

Lexical Choices	Economic Sanctions and Their Implications	Market Dynamics and Consumer Behavior	Impact on Specific Businesses and Industries	Strategic Economic Adjustments and Trade Relations	Impact on Specific Industries and Companies	Strategic Business Adjustments and Market Diversification	Economic Retaliation and Sanctions
Nouns	sanctions, economic losses, trade partner, embargo	market revenue, sales drop, consumer behavior, economic downturn, fallout, decrease	losses, operations, production, overcapacity, drop, plunge, withering, decline	investments, trade barriers, vulnerability, economic potential, alliances, neighbors, pressure, us ally, heated competition	decision, row, china, performances, increase, plunge, drop, blow, negotiations, progress, hurdle, operation, earnings, conditions, stocks, share, segment, tally, hallyu stars, chinese market, fire safety violation, battery manufacturers, brand positioning.	sales dependency, operations, promotion, relations, ties, exchanges, backlash, expectations, market, strategies, team, cooperation system, bridges, scenarios, distribution, opportunities, prosperity	security interests, retaliation, issuance, permits, thaad deployment, breather, difficulties, ban, bullying, regulations, restrictions, resurgence, sanction, decision, installation, performances, sanctions, ties
Verbs	retaliate, impose, undermine, restrict	affected, decreased, worsened, rebounded, dropped	closed down, slumped, suspended, exited	go against, diversify, intensify, strengthen, manage	experienced, vanished, deploy, deprived, plunged, suffered, struggled, scrambled, shouldered, failed, excluded, removed, halted, dealt, forced, withdrew, dwindled, slipped	decrease, diversifying, build, offset, enhancing, welcoming, normalize, cope, downsized, raised, return, set up, strengthen, recover, maintain, eyeing, offered, scrutinizing	harm, haunts, shut down, abating, suffering, suspended, prevent, removed, curbing, restricting, placed, considered, banned, implementing, deteriorate, responded
Adjectives	economic, significant, sensitive, limited, high-strung,	dramatic, bitter, negative, down	significant, mushrooming, struggling, sold	strategic, vulnerable, delicate, economic	huge, high-tech, big, poor, monthly, eligible, severe, disappointing, negative, unsustainable, historic, lower, higher, inevitable, brutal	soured, expected, rapid, lucrative	economic, cultural, suspected, unofficial, silent, strained, massive, already-strained

Table 3: Lexical Choices in Cultural Implications

Cultural Implications						
Lexical Choices	Global Times			The Korea Times		
	Cultural Exchanges and Influences	Tourism and Cultural Visits	Media and Public Perceptions	Cultural Exchange and Visibility	Industry Adaptation and Sustainability	Public Perception and Media Influence
Nouns	achievements, exchanges, fans, acceptance, cultural ties, people-to-people	tourists, foreign tourists, local people, european and american, chinese tourists	support, misunderstandings, debates, decline, restriction, mutual kindness, mutual people-to-people favorability,	culture, shows, access, A-listers, ban, fallout, concerts, restrictions, content,	bubble, market, steps, competitiveness, need, markets, closing, content, creations, dialogues, issue,	performance, retaliation, promotion, visitors, relations, view, behaviors, society, ideology, equality, growth, anti-Korean sentiment, perceptions,

			intertwined history and culture, media and online hypes	democratization, justice, backlash, policies	industry, portfolio, ways, hallyu, profits	exchanges, relationship, anti-China sentiment, nationalism
Verbs	hurt, banned, blamed	remembers	think, loosen up, evolve	blocked, updated, cancelled, earned, staged, imposed, banned, contains, alleviated, lifted, alleviated	need, take, remove, increase, compete, find, break, close, gear, take, need, evolve, create, dream, conquering, solved, diversify, swayed, seek, develop, make	protesting, rack up, carrying out, offering, cancel, thinks, citing, posing, soared, blamed, creating, covering, affect, shaping, address, attributed, cooperate, improve, express, boycotted
Adjectives	close, huge, active	local, foreign, European, American, Chinese	complicated, mutual, intertwined	popular, huge, technical, unofficial, American, western, negative, possible, restrictive, thorny, tacit	Chinese, global, high-level, Korean, sustainable	declining, unfavorable, coercive, retaliatory, economic, egalitarian, negative, overbearing, sluggish, healthier, constructive

Frequency distributions of Transformations, Activation and Discursive features

Table 4: Frequency Distributions of Transformations (Nominalisation and Passivization) and Activation in the Global Times

	Global Times					
	Political implications		Economic implications		Cultural implications	
	Number of occurrences	Frequency distribution (%)	Number of occurrences	Frequency distribution (%)	Number of occurrences	Frequency distribution (%)
Nominalization	82	53,59	48	31,37	23	15,03
Passivation	4	3,15	10	7,87	1	0,79
Activation	51	40,16	43	33,86	18	14,17

Table 5: Frequency Distributions of Transformations (Nominalisation and Passivization) and Activation in The Korea Times

	The Korea Times					
	Political implications		Economic implications		Cultural implications	
	Number of occurrences	Frequency distribution (%)	Number of occurrences	Frequency distribution (%)	Number of occurrences	Frequency distribution (%)
Nominalization	79	35,59	84	37,84	59	26,58
Passivation	2	1,14	8	4,55	9	5,11
Activation	48	27,27	60	34,09	49	27,84

Table 6: Frequency Distribution of Narrative Frameworks (Reported speech, Direct quotes and news sources specificity) in the Global Times

	Global Times					
	Political implications		Economic Implications		Cultural Implications	
	N° of occurrences	Frequency distribution	N° of occurrences	Frequency distribution	N° of occurrences	Frequency distribution
Reported speech	27	37,50	27	37,50	9	12,5

Direct quotes		6	8,33	1	1,39	2	2,78
News reports specificity	Specific	23	31,94	24	33,33	10	13,89
	Semi-specific	5	6,94	2	2,78	1	1,39
	Undetermined	5	6,94	2	2,78	0	0,00

Table 7: Frequency Distribution of Narrative Frameworks (Reported speech, Direct quotes and news sources specificity) in The Korea Times

		The Korea Times					
		Political implications		Economic Implications		Cultural Implications	
		N° of occurrences	Frequency distribution	N° of occurrences	Frequency distribution	N° of occurrences	Frequency distribution
Reported speech		23	27,06	13	15,29	17	20,00
Direct quotes		7	8,24	9	10,59	16	18,82
News reports specificity	Specific	13	15,29	16	18,82	20	23,53
	Semi-specific	13	15,29	2	2,35	6	7,06
	Undetermined	3	3,53	5	5,88	7	8,24

Appendix 2

This appendix compiles sentences extracted from “The Korea Times” and “The Global Times”, categorized by their relevance to political, economic, or cultural implications of the THAAD system. These sentences were retrieved from the online databases of the respective newspapers, accessible at <https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www2/index.asp> and <https://www.globaltimes.cn/>, on February 9, 2024.

Extracted sentences from the Global Times Articles

Article 1

30-01-17-GT

Title: THAAD overshadows 25th anniversary of Beijing-Seoul diplomacy

Political implications:

"But the current bilateral relationship is being overshadowed by Seoul's insistence on deploying the Terminal High-Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system on its soil."

"THAAD deployment, which so far appears to be irreversible despite strong objection from China and Russia, has steeply deteriorated the bilateral ties."

"Seoul's well-calculated decision on THAAD deployment implies the convention of South Korea's conservative politicians to dance to the US tune."

"Varied understandings about THAAD deployment have eroded the strategic trust between the two countries."

"The chilly political ties between the two countries will eclipse the vitality and dynamics in the rest of their expansive cooperation."

Economic Implications:

"While Beijing has not even started imposing any sanctions, South Korea apparently has got high-strung and sensitive."

"For the mainstream media outlets in South Korea, THAAD deployment is unlikely to make considerable impact on the country's relations with China."

"And with limited means to retaliate and sanction South Korea, China won't completely freeze its ties with the country since it is irreplaceable strategically."

"How can their economic losses be compensated? The THAAD system may be able to protect South Korea's national security, but can it guarantee the country's hard-earned economic ranking in the world?"

Cultural Implications:

"Until July of last year, China-South Korea ties had been at its best with significant achievements in trade and people-to-people and cultural exchanges."

"South Korea claimed that its performers were banned in China and blamed the Chinese authorities for every little mishap between the two countries"

Article 2

22-03-17-GT

Title: S. Korean companies feel chill over THAAD deployment

Economic Implications:

"Influenced by South Korea's current plan to deploy Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system, South Korea's trade and tourism industries in recent months have been witnessing downturns too bitter to taste for many companies and businesses in Seoul."

"China's market revenue accounted for 30 percent of Park's company income last year. This year's total revenue until now is only 40 percent of the figure in the same period of last year."

"According to the survey conducted on 597 firms in tourism and retail markets by Korea International Trade Association, 56.2 percent of the respondents said their businesses has been negatively affected by China's reaction to THAAD deployment."

"South Korea's largest duty-free store Lotte Duty Free saw its sales drop 25 percent during March 18 and 19 compared to the same period last year."

"We had plans to export South Korean shoes to China and vice versa, but now everything stopped. Why would something like THAAD happen?"

Political Implications:

"In a press conference held by South Korean presidential candidate and the mayor of Seongnam City Lee Jae-myung, business representatives from Dongdaemun and Myeongdong markets expressed their anxiety about THAAD deployment and asked for halt."

"In this conference, Lee Jae-myung said the deployment of THAAD is no use for South Korea's national security. Only the United States benefits from this, both South Korea and China suffer, he added."

"But South Korea and China are close neighbors; Chinese companies are best partner for their South Korean counterparts. I really hope the two countries can work in harmony and reach a win-win result." She said

Cultural Implications:

"A shop assistant working in Daiso, a retail chain store in Myeongdong, said Chinese buyers often came here in large group to find souvenirs. But now she seldom saw Chinese in group, only local people and some tourists from Japan and Southeast Asia."

"In a street full of shoe workshops in Seongsu Dong, Seongdong District of Seoul, Park Dong-Hee still remembers how close she had been with her Chinese business partners."

Article 3

06-12-17-GT

Title: Chinese consumers think THAAD hurts image of S.Korean goods: KITA survey

Political Implications:

"Most Chinese consumers think the deployment of the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system has damaged the image of South Korean products."

"Among the 1,000 surveyed Chinese consumers, 83.2 percent think the dispute has worsened the image of South Korean products."

"There were 450 respondents saying they have not bought any South Korean products since the China-South Korean fallout over THAAD began."

Economic Implications:

"There were 450 respondents saying they have not bought any South Korean products since the China-South Korean fallout over THAAD began."

"Large household appliances are the most satisfying product, according to the 87.1 percent of respondents who have bought South Korean products."

"The KITA said that relations between South Korea and China are expected to recover soon, but it will take some time for South Korean products to win back the faith of Chinese consumers."

Cultural Implications :

"The South Korean products that have the highest purchase rate among Chinese consumers are cosmetics, food and drinks as well as fashion clothing."

"The survey also showed that 83.3 percent of the respondents who have traveled to South Korea think of the country's products positively."

Article 4

31-05-17-GT

Title: No rebound seen for Chinese travel to SK amid THAAD, nuclear issues

Political Implications:

"South Korea is unlikely to see a rebound in tourism from the Chinese mainland until the country appropriately handles a US missile defense system and the situation on the Korean Peninsula fundamentally changes, analysts said."

"The deployment of the US Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system caused significant losses for the industry, which has also been affected by nuclear shadows on the peninsula, said Liang Qidong, vice president of the Liaoning Academy of Social Sciences."

"The interference of US forces jeopardized Sino-South Korea ties, including business relations," he told the Global Times.

"Both the THAAD dispute and nuclear threats have not been appropriately handled so far, and this hinders the growth of the tourism sector, he said."

"As long as THAAD is not dismantled, the situation won't fundamentally change for the better," Liang added.

Economic Implications:

"Since March last year, the number of mainland tourists visiting South Korea has decreased dramatically, as has the number of South Koreans visiting China, Park Yong-hwan, senior deputy director of the China Team at the Korea Tourism Organization (KTO), said in an email sent to the Global Times on Wednesday."

"Last year, 4.16 million Chinese tourists visited South Korea, down about 48 percent from 2016, Park added."

"Still, the number of Chinese visitors to South Korea slightly rebounded in recent months. In April, 366,604 visitors from the Chinese mainland visited the country, up 60.9 percent year-on-year, according to data from the KTO."

Cultural Implications:

"Local governments in South Korea are now promoting 'peace-themed' tours along the border with North Korea amid the continuing peace overtures between the two countries, the Korea Times reported on Monday."

"Most foreign tourists who visit the DMZ are European and American, and not many Chinese tourists visit the DMZ," Park said.

Article 5

03-06-18-GT

Title: K-pop star Krystal Jung's visit to China sparks discussion on possible loosening up of long-rumored S.Korean cultural ban

Political Implications:

"Rumors that China had implemented a ban on South Korean entertainment first started circulating in August 2016 as tensions between the two countries increased due to South Korea's plans to deploy the THAAD system."

Economic Implications:

"Though China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs denied there was such a ban that year, the number of performances and visits of K-pop stars to China over the past two years has declined dramatically."

Cultural Implications:

"News that South Korean pop star Krystal Jung attended a charity event at a primary school in Southwest China's Yunnan Province has caused Chinese netizens to speculate if China's long-rumored restriction on South Korean entertainers has started to loosen up."

"Excited about their idol's Yunnan visit, Jung's Chinese fans also passionately discussed recent news concerning the long-awaited China-South Korea co-production starring Jung and Chinese star Zhang Yixing."

Article 6

30-07-18-GT

Title: Lotte mulls selling department stores in China amid losses

Political Implications:

"Just months ago, Lotte withdrew from its supermarket business in China amid an ongoing boycott against the brand over South Korea's deployment of the US anti-missile system Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD)."

"The brand's business in China has been struggling after Chinese consumers, angered by South Korea's decision to deploy THAAD. Lotte further added fuel to the flame in 2017 by agreeing to sell a golf course to the South Korean government as a site for THAAD."

Economic Implications:

"Under one option, two Lotte malls in North China's Tianjin Municipality and three in Weihai, East China's Shandong Province, would be 'closed down completely' due to mushrooming losses, South Korea-based news website chosun.com reported."

"Losses from its department stores have been piling up. In the first quarter of 2018, sales at Lotte department stores in China were estimated at 20 billion won (\$17.89 million), with 16 billion won in operating losses, according to the company's financial statements. In 2017, its sales slumped 22 percent to 76 billion won, with operating losses of 70 billion won, the same with the losses in 2016."

"Lotte has been closing its supermarket business in China. Of the 112 Lotte supermarkets in China, 96 had been sold as of May and 14 had closed, according to media reports."

"The ongoing boycott caused the conglomerate to record more than 2 trillion won in total losses, not only from its supermarket and department store businesses, but also from a decline in duty-free sales, kbs.co.kr reported."

Article 7

27-02-19-GT

Title: Stars and idols uniting young people in China and South Korea

Political Implications:

"After South Korea adopted the THAAD missile system, tensions between it and China increased."

Cultural Implications:

"Some analysts believe that cultural and entertainment exchanges might be effective means of resolving diplomatic issues between the two countries."

"Not only are the two countries close to each other both geographically and culturally, China also has a huge number of fans of South Korean pop culture."

"Like other countries, the BTS fan base in China has been rapidly growing over the past three years. In June 2018, the band had about 1.34 million followers on Sina Weibo. Today, that number has almost tripled to reach more than 3.6 million followers "

"Although young Chinese today are more active and open when dealing with different cultures, this ready acceptance of South Korean pop culture seems to have more to do with the similarities between China and Korean culture."

Article 8

11-03-19-GT

Article: Kia, Lotte failures reflect S.Korean firms' ignorance of Chinese market: analyst

Political Implications:

"Lotte Group was at the center of the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) issue, as bilateral economic ties worsened in 2017 due to South Korea's deployment of the US THAAD anti-missile system."

Economic Implications:

"South Korean conglomerates' recent failed investments in China showed their ignorance of the changing business environment in the Chinese market, with its fast growth and heated competition, a Chinese analyst said on Monday."

"South Korean carmaker Kia Motors may halt operations at its No.1 plant in China, Reuters reported on Sunday, citing a source familiar with the matter."

"Hyundai Motor, parent company of Kia Motor, may suspend production at its oldest plant in China as sales tumble and it struggles with overcapacity in its bigger market, Reuters said."

"South Korean retail giant Lotte confirmed to the Global Times that its supermarket business Lotte Mart will soon exit North China's Tianjin Municipality, leaving only three stores in the Chinese mainland."

"Two years later, it is widely believed that South Korean companies are missing their targets in the world's second-largest economy as they have failed to shift their strategies and better understand the Chinese market."

Article 9

20-02-20-GT

Article: Epidemic response may help boost Beijing-Seoul ties

Economic Implications:

"Seoul is clear that the core of its ties with Beijing is related to trade and structural vulnerability remains in political and security cooperation."

"China is South Korea's largest trade partner, while South Korea is China's third largest trade partner."

"The countries' economic potential won't be brought into full play without fixing the vulnerable parts."

Political Implications:

"After the THAAD dispute, China and South Korea have been seeking ways to return bilateral ties to what they once were."

"South Korea's humanitarian diplomacy has brought people from both countries closer, helping boost ties after the countries became somewhat estranged over the THAAD missile dispute."

"Both have realized that in the foreseeable future, there is no strategic conflict between the two."

"By positively coping with the epidemic, South Korea has not only shown itself as a country that is friendly to its neighbors, but it has also created favorable conditions for improving relations with China."

"Moreover, improvement of China-South Korea ties will have an effect on North Korea, and create a positive impact on deadlocked North-South relations and the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula."

Article 10

05-02-21-GT

Title: South Korea's defense white paper strikes a pragmatic tone

Political Implications:

"While dropping its description of Japan as a 'partner,' South Korea's descriptions of its relations of China herald a relatively positive tone."

"For example, it dropped a reference to China reacting strongly to South Korea's 2016 decision of deploying the US anti-missile Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system."

"This is likely a tactical change. Chinese President Xi Jinping had a phone conversation with South Korean President Moon Jae-in on January 26, and the two sides have taken a positive posture of cooperation and political trust."

"But the changes in South Korea's tone are not fundamental. South Korea may have deleted the mention of the THAAD system in the white paper, but the issue has not been resolved."

"South Korea has only chosen to put some disputes aside hoping to avoid unnecessary disputes."

Economic Implications:

"Unlike Japan, South Korea has been unwilling to take sides between China and the US in terms of economy and security issues."

"Washington had hoped Seoul would take sides and it may further increase pressure on Seoul in the future."

Article 11

18-08-22-GT

Title: Chinese envoy denies 'ban on S.Korean entertainment,' appreciates Seoul's sticking to one-China principle

Political Implications:

"Chinese Ambassador to South Korea Xing Haiming denied the so-called ban on South Korean entertainment, citing imports of cultural products since 2021"

As for the other hot topic of the THAAD, Xing said today's world is a whole, and the security environment of all countries shares weal and woe.

"THAAD is in the hands of the US and is deployed in places closest to China, seriously damages China's strategic security interests."

"The THAAD issue once became the biggest challenge for China-South Korea ties since the establishment of diplomatic relations".

"Both sides believe the THAAD issue should not be stumbling block of bilateral relations."

"China is the victim on the issue and has the right to speak out and express concerns, and take measures to safeguard its interests, Xing said, hoping South Korea can understand it"

"In any case, THAAD should not target China, and China won't agree to anything that harms China's strategic security interests."

"It is hoped that the two sides will abide by the consensus, avoid mutual provocations, and prevent the problem from re-emerging, the ambassador said."

Economic Implications:

But these problems are temporary and since 2021, 10 South Korean films, 10 TV dramas and four games have been imported to China,

Cultural Implications :

"China attaches great importance to cultural and personnel exchanges with South Korea, yet such communication requires support from the people."

"Due to complicated reasons, the public opinion saw decline of mutual people-to-people favorability in the short term and affected the cultural and personnel exchanges"

"He attributed the decline of mutual kindness to lack of communication due to the epidemic and some misunderstandings."

"It is normal to have debates on some topics given the deeply intertwined history and culture, and frequent contact. But the debates are prone to easily evolve into big problem through media and online hypes, Xing said. "

Article 12

16-09-22-GT

Title: Yoon meets with China's top legislator; remarks show Beijing's message over sensitive issues like THAAD 'received'

Political Implications:

"South Korean President Yoon Suk-yeol met with China's top legislator Li Zhanshu in Seoul on Friday, saying that he hopes to further develop ties with China against the backdrop of the two countries' 30th anniversary of establishment of diplomatic ties, and stressed the need for close communication to make sure the US THAAD installed in South Korea will not be a hurdle to bilateral ties, South Korean media reported. "

"Analysts said that since President Yoon took office this year, China-South Korea relations have gone through an adjustment period."

"THAAD is one of the biggest problems between China and South Korea. China opposes the US using South Korea's territory to threaten China's national security and thus affect bilateral relations with Seoul. I think the Yoon administration has received China's solemn position," Lü Chao, an expert on Korean Peninsula issues at the Liaoning Academy of Social Sciences, told the Global Times on Friday.

"It is not trivial when China's national security is involved. If China loosens its stance, other similar problems will arise that will have a more serious impact on China-South Korea relations. because the US will definitely swoop in and continue to magnify the problem," Lü added. "

Economic Implications:

"As a US ally and important strategic partner of China, South Korea is in a delicate situation as the confrontation between the US and China intensifies, not only in terms of supply chains, but also in regional security."

"The US is using its alliance with South Korea in supply chains, but apparently South Korea knows that it's not in its interests to go against China, its biggest trading partner, Yang said. "

"Seoul needs to maintain its alliance with Washington, but on the other hand, it also needs to conduct policy that is in line with its own national interests, maintaining economic and trade ties with China, because the supply chain links between the two neighbors are closer than those with the US. Yang said. "

"According to South Korean media, Li and Kim also discussed strengthening cooperation to stably manage supply chains and widening exchanges."

Article 13

19-09-22-GT

Title: S.Korea proceeds with THAAD to enhance alliance with US, 'risks China ties'

Political Implications:

"The South Korean government has reportedly advanced the deployment of the US Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) anti-missile defense system, by granting more land to the US for the operation of the unit in Seongju, a move that represents a risky path of enhancing Seoul's alliance with Washington at the cost of China ties, analysts said."

"Observers warned that escalation of the situation and further deployment of THAAD risks dragging China-South Korea relations into the abyss again, which is against South Korean interests, as the US is never a reliable ally."

"China's top legislator Li Zhanshu said during his visit to South Korea last week that handling sensitive issues properly is crucial to the healthy and stable development of bilateral ties."

"Earlier in August, Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi met with South Korean Foreign Minister Park Jin and exchanged views on the issue, agreeing that both sides' security concerns should be respected and the two countries should make efforts to properly handle THAAD-related issues so that they will not become a hurdle in bilateral relations."

"Zhan Debin, director and professor at the Center for Korean Peninsula Studies of the Shanghai University of International Business and Economics, told the Global Times that the current South Korean government is very determined to deploy THAAD despite local protests and China's opposition."

"China has held a consistent stance that friendly countries can develop relations with other countries based on their interests, but those relations should not target China or harm Chinese interests, Zhan said."

Economic Implications:

"Yoon and Biden may discuss the US Inflation Reduction Act, which excludes electric vehicles assembled outside North America from tax incentives, raising concerns it will act as a significant trade barrier for Korean-made cars, Yonhap reported Sunday."

"Zhan said that US foreign policy has always milked allies to serve its own interests — former US president Donald Trump spoke about "America first" out loud while Biden thinks it."

"The expert also noted that the closer South Korea stands with the US, the smaller its room for maneuver to maintain autonomy."

Article 14

26-06-23-GT

Title: S.Korean FM's remarks show little sincerity in repairing China ties; reckless pro-US policies undermine Seoul's own interests: analysts

Political Implications:

"South Korean Foreign Minister Park Jin's latest remarks claiming that the government of President Yoon Suk-yeol 'sees no need' to sour ties with China, while at the same time reiterating criticism of Chinese envoy Xing Haiming over so-called inappropriate behavior, laid bare the Yoon government's lack of sincerity in easing tensions and its reckless pro-US turn is a betrayal of traditionally balanced diplomacy, harming its national interests and status in the international community, Chinese analysts pointed out on Monday."

"According to Chinese analysts, China-South Korea bilateral ties took a significant hit in 2017 when South Korea started the process of deploying the US Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) anti-missile defense system, and the incumbent President Yoon Suk-yeol's pro-US shift in foreign policy has added to the difficulty in reversing the downturn in ties."

According to a press release by South Korea's Ministry of National Defense (MND) on June 21, the Ministry of Environment and the MND approved the full deployment of THAAD at the Seongju base.

"Lü said that this development showed that the Yoon government has chosen to blindly curry favor with the US at the cost of relations with China."

"It will also undermine the status of South Korea in the international community and make it difficult for South Korea to play its due role in regional affairs," he added.

Economic Implications:

"South Korean airlines, including the country's flagship carrier Korean Air, have reportedly announced that they will suspend flight routes to destinations in China due to a lack of passenger demand and the low load factor of the routes."

"According to a Reuters report on South Korean exports, the country's shipments to China, its largest trading partner, slid 20.8 percent in May, marking the 12th straight annual drop."

Cultural Implications:

"Blindly following the US has and will continue to hurt trade, political and cultural ties between China and South Korea, which is not in line with the interests of South Korean people."

Article 15

05-07-23-GT

Title: Many South Korean companies see dropping revenues in Chinese market

Political Implications:

"According to Chinese analysts, China-South Korea bilateral ties took a dive during 2016-17 when South Korea started deploying the US Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) anti-missile system, and the incumbent President Yoon Suk-yeol's pro-US shift in foreign policy has added to the difficulty in bilateral ties."

Economic Implications:

"Many South Korean companies have seen a significant drop in revenues in the Chinese market since 2016, market research firm CEO Score said Wednesday."

"The total combined revenues of these companies' Chinese operations last year amounted to 111.42 trillion won (\$85.7 billion), down by 13.1 percent compared with 2016."

"If revenues from the battery and semiconductor sectors are excluded, the decline was a staggering 40 percent, CEO Score said in a statement."

"To exemplify the trend, the study showed that in the auto sector, Hyundai Motor's subsidiary in China - Beijing Hyundai Motor - saw the steepest drop, with its revenue shrinking from 20.13 trillion won in 2016 to 4.9 trillion won last year, a plunge of 75.7 percent."

"Samsung Electronics, another South Korean conglomerate, saw its revenue in China drop 43.5 percent to 9.68 trillion won last year from more than 17 trillion won in 2016, due to the withering of its smartphone and home appliance business in China."

"In the first five months of the year, South Korea's exports to China dropped to \$49.7 billion, a year-on-year decrease of 27.3 percent."

Extracted sentences from The Korea Times

Article 16

05-03-17-KT

Title: Korea-China conflict over THAAD takes toll on K-pop stars Posted : 2017-03-05 10:57 Updated : 2017-03-05 10:57

Political Implications:

But it has denied permission for Korean entertainers to perform or appear on television shows in China since October, three months after Seoul agreed to host a Terminal High Altitude Area Defense system (THAAD) to better defend itself against North Korea's constant military threats.

Beijing has long voiced opposition to THAAD, saying its deployment on the Korean Peninsula threatened Chinese national security interests.

Economic Implications:

The management agency for Lee Kwang-soo, Kim Beom and Kim Ji-won, Korean stars who are all popular in China, experienced a huge drop in sales in the second half of last year.

That was because their profits from the Chinese entertainment and advertising markets have effectively vanished since October when Beijing restricted Korean entertainers from working in the country in protest against Seoul's decision to deploy a high-tech U.S. anti-missile battery on its soil.

"The company has earned not a penny from China due to the political row over THAAD," Lee Jin-seong, chief of King Kong by Starship, told Yonhap News Agency on Sunday.

The ban has deprived many smash-hit Korean TV shows and their stars a chance to make big money in mainland China.

The situation is expected to inevitably narrow the scope of activities by hallyu stars.

Cultural Implications:

China has been one of the top consumers of Korean pop culture.

After the ban, some of the popular singers, such as Psy and Hwang Chi-yeol, appeared on Chinese shows with their faces blurred out. In some cases, their appearances were edited out altogether.

Most recently, China blocked access to newly updated clips of South Korean music and dramas on the country's online video sharing platforms, according to industry sources in Beijing.

There are, of course, a tiny number of A-listers who remain unaffected from the hallyu ban like Jun Ji-hyun, Song Hye-kyo, Kim Soo-hyun and Park Hae-jin.

Lee said the ban is dealing a huge blow to most of the Korean stars who have given their all in the Chinese market.

But Kim Woo-bin and Suzy, who starred in "Uncontrollably Fond," were unable to come even close to China because of its hallyu ban with the show's promotional activities all being canceled outright.

Gong Yoo and Lee Dong-wook, the male stars of "Guardian: The Lonely and Great God," were more victims of the THAAD fallout.

Industry insiders speculated the actors would have easily earned some tens of millions of dollars together in China without the hallyu ban. "There was a bubble in the Chinese market," Hwang said. "Korean stars need to take steps to remove the bubble and increase their competitiveness."

Hwang also raised the need to find new markets for Korean dramas, citing the instances of "Guardian" and "Legend of the Blue Sea" that broke their break even points despite the closing of the Chinese market.

Article 17

10-05-17-KT

Title: Chinese motorists shun Hyundai, Kia vehicles

Political Implications:

"The Chinese government's trade retaliation against Korea over the deployment of a Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) battery here has dealt a severe blow to Korean carmakers' sales for two consecutive months."

"Protesting the Korean government's decision to deploy the U.S. anti-missile system, Chinese consumers have boycotted Korean products, while Chinese competitors have provoked nationalism among the Chinese people to rack up their own sales."

Economic Implications:

"According to sources, Korea's carmaker duo Hyundai Motor and Kia Motors jointly sold only 51,059 cars in China last month, a 65.1 percent nosedive year-on-year."

"Due to their poor performances in the Chinese market, Hyundai and Kia's global sales also plunged 11.7 percent and 13.2 percent, respectively, last month."

"Hyundai Motor had a 1.5 percent increase in domestic sales last month, but suffered a 13.9 percent plunge to 303,864 cars overseas year-on-year."

"Meanwhile, Kia Motors suffered a sales drop both in the overseas and domestic markets."

"This was the first time the two carmakers' monthly sales in the world's most populous country have fallen below 100,000 since February 2016."

"In order to decrease their sales dependency on China, the two carmakers are diversifying overseas business operation."

"Kia Motors said it will build its first production plant in India, aiming to offset its poor Chinese sales performance while Hyundai Motor is enhancing its promotion operations in other markets like Europe and Russia."

Cultural Implications:

"Hyundai's lackluster performance is attributable to the Chinese government's trade retaliation and anti-Korean sentiment among consumers after the deployment of THAAD here."

"Some Volkswagen dealerships in China are reportedly carrying out a special promotion with discounts of up to 16,000 yuan (\$2,323) for customers who sell their Korean cars to buy their models."

"Another Chinese carmaker is also offering special gifts for customers who cancel their orders for Korean cars."

Article 18

12-11-17-KT

Title: Businesses bottoming out in China

Political Implications:

"Korean companies, which have been grappling with China's economic retaliation since March when Korea officially decided to deploy a U.S. anti-missile battery here, are expressing hopes that business will get better amid growing signs of a thaw in icy relations."

"Meetings between the leaders of the two nations are adding to an optimistic view of relations in the coming months, company officials said."

"President Moon Jae-in and his Chinese counterpart President Xi Jinping met Saturday on the sidelines of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Vietnam, agreeing to take bilateral ties to the next level."

"Seoul has been working hard to persuade Beijing about the logic behind the deployment of a Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) battery, while China has been easing its stance on the anti-missile system."

"After Korea decided to host THAAD, China took a range of steps to impede Korean firms' operations there."

Economic Implications:

"Automakers, airlines, duty free shops and other businesses heavily dependent on China are welcoming improving Korea-Sino relations in recent weeks as the two sides work to get the soured ties back on track."

"Things began picking up after the two countries announced an agreement to normalize ties Oct. 31, with China's backlash against local firms diminishing over the past two weeks."

"Chinese tourists are also expected to return to Korea as the authorities there are moving to normalize exchanges with Asia's fourth-largest economy."

"To cope with the backlash, many Korean firms downsized their presence in China. Lotte Group, which offered a site for the THAAD battery, even closed 112 Lotte Mart stores there."

"Company officials raised expectations for Hyundai Motor, AmorePacific, Lotte Duty Free and other companies, adding things will return to the pre-THAAD mode by early next year."

"Hyundai Motor said Sunday it sold 80,016 vehicles in China last month, down 11.1 percent from a year earlier."

"We have been struggling with falling sales in Korea and China over the past seven months," a company official said."

"Duty free stores and other retailers are scrambling to welcome returning Chinese tourists."

Cultural Implications:

"In Korea, we couldn't sell as many beauty products this year as we did in 2016 because of the declining number of Chinese visitors. We hope the thawing bilateral relations will provide a much-needed boost to our business," the official said."

"The warming Korea-Sino tie is the news we have been waiting for all year," a Lotte Duty Free official said. "We are once again gearing up marketing activities and taking other steps to be ready for returning Chinese tourists. We desperately need more customers from there."

Article 19

24-11-17-KT

Title: China still pressuring S. Korea over THAAD

Political Implications:

"China appears to be still pressuring South Korea to take more practical steps to resolve a dispute involving the deployment of an advanced U.S. missile defense system here, even after the two governments struck an agreement last month to end the diplomatic row over it."

"The Seoul government said that bilateral conflict over the placement of the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) battery was settled following the Oct. 31 agreement and that the two nations would work to restore their relations in all sectors."

"During the meeting between the top diplomats of the two nations, Wednesday, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi told his South Korean counterpart, Kang Kyung-wha, that China 'valued' Seoul's stance of not deploying any additional THAAD batteries, not joining a broader U.S. missile defense (MD) system and not forming a South Korea-U.S.-Japan military alliance, according to the Chinese foreign ministry."

"After the meeting between Wang and Kang, the Chinese foreign ministry said it is hoping South Korea 'will continue to properly handle the THAAD issue,' saying Beijing values Seoul's 'attitude of having no intention of harming China's security interests.'"

China's state-run newspaper Global Times reported Thursday that Beijing's opposition to THAAD has been consistent, stressing that the issue is not yet over.

Some vernacular media outlets here also reported that China has requested South Korea set up a shield against the THAAD radar.

Seoul's foreign ministry spokesman Noh Kyu-duk denied the reports, saying, "They are groundless."

Economic Implications

"For more than a year, China has claimed the THAAD radar could be used to spy on its military facilities and harm its security interests, taking economic and cultural retaliation against South Korea."

Article 20

12-03-18-KT

Title: THAAD retaliation fallout still lingers

Political Implications:

"Although the missile shield's main mission is to deter North Korean missile and nuclear threats, China claims the THAAD can spy on its missile programs."

"Since President Moon Jae-in took office last May, the Korean government has urged the Chinese government to stop its economic retaliation."

"In October, the two countries agreed to get their soured relations back on track and Moon's state visit to China for a summit with Chinese President Xi Jinping in December also raised expectations for easing of the economic retaliation."

"However, there has been little sign of any breakthrough yet."

Economic Implications:

"China's economic retaliation still haunts Lotte Group as its chemical unit has seen one of its offices in the country shut down for a year, the conglomerate said, Monday"

"The Shenzhen office of Lotte Advanced Materials has been closed since March 2017 due to fire safety violations," a Lotte Group official said.

"Given that chemical and retail are Lotte's key businesses, it would be another brutal blow to the nation's fifth-largest conglomerate that already saw 87 Lotte Mart stores out of 99 across China suspended last year after offering its golf course in Seongju, North Gyeongsang Province, to be used as the site for a U.S. Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) battery."

"With no sign of economic retaliation abating, the financially suffering Lotte has been trying to sell the retail chain."

"According to the group, the materials company has paid rental fees for the premises worth reported tens of millions of won amid speculation the Chinese government may decide suddenly to end the retaliatory measure."

"As the sales negotiations make little progress, Lotte is still shouldering rental fees and some personnel expenses."

"Since 2016, Samsung SDI and LG Chem have failed to make the list of battery manufacturers eligible for Chinese government subsidies, excluding electric cars powered by the Korean batteries from state subsidies."

"The Chinese government has also suspended issuance of permits that are necessary for Korean games to be launched in China, in what was seen as part of the country's protest of the THAAD deployment."

Article 21

31-07-18-KT

Title: China discusses lifting sanctions on Korean firms

Political Implications:

"A senior Chinese official visited South Korea last month to discuss lifting unofficial sanctions Beijing has imposed on Korean companies following Seoul's deployment of a U.S. anti-missile system."

"My understanding is Yang Jiechi, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, discussed THAAD-related issues in a recent meeting with Seoul's top security adviser Chung Eui-yong."

"Back in 2016, South Korea decided to deploy a Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) missile defense system here despite heavy opposition from residents living near the location of the battery."

"China opposed the THAAD deployment claiming its advanced radar could monitor its key military facilities."

"Talks aimed at ending the Korean War are still on track among all interested stakeholders," said the official, adding a complete declaration on ending the inter-Korean War would require China's involvement."

Economic Implications:

"In apparent retaliation, Beijing 'unofficially sanctioned' Korean companies which have operations there and banned group package tours to South Korea."

"LG Chem and Samsung SDI were removed from a list of battery manufacturers whose products for electric vehicles were eligible for subsidies."

"Chinese tourism to South Korea came to a standstill while plans by Lotte Mart China to sell its outlets were deadlocked."

Cultural Implications:

"In apparent retaliation, Beijing 'unofficially sanctioned' Korean companies which have operations there and banned group package tours to South Korea."

Article 22

27-04-19-KT

Title: Korean banks struggle to stay afloat in China

Economic implications:

"The nation's banks are facing another hurdle in the Chinese market as Beijing Hyundai Motor Company, a Chinese joint venture of Hyundai Motor, decided to halt the operation of its No.1 plant in Beijing next month."

"They were just getting a breather now after experiencing difficulties in the market two years ago due to the Chinese government's economic retaliation against Korean firms because of Seoul's decision to deploy a Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) here."

"The carmaker's decision is likely to deal a severe blow to about 130 Korean subcontractors there."

"Korean lenders managed to recover their businesses through loans to these firms in the Chinese market over the past two years, but are now required to reach out to local firms there to maintain their current profitability."

"KB Kookmin Bank said the bank's local corporate body there set up a sales department last month to strengthen its ties with Chinese companies."

"Entering the market in 2012, KB Kookmin posted disappointing earnings of 1.1 billion won (\$948,112) when tension between the two countries was at its peak in 2017."

"Hyundai's slump in the Chinese market is already exercising a negative impact on Korean subcontractors there," Meritz Securities researcher Kim Joon-sung said.

"A number of Korean firms are now eyeing the Southeast Asian market, reflecting its rapid growth rate," a commercial bank official said.

Article 23

13-11-19-KT

Title: 'THAAD retaliation appears to be continuing'

Political Implications:

"China seems to be continuing economic retaliation against South Korea for hosting a U.S. missile shield, despite recent Seoul-Beijing agreements to end the dispute."

"I'd say China is disgruntled with South Korea over its U.S.-reliant security policy," said An Chan-il, a researcher in Seoul.

"Beijing appears to be sending a warning that economic retaliation can happen if Seoul gets on its nerves." (quote)

"The anti-missile system was deployed in September 2017 on a golf course owned by Lotte Group in Seongju County, North Gyeongsang Province."

"The two allies viewed THAAD as critical for North Korea's ballistic missile threat. But Beijing argued THAAD's long-range radar could be used to spy on Chinese military activities and that it is a part of the U.S. strategy to contain an emerging China."

"China then threatened to take countermeasures against the proposed deployment, saying it would 'not serve the national security interests of these countries.' "

"The possibility exists for South Korea to face another THAAD retaliation. And this makes balanced diplomacy increasingly important," said An.

Economic Implications:

"Travel agencies in Beijing still prevent searches for group travel packages to South Korea on their websites, local tourism sources said, Wednesday."

"They say such circumstances remind them of Chinese authorities' suspected ban of group travel packages to South Korea, in response to Seoul's decision in 2016 for the deployment of the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system."

"The suspected ban on group travel packages was initially believed to be removed after the Seoul-Beijing agreement in October 2017."

"China's bullying of South Korea does not seem to be over yet," he said.

"Among the retaliatory measures were a ban on charter flights between China and South Korea, regulations curbing activities of South Korean businesses in China and restricting K-pop stars' activities in the country."

Cultural Implications:

"The concerts of K-pop stars are still unheard of in China."

China's bullying of South Korea does not seem to be over yet," he said.

"Lee referred to recent reports that the University of Rochester's Eastman School of Music had canceled plans to tour China after its three South Korean members failed to apply for visas."

Article 24

26-03-20-KT

Title: BTS, 'Parasite' - victims of China's culture protectionism

Political Implications:

"China saw the deployment as 'threatening' to its national security. But Korea set up the system in Seongju, North Gyeongsang Province, in 2017."

"Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi also visited Seoul but didn't give any indication that China would lift the constraints."

Economic Implications:

"These are just a few examples of China's 'unofficial' restrictions on hallyu, or Korean culture, imposed since 2016. They are believed to be a part of Beijing's retaliation against Seoul triggered by a dispute over deployment of a U.S. missile defense system — the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) — on Korean soil."

"Nevertheless, hallyu's resurgence in China is still in doubt and recent events are not signs of an easing of restrictions, according to an expert and an industry source."

"China today aims to boost its domestic entertainment industry with its own strength."

"For Korea, the Chinese market is too lucrative to give up. Hence, the professor offered 'strategies to detour' that Koreans could use to earn Chinese money despite the restrictions."

"Hence, Korea could join this 'team.' Seoul could form the trilateral cooperation system without coming to the forefront to re-enter the Chinese market."

"Hong Kong and Taiwan could also function as 'bridges' to China, according to Lim."

"We don't have to sell or export solely finished products made in Korea. In terms of movies, Korean writers can sell their scenarios to Beijing and the technicians can do their bit in the editing of the Chinese flicks." he said.

"Another tactic is to keep an eye on the distribution of Chinese content in Korea. Although it is not about exporting hallyu, we can still make profits by assisting the distribution of process in Korea." Reported speech

Cultural implications:

"K-pop juggernaut BTS staged gigs in 23 cities around the globe during its world tour this year, but the seven-piece band could not perform in one neighboring country — China."

"The 2019 Cannes-winning comedy-thriller 'Parasite,' by auteur Bong Joon-ho, was to be screened at a Chinese film festival in July, but China suddenly called it off due to a 'technical reason.'"

"These are just a few examples of China's 'unofficial' restrictions on hallyu, or Korean culture, imposed since 2016."

"In the aftermath, Korean films, dramas, and concerts were practically banned in China."

"But the expectation that Beijing is loosening its restrictions has been growing here after some K-pop stars, including boy bands WINNER, GOT7, and SEVENTEEN, organized fan signing events in China at the end of the year."

"The gist of the matter is the Chinese government's overall stance and attitude toward foreign cultures."

"Hence, Beijing thinks hallyu is unnecessary."

"The quality of Chinese cultural content is known to have evolved with numerous creations such as the sci-fi blockbuster 'The Wandering Earth' (2019)."

"Many say China, which has long dreamt of conquering the global content market, will realize its dream soon and become the next cultural icon of Asia."

"Regarding the K-pop stars' fan signing events in China, they are merely small-scale occasions inviting hundreds of people, which don't need the Chinese government's permission to take place."

"Hallyu is a blend of American, Japanese, and Hong Kong culture, which is based on capitalism."

"Thus, hallyu content implicitly contains American and Western ideas such as political democratization, social justice, and gender issues."

"Beijing wants to block the 'reckless' entrance of such content that it believes problematic, knowing the influence of pop culture could be tremendous."

"China also seemingly aims to form a negative opinion among Koreans, fueling their worries about the possible backlash of the THAAD dispute on the hallyu boom in China."

Article 25

28-09-21-KT

Title: Koreans with unfavorable views of China rise sharply this year: survey

Cultural Implications:

"About 73.8 percent of South Koreans have unfavorable views of China, up 14.4 percentage points from last year, a survey showed Tuesday, with many of the respondents citing Beijing's lack of respect for Seoul."

"While the majority of the respondents cited Beijing's 'coercive behaviors,' like the retaliatory economic measures it took against Seoul for its hosting of the U.S. THAAD missile defense system on its soil, 43.8 percent — a big jump from the previous year's 35.3 percent — said they believe China 'does not respect Korea.'"

"The percentage of those who regard China as 'a country posing military threats' to South Korea also soared to 61.8 percent, up from 44.3 percent in the same period of the previous year."

Article 26

04-04-22-KT

Title: Korea's decoupling with China

Political Implications:

"Long before Russia invaded Ukraine, China made a pivot away from decades of globalization pressured by the U.S. Even before the U.S.-China standoff, South Korea saw a preview of China's abrupt departure from the international community ignited by its decision to place a Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system in 2016."

"During his election campaign, President-elect Yoon Suk-yeol declared his support for the controversial THAAD system, already causing frosty responses from China."

"However, China accused the U.S. of directing its THAAD against the mainland rather than North Korea."

"Even more worrying than the saber-rattling from North Korea has been China's sanctions against South Korea and its companies."

Economic Implications:

"Since the THAAD issue first broke out, China has placed South Korea on a 'silent sanction' list via measures like banning group tours."

"Lotte Group, which supplied the land where the THAAD battery is deployed, was eventually forced to withdraw all of its operations from China due to unsustainable business conditions."

"As a result, Korean companies operating on the mainland have sought opportunities outside of China in the past few years."

"Under the banner of 'common prosperity,' China is scrutinizing not only companies operating in its territory but also its national champions."

"Since the THAAD decision, Korea's listed stocks focused on China have suffered while the Korean stock market reached historic highs."

"Even Samsung has seen its mobile handset business in China dwindle, with its market share now at below 2 percent from 20 percent just a few years ago."

"Likewise, Hyundai's automobiles have slipped to the lower-end segment, where some local brands are considered higher in terms of brand positioning"

Cultural Implications:

"The economic transition from old to new has been difficult for Korea's egalitarian society, which still holds a strong ideology of income equality coupled with uninterrupted growth."

Article 27

15-12-22-KT

Title: Chinese envoy blames Korean media for China-bashing

Political Implications:

"He made the remarks as the Chinese government is still enforcing its unofficial ban on the import of Korean cultural content and many other products such as video games."

"The foreign ministers of Korea and China held a virtual meeting where they agreed to strengthen bilateral diplomatic ties through 'high-level exchanges,' including a possible visit to Seoul by Chinese President Xi Jinping for a summit."

Economic Implications:

"Known as the 'THAAD revenge,' the unofficial ban was Beijing's response to Seoul's decision to deploy the U.S. missile defense system in its territory in 2017."

Cultural Implications:

"Chinese Ambassador to Korea Xing Haiming blamed the Korean media for creating anti-China sentiment among the Korean public, claiming that some media outlets are using China coverage as click bait"

"The Chinese envoy's remarks show that there is a striking gap between Korea and China in their perceptions of the reason behind the growing anti-China sentiment in Korea as Koreans believe Beijing's retaliatory measures following the deployment of the Terminal High-Altitude Area Defense system (THAAD) has been at the center of Koreans' negative perceptions of China."

"Some media outlets tend to focus on covering negative information to draw attention and get clicks. This would affect the public opinion negatively."

"They said, although the media may have played some role in shaping the negative image of China, the fundamental responsibility falls on those who decided to take retaliatory action."

"Unless we address the THAAD revenge issue, we cannot explain or resolve China's negative image problem."

According to a survey this year by the Pew Research Center, a U.S. think tank, unfavorable views of China among Koreans have increased substantially over the last several years to hit a historic high of 80 percent.

In another poll conducted on people in their 20s and 30s by the Dong-a Ilbo, a conservative daily, 78.8 percent of the respondents said they view China negatively. When asked for the reasons, 52.9 percent picked the Chinese government's "overbearing diplomacy and attitude."

"All participants agreed, however, that the two countries need to cooperate to improve their relations and more exchanges between young people would be the key."

"Chinese journalists also expressed hopes that more cultural exchanges will lead to a healthier, more constructive relationship between the two countries."

Article 28

09-06-23-KT

Title: China's hallyu restrictions likely to continue unless Seoul-Beijing ties improve

Political Implications:

"Such a phenomenon was most visible when Beijing launched an unofficial boycott on Korean cultural content following the deployment of a U.S. Terminal High Altitude Area of Defense (THAAD) missile defense battery system on Korean soil in 2017."

"Yoon's latest political moves have prompted many to believe that his diplomatic focus is on the U.S. and Japan, and that he is siding with the two countries to contain China."

Economic Implications:

"China, which considered the installation as a threat to its national security, banned performances by K-pop stars and the airing of K-dramas and films on its land."

Cultural Implications:

"Korean celebrities have not been able to appear on Chinese shows as well"

"Beijing sometimes eased the controls, raising hopes among cultural industry insiders that the restrictive policies might soon be lifted."

"Korean celebrities still cannot be featured in Chinese advertisements either." (quote) Choo

"The ban can only be alleviated if Korea and China mend their political ties through top-level talks." Quote /Choo

"Professor Lee noted that the culture industry is not the only sector hit by Korea-China's thorny ties."

"Unless there are high-level political dialogues between the two countries to restore their bond, the hallyu issue is unlikely to get solved." Quote/ Lee

"Professor Choo advised the Korean content industry to diversify its portfolio."

"It is true that we have lost the Chinese market, but we should not be swayed by every single event taking place there," he said. "Instead of just focusing on this market, we'd be better off seeking other ways to develop our content in other parts of the world to make hallyu more sustainable." Quote choo

Article 29

24-06-23-KT

Title: Will full THAAD deployment trigger retaliatory measures from China?

Political Implications:

"Bilateral relations between South Korea and China could turn from bad to worse, according to diplomatic observers, as Seoul prepares for full-fledged deployment of a U.S. anti-missile system at the displeasure of Beijing."

"The anti-missile system had remained as a 'temporary' installation for the past six years due to fierce backlash from China, as well as residents of Seongju."

"China claims that THAAD's radar can be used to spy on its airspace."

"Diplomatic experts think that the full-fledged THAAD deployment could widen the rift between Seoul and Beijing."

"Relations between the two nations have soured under the Yoon Suk Yeol administration, with China expressing discontent about South Korea's pro-U.S. foreign policy."

"The incumbent Yoon administration has been hinting at abandoning the policy adopted by its predecessor. During the presidential campaign, Yoon pledged additional deployment of THAAD."

Economic Implications:

"Lee said the chances of China implementing strong economic sanctions on South Korea, similar to those of 2017, are slim, as Beijing would not want to deteriorate the already-strained bilateral ties."

"When THAAD was first deployed here in 2017, Beijing responded with massive economic sanctions on Seoul..."

Cultural Implications:

"When THAAD was first deployed here in 2017, Beijing responded with...well as a tacit ban on South Korean entertainment content."

Article 30

26-11-23-KT

Title: Number of Chinese travelers to Korea remains far below pre-pandemic levels

Political Implications:

"... when the Chinese government had banned group tours to Korea amid a bilateral rift over the deployment of the U.S. defense shield, the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD), to the country."

Economic Implications:

"Around 144,000 Chinese nationals visited Korea per month on average this year, according to the data released by the Hyundai Research Institute."

"The tally was about one-third of the monthly average of 416,000 recorded from 2017 to 2019..."

Cultural implications:

"The Hyundai Research Institute attributed the sluggish recovery in Chinese travelers to the country to the slower-than-expected rebound of Chinese consumers' economic sentiment."

"The institute also said Chinese people's traveling style has changed, with preference for group tours to Korea down and demand for travel to Japan up amid a weak yen."