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NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF CHRISTIANITY

IN SOUTH KOREA, 1996-2005

By

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Bachelor of Arts in Mass Communications

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1999

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ABSTRACT

Newspaper Coverage of Christianity

In South Korea, 1996-2005

by

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Drawing upon framing theory, this study content analyzes a sample of 2,614 news articles dealing with religions published in *Chosun Ilbo* from 1996 to 2005. Of this sample, it focuses on 727 news stories covering Christianity to examine how this major daily newspaper has covered this religion in terms of its tone and frames towards Protestants and megachurches. The key findings show that this religion seems to have been portrayed in a positive tone rather than in a negative tone and that Korean journalists tend to view both the Protestants and megachurches as providers of social work services. Given the empirical evidence that conservative news organizations cover Christianity more positively than their liberal counterparts do in Korea, these finding are hardly surprising. Clearly, more research is needed to illuminate the probable diversity of religion news reporting. Despite its limitations, it is hoped that this study is able to provide an impetus for discussing the interplay between media and religion in a context different from Western culture.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

This exploratory and descriptive paper aims to examine how a Korean newspaper has covered Christians from 1996 to 2005. This time period has been selected as it reflects a decrease in Christian population as opposed to the constant increase up to the year of 1995. This study attempts to continue exploring questions such as media coverage and framing of a particular religious group in the context of South Korea. In the most relevant study to this research, Hwang (2012) investigates a total of 159 articles published in 2011 from two national newspapers looking at the portrayal of this religious group. His overall findings include: (1) the proportion of news coverage devoted to the Protestants is relatively high when compared with the proportion of the Christian population in Korea; (2) the tone of media coverage in general appears to be negative when describing them; (3) dominant media frames on the Protestant community involve "political power" and "exclusivist." Although the previous paper shows the most up-to-date information concerning the Korean media's stance towards Christians, the current research presents a comparable picture of news coverage of Protestantism in terms of an analysis of the subject over a 10-year period.

While South Korea's Protestant population had grown tremendously in the past century, the number of Protestants has declined since the arrival of the twenty-first century (Han, Han, & Kim, 2009; Jang, 2004; Kim, 2004). Moreover, public opinion

about the Protestant community seems to have deteriorated (Jang, 2004) as *Chosun Ilbo*'s coverage of Christianity gradually increased during a decade from 1996 to 2005. Since *Chosun Ilbo* has been regarded as one of the most influential newspapers with the largest circulation in Korea (Logan, Park, & Shin, 2004; Park & Park, 2000), an analysis of the newspaper's coverage can suggest a picture of changes in the media's treatment of religion over time.

There should be numerous factors that contributed to the downward trend in Christian population over this decade. One factor is structural (Jang, 2004). The growth strategy or tools utilized by the Protestant church in response to the rapid cultural and social changes throughout the late twentieth century may have reached a limit. Today there are many places where people can fulfill their educational, medical or political goals. What is worth mentioning, however, is that negative aspects of Protestants, such as the privatization of a church and pastors' misdeeds, have been disclosed and have bolstered bad publicity (Kim, 2004; Jang, 2004). It is highly probable that as more media coverage has been devoted to the Protestant Church, these aspects have become more noticeable and criticized both inside and outside the Christian community. Although this paper cannot show a correlation between media coverage of a particular religion and public perception of that religion, it seeks to find out changes in media portrayal of one of the major religions in Korea over time.

Justification for the Study

While the study of media and religion has become "a promising area of research" over the last two decades mainly in the United States and the United Kingdom (Stout, 2012, p. 1), relatively little research has been conducted on the subject outside these two countries. Some international scholars have explored the relationship between media and religion by portraying the role of media in creation, interpretation and applications of symbols and myths used for religious meaning-making (Campbell, 2010; Hoover, 2006). Utilizing the "culturalist" approach they have studied the personal significance and meaning derived by individuals from constant engagement with various media (e.g., Herrmann, 2003; Linderman, 1997; Linderman & Lövheim, 2003; Martin-Barbero, 1997; Tomaselli & Shepperson, 1997). However, fewer international researchers have attempted to investigate such questions as how media portray a specific religious group or how mass media function as a social force influencing the beliefs and values of religious communities (e.g., Bantimaroudis, 2007; Cohen, 2005; Yao, 2007). This study can contribute to the development of this field in terms of adding to more balanced and thorough understanding of the media and religion interface as it provides fresh information about Korean media coverage of religion.

America was viewed as a religious haven for most Protestants who settled in it to avoid persecution in the seventeenth century, thus rendering the nation's characteristics highly religious. The Puritans thought of themselves as a chosen people who were commissioned by God to model a Christian nation as well articulated in John Winthrop's address "A Modell of Christian Charity" (Gardner, 1988; Marsden, 2001; Miller, 1954).

During the twentieth century, the religious aspect of culture became commonplace as various Christian denominations, Jewish communities, and other religious groups added to the religious atmosphere in America. It is religion, especially Protestantism, that "shaped much of the history of the United States" (Stout, 2006, p. 359). Rooted in such a religious background, the United States is regarded as the most religious of all developed, industrial, democratic countries (Buddenbaum & Stout, 1996; Marsden, 2001; Hoover, 1998). It is no wonder that a great deal of scholarly work has been done by American media scholars on the study of media and religion.

This emerging field has attracted little attention among Korean mass communication scholars, religion scholars, or theologians. There have been few studies on religion news coverage in South Korea or on other strands of research into religion and media (e.g., Park, 2005). It seems justifiable that this paper attempts to initiate a discussion about the relationship between media and religion in South Korea, thereby broadening our horizon of understanding the field's body of knowledge. As mentioned earlier, if the relationship between media and religion is to be studied and reported by more international researchers, media scholars as a whole will benefit by embracing various aspects of the media-religion interface at work in many countries. Christianity, or Protestantism, is not only a major religion but also the religion of the middle class in South Korea as it has exerted a disproportionate influence on society and culture since its arrival in the country (Jang, 2004). While only about two percent of the Asian population is Christian, nearly one third of South Korea's people are Christian with Protestants and Catholics combined (Kim, 1995; Kim, 2004). At the turn of the current century, however,

the upward trend in church membership was reversed. Besides, public opinion on

Protestantism seems to have worsened as a variety of unsavory scandals took place (Jang,

2004; Kim, 2011). Given these circumstances linked with the Christian circle in South

Korea, it is also deemed a timely endeavor to explore the media coverage of Christianity.

History of Christianity in South Korea

To facilitate an understanding of this study, it seems necessary to provide a

history of Christianity in general and megachurches in particular in Korea. This section

aims to explore how Protestantism took root and evolved to become one of the three

major religions in the nation and what characteristics Korean megachurches have in

common. By gaining knowledge of the context in which the Christian Church has been

situated, readers may be able to capture how the atmospheres surrounding the Church

have shifted over time. Therefore, this section briefly examines the history of Korean

Protestantism, followed by the description of the general features of the megachurches.

Protestantism.

Despite the fact that Christianity was first introduced to Koreans through

Catholicism in the 1780s, this paper summarizes the history of Korean Christianity

focusing on the Protestant church because of its interest in the image of this religious

group portrayed by Korean media. It also should be mentioned that the term

"Christianity" has been used interchangeably with "Protestantism" in South Korea even

though the former usually encompasses the Roman Catholic Church outside the country.

It is useless to put a designation on Korean churches like mainline Protestantism or

evangelical Protestantism, because most of them "assert that they are 'evangelical'" (Ryu, 2008, p. 371) or conservative in terms of political orientation as well as theological stance. For example, a majority of Protestant churches believe in the infallibility of the Bible or the belief in Jesus Christ as sole Redeemer, namely the core beliefs of fundamentalist theology.

As Kim (2005) puts it, since their arrival in 1884, the Protestant missionaries, mostly from America, received a warm welcome by the government of the Joseon dynasty and its people alike. For Kim, this hospitality was politically oriented in that the Joseon government was in desperate need to cope with the looming invasion by Japan, and the people viewed the church "an agent of tremendously powerful Western countries" (p. 266) that could help save their nation from turmoil at the turn of the century. Although there were political motivations in their warm receptivity, the main reason seems to be that the teachings of early Korean Protestantism fitted the Korean's culture and emotion at the time (Moffet, 1962)

Because of the government's restrictions against the missionaries' teachings of religious content, however, institutional work such as medical and educational work took precedence over evangelism during the first two decades of their arrival. As Kim (1995) notes, "hospitals and schools thus became invaluable evangelical tools for the missionaries" at the time (p. 41). It is worth noting that these Christian schools became the cradle of Korean nationalism that linked the new religion with this ideology. The predominant role of Christians in the independence movement during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945) strengthened the image of Christianity associated with the

growth of nationalism. For instance, Christians, particularly Protestants, took on a great role in the Independence Movement of 1919, namely Samil Undong, as the movement's leaders and its participants. Almost half the signatories of the Declaration of Independence, or 15 out of 33 signers, were Christians, while 22 percent of those who were imprisoned for participating in the movement, or 2,087 of 9,458 were Christians (Kim, 1995, p. 42). Given the proportion of Christians comprising only 1.3 percent of the total population in Korea at the time, the above figures were all the more amazing.

International intervention in Korean affairs, mainly on the part of the US and the Soviet Union, following the surrender of Japan resulted in the division of the nation, the context that gave rise to the Korean War. In the aftermath of this civil war, an urgent need for postwar reconstruction including relief supplies in South Korea were partly met with the help of foreign aids from Christian countries, the US in particular, as well as relief works of Christian mission-related agencies. In addition, the ardent efforts of the Korean churches helped find increasing favor with the local populace, many of whom later took interest in Christian belief and became proselytes. As such, the postwar era provided an opportune time for the Korean church to grow in terms of social influence, not to mention membership. The rapid growth of the Christian population continued unabated from the 1960s to the 1980s as the number of Protestants as well as Catholics roughly doubled every decade during this time period (Kim, 1995; Kim, 2004; Jang, 2004). In other words, by the end of the twentieth century South Korea may have had one of the fastest growing Christian populations in the world.

Kim (2004) seeks to find the reasons for this exceptional growth of Protestantism or "the success of Christianity in Korea" (p. 132). Shamanism had functioned as a religious seedbed with which other imported religions were associated, and enabled Koreans to pursue secular prosperity such as longevity, health, and wealth in the midst of ensuing tribulations caused from a number of foreign invasions as well as poverty and diseases. Given the fortune-oriented mindset of Korean people in terms of religious propensity, Christianity provided fertile ground for contemporary Koreans to seek inward comfort and outward success. Moreover, the collapse of the Joseon Dynasty brought about a spiritual vacuum as Confucianism failed to play a major role in protecting the people spiritually, and Christianity came to the fore at the time to fill that vacuum. Since the Protestant missionaries began focusing their concerns on medical and educational missions, Christianity was able to lend itself to "an instrument of national enlightenment" (Kim, 2004, p. 139) before and after Japan's invasion of Korea. With their stance towards strong evangelism, the Korean churches utilized their resources such as hospitals and schools to receive the increasing number of Christians all the way through the 1990s. While the Christian Church as a whole played a great part in the independence movement during the Colonial period, a relatively small number of progressive churches made an effort to fight against the dictatorship from the 1970s to the late 1980s to defend democracy.

After the liberation from Japan, on the other hand, a majority of Christian leaders "ceased to criticize social and political injustice" attempting to justify their apolitical positions while the nation was facing fiercely despotic regimes (Park, 2003, p. 204). Not

only that, some of the church leaders acknowledged dictators and even blessed those military leaders who became the president of South Korea. Even though a minority of progressive churches devoted themselves to struggling against autocracy, most Protestant churches did not join the pro-democracy movement in the 1970s and 1980s, thereby resulting in the tarnished image of Christianity collaborating with dictatorship. In particular, Christians who migrated from the north to avoid the communist regime tended to justify the anticommunist governments in the south, and thus the Protestant church came to take a stance against communism.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, there has been a gradual decrease in the number of Christians at most Protestant churches, regardless of size and denomination. According to the press release on the current state of religion in 2008 in South Korea distributed by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (2009), about 18 percent of the total population of 47,041,434 was comprised of Protestants (8,616,438) whereas 11 percent consisted of Catholics (5,146,147) as of November 1, 2005. Buddhists alone accounted for almost 23 percent of the total population. This figure of Protestants, however, was decreased when compared with the number of Protestants reported in November 1, 1995, or 8,760,336 which accounted for almost 20 percent of the population at the time. It is a well-known fact that the number of Protestants has gradually decreased during the first decade of the current century, as opposed to the constant increase in church membership until the end of the twentieth century.

Megachurches.

Korean Protestantism has attracted a fair amount of scholarly attention because of its characteristics of the rapid growth and the emergence of mega-churches (e.g., Chung, 1997; Han, Han, & Kim, 2009; Hong, 2000; Hong, 2003; Kim, 2007). A megachurch is a church where 2,000 or more worshipers attend weekly services (Kurian, 2011). Many Korean megachurches have been blamed for their entanglement with the conservative party and their emphasis on temporal blessings as they continued to grow in size and numbers throughout the late twentieth century. With the proliferation of megachurches internationally, Korean megachurches have rapidly grown for several reasons especially since the late 1950s when the Yoido Full Gospel Church (YFGC), the current largest single congregation in the world, was founded in 1958.

Hong (2000, 2003) estimates that in 1999, there were 15 megachurches in Korea and that eight of them had over twenty thousand adult church members. Since his criterion for the megachurch designation is a church with at least 10,000 regular attendees in its weekly services, however, it can be said that there are more than 15megachurches in South Korea. It is also worth mentioning that Hong (2000, 2003) does not include the Unification Church in his list of megachurches as this church has been labeled as heretical by Korean Protestants. Thus, the Unification Church was not deemed a megachurch in this study. Many megachurches emerged in the midst of social change that made ordinary people feel a sense of uneasiness and instability. These churches were able to give their congregations social support of a cohesive group, a sense of certainty and meaning of life, and dynamic transcendent experience induced or motivated by

charismatic leadership. While the social influence of the megachurches has increased together with quantitative growth, their social credibility has become weak (Hong, 2003; Han, Han, & Kim, 2009).

There have been numerous calls for serious repentance and reformation on the part of the Protestant churches in general and megachurches in particular in the last two decades (Han, Han, & Kim, 2009; Lee, 1997). Since the churches hardly reflect upon their preoccupation with materialism and the so-called "prosperity gospel" and rarely make positive contributions to society, Christianity has become "a serious problem rather than a solution" for Korean society and its issues (Han, Han, & Kim, 2009, p. 353). Megachurches are regarded to be at the center of these controversies partly because they get more media coverage than other smaller churches, and partly because they themselves have caused problems of serious implications.

A recent saga from a Methodist denomination can be used as an example. Three brothers from the same family had headed three Methodist megachurches and appointed their own sons as the next senior pastors during the 2000s (Han, Han, & Kim, 2009). The practice of church inheritance becomes problematic when it occurs in megachurches, where great economic gains and prestige may be obtained by those who take on ministerial headship. Oftentimes, a number of megachurch pastors are engaged in or enmeshed with political issues. A notable example is when Pastor David Yonggi Cho, the founder of YFGC, made a speech that he would initiate a protest against the president unless the government abandoned the so-called "Sukuk bill" introducing Islamic bonds. Given the significance and influence of the megachurches on Korean society, this paper

analyzes how *Chosun Ilbo* has covered them in terms of media frame and tone. By doing so it expands knowledge about media coverage of religion beyond U.S. studies.

Outline of Remaining Chapters

This paper introduces an empirical evaluation of religion coverage in a South Korea's national newspaper in terms of media framing of Christianity as well as their stances toward the religion. Since readers are unlikely to be familiar with the history of Christianity in Korea, the author has briefly described it largely focusing on Protestantism and megachurches. The remaining chapters of the paper are organized as follows. Chapter 2 is comprised of four sections: framing approach, religion in the news, content analyses of religion news coverage, and summary. The first section clarifies the key terms of framing approach, or frames and framing, whose meanings are somewhat diverse depending on the scholars who attempted at defining them. It also underscores the merits of framing approach in terms of methodology. The second section deals with recent scholarly attention to religion coverage in the news media. The third section reviews previous content analysis studies on religion news coverage including some international studies that employ a framing approach. The final section summarizes the implications of literature review for the current research. Chapter 3 delineates the method procedures well enough for future researchers to replicate. This chapter also conceptualizes four frames that are derived deductively from research into Christianity in Korea and are measured in actual coding. Chapter 4 presents empirical findings to answer the research questions posed in this study. Chapter 5 acts as a conclusion by summarizing the points and limitations of this project and discussing implications for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Before embarking upon an analysis of Korean newspaper coverage of Christianity, the theoretical framework, or framing approach, for the current study should be explained. This approach has been employed for its ability to uncover basic themes or concepts with which journalists view and portray a certain group and the Protestant community in this case. A framing analysis can lay bare how media shape ideas about religion whereas analyzing the tone of news coverage only informs us about the media's stance towards religion. This chapter also explores the state of the scholarship on religion in the news and media coverage of religion in order to give more justification to the need to delve into religion news coverage in the Korean context. There has been much discussion over the interplay between news media and religion over the past two decades conspicuously among American scholars. Much remains to be learned about the ways mass media cover religions in other countries. Studies conducted by international scholars on this topic— that is, media coverage of religious groups—are introduced in the third section of this chapter. The first and second sections present a review of literature on framing studies and news reporting of religion respectively. The final section summarizes the main points of the chapter.

Framing Approach

Over the past decades, much scholarly work has been done on the study of frames and framing (e.g., Chong & Druckman, 2007; D'Angelo, 2002; Druckman, 2001; Entman,

1993; Gamson & Modigliani, 1987; Goffman, 1974; Iyengar, 1991; Neuman, Just, & Crigler, 1992; Reese, 2001; Scheufele, 1999; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Tuchman, 1978). As Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) observe, framing analysis shares common ground with the agenda-setting approach in terms of their focus on "the relationship between public policy issues in the news and the public perceptions of these issues" (p. 93). Yet framing analysis expands beyond agenda-setting research since it examines not "what people talk or think about" but "how they think and talk" (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 70). Although Entman (1993), in his seminal paper, recommend that there should be an overall agreement about the concept of framing, framing scholars do not seem to have reached universal consensus regarding the meaning or measurement of frames. D'Angelo (2002) even represents a challenge to Entman's call for a common understanding of framing as a paradigm, arguing that news framing scholarship should be regarded as a research program and that the study of framing would benefit all the more from a "multiparadigmatic" viewpoint than from an agreed single paradigm (p. 879). Thus, the researcher reviews framing literature focusing on what the terms "frame" or "framing" mean and then explores how framing analysis can be related to the study about media framing of religion.

Despite the lack of consensus on the definition regarding frames or framing, the many that have been used point out some similar characteristics (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Goffman (1974) defines a frame as "the principles of organization which govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them" (p. 10) while Neuman et al. (1992) consider it as a conceptual tool "which media and individuals rely

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on to convey, interpret, and evaluate information" (p. 60). Reese (2001) also refers to frames as "organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (p. 11). Entman (1993) maintains that framing in effect involves selection and salience, stating that "to frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text*" (p. 52, emphasis in the original). In addition, framing means "the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue" (Chong & Druckman, 2007, 104).

Before extracting commonalities from the above definitions of frames or framing, it is worth noting that there are two kinds of frames—frames in communication and frames in thought—used in framing literature. Frames in communication focusing on the media content are often referred to as media frames whereas frames in thought focusing on an individual's thought are called "schemas" (Entman, Matthes, & Pellicano, 2009, p. 181). It indeed may be said with safety that all the definitions that have been cited in this paper have to do with one of these two types of frames or both. Regardless of the types of frames, frames function like a window, as Tuchman (1978) figuratively speaks:

> The view through a window depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or a backyard. The unfolding scene also depends upon where one stands, far or near … eyes parallel to the wall in which the window is encased. (p. 1)

Proceeding from what has been said above, it should be concluded that given certain frames regarding an issue or event, the view of the issue or event relies on what the frames are or how the frames are formulated.

Political scientist Iyengar's (1991) study on how television frames political issues in terms of attribution of responsibility brought new insight to framing research. Based on the premise that "all television news stories can be classified … as either 'episodic' or 'thematic'" (p. 13-14), he asserts that media cause people to assign responsibility for political issues to individuals rather than to society or government by taking the episodic news frame. The episodic news frame involves a case study or event-oriented report (e.g., the plight of a teenage drug user or the bombing of an airliner), while the thematic frame deals `with public issues in broader and societal context (e.g., reports on changes in government welfare expenditure). Television news predominantly uses the episodic frame because of constraints such as time, advertising, or journalistic objectivity. The media's preference for episodic coverage tends to elicit individualistic attributions of responsibility from the public and hence "the ultimate political impact of framing is proestablishment" (Iyengar, 1991, p. 16).

Media framing studies vary depending on their ways of drawing frames from the media content, and several scholars attempted to systemize framing literature in terms of methodological approaches employed (e.g., Entman et al., 2009; Matthes, 2009; Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Scheufele, 1999). In an effort to classify previous framing studies and create a typology of framing research, for example, Scheufele (1999) differentiates between media frames and individual frames while analyzing if these frames had been

used either as independent variable or as dependent variable. Based on this typology, media framing studies would fall into four categories: studies examining media frames as dependent variables; studies examining media frames as independent variables; studies examining individual frames as dependent variable; and studies examining individual frames as independent variables. However, as Scheufele (1999) acknowledges, applying his typology to framing studies is not an easy task in that certain studies can engage in more than one category. Drawing on Matthes and Kohring's (2008) research, on the other hand, Entman et al. (2009) categorize the media framing literature into four approaches: "a qualitative approach, a manual-holistic approach, a manual-clustering approach, and a computer-assisted approach" (p. 180).

Regardless of approaches used in their studies, all of the media framing studies have in common that which transcends the unsophisticated measurement of tone, either positive or negative or neutral. In other words, framing analysis can lay bare the type of information that otherwise would be hidden, that is constructed by the media, and that retains the potential for biasing public opinion. As Entman (1993) notes, unguided by framing analysis, content analysis tends to "yield data that misrepresent the media messages that most audience members are actually picking up" (p. 57). Given relatively little attention yet paid to framing analysis of religion news coverage in research into media and religion, any of these approaches should contribute to the understanding of how the news media portray a certain religion, conventional or unconventional, if it is to be employed.

Stout and Buddenbaum (2003) propose framing analysis as one adequate

approach to the question concerning "the nature of the process by which journalists

present religion to their audiences" (p. 1). They argue that in the study of media and

religion, framing analysis can not only discern what the news media tell their audiences

about particular religions but also identify or uncover the kinds of news content that

contribute to the public's perception of them. Given that perception and treatment of a

certain religion and its members are indelibly associated with the sorts of information

available to the public, analyzing how media frame the religious group should be

considered critical. For that reason, Wright (1997) warns against writing a news story

about new or nontraditional religions without informed knowledge as well as unbiased

intelligence on them. After enumerating several factors that contribute to media bias

against unconventional religion (e.g., religious illiteracy among journalists, constraints of

time and economic resources, and misleading sources of information), Wright (1997)

urges news reporters to take a consistent approach to religion, whether conventional or

unconventional.

Since the special issue of *Journal of Media and Religion* (Stout & Buddenbaum,

2003a) had laid the groundwork on framing analysis of religion in the news, studies

focusing on media framing of religion have emerged (e.g. Bantimaroudis, 2007; Chen,

2003; Ibrahim, 2010; McCune, 2003; Ostrowski, 2006; Yao, 2007). Although research on

media framing of religion is still in its early stage, it will contribute to the understanding

of frames and framing effects by opening a new prospect in the field of media framing

studies, given that previous scholarship on this field has been dominated by political

communication scholars or political scientists. The interdisciplinary nature of framing

research has the potential to involve the study of media and religion as a diversity of

theoretical approaches have already become intertwined with framing literature

(D'Angelo, 2002).

Religion in the News

The "sacred-secular divide" defined American journalism since the twentieth

century (Stout, 2012, p. 100). Although secular news organizations have treated religion

as one of the topics that they cover with objectivity and fairness, more citizens saw the

press as criticizing rather than supporting religious organizations (Stout, 2006). Partly in

response to the negative coverage of religion on the part of the secular press, major

denominations launched their own media outlets including religious radio stations and

newspapers. The situation in South Korea is no different from that in the US. Korean

journalism can also be demarcated along the line of the secular and the religious. It has

been confirmed in Hwang's (2012) research that Korea's secular newspapers tend to

cover religion—at least Christianity—negatively even though their content is not

homogeneous between the two newspapers analyzed. Given that *Chosun Ilbo* is

considered the most influential daily newspaper in the nation, an analysis of its coverage

of Protestantism over a decade will help understand how major secular newsrooms

address issues related to religious community and its leaders.

As Clark and Hoover (1997) note, exploration of religion in the news has attracted

a fair amount of scholarly attention especially since the 1990s as various books devoted

attention to this area (e.g., Dart & Allen, 1993; Hoover, 1998; Marsden & Savigny, 2009; Meyer & Moors, 2006; Stout & Buddenbaum, 1996). Researchers have investigated not only news content itself but also news institutions as well as the audiences for the coverage. Religion is considered as "a particular type of news, categorized within the prerogatives of journalism and competing with other categories such as sports, politics, or entertainment" in this strand of research (Clark & Hoover, 1997, p. 22). The lack of religion coverage in the news media has been attributed to hostility on the part of journalists (Lichter, Rothman, & Lichter, 1986) or the potential of controversy that such coverage incurs (Dart & Allen, 1993).

Debates over the definition of religion among religion scholars have generally fallen into one of two perspectives: substantive versus functional (Berger, 1974; Demerath, 1999; Hoover, 1998; White, 1997). Since a substantive approach focuses on its essential characteristics, if something is essentially religion it is deemed religion in this view. On the other hand, a functionalist viewpoint centers on "the purpose, meanings, and practices that surround those areas of culture" that people think of as religious (Hoover, 1998, p. 15). While the functionalist perspective obviously counts on overgeneralization, it is able to embrace a wide range of religious practices and cultural phenomena that appear to be (potentially) religious. The discussion about the way religion is defined or understood goes beyond the scope of this paper and is not taken into consideration further. It should be added, however, that most of content analysis studies of religion news coverage that are reviewed in the following section do not concern

themselves about defining religion and involve examining religions viewed as a religion from the essentialist viewpoint.

Content Analyses of Religion News Coverage

Buddenbaum (1986) attempts to see "the actual state of religion news reporting" (p. 601) through analysis of religion news in the *New York Times, Minneapolis Star* and *Richmond Times-Dispatch* covered for three months. Her content analysis of three papers confirmed the results of earlier research that religion news stories in the secular press become wider in scope and more centered on long-term issues than single events. It is worth mentioning that her study motivated the reader to design his own research about religion news coverage in Korea's major newspapers in terms of how to properly conduct content analysis. In sharp contrast to Buddenbaum's (1986) study, Willey (2008) acquaints the reader with the *Dallas Morning News*' religion section that went through ups and downs over twelve years. The most suggestive contribution of the article to media and religion scholarship, among other things, is that it showed how important the systematic approach is in order to advance the study of religion and media by illustrating the role of two in-depth studies—the "Rockefeller Report" and "*Bridging the Gap: Religion and the News Media*" (Willey, 2008, p. 196)—in launching the Dallas Morning News' religion section.

There have been a number of content analysis studies on religion coverage that used framing approaches even though research into media framing of religion is not fully developed yet. A couple of qualitative research articles in this venue offer good examples.

Ibrahim (2010), in her discourse analysis article, explores the role of ideology and the influence of government attitudes on news reporting, examining the representation of Islam in the media. At the heart of the author's epistemological stance lay a notion of indispensability of subjectivity in social science methodologies, particularly in discourse analysis or textual analysis. Since categorizing media bias as positive, negative or neutral is too simplistic, the author conducted a framing analysis of network news by employing a "close reading" (Ibrahim, 2010, p. 115), which examined latent meanings in news content, in an effort to reveal journalists' ideological assumptions. As a case study, Chen (2003) attempts to discover the difference between media coverage of Mormons during the 2002 Winter Olympic Games and the coverage of Mormons in previous times. Chen's study is noteworthy for its qualitative approach to the news coverage of religion which can elicit "insights about the framing of religion news" (Stout and Buddenbaum, 2003, p. 3). Even if quantitative approaches to media frames may be deemed a more empirical form of methods, frames may be assessed more accurately through qualitative measurements.

Some international studies have been conducted on media coverage of religion. Ostrowski (2006) examines how religion was portrayed in the media, and who played a role in those portrayals through a quantitative content analysis of news programs from Nepal TV. Ostrowski borrows the four frame categories from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000)'s article: "human interest," "economic," "conflict," and "morality," the last of which was split into secular and religious morality, and accentuated the importance of creating a standard in framing research prior to coding (p. 96). Although these frames do

not seem pertinent to an analysis of religion news coverage as these frames were

originally developed to evaluate political news stories, Ostrowski's contribution to better

evaluation of how media frame religion should be appreciated. Bantimaroudis (2007)

limits the main body of his study to media coverage of the Protestants in Greece since his

focus on Protestantism, which the Greek media are negatively framing, bears

resemblance to the concern of this paper. In evaluating his article, however, it is

important to bear in mind that Greek Protestants are minorities compared to the dominant

Greek Orthodox Church. Although in contrast to the Greek situation, Korean

Protestantism forms a relatively large part of Korea's religion, there are striking parallels

between Christian churches in these two countries. On the one hand, Christians in Korea

and Greece contributed to the independence movement of their nations in the past. In the

present time, on the other hand, public perception of Protestantism is somewhat negative

in both countries.

Yao, Stout, and Liu (2011) address religion news coverage in *People's Daily*, the

organ of the Communist Party of China, during a 10-year period. The purpose of their

study is to see if there has been a change in the tone of the newspaper towards religion

after 2001 when the Chinese government made a positive comment on religion. They

found that there has been the increase of religion news coverage over time even though it

is gradual and slow. This article concludes that religion has more influence over China's

political arena while it is still a politically sensitive issue, which is one of the reasons that

positive religion news coverage has slowly increased. Cohen (2005) also presented an

overview of how the Israeli media covered religions in Israel in terms of their attitudes

toward religions as well as the amount of reporting each religion received. The Israeli media play an important part in the construction of religious images, with their roles as a major source of information about religion and religious issues in Israel. Cohen selected the sample from four newspapers, four radio programs, and three television programs during a two-month period in 2000. It should be pointed out that the sample involved only media seen by the majority of Jewish people, and thus that news coverage connected to other religious groups, such as the Islamic and Christian communities, was not included in the main subjects for discussion. Key findings include significant difference in religion news coverage between the secular and the religious media, both quantitatively and qualitatively. When it comes to media's attitudes toward religion, secular media were more negatively inclined to religion than religious media, which indicates the secular-sacred divide at work in the Israeli context.

The aforementioned studies by international scholars are a challenging and provocative contribution to the study of media and religion. In contrast to the voluminous scholarship on this subject in the US, there have been relatively few studies devoted to the research on religion and media in other countries. Thus, these explorative and descriptive articles represent an important contribution to scholarship, in terms of providing information for those who know virtually nothing about the religious situation and the media's treatment of various religions in countries such as China, Greece, and Israel. Especially, Yao, Stout, and Liu's (2011) research deserves much attention in that it is a pioneering study that has been devoted to an analytic, detailed examination of the religion news coverage in secular media in Asia.

Summary

This chapter reviews literature in framing studies as well as the state of research into religion news coverage and points out the necessity to use a framing approach for better and rigorous analysis of religion in the news. Although there have been numerous definitions of frames or framing, figuratively speaking, they add up to a window through which a given issue is conveyed, interpreted, and made salient. Framing analysis should contribute to this research on newspaper coverage of Christianity in South Korea with its ability to uncover not only the media's attitudes toward this religion but also their ideologies or conception of it that simple tone measurements are not able to reveal. Several content analyses of religion coverage employ framing analysis. Some conducted qualitative research while others used quantitative approaches, either manual-holistic or manual-clustering. These studies deserve attention for their originalities in terms of new approaches to examining religion coverage in the news media.

In contrast to the voluminous scholarship on the study of media and religion in the US, there have been relatively few studies devoted to this field in other countries. For that reason, studies focusing on religion news coverage in countries outside the US (e.g., Bantimaroudis, 2007; Cohen, 2005; Ostrowski, 2006; Yao, 2007; Yao, Stout, & Liu, 2011) should help broaden this emerging field with their detailed methodology as well as description of how religious communities have been covered by secular media (and religious media in Cohen's study). However, there has been no studies of religion news coverage in South Korea at least in academic journals published in English, and thus far, no empirical answer has been given to how Korea's media depict and frame Christianity.

As a necessary corollary, a study attempting to delve into the above issue, like this project, will be a welcome contribution in the sense that the roles of the news media are too vital to ignore in terms of their potential for framing any given issue in any given country.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Research Questions

Since little research has been carried out on religious groups and their coverage by Korean media, this study explores this topic and describes the characteristics of media coverage of a particular religion, or specifically Christianity. As mentioned earlier, Christianity refers to Protestantism in this paper as these two terms are used interchangeably in South Korea. This study of religion coverage in *Chosun Ilbo* focuses on three sets of questions. The first set, RQ1 and RQ2, investigates the proportion of news stories on the Protestants in order to figure out if Christianity gets more media exposure than other religions. Answers to these questions can hint at the disproportionate Protestant influence, whether positive or negative, on society. At least they can show that the newspaper displays a substantial interest in the particular religion (e.g., Bantimaroudis, 2007; Kerr & Moy, 2002). To help answer RQ1, a one-way ANOVA test was conducted using the number of letters as the dependent variable and studied religions as the independent variable. The second set of questions, RQ3 and RQ4, has to do with the tone of news coverage both on Christianity in general and on megachurches in particular. The last set of questions, RQ5 and RQ6, deals with frames in which the religion and megachurches are discussed. These last four descriptive questions are posed to uncover the fluctuation of media portrayal of religion over time, if any.

RQ1: What is the proportion of news stories devoted to Protestants when compared with other religions?

RQ2: What is the proportion of news stories covering the Protestants when compared with proportion of the Protestant population?

RQ3: What is the salient tone of news coverage towards the Protestants?

RQ4: What is the salient tone of news coverage towards megachurches?

RQ5: What are the dominant frames of news stories in relation to the Protestants?

RQ6: What are the dominant frames of news stories concerning megachurches?

Drawing upon the above sets of research questions and existing empirical evidence from the previous study (Hwang, 2012), the following hypotheses have been formulated:

H1a: *Chosun Ilbo*'s coverage of Protestantism increased between 1996 and 2005.

H1b: The proportion of news content dealing with the Protestants is greater than the proportion of the Protestant population.

H2a: The tone of news coverage of Christianity after 2001 is more negative than before 2000.

H2b: The tone of news coverage of megachurches after 2001 is more negative than before 2000.

H3: The dominant frames linked with the Protestants are similar to those related to megachurches.

The first set of hypotheses, H1a and H1b, predict that there are uneven portrayals of religious groups in terms of the number of news stories devoted to three major religions under study. The underlying supposition behind these two hypotheses linked with RQ1 and RQ2 is "the proportional portrayal assumption," a notion that the amount of news coverage given a particular group should correlate with that group's population in society (Yao, Stout, & Liu, 2011, p. 42). According to the proportional portrayal assumption, the amount of news coverage of a group should change as the population of that group changes. Scholars have used this assumption in arguing that some religious groups are overrepresented (Kerr, 2003; Cohen, 2005) or underrepresented (Yao, Stout, and Liu, 2011) in media coverage given their size relative to their population. A simple linear regression analysis and a general proportion hypothesis test, or one-sample binomial test, was conducted to test H1a and H1b respectively.

The second set of hypotheses, H2a and H2b, expect that the dominant tone of coverage toward both Protestantism and megachurches has changed more negatively since 2001 when the Protestant population began to decrease. To answer this set of hypotheses, two different independent samples *t*-test were performed. The last hypothesis, H3, predicts the perceived similarity between the Christian community and megachurches in the sense that the significant substantive frames regarding them will not be different from each other. A chi-square test has been conducted in order to see if this hypothesis is supported.

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Content Analysis

This study explores news stories in relation to Korean Protestantism depicted by the journalists at *Chosun Ilbo* between 1996 and 2005. Other religions such as Catholicism and Buddhism are mentioned when the analysis requires comparison between the proportion of news articles on Protestantism and on other religions. Confucianism is excluded from such analysis because there is no overall agreement as to whether it is "truly a religion or not" (Kang, 1998, p. 110), even if it has been imbedded in almost all areas of Korean society since the end of the fourteenth century when the Joseon dynasty adopted Confucianism as its state religion. *Chosun Ilbo* is the major national daily newspaper with the largest circulation—2,300,000 in South Korea as of 2008, according to the World Association of Newspapers (2008). It is not only the oldest, elite, "establishment" newspaper but also arguably one of the most influential news organizations in South Korea (Heuvel & Dennis, 1993; Logan, Park, & Shin, 2004; Park & Park, 2000). *Chosun Ilbo* is also one of the few newspaper companies whose websites provide public access to their news stories published in the 1990s as well as 2000s.

A 10-year period between 1996 and 2005 is selected for two reasons. First, the number of Protestants decreased from 8,760,336 to 8,616,438 during this time period, as articulated in the section summarizing the history of Korean Christianity. In other words, their numbers accounted for nearly 19 percent of the total population in late 1995, whereas almost 18 percent of the population was comprised of Protestants in 2005. Next, the first five years and second five years are comparable in the sense that the former and the latter represent an upward and a downward trend in church membership respectively.

In sharp contrast to what happened before, the Protestant Church have seen a gradual decrease in Christian population in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

All news items are coded for nominal variables and an interval-ratio variable to analyze how often the newspaper covered each religion. These variables include: the article identification (number), its publication dates (e.g., May 1), the type of article (general news article, editorial, column, feature article), its length (word count), the religion with which the stories dealt (Protestantism, Catholicism, Buddhism), and the main topic of the article (event, issue, incident, human interest). The tone variable is also included using ordinal measures.

Tone is a common variable in the content analysis of religion news coverage, and usually has three categories: positive, negative, and neutral (e.g., Bantimaroudis, 2007; Cohen, 2005); or favorable, unfavorable, and neutral (e.g., Hill, Hickman, & McLendon, 2001). To these three categories, Buddenbaum (1987) adds another category, "mixed," for articles that contain both favorable and unfavorable factors. This study, however, uses the three-point scale to measure the tone variable in which "1" denotes positive, "2" neutral, and "3" negative since those articles with mixed tone turned out to be extremely few in the previous study (Hwang, 2012), where the overall intercoder reliability was 0.86. The tone in this study refers to the perceived stance of a news story towards the Protestants. If a story covered Christian churches, organizations, or people who contributed to the betterment of society in a material way, it was coded as positive. When Christian churches, organizations, or people were portrayed as not serving the public

interest in a news article, that article was coded as negative. Those stories that demonstrated mixed or unclear information were coded as neutral.

All news stories devoted to the Korean Protestants are coded using the following variables as frames: conservative, political power, exclusivist, and corruption. All of these variables have two categories in which "yes" means that the Protestants were represented as a frame under question and "no" indicates that there were no such references. The four frames that were developed and employed by the researcher of this paper are defined in the last section of this chapter.

Sampling

Data

All religion news stories between 1996 and 2005 are collected from the *Chosun Ilbo*'s online database, using the following keywords in Korean: "Protestantism," "Christianity," "Catholicism," and "Buddhism." Since the terms "Protestantism" and "Christianity" are usually used interchangeably in South Korea, Christianity refers only to Protestantism in this paper. A keyword search is useful when conducting content analysis as many studies have done keyword searches to explore the religion news coverage (e.g., Bantimaroudis, 2007; Kerr & Moy, 2002; Yao, Stout & Liu, 2011). Catholicism and Buddhism were included in the keywords to compare the proportions of news stories about them with the proportion of news items concerning Protestantism.

It seems reasonable to exclude certain types of news stories such as duplicate articles, news briefs, and articles that only mention each religion in passing, since they

count for little in answering the research questions posed in this paper. Religion news is defined as those news items that predominantly mention religious groups, religious figures, and religious themes or issues. However, a news story that mentions religion in passing does not qualify as a religion news article. A 10-year period offers an ample time segment for tracing change in media coverage of religion (Yao, Stout & Liu, 2011). Using the key words "Christianity" and "Protestantism," the search in the newspaper's website yielded a total of 727 news stories regarding Korean Christianity that fit into the aforementioned definition of religion news.

Validity and Reliability

It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of a protocol for content analysis, since the protocol forces researchers into coding consistently throughout a project, strengthening the reliability of the project (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 1998). For that reason, the researcher drafted a protocol as well as a coding sheet for content analysis (see Appendix). Coder training involved several essential particulars. To ensure another coder is familiar with the content of analysis, sessions to discuss the protocol as well as the purpose of the study were scheduled before coding would be done. The coder was also informed that coding should not be done over three hours at a time and that she had to review the protocol each time she began coding. As Babbie (2011) notes, coding the latent content, or "the underlying meaning" (p. 362), of communications strengthens the likelihood of validity. Even though this advantage comes at the expense of reliability, this study employed the coding of latent content in order to make a thorough assessment in terms of media's tones toward the Protestants as well as their framing of Christianity.

In the former study (Hwang, 2012), the researcher conducted a pilot test on 10 percent of the news stories related to Christianity, or 16 randomly selected articles, to ensure whether the coding instrument works well and thus to give this project additional credibility. The focus was made on how frames fit with actual news stories since frames were developed beforehand. Although originally five frames were constructed, and one frame—"pro-American"—turned out to be too narrow to be detected in any article in the sample. Thus, the "pro-American" frame has been included in the "conservative" frame, making four frames available for analysis. As seen in the following section, the term "conservative" involves ethical or theological conservatism, pro-Americanism, and anti-North Korea activities when it is used in describing the conservative Christian church and its members in South Korea. In addition to the four frames established in the earlier study (Hwang, 2012), a new frame "social work" has been added to the measures.

Two independent coders conducted a test of intercoder reliability using 50 news articles. For this test, 5 news stories were randomly selected from each year's pool of news articles for a 10-year period. Cohen's kappa was calculated for the most subjective 6 variables—tone and frames—in order to calculate overall reliability as well as individual reliability for each variable. The overall reliability between the two coders was 0.95. Cohen's kappas for each of the variables were as follows: (1) tone = 0.82; (2) conservative = 1; (3) political power = 1; (4) exclusivist = 1; (5) corruption = 1; (6) social work = 0.88. The intercoder reliability should be taken to signify excellent agreement beyond chance (Fleiss, Levin, & Paik, 1981).

Frames Defined

Park (2005) categorizes several perceived ideas about Korean Christianity into five themes through his qualitative analysis of the religion-related postings on the official web site of a daily TV soap opera, "Wang-kkot seon-nyeo-nim," which had been aired on one of the major national TV networks in South Korea (p. 107). Even though Park (2005) identifies the five most common ideas of non-Christians about Christianity, only three of them—"the most exclusive group" (p. 114), "political power" (p. 115), and "ethically corrupt organization" (p. 116)—are deemed appropriate frames and thus used for this study. The other two themes deal with too obsolete or broad notions to gauge the attitudes of the contemporary media toward the religion. Drawing on Park's (2005) study as well as the literature of Christianity in Korea (e.g., Kang, 1998; Kang, 2007; Jang, 1999; Jang, 2004), the researcher of this paper developed the following frames: conservative, political power, exclusivist, corruption, and social work.

Conservative.

The most widespread notion about the Protestant Church is that they are very conservative in terms of political, ethical, and theological orientation (Jang, 2004). It is well known that the Christian Council of Korea (CCK), the largest association of conservative Protestant denominations, supported the incumbent Protestant president who was the then right-wing Grand National Party candidate in the 2007 presidential election. At the same time, the tough stance of the mainstream churches against the ethical issues such as homosexuality, human cloning, and even smoking and drinking add to such

notions. It goes without saying that the majority of Korean Protestant churches are theologically uncompromising in terms of their strong belief in the bodily resurrection and return of Jesus Christ, for example. There has been an inextricable connection between Pro-Americanism and political conservatism in South Korea since the establishment of the regime of Protestant President Seungman Rhee in 1948. The mainstream Korean churches have been deemed pro-American as well as anti-North Korean, as in the recent move of some pastors who attempted to set up a Christian political party of that kind (Kang, 2007).

Political Power.

In line with their political conservatism, the Korean Church seems to have struggled "to maintain its hegemony in the process of political power shift" (Park, 2005, p. 116). Furthermore, some of the Protestant communities have tried to exercise political leverage by using pressure groups (e.g., New Right Union or the CCK) or by issuing a denunciation of the government's policies (e.g., Pastors' opposition to so-called "Sukuk bill" introducing Islamic bonds in February, 2011). As a result, the Protestant circle is now seen as those who have retained political power in the Korean public's view (Jang, 2004).

Exclusivist.

On October 24, 2010, Bongeunsa, one of the major temples of Zen Buddhism in Seoul, showed the public a video demonstrating that some young Christians had entered the temple and prayed for the monks' submission to God. The Buddhist community,

offended by these Christians' behaviors, demanded an official apology and the people involved visited and apologized to the chief priest at the temple three days later. This incident illustrated the exclusivist character of the Protestants and ended up with the tarnished public image of the Christian community. The Protestant Church has been regarded as the most insular religious group that enthusiastically seeks to convert people and is not willing to embrace other religious faiths in Korea (Kang, 1998; Jang, 1999; Jang, 2004).

Corruption.

Ironically, the Korean Church, whose ethical stance is very conservative, has recently been viewed as an ethically dishonest group with constant scandals and internal struggles on the part of church leaders (Jang, 2004). The Korean public appears to be cynical about megachurches while the Protestant Church has seen amazing growth in terms of membership and size. A great deal of church leaders have equated God's blessing with material and social success as "much of the content of the preaching is centered on belief in *kibok*, a wish for blessings in this life" (Grayson, 2002, p. 165, emphasis in the original). The Protestants' greed for worldly success has been one of the biggest problems in the public's eye since it is not in agreement with the Bible's teaching on blessedness (e.g., Matthew 5:1-12). Incidents such as sexual harassment and violence on the part of the Protestants have also tarnished the image of the Christian community.

Social Work

Despite the recent negative perception of the Protestants, they have a long tradition of offering social work services such as medical relief, education, and rehabilitation work for the poor, the disadvantaged, and the handicapped (Kim, 1995; Kim, 2004; Ryu, 2008). The dramatic growth of the Protestant population in the latter half of the twentieth century should be attributed in part to the role of the Christian Church as social welfare agency. Christians supported and participated in various independent movements under Japanese colonial rule and they continued to provide relief works including the operation of feeding stations and orphanages since the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. Today, Christian churches and organizations still have formed no small portion of welfare agencies in the private sector (Yang, 2011). As Kim (2004) has observed, Christian welfare service programs combined with Protestants' enthusiastic evangelism helped South Korea witness a significant Christian expansion during the period of the country's remarkable modernization, that is, the 1960s to the 1990s. In this study, social work includes offering scholarships for disadvantaged children, helping prisoners or North Korean defectors, and delivering social services to migrant workers from poor countries. However, arts and other cultural services do not count towards this frame even when those services are provided for the benefit of underprivileged people.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This study has attempted to look at how Korean news media represented by *Chosun Ilbo* depicted Christianity in terms of tone and frames over a decade. The key findings from the research include the following: (1) the amount of news coverage on Protestantism is smaller than the amount on Buddhism but larger than the amount on Catholicism; (2) the amount of coverage of Protestants increased from 1996 to 2005 while the Protestant population decreased during that period; (3) the salient tone towards Christianity is neutral and the dominant tone towards megachurches is positive; and (4) the predominance of social work frame has been found both in the coverage of the Protestants and in that of megachurches. In the next three sections, the study's findings are presented in more detail, and the research questions and hypotheses are answered.

Proportions of News Stories on Christianity

The search of the web archives of *Chosun Ilbo* yielded a total of 2,614 articles dealing with at least one major religion in South Korea spread over a period of 10 years (see Table 1). Of the 2,614 articles in the sample, 727 (or 27.8%) included the terms "Christianity" or "Protestantism" in Korean. A majority of the news articles on Christianity are general news stories (441, or 56.5%), followed by feature stories (282, or 38.8%) and columns (32, or 4.4%). Only 2 articles are identified as editorials (0.3%). In terms of article topic, events and human interest stories account for 37.6% (or 273) and

37.0% (or 269) respectively. Issues amount to 22.4% (or 163) of the articles, and incidents make up 3.0% (or 22).

Table 1

Number of News Stories on Each Religion

Religion	Number of Stories	Percent
Protestantism	727	27.8%
Catholicism	592	22.6%
Buddhism	1026	39.3%
More Than Two	269	10.3%
Total	2614	100.0%

The number of news articles addressing the Buddhists (1,026) is more than the number of articles focusing on either the Protestants (727) or the Catholics (592), not to mention multiple religions (269). The fact that the news stories on Buddhism are superior in numbers is confirmed by another look at the number of articles on each religion. Figure 1 shows that *Chosun Ilbo* devotes more articles to the Buddhists than other religious groups each year from 1996 to 2005, except for the year of 2004 when the news articles on the Protestants slightly outnumbered the news stories on the Buddhists.

Figure 1

Number of Articles on Each Religion over a 10-year Period

The Number of Articles on Each Religion
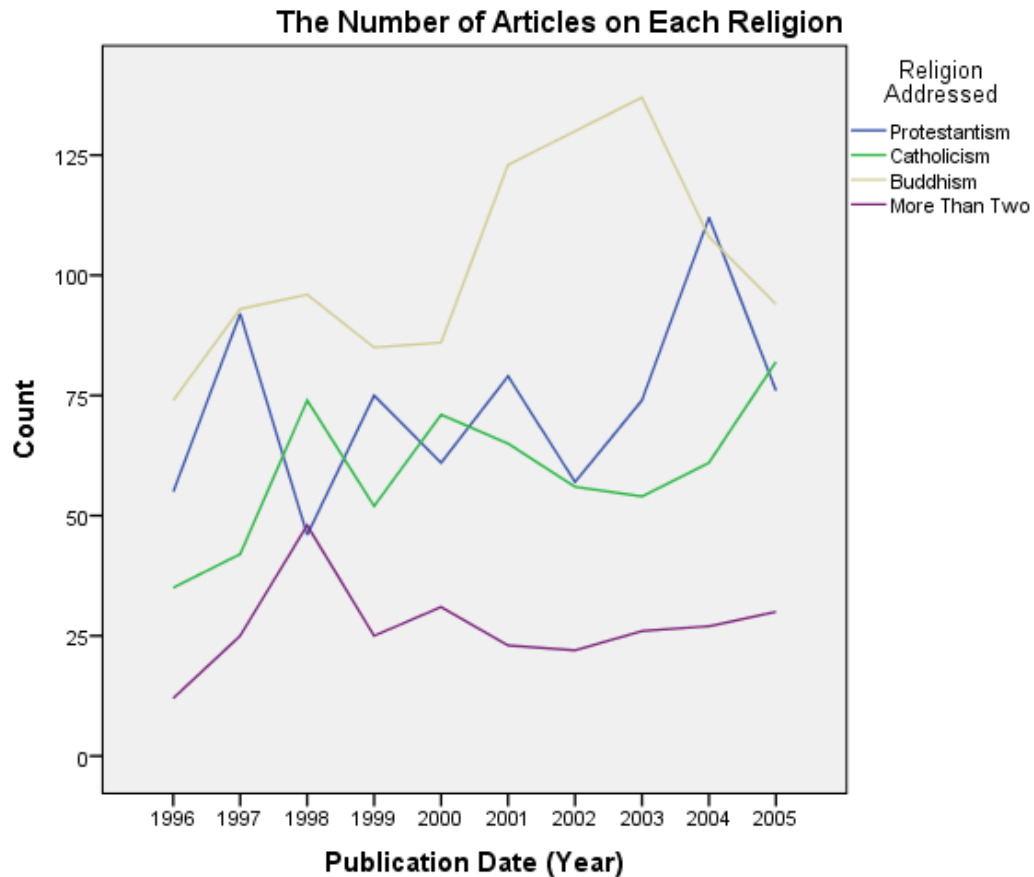
RQ1 asks about the proportion of news stories covering the Protestants when compared to other religions. It is clear that more news articles are devoted to the Buddhists in terms of the number of articles during the period under review. However, the Protestant community has attracted more attention from this newspaper organization in terms of the average number of letters per article (see Table 2). It is worth mentioning that the number of letters—not the number of words—is counted when assessing the

length of an article written in Korean. On average, 805.24 letters are used for news stories

dealing with Protestantism whereas 737.39 and 742.16 letters are utilized for articles on

Catholicism and Buddhism respectively.

Table 2

One-Way ANOVA on the Average Number of Letters per News Story on Each Religion

Religion	Average Number of Letters	S.D.	F/p	Dunnett T3
Protestantism(a)	805.24	407.619		
(N = 727)				
Catholicism(b)	737.39	480.035		
(N = 592)				
			6.401/0.000	a > b, c, d
Buddhism(c)	742.16	455.405		
(N = 1,026)				
More Than Two(d)	678.91	370.120		
(N = 269)				

Note. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

For that matter, a one-way ANOVA revealed a significant between-group

difference in the average number of letters per article (see Table 2). A post-hoc Dunnett's

T3 test indicates that articles portraying the Protestant circles used more number of letters

than those depicting the Catholic circles (mean difference = 67.858, p = 0.038), the

Buddhist circles (mean difference = 63.084, p = 0.014), and multiple religions (mean

difference = 126.329, p = 0.000). These findings give a mixed answer to RQ1 in the

sense that the amount of media attention directed toward Christianity can be said to be either smaller or greater than the amount of media attention on Buddhism and other religions depending on a point of comparison.

H1a predicts that the amount of coverage of the Protestants increased during the study period and focuses on a growing interest in them on the part of media. Amount of coverage is measured by counting the articles dealing with a subject concerned (Lee, 1990; Yao, Stout, & Liu, 2011) or by calculating word length (Yao, Stout, & Liu, 2011).

Table 3

Number of Articles on Christianity for Each Year

Year	Number of Stories	Percent
1996	55	7.6%
1997	92	12.7%
1998	46	6.3%
1999	75	10.3%
2000	61	8.4%
2001	79	10.9%
2002	57	7.8%
2003	74	10.2%
2004	112	15.4%
2005	76	10.5%
Total	727	100.0%

Table 3 illustrates the frequency of the news stories addressing Christianity for each year over a decade. As already shown in Figure 1, the number of the news stories published in *Chosun Ilbo* fluctuates from year to year, and this finding does not display a constant increase in frequency of articles portraying the Christian churches or people.

Because of this inconsistent coverage over the studied time period, a simple linear regression analysis was conducted using the order number of year as the independent variable and number of letters as the dependent variable to test H1a ($R^2 = 0.025$, p = 0.000; see Table 4). The coefficient for the independent variable, or publication year, is equal to 21.958, which means that when one year passed from 1996 to 2005, *Chosun Ilbo* would publish 21.958 more letters regarding Christianity. This result supports H1a suggesting the increase in coverage of the Protestants as time goes on.

Table 4

Regression of Number of Letters over Time

DV	IV	Coefficient	*t*	*p*	R^2
Word Length	Publication Year				
		21.958	4.281	0.000	0.025
(Number of Letters)	Constant				

RQ2 is concerned with a comparison between the proportion of news stories covering Protestantism and that of the Protestant population. As mentioned earlier, it was publicized by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (2009) that Protestants comprised 19.6% of the population in 1995 and 18.3% of the population in 2005. To use

this statistic as a reference point, the proportion of articles addressing the Protestants in 1996 and 2005 are compared individually. In 1996, 55 (or 31.2%) news stories were devoted to Protestantism while in 2005, 76 (or 27.0%) articles were dealing with this religion. Therefore, it can be concluded that the proportion of news articles on the Protestants is greater than the proportion of Protestant population regardless of publication year, which is the expectation of H1b. To evaluate H1b, a general proportion hypothesis test was conducted (see Table 5). For the purposes of this test, 19%, the mean of the proportions of Protestant population in 1995 and 2005 was used as the hypothesized proportion. A one-tailed *p*-value of 0.000 was calculated and H1b is supported.

Table 5

Comparison of the Proportion of Christians with Proportion of Articles on Christianity

(One-Sample Binomial Test)

Proportion of Christians (1)	Proportion of Articles on Christianity (2)	One-tailed *p*-value for 1 < 2
0.19	0.278	0.000

Note. The significance level is 0.05.

Tone of News Coverage

The second set of research questions asks about the leading tone of *Chosun Ilbo*'s coverage of Christianity as well as megachurches. The overall tone towards the Protestants is predominantly neutral (see Figure 2). From a total of 727 stories, 68.1% (or

495) of the coverage is neutral, 24.8% (or 180) is positive, and 7.2% (or 52) is negative.
The salient tone towards megachurches, on the other hand, turns out to be positive (see
Figure 3). Out of a total of 50 articles whose main focus has to do with megachurchs, the
positive tone accounts for 64.0% (or 32) of the news articles. The negative tone amounts
to 24.0% (or 12) and the neutral tone forms only 12.0% (or 6).
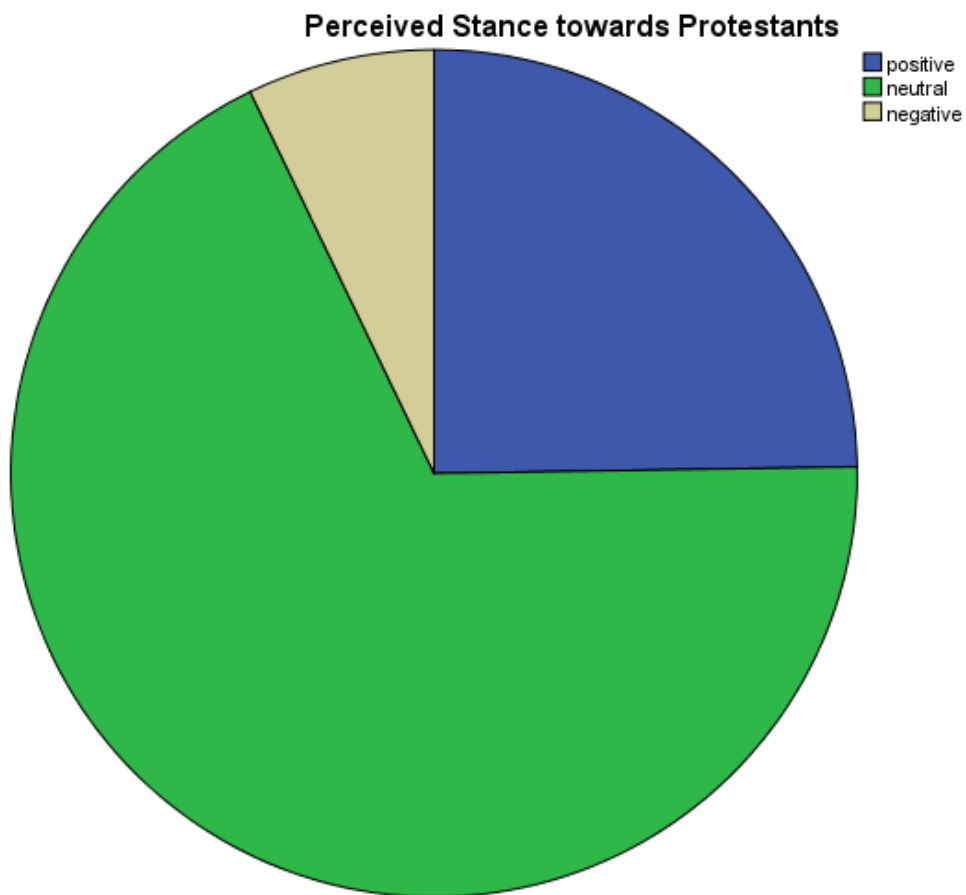
Figure 2

Salient Tone towards Christianity

Perceived Stance towards Protestants

Figure 3

Salient Tone towards Megachurches

Perceived Stance towards Megachurches

positive
neutral
negative
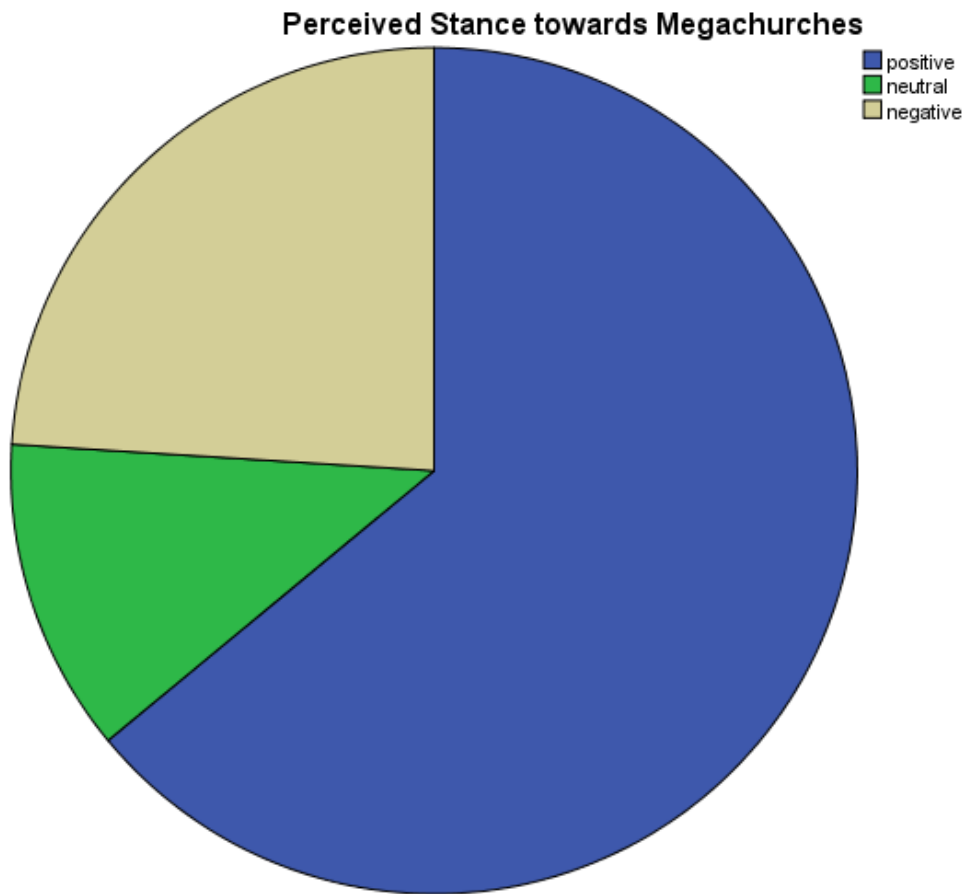
A second group of hypotheses explores whether the negative tone of coverage has shifted over time. More specifically, H2a predicts that the overall tone of coverage of Christianity is more negative in the second 5-year period than in the first 5-year period. RQ4 addresses the same question, but the difference is that in H2b, the focus of coverage is placed on megachurches instead of Christianity as a whole. An independent samples *t*-test indicates that the tone of *Chosun Ilbo* toward Christianity tends to be more negative during the first 5-year period ($p = 0.012$; see Table 6). With the three-point scale (i.e., positive $= 1$, neutral $= 2$, negative $= 3$), the tone of coverage of the Protestants has a mean of 1.88 (S.D. $= 0.509$) from 1996 to 2000 and a mean of 1.78 (S.D. $= 0.556$). H2a is not supported.

Table 6

Comparisons of Tone between the First and Last 5 Years (Independent Samples t-Test)

	Mean of Tone		S.D.			
Hypothesis	1996-2000	2001-2005	1996-2000	2001-2005	*t*	*p*
	(N = 25)	(N = 25)				
H2a	1.88	1.78	0.509	0.556	2.516	0.012*
H2b	1.44	1.76	0.768	0.926	-1.330	0.190

Note. *refers to significance at 0.05 level.

Another *t*-test was performed to compare the mean scores of the tone toward

megachurches between the two 5-year periods (see Table 6). With the same scale as H2a,

the mean of the tone toward these churches is 1.44 (S.D. = 0.768) for the first 5 years and

1.76 (S.D. = 0.926 for the second 5 years, which means that the tone tends to be more

negative from 2001 to 2005 than from 1996 to 2000 (p = 0.190). Given that both the *t*-

value of -1.330 and the *p*-value of 0.190 are statistically not significant, however, H2b is

not supported either.

Dominant Frame on the Protestants and Megachurches

The last group of research questions explores the dominant frame of *Chosun

Ilbo*'s coverage concerning Christianity in general and megachurches in particular. Table

7 illustrates the prominence of social work frame on both of them in the news stories that

have at least one frame. From a total of 727 stories addressing the Protestants, 159 (or

21.8%) were found to frame Christianity in one way or another. Social work frame

comprises 9.6% (or 70) of 727 news articles, followed by political power (4.7% or 34)

and corruption (3.0% or 22) frames. The predominance of social work frame in those

news stories focusing on megachurches was also confirmed. This frame accounts for

20.0% (or 10) of 50 stories devoted to megachurches, and corruption frame makes up

16.0% (or 8). None of the 50 news articles is identified as employing exclusivist frame.

Table 7

Number of Articles of Each Frame on Christianity and Megachurches

	Conservative	Political Power	Exclusivist	Corruption	Social Work	Total
Christianity (N = 727)	14 (1.9%)	34 (4.7%)	19 (2.6%)	22 (3.0%)	70 (9.6%)	159 (21.8%)
Megachurches (N = 50)	1 (2.0%)	5 (10.0%)	-	8 (16.0%)	10 (20.0%)	24 (48.0%)

The last hypothesis, H3, predicts that there is a significant correlation between the dominant frames on the Protestants and megachurches. A chi-square test was conducted on social work frame on Christianity and these churches to test H3 (see Table 8). Since the chi-square value of 75.270 was calculated ($p = 0.000$), it might be concluded that the prevailing frame on Christianity has a relationship with the prevailing frame on megachurches. However, the proportion of cells that have an expected count less than 5 is greater than 20%, which makes the above conclusion statistically insignificant. It should be mentioned that recoding is not probable given that the crosstab is a 2×2 table. Therefore, H3 is not supported.

Table 8

Chi-Square Test on Social Work Frame

Social Work Frame			On Protestants		χ^2	*p*
			Yes	No		
On Megachurches	Yes	Count (%)	9 (1.2%)	1 (0.1%)		
		Expected Count	1.0	9.0	75.270*	0.000
	No	Count (%)	61 (8.4%)	656 (90.2%)		
		Expected Count	69.0	648.0		

Note. *1 cell (25.0%) has expected count less than 5.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Interpretation of Results

This section interprets the results of the current study as it provides a summation of the key findings. First, it is certain that news stories devoted to portraying the Buddhists have been dominant throughout the 10 years under discussion in terms of the number of articles. Christianity, however, turns out to occupy the *Chosun Ilbo*'s coverage more than other religions in terms of the average number of letters per articles. The numerical preponderance of articles on the Buddhists in proportion could be explained by the fact that Buddhism is the largest single religious group in South Korea. That the newsroom of *Chosun Ilbo* tends to dedicate more letters to reporting the Protestants than to covering other religions might suggest the Korean media's—or at least *Chosun Ilbo*'s—interest in this particular religious group. This conjecture might be supported by the statistically significant finding that the proportion of articles addressing Christianity is larger than the proportion of the Christian population. But there is a caveat in the comparison of the proportion of news coverage on one religion and the proportion of the population of that religion. Although it is not statistically tested, the proportions of articles on Buddhism and Catholicism are also greater than the proportions of the Buddhist and Catholic populations respectively. This undermines the above speculation.

A continuous graph in Figure 1 demonstrates that there have been constant changes in the number of news stories dealing with Protestantism over time. In other

words, there is no gradual increase in *Chosun Ilbo*'s coverage of Christianity from 1996

to 2005 in terms of the number of articles. The simple linear regression test, however,

indicates that this newspaper would publish 21.958 more letters when reporting about the

Protestants as time passed by one more year. Also, the news stories published in the

second 5 years account for 55% of all 727 articles on Christianity, whereas the news

stories in the first 5 years comprise 45%. Given that the Protestant population decreased

by 1 percent between 1996 and 2005, the increase in the media coverage of the

Protestants might be considered another sign of the media's incremental attention to them.

The salient tone of news coverage towards Christianity turns out to be neutral, and

the tone towards megachurches tends to be positive. The finding related to Christianity as

a whole parallels that of the earlier study on the same subject, or the media coverage of

Christianity in South Korea (Hwang, 2012). In this previous study that examines how

Chosun Ilbo and *Kyunghyang Shinmun* portray Protestantism in 2011, the overall tone

towards the Protestants is more negative than positive. It should be pointed out, however,

that *Kyunghyang Shinmun* is responsible for creating this negative stance towards them.

From a total of 88 *Chosun Ilbo* news articles, the dominant tone of the coverage is neutral

since 48.9% of the coverage is neutral, 27.3% positive, and 23.8% negative.

Chosun Ilbo's neutral stance towards the Protestants has to do with the proportion

of each type of article. Hwang (2012) discovers that there is a statistically significant

relationship between tone and type of article and that feature stories have a tendency to

be positive while editorials and columns tend to be negative. In 2011, *Chosun Ilbo* issued

features (30.7%) more than editorials and columns (19.3%). Similarly, of a total of 727

articles from 1996 to 2005, this newspaper published feature stories (38.8%) much more than columns (4.4%) or editorials (0.3%). The breakdown of the news articles on megachurches can also account for the positive stance of the coverage towards them. Out of 50 articles covering megachurches, features amount to 66.0%, columns comprise only 4.0%, and no editorial exists.

Neither the tone towards the Protestants nor the tone towards megachurches can be said to be more negative in the second 5-year period than in the first 5-year period. The reasoning behind H2a and H2b was that there has been a decrease in church membership since the turn of the twenty-first century as opposed to the continuous increase until the end of the twentieth century. Bad publicity on Christianity might have contributed to the decline in the Christian population after 2001 although there is no empirical evidence showing that is the case. As mentioned earlier, the general tone on megachurches leans toward being positive as well as being consistent throughout the period under study. The prevalence of the positive tone towards these churches is due to a large proportion of human interest stories featuring the megachurches and their leaders. From 50 articles addressing megachurches, 60.0% (or 30) of the coverage can be categorized as human interest stories that introduce various high-profile megachurches or megachurch pastors.

The prevailing frame both on Christianity and on megachurches in the news coverage over a 10-year period is identified as social work. Since this frame was not included in the analysis of the news coverage of the Protestants in 2011 (Hwang, 2012), the above finding of the current study applies only to the news articles published between

1996 and 2005. Leaving aside the social work frame, political power turns out to be the most frequent frame on Protestantism of all four frames—conservative, political power, exclusivist, and corruption. The dominant frame towards Korean Protestants in the 2011 news coverage was also political power (Hwang, 2012), which makes it conceivable that Korean journalists incline to view the Christian Church as a political advocacy group when framing the Church regardless of the time period involved.

The second dominant frame on megachurches, on the other hand, is deemed corruption. This is due in large part to the controversies surrounding the hereditariness of senior pastor position of some influential churches. For instance, two megachurches—Chunghyun Church and Kwanglim Church—appointed as their minister the son of the then senior pastor in 1997 and in 2000 respectively. A pastor's son's takeover of the right to lead the church can become scandalous when it happens within a megachurch where considerable material benefits accompany the headship of the church. These kinds of incidents aroused a bitter controversy in the Christian circles as many people criticized the minister's inheritance as a corrupt act. As such, this issue attracted much attention form the news media making corruption one of the most prevalent frames toward megachurches.

Implications and Limitations of Current Study

This paper has attempted to explore and describe how newspaper coverage of Christianity in South Korea has changed over a 10-year period in order to offer a more complete picture of religion news. It has practical implications for both media and

religion sectors. Relatively few studies have been devoted to an analytic, detailed

examination of the Korean media's portrayals of a religion, whether major or minor,

traditional or non-traditional. From this foundational research, religious groups, or the

Protestants in this case, can gain a deeper understanding of media coverage of

Christianity and respond to the media with more informed knowledge. For example,

church leaders tend to be suspicious of media coverage of Christianity as they think the

media are overly critical of their political, social or even religious activities (Stout, 2012).

It was found in this study that conservative news media represented by *Chosun Ilbo*

portray the Protestants in a neutral or positive way. Thus, the Christian Church needs to

build better public relations with liberal news media if it aims to receive good publicity.

This paper can also provide journalists covering religious issues with information

about how they treat a specific religion. For instance, the five frames used in this study

might represent some ethical themes with which Korean religion newswriters operate,

whether consciously or subconsciously. That *Chosun Ilbo* was consistently favorable

towards the Protestants in their news coverage might suggest invisible constraints

imposed on journalists who do not want to be involved in religion-related issues. Since

there is no organization in Korea that is equivalent to the Religion Newswriters

Association (RNA) in the US, Korean journalists who regularly report on religion in the

secular media should have access to research of this kind so that they can avoid

prejudicial stereotypes and simplistic generalizations.

Scholars delving into news coverage of religion seem to arrive at an agreement on

the religious illiteracy of contemporary citizens (Prothero, 2007; Stout, 2012). The fact

that the general public lack knowledge of various religious groups calls for good religion reporting and particularly "an informed community of journalists" (Stout, 2012, p. 105). The necessity for accurate and fair coverage of religion does not apply only to the American context. Studies conducted on religion in the news in such countries as China, Greece, Israel, and Nepal confirm that journalists should not be biased towards a specific group and that the public should be informed about religions from multiple viewpoints (Yao, Stout, & Liu, 2011; Bantimaroudis, 2007; Cohen, 2005; Ostrowski, 2006). It can be said that Korean journalists are also required to have an adequate level of religious literacy.

As far as Korean audiences are concerned, they should recognize the journalists' vulnerability to the influence of the editorial stance of a newspaper organization to which they belong. It is reaffirmed by this study that *Chosun Ilbo* tends to depict Christianity in a positive way and frame the Protestants as providers of social work services. If the readers of this newspaper were exposed to other liberal newspapers such as *Kyunhyang Shinmun* or *Hankyoreh*, they might encounter quite a different picture than that which has been drawn by conservative newspapers. It is very likely that the audience of conservative media does not pay attention to the reporting of liberal media outlets and vice versa. For that reason, the current study has a serious implication for the general public as it provides empirical evidence that conservative media represented by *Chosun Ilbo* try to maintain a consistent, positive position towards Christianity regardless of time period.

The results of this study point to another promising application for future research in the sense that they help a researcher identify the topoi used by Korean news media in their coverage of various religions. Topoi, or simple and basic themes, provide "the focus for journalistic narratives" and represent "the moral architecture of society, the design and framework within which public discourse takes place" (Silk, 1995, p. 51). Silk (1995) argues that journalists operate with such topoi as good works, tolerance, hypocrisy, and declension. As Moore (2008) has aptly observed, these topoi news media use to report on religion are derived from the Judeo-Christian tradition in the Western context. It is possible that the frames employed in this research and Hwang's previous study (2012)—social work, conservative, political power, corruption, and exclusivist—are the salient topoi with which Korean news media operate when covering not only Christian but also other religions. In this sense, the current study offers the themes or topoi that come from a context different from Western culture.

Although this study offers an initial contribution to the discussion of the religion-media interface in the context of Korean society, there are a number of limitations that remain to be tackled. Access to media content has been limited because few Korean daily newspapers maintain online archives, where researchers are able to do searches for their news stories published a decade or more ago. In regards to media framing of Christianity, the current project traces five substantive attributes, which refer to the five frames used. There are some methodological problems that should be worth mentioning. This quantitative content analysis of religion news coverage employs a manual-holistic approach where frames are developed beforehand and then are manually coded as holistic

variables in quantitative analysis. Thus, it is not as thorough in the elaboration of media frames as a qualitative analysis such as critical discourse analysis would be. Also, the current study is limited by the constraints of content analysis. Used alone, this method is not sufficient for drawing conclusions about public audiences for religion coverage. These weaknesses aside, this study provides a useful guide to how mainstream media represented by *Chosun Ilbo* have portrayed and framed a particular religion over a decade.

Recommendations for Future Research

The results of this study call attention to several topics in need of further investigation. A study incorporating a wide range of media could contribute to a more thorough and comprehensive assessment of the practices of journalists in Korea who cover religious matters. Hwang's (2012) previous research shows that media's positions toward Christianity have been associated with their political orientations. *Chosun Ilbo* representing the conservative newspapers is inclined to portray the Protestants positively, whereas *Kyunghyang Shinmun* representing the liberal news media is disposed to view them negatively. It is probable that an analysis of the liberal newspaper's coverage of the Christian Church offers a quite different picture from what has been obtained by the present study. Given the growing influence of television news, more research is also needed to analyze the major TV networks' news broadcasts dealing with religion (e.g., Cohen, 2005; Kerr, 2003; Ostrowski, 2006).

In this study, the Korean news media's depictions of megachurches as well as the Christian Church as a whole have been examined. Despite the fact that the number of

articles dedicated to megachurches is only 50 out of 727, the analysis of those articles

reveals that there is a difference between the news coverage of megachurches and the

coverage of Christianity in terms of tone and frames. Research aimed at exploring the

media's portrayal of religious leaders can illuminate the conception of these influential

people on the part of opinion leaders or gatekeepers (e.g., Cohen, 2005). As far as

Christianity is concerned, the amount of news coverage of Protestant leaders should be

greater than the amount of coverage of megachurches or any particular denomination.

Considering the almost unparalleled authority given to pastors within their individual

churches in the Korean context, the clergy may be said to represent, for the most part, the

general opinion of the churches. Therefore, it is likely that perceived stance and frames of

media toward Christian clerics go hand in hand with those of media toward the Christian

Church. To reach a fuller understanding of the problem, researchers need to look more

closely at this.

A multiple-method approach to the Korean public's perception of Christianity and

of media coverage of the religion could be the next step to a more inclusive

understanding of the impact of the press on people's attitudes toward a religion. This kind

of study can also contribute to improving media effects research in an international

context or the Korean context in this case. For example, it could explore the dimension of

the news media in telling the masses how to think by examining to what extent the

mainstream media framing of religion matches individuals' framing of it. In their seminal

study of agenda-setting function of media, McCombs and Shaw (1972) investigate the

capacity of the mass media in telling people what to think about. In order to do so, they

interviewed 100 respondents that were randomly selected and content analyzed the mass

media political information provided by the major newspapers as well as television

networks. Their guidance could be a great help for a multi-method study of the

relationship between Korean media and religion in terms of methodology involved.

APPENDIX

Protocol

This protocol has been designed to analyze how media depicted the Korean Christians, or Protestants, during a decade from 1996 and 2005. In other words, the protocol is to examine how South Korea's major daily newspaper—*Chosun Ilbo*–covered religion in Korea in terms of its attitudes toward Christianity as well as the amount of reporting religion received. The following definitions are important for informed choices and valid analysis.

○ News Article and Religion News

A news article is defined as an item that has nothing to do with advertising in a given news product. In a newspaper, news articles generally refer to news reports as well as items appearing on general news, editorial, op-ed, and feature page. Religion news is defined as those news items that predominantly mention religious groups, religious figures, and religious themes or issues. However, a news story that mentions religion in passing does not qualify as a religion news article.

○ Tone

The definition of tone is the perceived stand of a given news story towards the Protestant Church or their members. It is to be assessed with three descriptors: positive, neutral, and negative.

○ Conservative

Conservative means Christians' stance opposed to great or sudden change in terms of political, ethical, social orientation, preferring conventional values or ways of doing things. For example, the majority of Protestant churches strongly oppose human cloning or homosexual love.

○ Political Power

Political power refers to Christians' acts or statements intended to exercise political leverage until their requirements are satisfied, by using whatever means they can (e.g., using pressure groups or issuing a denunciation of the government's policies).

○ Exclusivist

Exclusivist refers to the Protestants' attitudes toward other religions (i.e., passive attitudes toward others or aggressive attitudes toward them). It also indicates that the Protestant Church is deemed to be the most insular religious community that enthusiastically seeks to convert persons who have either no religion or other religion.

○ Corruption

Corruption means that Christian churches, their leaders or members are ethically dishonest, and that they are greedy for material possessions as well as success in society. Also included in the definition are incidents such as sexual harassment and violence on the part of the Protestants.

○ Social work

Social work denotes social work services such as medical relief, education, and rehabilitation work for the poor, the disadvantaged, and the handicapped. It also includes offering scholarships for disadvantaged children, helping prisoners or North Korean defectors, and delivering social services to migrant workers from poor countries.

Coding should be done according to the following procedures: (1) Read all the religion news articles and number them consecutively at v1. ("v" refers to a variable.) (2) Write the publication date at v2 and place a mark in the appropriate number from v3 to v8 (3) Check "yes" or "no" to each question from v9 to v18.

v1. News article ID (number)

v2. Publication date (month/day)

v3. Type of the news article

      1 = general news   2 = editorial

      3 = column   4 = feature

v4. Length (word count)

      1 = less than 499 words   2 = 500 ~ 999

      3 = 1,000 ~ 1,499   4 = more than 1,500

v5. Religion with which a given story deals

      1 = Protestantism   2 = Catholicism

      3 = Buddhism   4 = more than one religion

v6. Main topic of the news article

      1 = events   2 = issues

      3 = incidents   4 = features

v7. Tone of the news article towards the Protestants

      1 = positive   2 = neutral

      3 = negative

v8. Tone of the news article towards megachurches

      1 = positive   2 = neutral

      3 = negative

v9. Does a given news story describe the Protestants as "conservative?"

      1 = yes   2 = no

v10. Does a given news story describe the Protestants as a "political power?"

      1 = yes   2 = no

v11. Does a given news story describe the Protestants as "exclusivist?"

      1 = yes   2 = no

v12. Does a given news story describe the Protestants as "corruption?"

      1 = yes   2 = no

v13. Does a given news story describe the Protestants as "social work?"

      1 = yes   2 = no

v14. Does a given news story describe megachurches as "conservative?"

      1 = yes   2 = no

v15. Does a given news story describe megachurches as a "political power?"

    1 = yes   2 = no

v16. Does a given news story describe megachurches as "exclusivist?"

    1 = yes   2 = no

v17. Does a given news story describe megachurches as "corruption?"

    1 = yes   2 = no

v18. Does a given news story describe megachurches as "social work?"

    1 = yes   2 = no

Coding Sheet

v1. News article ID (number)

v2. Publication date (month/day)

v3. Article type

    1 = general news   2 = editorial

    3 = column   4 = feature

v4. Length

    1 = less than 499 words   2 = 500 ~ 999

    3 = 1,000 ~ 1,499   4 = more than 1,500

v5. Religion

    1 = Protestantism   2 = Catholicism

    3 = Buddhism   4 = more than one

v6. Main topic

    1 = events   2 = issues

    3 = incidents   4 = features

v7. Tone on the Protestants

    1 = positive   2 = neutral

    3 = negative

v8. Tone on megachurches

    1 = positive   2 = neutral

    3 = negative

v9. "Conservative"

    1 = yes   2 = no

v10. "Political power"

    1 = yes   2 = no

v11. "Exclusivist"

    1 = yes   2 = no

v12. "Corruption"

    1 = yes   2 = no

v13. "Social work"

    1 = yes   2 = no

v14. "Conservative"

    1 = yes   2 = no

v15. "Political power"

    1 = yes   2 = no

v16. "Exclusivist"

      1 = yes   2 = no

v17. "Corruption"

      1 = yes   2 = no

v18. "Social work"

      1 = yes   2 = no

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