

**Adoption in Korea: A longitudinal (1920-2006)
analysis of ideological changes in the public
discourse**

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Acknowledgements and Preface

In my master thesis I was very interested in investigating adoption. However, there were certain difficulties to pursue my initial interest e.g. language barriers. Just when I was as most frustrated about how difficult it was for me to investigate the subject matter that interested me mostly, i.e., adoption, I was brought in contact with the societal ideology project at the University of Oslo, a project organized by Hilde Eileen Nafstad and Rolv Mikkel Blakar. Instead of seeing the hindrances and difficulties, they saw the possibilities in my situation. For years they had been investigating how ideological shifts and changes in relation to various social issues over time were reflected in the language of the public discourse in society. They challenged me to study ideological changes regarding the social issue adoption as reflected in Korean newspapers over time. Thus I could study the phenomenon that interested me – adoption – in my own language – Korean – within a theoretical-methodological framework established here at the University of Oslo! The whole group of researchers at the ideology project in reality adopted me. Hilde Eileen Nafstad and Rolv Mikkel Blakar helped me formulate a research issue and a corresponding design. Erik Carlquist – a senior researcher within the ideology project – has served as my day-to-day supervisor. Kim Rand-Hendriksen – the methodologist within the ideology project – has helped me with statistical analyses. Josh Phelps – a PhD student within the ideology project has washed my English. This project could never been accomplished without kind and generous support from my ‘adoptive’ family.

However, the ideology project has not invested all this merely to help me to gain my master. Already during the initial conversations with the two project leaders when we explored the possibilities for such a study, it became evident that the situation represented a unique opportunity for an interesting study: First, Korea is in a special situation with regard to adoption. From no other country are so many children adopted. Second, it turned out that the Korean newspapers were scanned in an available in electronic databases all back to 1920, thus covering a period of almost 70 years – longer than in any other country we know about. Finally, given my Korean background I could conduct such a study within the framework of the societal ideology project.

I am very grateful to the ideology project and the people mentioned above for how they adopted me into the project and supported me. It has been more than wonderful to study within the project group. Especially thanks to Rolv, the main supervisor for constant support and guidance. I would like to extend my additional gratitude to Erik for

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It is my hope that in return my study will bring new knowledge to the ideology project and to societal and cultural psychology in general.

Abstract

A longitudinal analysis (1920-2006) of “adoption” as an issue represented in the public discourse in Korea, is presented in this master thesis. Newspaper articles referring to adoption were identified in searchable electronic databases. As Korea is a major source of transnational adoption and also has the highest ratio of adoptions per 100.000 births, one would expect adoption to constitute a prominent social issue in the public discourse. Across the seven decades (1920-2006) available to analysis, the frequency of newspaper articles referring to adoption varied strongly: With exception to a few occasions during the twenties, adoption was virtually absent as an issue in the public discourse until after WWII, and in particular after the Korean War. After the huge interest created by the Korean War faded, the interest for adoption stayed at a rather low level until the late eighties/early nineties when the interest increased rapidly until present (2006) and by far surpassed even the frequency of articles referring to adoption immediately after the Korean War. Qualitative analysis of newspaper articles containing the word adoption showed that adoption was conceived of within ideologically frameworks changing over time.

Key words: adoption, ideology, ideological change, social representation, Korea.

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1. Introduction

The practice of adoption across national borders began more than 60 years ago in the aftermath of the Second World War and the Korean War, while it started to accelerate at an extraordinary rate in the beginning of the 1990s (Volkman, 2005). Korea is the country with the longest continuous transnational adoption history in the world, among other 'sending countries' (Kim, 2005; Volkman, 2005). This historical background, longer than six decades, provides valuable demographical data for understanding the transnational adoption field. Official statistics from the Korean Ministry for Health, welfare and family affairs (2006) show that 158,133 Korean-born children have been sent abroad for adoption between 1958 and the first half of 2006. These Korean-born adoptees constitute nearly one third of all international adoptions in America (Park, 1995), and also one third of all international adoptions on the European continent (Hübinette, 2006). Korea is the major source of transnational adoptees measured by the mean of annual numbers of adoptions between 1979 and 1989 at 4,726 (Columbia is the second at 1,017) and also the leading country by adoption ratio per 100,000 births at 278 (Paraguay comes second at 225) (Selman, 1999).

Korea is a small peninsula in East Asia with a population of approx. seventy one million living in an area of only 220,000 km² (Korean Statistical Information Service, 2006). Korean history goes back to 2,333 BC, and known as "a Hermit Kingdom" it remained rather silent and stable throughout documented world history. However, for the last century, especially the second half, Korea has experienced extremely rapid changes (Yi, 2004). It has experienced a tragic civil war, dire poverty, rapid social change, vigorous industrialization, and political unrest, all in the context of national division and conflict between the North and South. This forced division still remains in

the Korean peninsula as one of the only remaining vestiges of the political conflicts i.e. democracy versus communism from the last century (Kim, 2007).

Adoption can be studied not only by clinical or developmental psychologists but also by social psychologists. Bronfenbrenner's ecological model for human development (1977) provides a relevant framework for understanding the human being in its surrounding environment. Especially in Korean society, historical development makes the understanding of adoption process more complex than simply permanent child transfer and placement (Kim, 2007). Furthermore, due to the large scale of Korean adoption, adoption functions as a tool to provide further understanding Korean society.

Mainstream psychology has been inclined to focus on the individual and its immediate surrounding (Nafstad, 2002; Nafstad, Blakar, Carlquist, Phelps, & Rand-Hendriksen, in press). However, the world that we cannot experience directly in face-to-face interactions has begun to attract psychologists' interest (Billig, 1991). Both conceptual and methodological problems serve to prevent social psychologists from taking societal and cultural aspects into account (Nafstad, Carlquist, & Blakar, 2004). Thus, it is necessary to draw on diverse theoretical and methodological frameworks which provide relevant analytical concepts. Social representations (Moscovici, 1998) and ideology (Billig, 1991, 1997; Van Dijk, 1998) are presented as fruitful constructs in order to embrace key aspects of the individual-society relationship (Nafstad, 2002; Nafstad, Carlquist, & Blakar, 2004; Nafstad, Phelps, Carlquist & Blakar, 2007).

In this thesis, the first aim is to present some social representations within Korean society which are especially related to adoption processes. The second aim is to provide a discussion of ideologies related to adoption processes, and the third aim is to present changes and shifts of social representations and ideologies across time. Finally,

further social psychological understanding of Korean society may be extended to the general understanding of human beings in context.

2. Theoretical background

2. 1. Ideology

Mainstream social psychology has largely focused on the individual and its immediate surroundings, within an experimental discipline (Farr, 1996; Nafstad, 2002; Nafstad et al. in press) This circumstance is mainly related to the positivistic atmosphere in North American social psychology after the second world war (Jones, 1985).

In accordance with the well established assumption that the social character of human beings is genuinely natural (Jørgensen & Nafstad, 2004), this position of social psychology, distanced from society, itself is a paradox. In order to overcome this paradox, certain social psychologists' interests have been drawn to social and cultural levels which we cannot experience directly in face-to-face interactions (Billig, 1991).

The concept of ideology has a long history in science dating back to the 1800s, especially as a tool of understanding power relations in a society, as in Marxism (Nafstad et al., 2007, in press). Although it has proved useful in the analysis of society, the role of ideology has largely been ignored by social psychologists (Augoustios, Walker, & Donaghue, 2006). Despite the movement towards a more social and cultural level of social psychology mentioned above, recent social psychologists have been inclined not to use the concept of ideology (Nafstad, Carlquist, & Blakar, 2004; Nafstad, Blakar, Carlquist, Phelps, & Rand-Hendriksen, 2007). This is very regrettable because, as Billig (1997) claims it can change the very character of social psychology:

“If social psychologists take the project of investigating ideology seriously, the nature of social psychology will be dramatically transformed. Not merely will such a social psychology

have very different methodological procedures, but more importantly, its intellectual scope will be expanded. By incorporating historical, anthropological, and linguistic insights, this social psychology will draw closer to other social scientific investigations. In so doing, it will be addressing some of the most important issues in the contemporary social sciences,” (p51)

In social science, the concept of ideology has been applied mainly to political science, as it was defined as a coherent set of political beliefs and values, especially formed by political parties (Augoustinos et al., 2006). Since Marx illustrated ideology as the tool used to conceal and empower social conflicts, power relations of dominance and inequality in capitalist society (Larrain, 1983; McLellan, 1986), ideology has been transferred into not only political discourse, but also other disciplines in social science. Therefore, one conceptualization of ideology developed into a general form, which constitutes the basis for applying the concept in social psychology. Here, I take Augoustinos et al.’s definition of ideology as:

“beliefs, values, representations, discourses, interpretative repertoires and behavioural practices which contribute to the legitimation and reproduction of existing institutional arrangements, power and social relations within a society” (2006, p266).

As this definition implies, ideology functions in various ways regarding the relationship between the individual and society. First and foremost, ideology can be understood as the common sense of a society (Billig, 1995, 1997; Van Dijk, 1998). In every society, common beliefs, values, morals, attitudes and opinions are shared between the members of a community, even though such representations may not be coherent. This sharing is necessary to constitute society, thus ideology understood as common sense also becomes a necessary component of any society (Nafstad et al. in press). The concept of ideology emphasizes the implicit and taken for granted social knowledge in everyday life of members of society.

However, it can be argued that ideology comprises more than the form of common sense, because it does not function equally to everyone (Van Dijk, 1998). As Marx had pointed out, ideology works as a tool of the powerful which is used to preserve and promote their own interests by supporting existing social and power relations (Augoustinos et al. 2006). Thus, a second function of ideology is supporting hegemony. Ideology legitimates, supports and maintains the dominant social system of a society. It often requires that subordinate groups in a society are manipulated to approve or endorse the existing social structure, even if it is not in their interest to do so. Moreover, ideology shapes the representations of low status groups such as to accept the existing ways of thinking and behaving uncritically as being “natural ways” (Eagleton, 1991). Finally, through ideology, the privileged position of the superior groups is being justified and therefore functions as system justification (Jost & Banaji, 1994).

Overall, ideology functions not only as providing common ideas and rationalizing existing reality, but also justifying the status quo with regard to what is the natural way of living (Nafstad, 2002; Nafstad et al., 2007, in press).

2. 2. Social representations

The theory of social representation (Moscovici, 1998) also presents an understanding of what we ‘take for granted’. The conceptual relations between ideology and social representation are very complex, however both theories are based on the presumption that members of society share ideas consciously or unconsciously.

The definition of social representation is given by Moscovici as:

“social representations ... concern the contents of everyday thinking and the stock of ideas that gives coherence to our religious beliefs, political ideas and the connections we create

as spontaneously as we breathe. They make it possible for us to classify persons and objects, to compare and explain behaviours and to objectify them as parts of our social setting. While representations are often to be located in the minds of men and women, they can just as often be found 'in the world', and as such examined separately" (1988, p.214).

There are commonly shared phenomena in a society, such as myths, legends and traditions. In order to explain them, the sociological or societal level needs to be understood, rather than the individual level (Augoustinos et al. 2006; Lukes, 1975). The theory of social representation provides an understanding of how such phenomena have been established. What makes representations social is not only their consensual character, but also their creation and generation (Augoustinos et al. 2006). Social representations are formulated by means of two processes, which are anchoring and objectification. The anchoring process functions as naming and classifying new knowledge into familiar frameworks. People conventionalize social objects into a familiar categorical context through representations. The objectification process functions as transforming abstract concepts into concrete images. In the process of objectification, the unfamiliar is transferred into the more familiar reality. Social representations help people make the unfamiliar familiar by these two processes (Chrysochoou, 2004; Augoustinos et al. 2006).

In social representation theory, Moscovici emphasizes the centrality of common sense in everyday thinking and in the understanding of social reality, which provides an interesting equivalence with Gramsci's concept of hegemony (Augoustinos et al. 2006). The concept of hegemony describes how a particular world-view, generally possessed by a socially, politically and economically dominant group, becomes common sense and a natural way of thinking. Gramsci describes the characteristics of common sense as being politically and historically changeable, and the process of spreading it as the ideas

in the scientific world becoming the consciousness of people (Gramsci, 1971). This similarity between Gramsci's hegemony and Moscovici's social representation theory makes Gramsci an intellectual forerunner of social representation theory (Augoustinos et al. 2006). Gramsci's hegemony argument brings us back to the concept of ideology as ideas of dominant group becoming socially shared and naturalized. The relations between ideology and social representation are still not clarified. Moscovici (1988) denies that every member of a society is influenced by one dominant ideology. However, both theories seem to present us further understanding of the relationship between individual and society, on the similar assumption that social thoughts are created and developed in social interaction and social thought of the powerful groups influence other groups and individuals in society, or in Moscovici's (1984) words, the 'thinking society'.

2. 3. Language and Media

As mentioned above, social psychologists are increasingly studying multiple levels of society, which involves the shifting of focus toward social factors. In this respect, the role of language becomes important (Billig, 1991). In language, sometimes even in the single word, our concept of world is expressed (Blakar, 1979; Rommetveit, 1972, 1979). The ideas from dominant groups become the 'socially shared ideas (ideology)' through social interactions based on language usage, therefore ideological world views are integrated into everyday language. Thus, people make sense of everyday life via everyday language (Nafstad, et al. in press).

Language functions as means of not only expressing ideologies, but also reproducing them. Linguists and social scientists have provided this close and reciprocal

relation between ideology and language (Billig, 1991, 1995, 1997, 2006; Nafstad et al., 2007, in press; Nafstad, Rand-Hendriksen & Blakar, in press; Van Dijk, 1998). As Blakar (1979) describes 'language as a means of social power', social structure such as ideology is conceptualized into language. The power relations in society is naturalized by ideology, and thereby taken for granted. As Billig describes language as being "repressive as well as expressive" (2006), certain topics or themes are pushed out of discourse, or repressed. In this repression, ideology is left rather unspoken, and it is reproduced unconsciously. In this respect the study of language as embedded in social context, as Rommetveit suggested (1979), can reveal important aspects of people's psychological and social worlds (Nafstad, Carlquist and Blakar, 2004).

Today, studies of ideology and language use need to address more than the individual level. Along with the development of telecommunication system, face-to-face interactions have become relatively less important, while interactions via media have significantly increased (Nafstad, Rand-Hendriksen & Blakar, in press). Media have become more than an aggregate of public opinions. Wright (1986) suggests four major societal functions of the media, which are surveillance, correlation, socialization and entertainment, in addition to deliver news to the public. Surveillance is the information function, in which mass media monitor and report on important events and issues mainly through news reports. Correlation refers to the editorial and explanation function. Thus, the mass media 'tell' us what is going on through the surveillance function and construct meaning of events to us through the correlation function. Next, mass media reproduce society's own values and culture by socialization. By this function mass media also can educate new members of society and promote social

cohesion. Additionally mass media give us relaxation and fun through the entertainment function (Perse, 2001).

Via these functions, media affects the society and the public. Perse (2001) suggests a cumulative model in order to explain media effects, which emphasizes the ubiquitous nature of certain media contents that overrides any potential of the audience to limit exposure to certain messages. According to this model, people regard the contents of media as their own representation of reality through cumulative exposure. This model explains how people construct reality. Peoples' representations of social issues are thus made, modified or reinforced by repeated exposure to media. By this people learn about the world (Signorielli, 1987). Individuals who cannot escape from media exposure are thus influenced by the dominant ideologies of society (Van Dijk, 1998). Ideology is thus developed, propagated and reproduced via media. Media therefore constitutes an important key to understand ideologies in the society (Nafstad et al. 2007).

2. 4. Adoption

Adoption has existed in various times and places of human history, from ancient Greece to the present day United States, and from the Scandinavian welfare states to Korea (Hübinette, 2006; Park, 2005, 2006; Rubinstein, 1993; Dalen, 1999; Wegar, 2006). Even if the reasons and characteristics of adoption processes vary, adoption has been a universal phenomenon as an acceptable way of incorporating new members into a family (Brodzinsky & Schechter, 1990).

The adoption process as a social and cultural practice has attracted many researchers from different disciplines. In the first half of 20th century, adoption was

mostly studied as a legal process in the field of social work and family law. On the other hand surprising little attention was paid to adoption in the field of psychology (Brodzinsky & Schechter, 1990; Hübinette, 2006). It was regarded as a more or less successful solution to the problems of all three members of the adoption triangle, which may include the problem of an unwanted pregnancy for the birthparents, the problem of infertility and childlessness for the adoptive parents, or the problem of a state of homelessness for the child.

Partly due to the development of psychoanalytic theory with its emphasis on the role of early childhood experience, adoption became a more attractive subject in psychology (Brodzinsky & Schechter, 1990). Opposing the general assumption that adoption is regarded as a suitable solution for all the members of adoption triangle, Marshall Schechter (1960) observed the higher likelihood of adoptees seeking the mental health services. His research galvanized psychological professions' interest in adoption processes along with a great deal of controversy (Brodzinsky & Schechter, 1990). Then, H. David Kirk (1964) published his highly influential book, *Shared fate*, about a sociological examination of adoptive family relationships. His contribution generates new insight of adoption research as not only the individual dynamics of children and parents but also the relations in the adoptive family. However, the main focus of adoption research has lain within the adoption triangle (Brodzinsky & Schechter, 1990; Dalen, 1999; Hübinette, 2006).

In the second half of the 20th century, the nature of adoption process has acquired a new perspective after transnational adoption emerged and has become a global phenomenon (Howell, 1999, 2006). Except American case as domestic adoption dominating transnational one, in most countries transnational adoption has become the

usual method for those who want to have children, but fail to conceive or give birth (Howell, 2006). Thus, adoption often is being taken for granted as transnational one. A societal perspective in adoption studies has become more necessary due to this change.

When studying social issues, such as adoption, it is essential to adopt theoretical frameworks that integrate the various levels, from the micro level to the societal level. Ever since Bronfenbrenner (1977) introduced his ecological model of human development, more research has focused on understanding various level of environment – from the family to economic and political structures – which are viewed as integral to the life course of the individual, embracing both childhood and adulthood.

Bronfenbrenner defines the ecology model as:

“The ecology of human development is the scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation, throughout the life span, between a growing human organism and the changing immediate environments in which it lives, as this process is affected by relations obtaining within and between these immediate settings, as well as the larger social contexts, both formal and informal, in which the settings are embedded (1977, p.514).

It is difficult to study human beings without taking into account the environment which surrounds them, and to examine the reciprocal relationship between individual and environment. Bronfenbrenner (1977; 1979) suggested analysis of several systems as a useful scheme for integrating several divergent viewpoints, which are micro-, meso-, exo-, macrosystems. To make brief definitions of these systems, the microsystem includes all of the immediate contexts in which the individual exists such as the family home, school, church, etc., the mesosystem comprises relations and interactions among these immediate settings, the exosystem consists of forces at work in the larger social systems in which the family is embedded, and the macrosystem is the overriding cultural beliefs and values that influence the micro- and exosystems (Belsky, 1980; Gardiner & Kosmitzki, 2002).

Most studies of adoption have had focus on only the three parties of the adoption triangle, which are birthparents, adoptive parents and adopted children (Brodzinsky and Schechter, 1990). Focusing upon the adoption triangle thus covers only changes in the adopted children's microsystems, despite the fact that both national and transnational adoption implies changes in the whole ecological system including meso-, exo-, macrosystems. There are some studies about how changes of socioeconomic status have effects on adopted children's IQs (Duyme, Dumaret, & Tomkiewicz, 1999), which implies that adoption is more than simply having a new family. Furthermore, 'adoption' is a term used to describe a personal and legal act as well as a social service (Cole & Donley, 1990). Therefore, analysis of the adoption process should not be restricted to the individual level – it contains society itself.

The ecological model enables us to study the effect of cultural, transnational transition not only on the life course of individual adopted children but their families, communities and even society as a whole (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). From this perspective, adoption, especially transnational adoption, effects not only to adoption triangle but also the surrounding environment. Since the adoption process comprises every component in society which includes families, public organizations and governments, in addition to reciprocal relations between them, adoption becomes the social issue reflecting society. also reflect changes of society.

3. Methodology

The study is based on a longitudinal design for analyzing ideological shifts and social representations developments over time as reflected in electronically archived media (Nafstad, et al., 2007; Nafstad, et al., in press; Nafstad, Carlquist, & Blakar, 2004;

Nafstad, Rand-Hendriksen, & Blakar, in press). The ‘mixed methodology design’ (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998 in Nafstad, Carlquist, & Blakar, 2004) is applied, as both qualitative and quantitative methods are combined in most steps of the study.

3. 1. Selection of material

In the study, newspapers were chosen for analysis among other kinds of mass media. Among currently existing media, Newspapers have the longest history. Thus, they might be able to give further insights for research as it allows researchers to reach far back in time.

The numbers of newspapers which have been digitally transformed and electronically archived on the World Wide Web have increased. It is obviously impossible to sample all newspapers in Korea, therefore it was necessary to select certain newspapers for the object of analysis. The present selection was chosen using the largest web-based search engine in Korea, www.naver.com, and based upon circulation. The six biggest newspapers were searched for analysis: Chosun Ilbo¹, Donga Ilbo², Joongang Ilbo³, Hankook Ilbo⁴, Hankyoreh Shinmoon⁵ and KyungHwang Shinmoon^{6, 7}.

¹ www.chosun.com

² www.donga.com

³ www.joins.com

⁴ www.hankooki.com

⁵ www.hani.co.kr

⁶ www.khan.co.kr

⁷ Even if the search engine provided these 6 newspapers regarding circulation, it is seemingly difficult to present the actual circulation numbers of each newspaper. Only a few newspapers registered in Korea Audit Bureau of Circulations (KABC, www.kabc.or.kr) present circulation statistics. The Korean Association of Newspapers presents (www.presskorea.or.kr) some statistics based on KABC, however it

Each newspaper runs its own websites and offers a pdf file service for past news articles. The quality and extent of this service varies. Since each newspaper was founded at a different time, the period of the searching service is also variable. In addition, most newspapers have not offered online databases throughout their whole history. Chosun Ilbo was founded in 1920 and offers articles from its entire history, but articles from 1920 until 1940 are not available online. However, it is possible to order copies of articles via mail. Donga Ilbo was founded in 1920 and offers articles from the entire time span. However, articles from 1920 until 1989 are not searchable electronically, so it is necessary to read through all the articles, an impossible task. Joongang Ilbo was founded in 1965 and offers articles from its entire history, while Hankook Ilbo was founded in 1954, and offers articles from 1998. Hankyoreh Shinmoon was founded in 1988, and offers articles from 2006. KyungHwang Shinmoon was founded in 1946, and offers articles from October 2004.

As it is most essential for the present study to cover as long a time span as possible, the analysis reported here is restricted to Chosun Ilbo across the entire period from 1920 until 2006. Moreover, most decisive for my study of changing ideologies concerning adoption over time, Chosun Ilbo is the only electronically searchable newspaper covering the pre-Korean War period. This newspaper has been elected as “the most influential newspaper” seven years in a row, thus, it is arguably fairly representative of media trends in Korea (So, 2007).

provides only up to 2003. In 2003 the three largest newspaper based on circulation were Chosun Ilbo (2,358,180), Joonang Ilbo (2,084,958) and Donga Ilbo (2,072,916). However, these numbers are arguably only modestly representative. In Korean newspaper industry, it is common to conceal the circulation numbers. Newspaper companies often exaggerate the circulation in order to attract advertisers and subscribers (Kim, 2004). Thus, it is likely more precise to present these 6 newspapers are generally believed to have a relatively large circulation.

3. 2. The search of articles related to ‘adoption’

After the selection of the newspaper, every article which was related to ‘adoption’ was identified through the newspaper’s website. This step was simply conducted by searching articles which included the word ‘adoption’ in the headline or text. In order to observe the change of frequency of relevant articles, this search was conducted for each year, yielding a measure of occurrence. The quantitative data used in this thesis is thus based on the total number of articles using the search term for each year as acquired from Chosun Ilbo’s newspaper website.

However, the search led to some contaminated data. A compound noun exists in the Korean language that yielded some irrelevant articles in the search results. The Korean letters ‘입양’ is ‘adoption’ and ‘수입양곡’ is ‘imported grain’. ‘수입양곡’ is irrelevant to adoption, but since the Korean letters ‘입양’ exist in the middle of the other word ‘수입양곡’, these articles were accidentally included in search results. To exclude these irrelevant articles, the headlines of each article were checked in the newspaper’s search engine, as search results also provide short information about the article, enabling a classification of whether or not it was relevant to adoption. In addition, a few articles were included in the search results but did not actually exist in the database because of a technical error. Additionally, some articles were impossible to read because they were badly scanned. Those articles were also excluded from further analysis. After these processes, there were in total 1,492 articles that satisfied the adoption search criteria.

Although all of the relevant articles were now acquired, this actual number of adoption articles had limited value for the research question of looking at developmental

changes in frequency of adoption articles over time, since the total newspaper articles varied for each year. To measure the adjusted number of articles, the total numbers of articles per year were obtained by inquiry to the newspaper's reader service. A measurement of the proportions of adoption articles, compared to total articles, was needed in order to assess the importance of adoption as a social issue. The number of adoption articles for each year is divided by the total number articles for the same year, and then because of scale, multiplied by the average of the total number articles. By this statistical operation, the corrected variation of numbers of adoption articles is acquired. The adjusted numbers of articles provide a measure of how often adoption has been an issue in newspaper discourse that year. All numbers presented in this thesis are the adjusted ones.

3. 3. Developing categories

The next step in the analysis was the development of categories (Flick, 2002). In order to construct categories for further analysis, all of the 1,492 articles were read. During the reading of articles, methods from grounded theory (Flick, 2002; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Pidgeon, 1996; Pidgeon & Henwood, 1996) have been applied. The two methodological principles which have been applied are constant comparison and theoretical sampling. Both are advocated primarily as means of generating theory, as well as of building conceptual and theoretical depth of analysis, and both are therefore more than mere procedures for selecting and processing data (Pidgeon, 1996). Thus, the present study has an inductive, hypothesis-generating aim

Categories were generated from the articles. This involved the constantly reciprocal procedure of reading the articles and developing conceptualizations. This is a

creative process which provided the discovery or emergence of categories. At the same time it was necessary to be aware that the developed categories should suit the articles (Pidgeon & Henwood, 1996). Those categories needed to be well grounded in the articles, thus the process of developing categories maintained a balance between my subjective understanding and the requirement of 'fit' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Pidgeon & Henwood, 1996).

In Glaser and Strauss's (1967) term, categories become 'saturated' at the moment when developing categories or reading articles no longer contribute further insight. After saturation, the next step was writing definitions of each category in order to develop deeper and more precise understandings of a category and its interpretation (Pidgeon & Henwood, 1996).

This process resulted in 5 main categories, subsuming 49 sub-categories, which will be briefly presented here:

The 'Article profile' category provides the surface characteristics of the article itself, in which, 'Visibility', 'Aim of article', 'Perspectives', 'Attitude', 'Co-theme', 'Voice' and 'Story' belong as sub-categories.

The 'Participants profile' category provides the descriptions of the members of the adoption triangle (Brodzinsky & Schechter, 1990) (i.e. adoptee, adoptive parents, biological parents). Sub-categories are: 'Adoption age', 'Adult age', 'Biological parents age', 'Adoptive parents age', 'Adoptee gender', 'Biological parents job', 'Adoptive parents job', 'Adoptee job', 'Biological parents wage', 'Adoptive parents wage', 'Adoptee wage', 'Biological parents education level', 'Adoptive parents education level', 'Adoptee education level', 'Disability' and 'Adoptee status'.

The 'Adoption profile' category is related to the adoption process as such. It consists of the following sub-categories: 'Type of adoption', 'In charge', 'Group/Individual', 'Reunion', 'Conflict', 'Sending/Visiting', 'Minority', 'Business', 'Evaluation of domestic adoption' and 'Evaluation of transnational adoption'.

The 'Authority' category consists of sub-categories related to legal or governmental aspects: 'Korean law/policy', 'other countries' law/policy', and 'Hierarchy' sub-categories.

Finally, the 'Beliefs' category aims to capture how the articles reflect the social representations of identity, nation, otherness and exchange, in other words "how Koreans think". It consists of 'Global perspective', 'Reputation of nation', 'Koreanness', 'Otherness', 'Name of transnational adoptee', 'Blood line', 'Gender preference' sub-categories.

Some sub-categories are scored as 'yes' or 'no', or 'mentioned' or 'not mentioned', whereas others involve several codes. An example of a sub-category involving multiple codes is 'adoptee status', which refers to the situation described as the background for the adoption decision. This sub-category includes the following codes: 1. war orphan, 2. orphan, 3. mixed-blood child, 4. single mother, 5. abandoned child, 6. parents. The definitions of each sub-category are provided in the appendix 9.3.

3.4. Scoring

After defining categories, the next step was quantitative scoring of these categories. In the present study, scoring refers to the quantitative investigation of aspects of each category. The concept of scoring is thus used in a different way than in Flick (2002). Due to practical reason, 1,492 articles being too many to score, it was decided to choose

a large partial sample to analyze. As the numbers of articles has gradually increased from the 1990s, so it was decided to read every article from 1920 until 1989. A sample was taken of the articles from the remaining period, i.e. after 1990. This sampling decision was to pick the first article of each month so that 12 articles for each year between 1990-2006 were included. In total, this yielded 436 articles to be scored

Before starting the main scoring procedure, one article for each decade was selected for a preliminary sample (“test”) scoring. However, prior to the 1950s there were only 7 available articles, thus only one article was selected from that period, thus, seven articles in total were chosen for sample scoring. This selection was also based on my earlier reading 1,492 articles, and by necessity quite subjective. These articles were translated into English enabling the sample scoring to be discussed with the supervisors of the study. In principle, the process of defining categories and scoring requires at least two researchers in order to prevent biased results. However, because of practical restraints, the present coding was conducted by only one person. The scoring of sampled articles was for learning purposes as well as enabling revisions to the scoring process. For further studies of this material it would be recommended to involve another scorer.

The following example demonstrates the scoring process:

“Po is well raised with the tenderest care by adoptive parents’

A kid who was born as mixed-blood child and was abandoned by parent came to visit motherland after half year being adopted to America. She is doing cute things and speaking couple of Korean words like ‘Let’s go home’ and ‘Uncle’ which she still remembers. This kid is *Lee Porina* who was adopted to Mr. and Mrs. *Raver* who live in Hollywood. She wore nice one-piece dress called her adoptive mother mommy, acted cute and even sang a song. She was found in a wadded baby wrapper in front of Colomba orphanage in *Chungpyong*. She was raised there until she moved to Chunghyun orphanage. In last 22nd of January she was adopted to *Raver* family. Mrs. *Raver*, an adoptive mother was looking at her playing and proudly

said “She is quite smart and very healthy. I want her to study music when she grows up so I have to be careful to educate her since she is too smart.”

Porina remembered Mrs. *Meng* who took care of her while she was in Chunghyun orphanage and wanted to be next to her all the time, Mrs. *Meng* said. When *Porina* smiled while she tilted her head and whispered her mother, her face dimpled with a smile sweetly. She came to Korea along with Mrs. *Raver*’s visit. Mrs. *Raver* wanted to visit her adopted daughter’s homeland. They would visit where *Porina* was brought up during visit.” Visiting motherland after half year with mother, Chosun Ilbo, 10.06.1958

This article was rather small with regard to the total number of words, however it was located in the middle of the newspaper page including one picture. Thus, this article was scored as ‘middle’ (Visibility sub-category). It concerns a story of a transnationally adopted child visiting Korea, and was scored as ‘report’ (Aim of article sub-category). The adoptee and the adoptive parents were included in the article (scored as both Adoptee and Adoptive parents perspective sub-categories). This journalist is providing the story without any judgment related to it (scored as ‘neutral’ in the Attitude sub-category). Adoption, in this article adoptee and adoptive parents, plays main role in the story (scored as ‘core theme’ in the Co-theme sub-category). Adoptive parents’ and social worker’s voices were quoted in the article, and this article provides the story (scored as ‘story’ in the Story sub-category and ‘adoptive parents and social worker’ in the Voice sub-category). In the article only the adoptee’s profile was provided, her age (scored in both Adoption age and Adult age sub-categories), whereas, other demographics were not revealed (scored as ‘99 n/a’ in the Age, Job, Wage, Education, Disability sub-categories). She was adopted to America (scored as ‘transnational’ in the Type of adoption sub-category), without any organized help (scored as ‘individual’ in the In charge sub-category). This story is about only one adoptee (scored as ‘individual’ in the Group/Individual category). There was neither family reunion nor any troublesome happenings (scored ‘not mentioned’ in the Reunion,

Conflict sub-categories), though this story is about coming to visit the mother land (scored as 'visiting' in the Sending/Visiting sub-category). The adoptee was presented as a mixed blood child (scored as 'mixed blood child' in the Minority and Adoptee status sub-categories). The adoption process in this case was not described as exporting and the adoptee was not described as a product, either (scored accordingly in the Business sub-category). In this article, positive expressions such as 'tenderest', 'smart', or 'smile' seemingly produce a positive image of transnational adoption (scored 'positively mentioned' in the Evaluation of transnational adoption sub-category). This article does not state any legal or official regulations (scored accordingly in the Law and policy, Hierarchy sub-categories). None of the beliefs category is related to this article except providing Korean language as cultural marker (scored as 'language' in the Koreanness sub-category) and only adoptee's foreign name is stated (scored as 'foreign' in the Name of transnational adoptee sub-category).

After sample scoring, the main scoring of 436 sampled articles was conducted by the author. The scoring is presented in the appendix 9.6. The results of scoring were calculated as percentages of the appearance of a certain category. In addition, it was tested whether the developmental changes of the various categories over time correlates significantly with linear time.

3.5. Qualitative analysis

Although such quantitative analyses may reveal interesting trends, they may merely scratch the surface of complex social representations and understandings of a society, thus further in depth qualitative analyses were undertaken. Five newspaper articles at different periods of times which seem to reveal more subtle differences than the above

quantitative analyses can capture, were selected for analyses. This selection is also based on the preliminary reading of 1,492 articles. The purpose of the selection is to discuss selected aspects of the text. Exploration, rather than representativity, is the aim of this qualitative approach (cf. Flick, 2002).

Texts can be a vehicle to find out about some reality assumed to lie beyond or behind language, thus in this thesis reading articles was means of getting at some socially perceived reality (cf. Rommetveit, 1972, 1979) which is deemed to lie behind the articles (Gill, 2000). To examine in more detail ideological shifts and social representations related to adoption, various theoretical tools were applied throughout reading, based upon ideological analysis (Billig, 1991, 1995, 2006), social representations theory (Moscovici, 1988), analysis of language usage (Rommetveit, 1972, 1979; Blakar, 1979), and discourse analysis (Gill, 2000).

Important perspectives on qualitative analysis used were first, a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge and skepticism towards the view that observations of the world unproblematically yield its true nature. Second, a recognition that the ways in which people commonly understand the world are historically and culturally specific and relative. Third, a conviction that knowledge is socially constructed – that is, that current ways of understanding the world are determined not by the nature of the world itself, but by social processes. And, fourth, a commitment to exploring the ways that knowledge e.g. social construction of people, phenomena or problems, is linked to actions/practices (quoted from Gill, 2000).

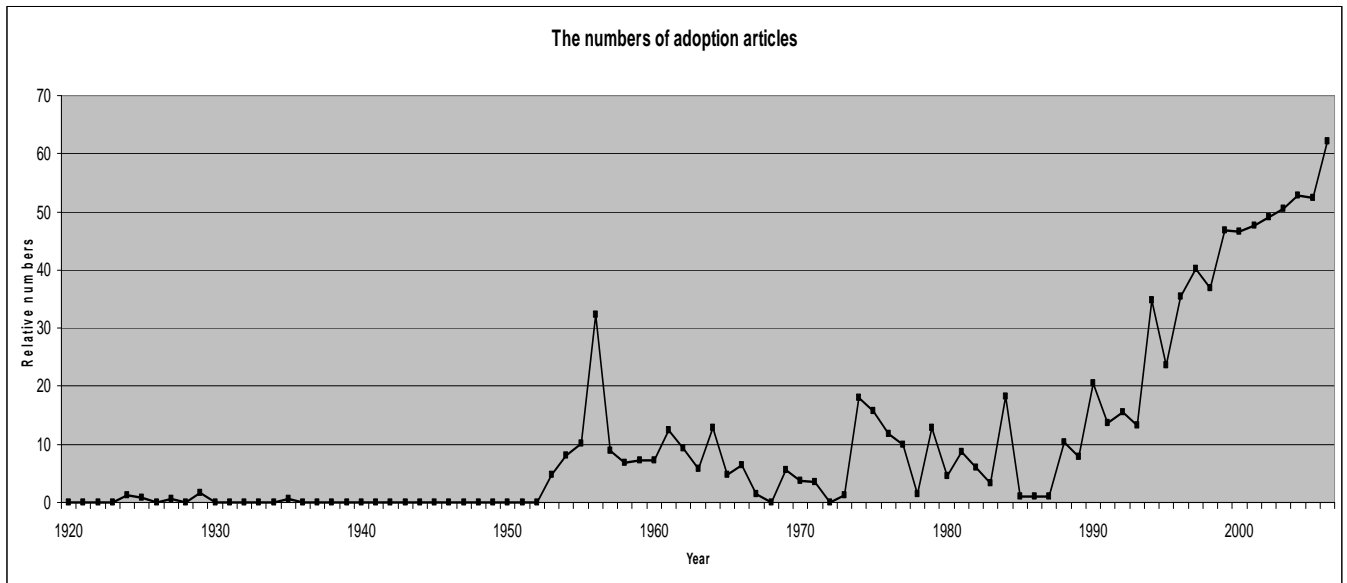
A systematic investigation of identified texts was essential for identifying representational changes. The objective of this process is to discover the central components of various representations, and to reveal how these components relate to

each other. Within the framework of social representations theory (Moscovici, 1998), the present study is attempting to expose the core or figurative nucleus of Korean representations of adoption, and how these representations may have changed across time.

4. Empirical findings

The numbers of articles for each year are presented in figure 1. In the beginning of the period, there were very few articles related to adoption. This pattern continued until the Korean War. The first article specifically related to transnational adoption appeared after the war, in 1953. Between 1953 and 1987, the adoption articles generally appear less than 10 articles per year with the exceptions of 1955, 1956, 1964, 1974, 1975, 1975 and 1979. In 1956, the number of articles increased to 32. This was the first time the occurrence exceeded 30, however the numbers thereafter decreased and were maintained below 30. The number of adoption articles started to rapidly increase in 1988. This development continued until 2006, as the number transcended 30 for the first time since 1956 in 1994 (35 articles). By the end of the period, 2006, the occurrence of articles using the word 'adoption' passed 60 for the first time.

Figure 1. The numbers of adoption articles



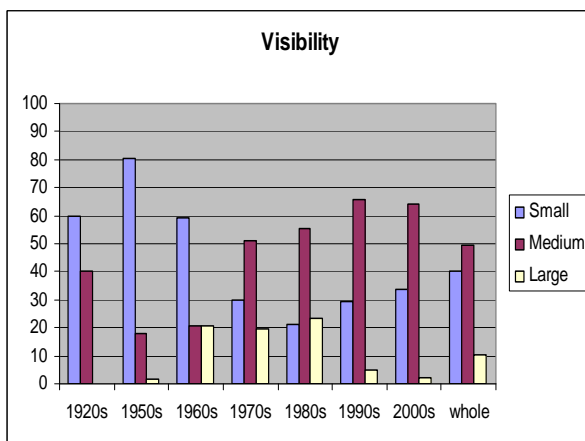
As described in the methodology chapter, 49 sub-categories grouped into 5 profile categories were developed in order to score articles more precisely, and then the selected 436 newspaper articles are scored by applying 49 sub-categories. However, for some categories (Adoptive parents perspective, Biological parents perspective, Agency perspective, Government perspective, Family perspective, Adoption age, Adult age, B.parents age, A.parents age, Adoptee job, B.parents job, A.parents job, Adoptee wage, B.parents wage, A.parents wage, Adoptee education, B.parents education, A.parents education, Disability, Minority, Korean law/policy, Other countries' law/policy, Hierarchy, Koreanness, Otherness, Name of transnational adoptee), there were so few scored articles (less than 100). These sub-categories with lack of scored articles provided limited reliability for the analysis, thus, these results were excluded in the presentation. In addition, certain other categories (Aim of article, Adoptee perspective, Society perspective, Voice, Type of adoption, In charge, Group/Individual) provide the limited value of results. This interpretation is based on the preliminary reading and the analysis, however, it was possible that this exclusion could be a source of bias.

In the presentation of the results, the 1930s and 1940s are excluded. In the 1930s there is only one article related to adoption. It seems nonsensical to present one decade for one article. This article is included in the results of the entire period, however it is excluded for the rest. In addition there are no articles in the 1940s, therefore this decade is excluded in the results.

The definitions of each sub-category are presented in Appendix 9.3., it is recommended to read for further understanding of presented results.

4. 1. Article profile

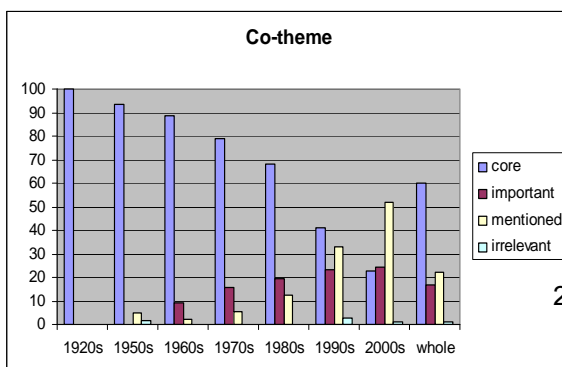
Visibility



In the earlier periods there are more ‘small visibility articles’ (60% in the 1920s, 80,3% in the 1950s and 59,3 in the 1960s). The proportion of middle visibility articles has steadily increased and became the largest portion in the

1970s (50,9%). The large visibility articles take up somewhat larger portions of the sample from the 1960s until the 1980s, however it amounts to less than 5 % for the rest of the periods. However, linear developments in this sub-category are not significant at the .05 level.

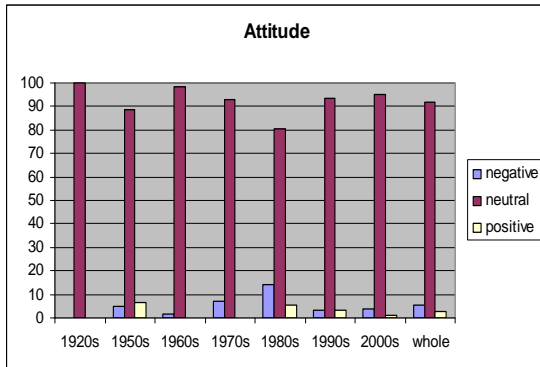
Co- theme



In the beginning of the period, the adoption articles mostly treat ‘adoption’ as the core theme (100% in the 1920s,

and 93.4% in 1950s). However articles with adoption as the core theme decrease significantly ($r=-0.90$, $p = 0.003$) over time, as articles scored as both ‘important’ and ‘mentioned’ increase significantly at the 0.001 level ($r=0.94$) and 0.023 level ($r=0.81$).

Attitude

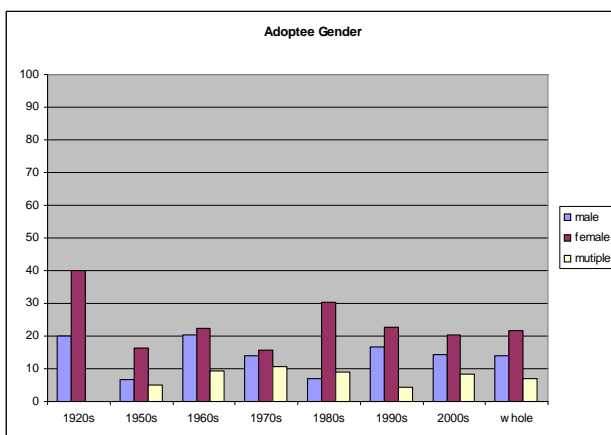


Throughout the entire period most articles show neutral attitudes as conveyed by the journalist (92%). Negative attitude articles exist to a much lesser degree throughout the entire period, and it most

frequently appears in the 1980s (14,3%). Positive attitude articles do not appear at all in the 1960s and 1970s, and otherwise constitute between about 1 and 6% of the articles. The development of attitude sub-category does not correlate with time at the significant level.

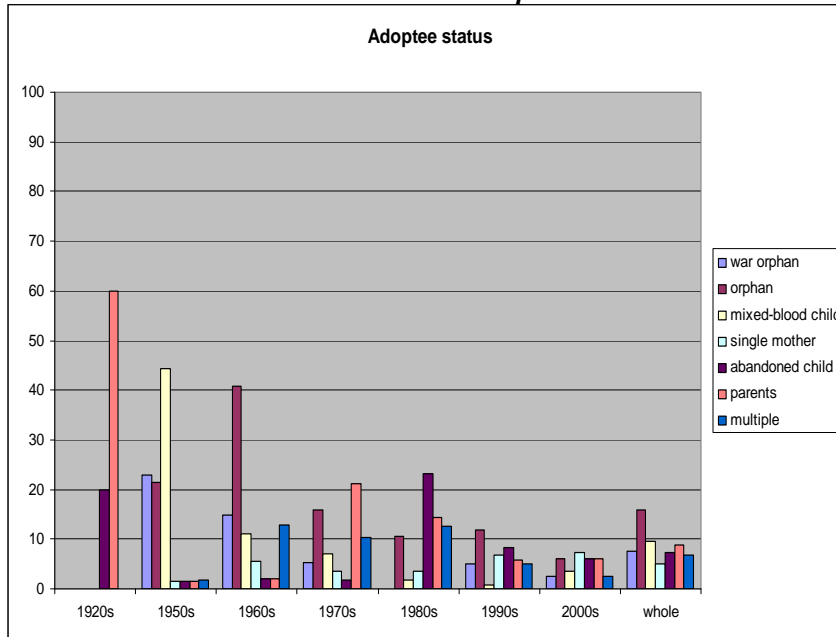
4. 2. Participants’ profile

Adoptee gender



The proportion of articles concerning female adoptees has always been larger than for male adoptees. This category does not indicate any significant linear correlations with time.

Adoptee status

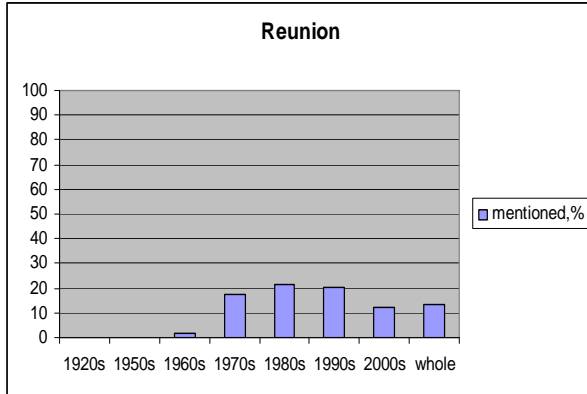


This figure shows the percentages of adoptee's status in the articles across periods. Results of the coding in this category indicate that the status of

adoptee has changed since the 1920s. Articles containing status as of adoptees as war orphans or 'mixed-blood' children constitute a large part of the 1950s, after the Korean War as 23% of articles in the 1950s are related to war orphans and 44.3% to mixed-blood children. Since then, the frequencies of both statuses have gradually decreased. They are hardly presented in articles of the most recent decades. Status as orphan occurs rather frequently in the 1950s (21.3%) and 1960s (40.7%), and it has slowly decreased. However, the orphan is scored as the largest total percentage when considering all time periods (15.8% of total number of articles). On the other hand, 'single mother' has a relatively low overall frequency, but has steadily increased over time (1.7% in 1950s and 7.2% in 2000s) ($r=0.89$, $p = 0.005$). The proportion of articles about abandoned children suddenly increases considerably in the 1980s (23.2%) but then remains under 10% in the 1990s and 2000s. Articles scored as the parents provide an uneven development, with a substantial peak in the 1970s (21.1%).

4. 3. Adoption profile

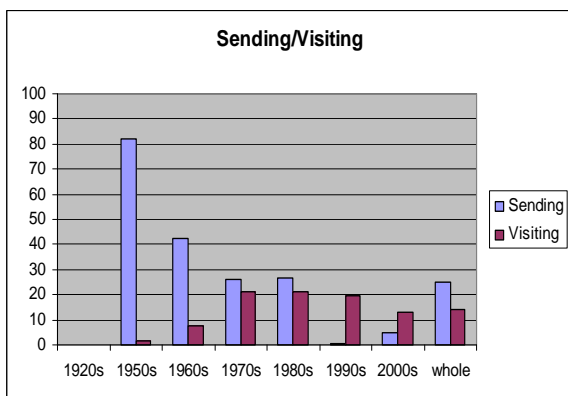
Reunion



There are rather few reunion articles (13.1% during the entire period). Even though it looks like that the proportion reaches the peak in 1980s and decreases, however this category provides significant correlation with

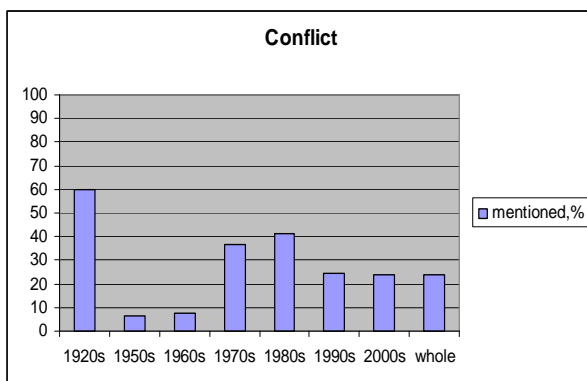
time ($r=0.75$, $p = 0.045$).

Sending/visiting



Articles related to sending children were overwhelming until the 1990s, however visiting articles provide significant correlation with time at the ($r=0.77$, $p = 0.036$).

Conflict

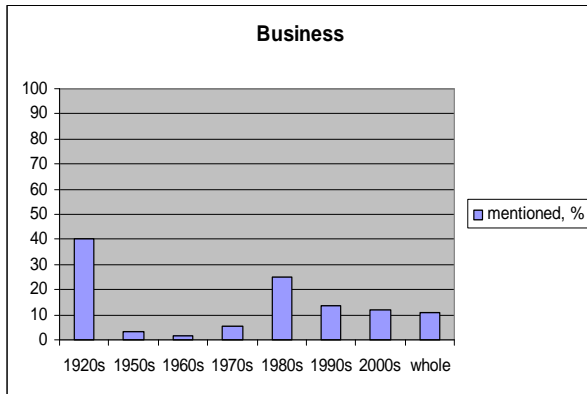


24.1% of total articles provide information about conflict. This sub-category abruptly increases in the 1970s (from 7,4% in the previous decade up to 36,8%). It keeps increasing until 41,1% in the 1980s,

then decreases down to the average level which was maintained in the 1990s and 2000s.

However, the trend is not statistically significant.

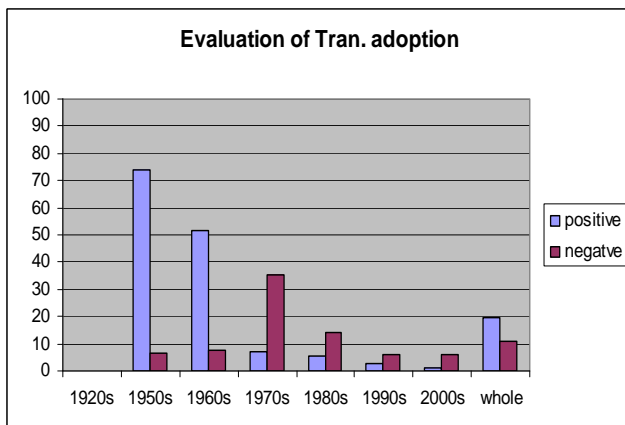
Business



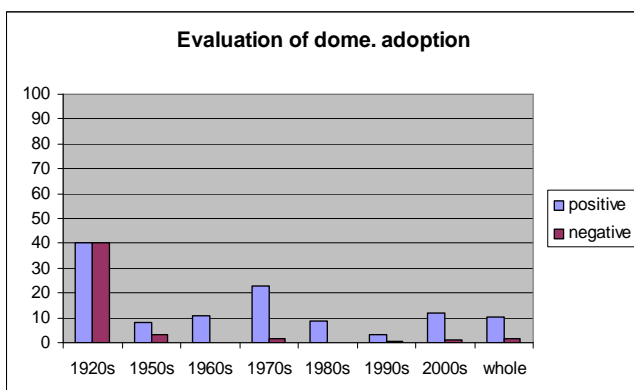
Description of the adoption process as a business is presented in 11% of the total articles. There are less than 5% business articles until the 1970s, thereafter the proportion markedly increases up to 25% in the

1980s. It decreases to 13.4% in 1990s and is maintained at a similar level in the following decade. Only implicitly mentioned articles show statistical significance at the 0.014 level.

Evaluation of transnational/domestic adoption



For the entire period, 19.3% of articles provide a positive evaluation of transnational adoption, whereas 11% provide a negative one. At the same time, 10.3% of articles present a positive evaluation of domestic adoption, whereas 1.8% of articles present a negative one.



In the 1950s and 1960s more than half of the articles provide positive evaluation of transnational adoption

(73.8% and 51.9%). This radically changes in the 1970s. Articles with positive evaluation of transnational adoption are reduced to 7% and articles with negative evaluations increase to 35,1% from only 7,4% in the previous decade. After the 1970s, articles with negative evaluations of transnational adoption have been maintained at a larger scale than positive articles.

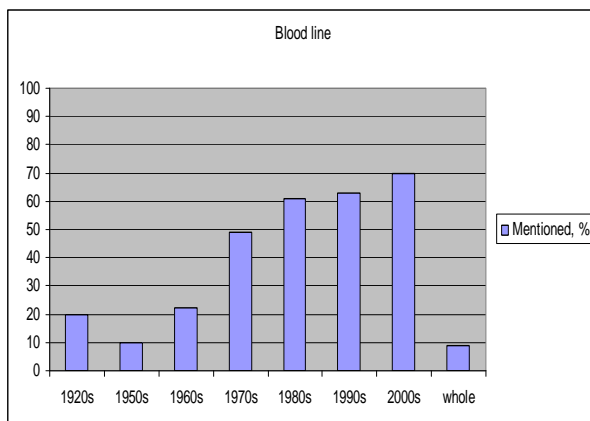
The positive evaluation of domestic adoption maintains larger than negative ones for the entire period. The articles with positive evaluations of domestic adoption show the largest proportion in the 1970s (22.8%), while the negative evaluation of domestic adoption decreases significantly ($r=-0.79$, $p = 0.028$).

4. 4. Authorities

Articles in this category can provide descriptions of adoption processes in Korea, however there are rather few articles scored in this category (18.8% in Korean law/policy, 5.5% in others' and 15.4% in hierarchy). In addition this category may be more relevant to a political science perspective. Thus, results from this category are not presented.

4. 5. Beliefs

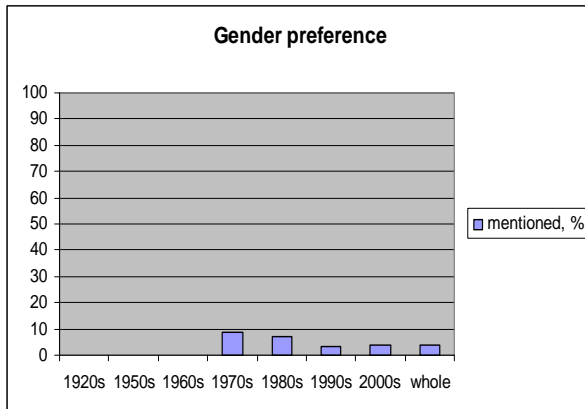
Bloodline



Trends of articles related to the blood line belief sub-category show a remarkably stable linear increase (except for the 1920s) over time. In the 1950s only 9.8% of articles are scored

by this sub-category, this proportion steadily increases up to 69,9% in the 2000s. Articles with explicit (for the implicit, see appendix 9.5.) appearance of bloodline belief are especially noteworthy and correlated with linear time ($r=0.89$, $p = 0.005$).

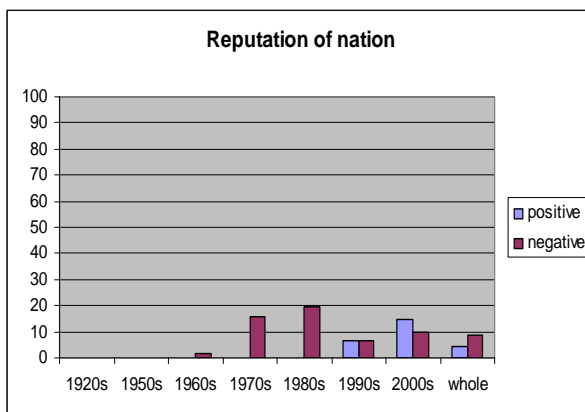
Gender preference



Articles in the gender preference sub-category first appear in the 1970s (8.8%), and then steadily decrease down to 3.6% in the 2000s. However, only 3.7% of the total amounts of articles explicitly relate to

this sub-category, and the trend does not show statistical significance.

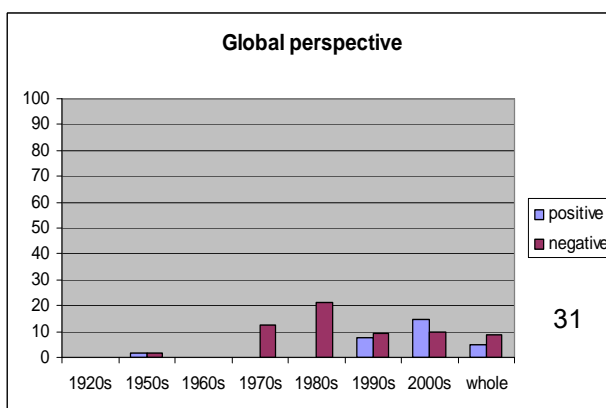
Reputation of nation



Articles negatively present the reputation of nation, in connection to adoption, for the first time in the 1960s (1.9%). Proportions referring to negative reputation increase rapidly during the 1970s and 1980s (15.8% and

19.6%), while articles which positively relate adoption to the reputation of nation appear for the first time in the 1990s (6.7%) and increases up to 14.5% in the 2000s.

Global perspective



The negative global perspective and the positive one develop in opposite directions. The

negative perspective increases until the 1980s (21.4%), and then declines. On the contrary articles coded as positive global perspective appear in the 1990s (7.6%) and increase up to 14.5% in the following decade.

5. Qualitative analysis

In this step, qualitative analysis of the five selected articles was undertaken in order to provide further understanding Korean society regarding adoption. It is recommended to see Appendix 9.2 for full texts of the selected articles. In this thesis, I would like to present mainly the interpreted changes from the texts at the societal level, especially regarding values and representations connected to adoption. The observations of both ideology and social representation are presented. Thus, it is important to be aware of that these articles provide not only a description of what happened, but also perspectives of Korean society reflected in the selected incidents. For example, article no. 172 (13.03.1975) is about a fire incident at a nursery. The journalist attempts to extract the character of Korean society from this fire incident, through a macro level investigation. It is referred as:

“[...] The fire accident of ‘the Angel House’, which led us lose the angels, airs a forgotten dirty linen of modern Korean society”. Unmarried mothers are increasing. *Chosun Ilbo*. 13.03.1975

5. 1. Ideologies and social representations

My analysis is presented in 7 different sub-sections. Since ideologies contain representations, and the representations are ideological (Moscovici, 1998; Van Dijk, 1998), these divisions are not necessarily mutually exclusive and are rather intertwined.

However, the first two, ‘social values’ and ‘bloodline ideology’⁸ are more fundamental and ideological, while the others are most related to social representations.

5. 1. 1. Social Values

Newspaper articles usually provide some judgments about certain phenomena, and those judgments are related to social values which are more or less shared with members of a society (Nafstad et al. in press). Social values might influence the members of society and vice versa. Article 172 describes mothers having a baby when they are young and single as “*immorality*”. The reader is not invited to make a judgment whether or not this behavior is moral since it is already made evil by the journalist. This is an example of a ‘tacit premise’ which is taken for granted (Rommetveit, 1972, 1979). Article 172 mentions that “*70% of the fathers of unmarried mother-orphans are young and have never been married men*”. This statement implies two points; first, the representation of a dissolute sexual moral among the present young generation. Through the influence of Confucianism, talk about sex has been taboo and most people hold the attitude that you should not have sex before marriage. Therefore, this statement may have surprised the readers. On the other hand this sentence left the existence of the 30% of ‘married men’ unspoken (Billig, 2006). Second, this provides another, more indirect implication of the social acceptance of a married man having an “illegitimate” child. In the arguably androcentric Korean society, it has been more

⁸ ‘Bloodline ideology’ translated from the Korean term ‘Hyöllt’ongchuŭi (혈통주의)’, illustrates that Koreans take bloodline very seriously, and it becomes an essential element of Korean nationalism. Koreans consider ‘blood’ the most important distinction of nation and Koreans as an ethnic group with a single bloodline regardless of residence or ideology (Chang, 2005; Shin, 2006).

acceptable for a married man to have an affair and child out of wedlock compared to women or single men.

The same article suggests the following counter plan to limit the number of unmarried mothers:

“[...] First of all, restrain teenagers by re-establishing authority of a guardian; second, prevent female employees in industrial complexes from some possible options by management; and third, improve knowledge to resist evil temptation by educating healthy relationship in school and work”. Unmarried mothers are increasing. Chosun Ilbo. 13.03.1975

This counter plan leaves the expression “*some possible options*” undefined. Being an unmarried mother or having a baby without marriage are naturally related to having sex, however this article avoids mentioning it clearly. It seems that the journalist does not want to mention it, which is also common among other members in society. At the same time ‘having sex’ remains unspoken, this repression (Billig, 2006) indicates having sex as something you should not do. There seemingly exists the suppression of sex in Korean society and, therefore, topics related to sex are unspoken or implicitly mentioned. It makes people relate sex to something embarrassing, guilty or bad.

At the end of the third paragraph, it is stated: “*so it truly represents deeper understanding of sexual moral among the young generation (Article 175)*”. First, a description ‘*truly*’ implies the existence of one ‘truth’, thus in this sentence the fire incident is interpreted to what leads the reader to the truth beyond the judgment of how truthful it is. It mentions just ‘*deeper understanding,*’ however it automatically gives readers the understanding that sexual morals among the young generation are getting worse even if it remains unspoken (Billig, 2006). This is left unspoken in the sentence, and most likely agreed upon in Korean society. Even though the journalist did not explicitly mention that the change is bad, readers are likely to spontaneously infer it

from the context. In addition, the judgment whether or not this change is good is already largely made up by the media or the society. That is the other reason why the article did not mention it more specifically. Ideological texts such as this often do not invite people to think about their own judgments and rather function to reproduce existing values.

This article also implies a clearly emotional and negative attitude toward premarital sex, which is shown by the expressions “*evil temptation*” and “*healthy relationship*” in the 9th paragraph. These expressions may provoke negative emotions quite strongly (Blakar, 1979) and make very clear comparisons between “*immoral behavior*” and “*innocent death*”.

Article 197 provides a “tearful” story of adoptive parents as:

“[...] The wife (27) and the husband (32) decided to adopt a baby, so she started to bind up her belly as if she was pregnant to deceive her neighbors. In the end of last March, the counseling office informed her that there was an [available] infant of an unmarried mother who was 10 days old.

The wife said good bye to neighbors that she would go to her parents’ home to deliver a baby. She picked the baby at the counseling office and went to her parents’ home.

After staying one month at her parents’ home, she came back and said “Even though it was a 4 week premature baby, he is doing fine,” to neighbors”. Living with bringing up parental affection. *Chosun Ilbo*. 27.04.1977

This article elicits representations of adoption as something sad as well as “unnatural”. However, the journalist does not interpret the reason why the woman had to “*deceive*” others. The reason is already taken for granted by being unspoken (Billig, 2006; Blakar, 1979; Rommetveit, 1972, 1979). This omission provides the understanding of the “natural” way of making a new family, in which adoption is not included (cf. Eagleton, 1991). Thus, adoptive parents seem to face social pressure to make them pretend as if they are still following a natural way of living.

Article 197 also shows the demography of adoptees and emphasizes that numbers of female adoptees has increased.

“[...] According to sex, there were more boys in 1973 (25 boys and 17 girls) but there were same numbers, 46 boys and girls, in last year. In this year, there are even more girls, 17 out of 32.” Living with bringing up parental affection *Chosun Ilbo* 27.04.1977

This passage takes as an implicit premise that there is a notion of preferring a son to a daughter. It seems more “natural” to adopt a son since people want to have a son more than a daughter, however the numbers indicate the opposite. It also implicitly shows the bloodline ideology. As mentioned above, it is common among many Koreans to think that a succession of bloodline is important and only a son can inherit a family due to bloodline ideology (Chang, 2005; Shin, 2006). At the same time the national adoption in Korea started in order to succeed the family line, therefore it was often believed that the adoptive parents only wanted to adopt a boy. This belief does not fit with the passage in the article, which implicitly implies the existence of bloodline ideology. By providing other statistics than what may be assumed by common sense, this article attempts to challenge the bloodline ideology.

Another example of presenting social values exists in Article 263. It provides a number of possible reasons why people abandoned their children as being ‘unmarried mothers,’ an ‘extremely poor family,’ ‘broken family,’ ‘divorced family’ and ‘disabled children.’ This article does not make any judgment of these reasons, however since they are provided by newspaper they are likely to be reproduced as readers may be convinced that those are acceptable reasons. At the same, time this causation also reproduces Korean family ideology by making a definition of what the normal family is, for example, not being poor, not being broken, not being divorced and not having a disabled child (Billig, 1995; Rommetveit, 1979).

5. 1. 2. Bloodline ideology

Based on the analysis of general societal values above, it is necessary to present a more in-depth analysis of bloodline ideology. Directly or indirectly, it is often used to describe the situation of adoption in Korea. In Article 172, it is stated:

“[...] In addition, existing tradition and lack of adoption regulations opens a ‘tiny door’ in history to people who actually need to be saved.

Parents who want to adopt a child to maintain their bloodline still choose a child, who is related by blood to them. Even though some parents want to adopt a child who is not related by blood to them, civil law refers that a child cannot have headship of parents’ possession, including house, unless a child is related by blood to parents. All these conditions make parents to give up adoption.

Furthermore, according to civil law, parents should register the adoptee as an adoptee in a family registration, even though the general idea is parents want to register and raise adoptee as a biological child. There is no regulation of giving up parental authority to prevent biological parents to show up and ask ownership of parental power a few years after adoption. These are also one of the main reasons why adoption is so hard”. Unmarried mothers are increasing.
Chosun Ilbo. 13.03.1975

Here the bloodline ideology is presented as “*existing tradition*” and also provides the current legal situation related to adoption in 1975. The journalist criticizes only the lack of regulation, thus it presents this “*traditional custom*” as something already accepted among members of a society. Readers are not invited to reflect about the bloodline principle rather, they become only aware of the regulation. Readers are lead to take bloodline ideology for granted as it remains unspoken (Billig, 2006). Throughout this repression, this article gives people justification about what is commonly believed i.e. bloodline ideology (Jost & Banaji, 1994).

However, bloodline ideology is mentioned in different ways in later time periods. In Article 824, the adoptive parent Mr. Hwang says:

“[...] there are only few domestic adoptions because of *prejudice* of maintaining the bloodline and *fear* of informing sterility.” First gathering of adoptive parents in Korea. *Chosun Ilbo*. 16.10.2000.

This article contains a more negative point of view toward the bloodline ideology. A possible reason is that this article appears to be written to inspire domestic adoption which is suppressed by the bloodline ideology. In the previous article, the bloodline ideology “*wanting to maintain the bloodline*” is referred to as “*tradition*”, however in this text it is changed and challenged by the label “*prejudice*”. This de-anchoring provides an illustration of the change of societal ideology and social representations of adoption (Chrysochoou, 2004, Augoustinos, et al. 2006).

Bloodline ideology also appears in other contexts, e.g. in Article 197, it is presented related to the preference to an unmarried mother orphan: “*The couple who adopted the baby usually moves out right after they bring their child to their home. This is to prevent the notice of their adoption by neighbors*”. Based on this text, it is common to make an adoption secret in Korea, as the article describes a stereotype of adoptive parents (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Thus, stereotyping functions as justification of the bloodline ideology. Adoptive parents want to raise their adopted children as biological ones, at the same time people are afraid that biological parents might show up later and want to take their children back. In the 1970s, there were no regulations of giving up parental authority until 1976, therefore it was possible that biological parents could appear and ask ownership of parental power several years after the adoption. In addition, Koreans often think that children not related by blood cannot truly become a member of non-blood related family (Chang, 2005). This article provides adoptive parents’ moving as something natural or obvious, which serves to reproduce the pre-existing ideology (Billig, 1995, 1997, Van Dijk, 1998).

The bloodline ideology is also present in another part of Article 225:

“[...] Now the eldest daughter (7) and the second daughter (6) are in their responsible age⁹ and still follow their adopted parents without any constraint, so Mr. and Mrs. Helen just love their ‘three Korean daughters’”. Healthy Korean adoptees in Northern Europe. *Chosun Ilbo*. 19.08.1982

Here, the second clause takes it for granted that when adopted children grow up to a “*responsible age*”, they might have some constraints with their adoptive parents because they are not related by blood. Korean’s bloodline principle is based on this taken for grantedness. One could easily read the passage above as ‘The adopted children still follow their parents without any constraint *even though* they are in their responsible age.’ In addition, the conjunction ‘so’ is used, which makes a causation, therefore it follows that adoptive parents love their adopted children ‘*because*’ the adopted children still follow them. Parental love is often described as ‘being unconditional’ (Bowlby, 1988). However the journalist distinguishes adoptive parental love as categorized outside non-adoptive parental love by making this causation based on bloodline ideology.

Article 225 also includes an interview comment from an adopted 19 year-old girl. She says “*I would be more uncomfortable if my biological mother would show up and introduce herself*”. This quote opposes the social representation that Koreans often assume that adoptees miss their biological parents, and thus finding biological parents is regarded as something essential for adoptees in order to develop a healthy identity (Bai, 1996; Lee, 2002). The saying, ‘blood is thicker than water’ is common in Korean

⁹ ‘responsible age’ is translated from Korean term ‘*Sarip’antani Kanŭngha Naŭi* (사리판단이 가능한 나이)’. This phrase refers to the age when children start to have their own opinions and make own decisions, thus they start to become more ‘reasonable’. However, ‘being reasonable’ provides somewhat different meaning. Therefore, I translated the term into ‘responsible age’.

society. This opposition brings an alternative view to the readers, and may function as an extreme case formulation (Pomerants, 1986 in Potter & Wetherell, 1998).

This article also suggests:

“[...] According to this concern, Mr. and Mrs. Gel Hanson in Copenhagen (high school teacher), sometimes teach Korean culture and traditions to their two Korean children, 16 years old and 13 years old, and let them correspond with Korean pen pal friends”.
Healthy Korean adoptees in Northern Europe. *Chosun Ilbo*. 19.08.1982

Here, one example of the best ways to raise adopted Korean children transnationally is teaching them Korean culture and traditions and letting children correspond by letters with other Koreans, which implicitly implies Koreans' bloodline ideology.

Another example appears in Article 263, which suggests a prioritized counter plan as:

“[...] A plan of preventing unmarried mothers by strengthening sexual education to decrease abandoned children should be prioritized to decrease transnational adoption”. The orphan who is not an orphan, 'An abandoned child'. *Chosun Ilbo*. 12.02.1989.

Throughout the article, unmarried mothers have been accused responsible for abandoned children, who are represented as the reason of transnational adoption; this causal link is also explicitly mentioned in the counter plan. It implies that Korean bloodline ideology is taken for granted, or at least it is difficult to change. When people confront the problem they want to find a possible solution in order to accept that problem. The minority or the weak group is easily accused and must carry the responsibility. Discrimination through solving cognitive dissonance is occurring in this article (Festinger, 1957).

5. 1. 3. Adoption

Newspapers produce various social representations (Nafstad et al., 2007, in press). Social representations of ‘adoption’ have been referred to in the articles. The emotional tone of the articles is generally negative throughout the entire period. Journalists often use negative words related to adoption and members of the adoption triangle, as “immoral”, “tragedy”, “sad”, “unhappy”, “open to sexual relationship¹⁰”, “negligence of life”, or “gave up”, which leads to negative emotion in the reader (Blakar, 1979).

Among the five selected articles, Article 225 is quite unique since it demonstrates a positive point of view toward transnational adoption in the 1980s. It shows this explicitly in the last paragraph as “*it might be necessary to arrange transnational adoption for those children’s future*”. In this article several positive words as “healthy”, “satisfied”, “popular”, or “good”, are used, which provides more positive emotion (Rommetveit, 1979).

Article 263 states that “*between 1970 and 1975, government tried to stop adoption to European countries and repress transnational adoption*”, while providing a short description of the current situation of transnational adoption. The journalist does not explain why the government tried to stop transnational adoption as it is taken for granted and accepted (Billig, 2006) that it should be stopped.

The journalist says “*Korean government solves the difficult social problem, abandoned children and orphans, and earns foreign money instead of spending some*”. In this sentence it is taken for granted that abandoned children and orphans are a

¹⁰ In Korea, a conservative and Confucian country, being open about sexual relationships can provoke negative emotions.

'difficult' social problem. This is an example of an implicit premise, that readers easily overlook and thus tend to accept (Blakar, 1979; Rommetveit, 1979).

This article also presents some stories about adoption agencies, such as:

“[...] Ms. Lee (31), an adoption agency worker, said, “The agency even threatens workers by reducing salary if we aren’t able to secure assigned numbers of children in order to encourage transnational adoption.” Workers often go to the women’s medical clinic or maternity hospitals which are located around industrial complexes to ask, “Please contact to me, if you have an infant,” with some presents”. The orphan who is not an orphan, ‘An abandoned child’. *Chosun Ilbo*. 12.02.1989

The story of Ms. Lee formulates an extreme case (Pomerants, 1986 in Potter & Wetherell, 1998), which makes the representation of adoption as a business. The humane character of the adoption process is totally excluded in this presentation of an actual adoption process in Korea. This also leads the reader to regard adoption as similar to slave trade, human trafficking or human trade along with the representation of adoptive parents. Furthermore, words related to business are often used, for example “*competition*”, “*beneficial*”, “*baby exporting business*”, “*baby trading*”, “*earns foreign money*”, etc. It makes a bad impression of transnational adoption in general, therefore even though adoption is a “humane business”, however this article categorizes transnational adoption more purely into a business category (Chrysochoou, 2004, Augoustinos, et al. 2006).

This article also states qualifications which Korean adoptive parents tend to demand, e.g. “*college degreed biological parents of the baby*”, “*young child*”, “*biological parents’ history is clear*”, and “*child is healthy*”. These ‘requirements’ form the representation of adoption as buying the best qualified child. However the word “*even*” is used here, which seemingly provides critical concern about it (Pomerants, 1986; Potter & Wetherell, 1998).

5. 1. 4. Unmarried mother

An unmarried mother is often presented in the adoption articles, and representations of unmarried mother are central to ideologies regarding adoption. In Article 172, being an unmarried mother in Korean society is represented as a shameful taboo. It is described as something “*immoral*”, “*evil*”, and “*dirty*”. This negative representation might lead the journalist to provide a new causation of the fire incident referred in the article (see appendix 9.2.). The fire was technically caused by an overheated electronic heater, the ‘proximal’ cause. However, the article focuses on a different causation of a ‘distal’ nature, explicitly describing the incident as follows:

“[...] The tragedy was caused by 1) increasing employed teenage girls due to industrialization, 2) decreasing authority of a guardian due to the change of family dynamic, and 3) degrading sexual moral due to indulging the horizontal foreign culture instead of the vertical traditional culture, which contains exponential increase of social situation”. Unmarried mothers are increasing. *Chosun Ilbo*. 13.03.1975

Since the victims are infants from unmarried mothers, the journalist attributes blame to unmarried mothers. It thus gives a macro level explanation of the micro level incident (cf. Bronfenbrenner, 1977). It also produces a negative attitude towards unmarried mothers or having sex before marriage by providing a negative description through the expression “*immoral behavior*”.

Written two years later, Article 197 provides a different representation of unmarried mothers:

“[...] *these couples mostly want a baby of an unmarried mother since the couple thinks babies are cleaner and healthier because of their unmarried mothers*”. Living with bringing up parental affection. *Chosun Ilbo*. 27.04.1977

However, the preference to orphans of unmarried mothers seems not to be creating positive social representations (Moscovici, 1998) and more likely related to the bloodline ideology. As mentioned in the same article, adoptive parents “*deceive*” the

neighborhood or “*move out*” in order to hide adoption and thus, seem to fear losing children due to the bloodline principle. On the other hand, when we assume that unmarried mothers will often try to forget the past or, as it might be said in Korea, “*delete the history*”, the adoptive parents’ preference for them becomes more understandable. This omission from the personal narrative (Billig, 2006) is due to the extreme shame of being an unmarried mother in Korean culture. Therefore, Article 197 reproduces existing representation of unmarried mothers rather than providing significant change, especially since this preference is hardly presented in other articles (Augoustinos et al. 2006).

A descriptive story of an unmarried mother appears in Article 263.

“[...] Ms. Kim (19) who is working at an electronic company became an unmarried woman since the man who promised marriage ran away. She met a man who was working at the factory next to her work place in late 1987 and they started to live together after they promised their marriage. However last September, two months before the expected date, he suddenly did not come home. She went to his work place and asked about him, and found out that he already quit his job. She delivered her baby at the hospital and gave up her legal guardianship. She gave her baby to the social welfare office through doctor’s recommendation”.
The orphan who is not an orphan, ‘An abandoned child’. *Chosun Ilbo*. 12.02.1989

The journalist formulates one extreme case (Pomerants, 1986 in Potter & Wetherell, 1998) which reflects a prototype of the unmarried mother (Augoustinos et al., 2006; Rosch, 1975). In this story, the image of an unmarried mother consists of uneducated blue-collar worker, who is abandoned, deceived, and ultimately irresponsible. This representation may spontaneously produce a similar image of unmarried mother orphans as it is often assumed that children resemble their parents according to bloodline ideology. Furthermore, the article contains the statement: “*live together after they promised their marriage*” as the reason why she lived with the man, which implicitly involves having sexual intercourse. What is left unsaid is that this life-

style behaviour i.e. sexual intercourse is not socially accepted unless both of the participants have decided to get married. Since this matter is socially related to sexual morals, then it may be a repressed topic, and can be reproduced by being unsaid, thus becoming a societal ideology (Billig, 2006).

5. 1. 5. Adoptee

The five articles shape the social representation of adoptees in different ways. First, they often use very emotional expressions in describing adoptees. One can find the expressions “*falling angels*”, “*seed of tragedy*”, “*half-burned bottles and baby toys*”, and “*burnt angels*” in Article 172. These expressions provoke touching, sad or tragic emotions, making readers relate those emotions to the phenomenon of adoption. Even though the article does not explicitly describe adoption as ‘bad’, it is implied in the context, and affects the readers’ understanding (Blakar, 1979).

Article 824 provides a very touching story of an adoptive family:

“[...] When Sejin crawled on his knees at the restaurant, the owner kicked us out. Even if it almost made me cry, I crawled on my knees to get out of the restaurant in order not to hurt Sejin’s feeling. Euna also crawled for her sister”. First gathering of adoptive parents in Korea. *Chosun Ilbo*. 16.10.2000

This is a very emotional incident, strongly addressed to the readers. Among the sampled articles, this text formulates another extreme case concerning adoption, which creates an emotionally laden representation of the adoptive family.

On the other hand, a certain representation of adoptees is often taken for granted in the articles. In Article 172, the journalist describes the unmarried mother orphan as a “*seed of tragedy*”. This indicates that in Korea, it is socially agreed upon that those children are unfortunate, and their lives might not be happy. This sentence provides an

example of what Blakar (1979) and Rommetveit (1972, 1979) call ‘*tacit premise*’. It is taken for granted that these children are carriers of their own tragedy, as the “*seed of tragedy*” term is taken as a given in the sentence structure. This suggests a ‘tragic’ representation of those children in 1970s in the Korean society. Furthermore, when reading the article, readers might accept this description without judgment or consideration. Therefore this article functions as a social ideological tool which produces ‘common sense’, ‘social value’ or ‘group thought’ about those children (Billig, 1995, 1997, Van Dijk, 1998). The media represent and reflect the society, and the society affects the media. This reciprocal relation is demonstrated by this article.

In Article 225, there is concern for children, which is a quite new phenomenon since previous articles were mainly only concerned with adults and society. Yet, this concern takes it for granted that adopted children are miserable. The article uses the expression “*their miserable history*”. The sentence structure, with the adjective ‘miserable’ as an implicit premise, shows that the fact they have had a miserable life is already agreed upon. In addition the expression “*our poor children*”, includes the same taken for grantedness as there is no room for doubt whether or not the children are poor (Blakar, 1979, Rommetveit, 1972, 1979).

Article 263 presents a special feature about the current situation of Korean children as “*being abandoned*”. When the journalist repeatedly uses the term “abandoned children”, readers spontaneously accept an account of truth that those children are abandoned. This provides us another example of what sender and receiver agree upon and which is taken for granted, thus becoming a social reality (Rommetveit, 1979). At the same time the article title, “*The orphan who is not an orphan, ‘An abandoned child’*”, provides a certain prototype of adopted children (Rosch, 1975).

However, the article's main concern is the adoption situation, rather than the abandoned children the title implies. Of the many possible reasons why children are sent away for adoption, this article creates the representation of adoptees as abandoned children for the reader.

Finally, in Article 263, the journalist creates a clear causal link of adoption with expressions such as: "*transnational adoption is fundamentally caused by increasing number of abandoned children*". This sentence makes a very clear and strong causal statement. Readers are likely to accept this causation without critical concern. In particular, the word '*fundamentally*' leads the reader to accept the causation (Pomerants, 1986 in Potter & Wetherell, 1998).

5. 1. 6. Adoptive parents

In the articles representations of adoptive parents are also developed. Article 197 states that "*The adoptive parents generally have deeper parental affection with their child*". In this sentence, it is implicitly assumed that adoptive parents may not love adopted children as much as biological children, otherwise this sentence is not necessary. This presumption is related to the bloodline ideology. Since the most important quality, according to this ideology, is being related by blood, people tend to care less about others not related by blood. This sentence functions not only as describing society but also reproducing an existing ideology (Billig, 1991, 1995, 2006; Van Dijk, 1998).

Article.225 illustrates reasons why adoptive parents decided to adopt children. On the basis of my preliminary reading of the 1,492 articles, helping poor war orphans or abandoned children was often mentioned as a reason why adoptive parents decided to adopt in the 1950s and 60s, i.e. in the earlier period of Korean transnational adoption.

Thus the children's situation was more in focus. In the 1980s, the situation of adoptive parents has been increasingly referred to. They feel "*lonely*", want to make a "*more harmonious family*" and also want their children to feel "*less lonely*". These factors are described as influencing adoptive parents to adopt children.

In Article 263, the journalist describes why foreign adoptive parents want to adopt Korean orphans as "*there are many people who enjoy economical wellness, but do not want to give birth*". Instead, they want to adopt children from abroad to "*relieve tedium, to enjoy the life of raising children, and to have a normal family life.*" In Article, 225, the journalist describes the reason for adoption as seeking parental love and harmony in the family, while Article 263 provides a more egocentric reason. Based upon the reading of the sampled 1,492 articles, it is my impression that Korean mass media often produce the representation of adoptive parents as wealthy and wishing to spend money on children in order to satisfy him/herself. Through this representation, Korean people might perceive the image of selling their children, which also forms the representation of the adoptee as someone who was sold. This 'being sold' representation fits in with the previously mentioned representation of adoption as a business.

Journalists also make different descriptions between foreign adoptive parents and domestic adoptive parents. As mentioned above foreign adoptive parents are often described as buyers rather than parents. However domestic (Korean) adoptive parents are described in a more humane way. A word "*childless*" is used, which can provoke sympathy for those who cannot have their own child. Therefore even if the context of the expression is critical to domestic adoptive parents regarding the bloodline ideology, it tends to be more acceptable. Interestingly, 'infertility' remains unspoken in foreign cases. This repression (Billig, 2006) creates different representations of foreign versus

Korean adoptive parents, as well as the bloodline ideology, which leads to the next section concerning Koreans and others.

5. 1. 7. Koreans and others

Article 172 states: “*The government issued a new policy to restrict transnational adoption to protect the prestige of Korea*”. It is taken for granted that transnational adoption has a bad influence on the nation, therefore in order to protect national prestige people or the government should stop sending children abroad. This view toward transnational adoption has changed. In the 1950s Korea was quite poor and had great difficulties to support raising orphans at a societal level, and there were too many orphans caused by the war. Therefore, transnational adoption was generally believed to be more acceptable. Since then, Korean economy has developed and national self-esteem has risen, but, as a consequence, transnational adoption is automatically related to something embarrassing. Adoption becomes not only a humane matter, but also a social matter, involving emotions of pride and shame

In Article 225, the journalist tries to inspire Korean national pride. Foreign mothers in northern European countries who want their children to be adopted are described as “*unhealthy*”, “*drug abuser*”, or “*alcoholic*”. By this categorization they are connected to a negative or ‘bad’ social representation and, contrarily, Korean mothers will be connected with a better one (cf. Blakar, 1979). It details an interview comment from Norwegian social authority:

“[...] Mr. Manskov who is in charge of adoption in the Norwegian social ministry, mentioned that Korean children were known for being healthy and being better at acclimating to local customs than any other foreign children, so many people prefer to adopt them”. Healthy Korean adoptees in Northern Europe. *Chosun Ilbo*. 19.08.1982

Korean adopted children are praised as “*healthy*” and “*better at acclimating to local customs*”. It contrasts to “*unhealthy*” foreign mothers and contributes to a ‘positive’ representation of Koreans. Transnational adoption is often related to something shameful, therefore the Korean media often try to re-structure its representation in order to make it appear “better” and thus less shameful. It also demonstrates the bloodline principle that whoever the children are, wherever they grow up, as long as they are related by blood to Koreans, they will be categorized as Korean.

Tajfel (1981) suggests in Social Identity Theory that a group exists if members identify themselves with the group. According to this theory identifying is a form of categorization. The members of the group not only categorize the character of the group but also distinguish their group from other groups. Here, this article gives an example of an in-group comparing themselves positively with contrasting outgroups in order to achieve a need for a positive social identity.

Korean children are described as “*being popular*” and “*being preferred*”. Even if these are positive words, they invoke a notion of business, choice and consumption. Adoption is originally a humane process, however since it consists of exchanges of money and people, it is often criticized as ‘baby selling,’ ‘human trafficking’ or ‘export/import (Hübinette, 2006). This article implicitly represents adopted children as a product, which might make readers construct negative representation about adoption.

Article 225 provides certain descriptions of ‘us and others’ as the prototype (Rosch, 1975). One example is the use of “*Dark hair*” for Asian and “*Blonde and blue eyes*” for Norwegians or Northern Europeans. These representative ‘cognitive references’ help readers categorize objects with common features. By social

categorization, readers can reinforce their representations of both inner and outer characteristics (Augoustinos, et al., 2006).

In Article 225, adoptees are described as “*Korean girl*”, “*girl from Korea*”, “*Korean daughters*” and “*Korean children*”. Even though they probably have acquired foreign citizenship and do not have any knowledge of Korea, the journalist still categorizes them as Korean. This again may be related to the bloodline ideology as Koreans tend to regard everyone who shares Korean bloodline as a Korean in any contexts, as mentioned previously and in Shin (2006). This implicit premise is reflected in the text, and the text thus functions to reinforce the same representation among the readers. Therefore adoptees still are categorized as Korean.

As it is shown in Article 225, transnational adoption is often related to Korean national pride. This connection is also presented in Article 263. It is explicit about a “*high demand for Korean children*” and that Koreans adoptees are “*smart and better at acclimating to local customs*”. Phrases such as “*shade of those colorful descriptions as \$ 3728.00 national income*” or “*winning fourth rank in Olympic Games*” are also included. In Korean society economic development has been prioritized since the Korean War (Yi, 2004), therefore reaching higher national income serves as a yardstick measure of how ‘good’ the country is.

The journalist presents the voices which urge the government’s role in adoption process in Article 824. In the previous articles the counter plans are more societal and vague, however here the news story contains more obvious and clear suggestions. It also shows the change of social representations of adoption. It has been changed into an issue which people can talk about in public and which is more accepted with a positive valence (Osgood, 1962; Rommetveit, 2003).

6. Discussion

In this thesis, I have identified some of the social representations of adoption and ideologies mirroring fundamental characteristics of Korean society, by means of studying how issues of adoption are presented in Korean newspapers. As mentioned earlier, this study is conducted by integrating quantitative and qualitative methods. Thus, some of my discussion is already presented in qualitative analysis. In the present discussion chapter, I lay emphasis on discussing findings based on method combination, especially with regard to observation of themes and topics which appear to be repressed (Billig, 2006) from discourse.

Before the discussion of findings, it is necessary to address some further limitation of this mixed methodology (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998 in Nafstad, Carlquist, & Blakar, 2004) as applied in the present study. Findings from analysis need to be carefully interpreted on account of the representativity of the material. Newspapers do not only transmit news but also promote public opinion (Perse, 2001). Therefore, newspapers to a certain extent reflect social attitudes and ideology, and different newspapers non-identically reflect various aspects of society as differing ideological contributions are provided by various newspapers (Nafstad et al., 2007). The selected newspaper, Chosun Ilbo is generally believed to be conservative. Thus, ideally several newspapers should have been targeted and a correlation test with other newspapers with different profiles should have been conducted in order to ensure a higher degree of representativity (Nafstad et al, 2007, in press; Nafstad, Carlquist, & Blakar, 2004) However, Chosun Ilbo is the only newspaper which allows analysis pre-Korean war. Moreover, Chosun Ilbo provides sufficient enough articles for both quantitative and qualitative analyses. In addition, by combining the quantitative and qualitative analyses

I have provided a relevant and more thorough description of ideology in a society within the adoption field than what a single methodology would have allowed. Thus, I feel confident that this study can provide insight on ideological discourses and changes on the societal level, despite this limitation. However, several of the sub-categories applied in the quantitative analysis could not capture expected ideological shifts. This problem may be caused by the limitation of material, pointing to the need for further studies.

As described in figure 1, the number of adoption articles increased during the 1990s and 2000s. However, this increasing trend does not happen concurrently with the actual increase of adoption, in fact, the numbers of adoptees has decreased during the same period (Ministry for Health, welfare and family affairs, 2006). This inconsistency between the large number of adoptees and the relatively low number of adoption articles in the 1970s and the 1980s provides the notion of repression of adoption as a topic in the media (Billig, 2006). The newspaper rarely presents adoption as an issue in the beginning of the period with exceptions of certain articles which treat adoption as the 'core theme'. However, adoption starts to appear in the 1990s, thus recovering from this past repression. According to quantitative findings from the 'co-theme' sub-category, adoption becomes less in focus in the articles across time. Adoption thus no longer is required to be a core theme to be expressed in the article, it exists in the context of other phenomena, as it does in society. This shift allows us to interpret that adoption has become a more accepted and acknowledged phenomenon among members of Korean society.

As mentioned above, the numbers of transnational adoptees were relatively larger in the 1970s and 1980s. However, according to the 'sending/visiting' sub-

category, articles related to sending children are presented much less often in the 1970s than in prior periods. Transnational adoption began by means of necessity after the devastating post war situation (Ha, 2003), thus transnational adoption might have been more likely to be discursively acceptable for members of Korean society. However, this ‘acceptable’ representation of transnational adoption changes along with economic development in Korea. Korean society is no longer poor, rather it has built wealth well enough to afford to take care of orphans within the nation, and thus it becomes difficult for Koreans to comply with the fact that Koreans send even more children out of the country than when Korea was poor. Therefore, the topic of sending children away can be said to be repressed from media discourse in the present time (Billig, 2006). The representation of transnational adoption has changed into something one should stop. Cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957) is likely to arise from the fact that Koreans keep doing even in larger scale what they should stop. Such dissonance contributes to the social repression of the adoption issue, particularly the aspects of ‘sending’.

This repression can be understood as related to the feeling of guilt. Articles provide representation of adoptees as those who want to come back to Korea (‘sending/visiting’ sub-category), find their ‘real’ parents (‘reunion’ sub-category), whose life has been problematic (‘conflict’ sub-category) and who are treated as goods or commodities (‘business’ category). Koreans are likely to feel sorry and sad for adoptees since they do not stay where they ‘belong’, as well as guilt since Korean society seemingly cannot afford adoptees to stay. Based on these emotions, Koreans tends not to confront adoptees in the media, thus the adoption issue is repressed. At the same time, the ‘adoptee gender’ sub-category provides the finding that articles with female adoptees are more frequent than male ones.

As Kim (1996) presented, there are more female adoptions than male adoption, a phenomenon which is seemingly related to a notion of preferring a son to a daughter. However, only 3.7% of articles are scored by 'gender preference' sub-category. This inconsistency might imply that the existing notion of preferring a son to a daughter is another aspect of adoption which is discursively repressed in the society.

Negative word usage contributes to create negative emotions (Blakar, 1979). In the 1980s, the description of adoptees as 'being abandoned' is presented at the largest scale (23.2% of articles), furthermore, articles conveying a negative attitude most frequently appear in 1980s (14.3%) compared to other periods. Abandonment is occasionally taken for granted in the adoption articles, and it also creates a feeling of guilt. Adoptees are being abandoned not only by 'biological parents' but also by 'Korean society'. Korean society is commonly understood as one family related by blood (Chang, 2005; Shin, 2006), thus adoptees are members of a family whom the family cannot take care of. A feeling of guilt is produced, which in turn will shape the production and reading of further texts. .

There are many countries with abandoned children, however not every country sends those children to other countries. That those 'abandoned children' seemingly are not able to be taken care of by Koreans seems more adequate as a main, fundamental reason of the transnational adoption. However, it is not easy for Koreans to comply with this uncomfortable fact. As illustrated in the qualitative analysis section, the media compromise the public by offering distorted or even false causation, which accuses someone else for being responsible, in this case, biological mothers.

The blaming of biological mothers, often unmarried mothers, for transnational adoption, provides an omission of children from adoption discourse. This omission

serves to strengthen accusations of unmarried mothers about this uncomfortable situation, and then it allows the public to disconnect themselves as a part of the problem. As shown in the qualitative analysis examples, journalists provide a counter plan regarding how to decrease the emergence of ‘abandoned’ children rather than what to do with them. The interest of children is often omitted from the adoption discourse, even though they are at the center of the phenomenon. This lack of societal concern children is often revealed in the analysis of media coverage of the adoption issue.

Articles also provide another way of comforting as a way of countering the feeling of guilt. Both the ‘visit’ and ‘reunion’ sub-categories show increasing trends. The notion that adoptees still love Korea and Koreans despite the ‘abandonment’ can help Koreans feel better. If adoptees dislike or are indifferent to Korea, then Koreans’ feeling of guilt would remain. However, the presented social reality that adoptees still come back where they belong in spite of earlier abandonment functions to relieve Koreans of guilt. The rising frequency of those two sub-categories indicates an increasingly positive social or national identity of Korea as ‘being wanted’ or ‘being forgiven’. This development is also compatible with the trends of the ‘reputation of nation’ and ‘global perspective’ sub-categories. In later periods, there are more articles which relate adoption with positive national reputation and with positive global perspective than in prior periods. It is likely that media are increasingly creating positive representation of adoption in the most recent periods. This interpretation is also related to the observation that repression is gradually diminishing in the context, thus adoption as a phenomenon is becoming more acknowledged in Korean society.

The ‘reunion’ representation takes it for granted that the adoptee is still a member of family, not only on the micro (personal) level, but also macro (societal or

national) level. In order to produce a social identity, making a clear distinction of the ‘group’ is necessary (Tajfel, 1981), thus the categorization of ‘Korean’ is frequently produced in the articles, often based on bloodline ideology. In a number of articles, journalists make comparisons between Korean and foreigners, and often provide positive representation of Koreans. By this comparison a favorable bias toward the in-group, Korea and Koreans, to which they ‘belong’, is developed.

The sharing of social representations in a social group strongly influences the social identity of group members, thus the social representations of adoption affects Koreans to develop their social identity, reflecting the bloodline ideology. In this way, the adoption discourse reinforces notions of ‘Koreanness’.

7. Conclusion

In this thesis, I have presented a longitudinal study using Korean newspaper articles as a way of describing ideological shifts and social representations in the field of adoption, applying both quantitative and qualitative analyses actively. I have argued that it is necessary to include the ideological level of analysis in order to increase the social psychological understanding of a society (Nafstad et al., 2007). My study has demonstrated that adoption processes embrace something more than a welfare policy. Shifts in representations of the adoption field in Korea are clearly connected to historical shifts, and thus to societal development itself.

As presented, many issues relevant to adoption e.g. having sex before marriage, lack of social facilities, notion of preferring a son to a daughter, have been repressed from discourse (Billig, 2006), thus reflecting ideologies of Korean society. At same time, distorted or false causation is often made in media contexts. The responsibility for

large numbers of transnational adoptees is imputed to unmarried mothers. This causation creates negative representations, which become projected upon adoptees also. In addition, a nationalistic attitude is often embedded in the texts. Thus, newspaper articles produce ‘social’ reality (Rommetveit, 1972, 1979) as something taken for granted (Billig, 1995).

The study reveals the reciprocal relations between historical background, taken for granted beliefs and common behaviours (represented through media texts) in a society. The devastating post war situation gave rise to transnational adoption. The inability of affording care of children is suggested to be related to feeling of guilt, which strengthens though the bloodline ideology. Following pitiful or painful emotions, the social issue of transnational adoption became repressed. At the same time, media provided more promoting articles based on dissonance. By realizing these relations further social psychological understanding of Korean society is offered. At the same time, this thesis also presents the complexity of social representations and ideologies.

In addition, across time, adoption has become more accepted and less repressed. The existence of adoption becomes more visible in the texts. Public perceptions of adoption appear to have shifted in a positive direction. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses suggest that, although fears and negative opinions about adoption continue to exist, journalists have begun to state adoption more favourably. Pointing to the large number of positive depictions of adoption in mainstream media, some observers contend that representations have improved. The emergence of a “*new climate*” of adoption, in Wegar’s term (2006), is supported by the present thesis.

8. Reference

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9. Appendices

9. 1. Translated newspaper articles for sample scoring

No. 13 A COMPLICATED LAW SUIT FOR ADOPTION 18.07.1935

Is traditional Chosun (the last dynasty of Korea) conviction related to adoption still valid? Or isn't it? This will be decided at the high court trial in 19th.

The case is relatively simple. *Park Kyoungsu*¹¹ started a suit against *Kim Sungjea* on behalf of her son *Kim Kisik* from *Kyongnam Sanchunggun Chahwangmyun Jangwiri* since he is a quasi incompetent person. It was an action of nullity of adoption. A plaintiff, *Kim Kisik* is a son of *Kim Youngkyu* who past away last year, but he is a child by a concubine. A defendant, *Kim Sungjea* was adopted to *Kim Youngkyu* by family council after *Kim Youngkyu*'s death and became an heir. The reason why the family council decided to adopt *Kim Sungjea* even though *Kim Youngkyu* had a son, *Kim Kisik* was that according to Chosun conviction *Kim Kisik* could not be an heir as long as he was a child by concubine.

However the plaintiff claimed that *Kim Youngkyu* died testate that he wanted *Kim Kisik* to be an heir, besides *Kim Sungjea* was not supposed to be adopted since he was an heir of his own family. In Chosun custom an heir cannot be adopted to other family therefore the adoption of *Kim Sungjea* was invalid, the plaintiff claimed.

The plaintiff lost a suit in a district court and a court of complaint. The judge said that even though an heir was not supposed to be adopted however adoption has been accomplished so parental relationship has been established. Therefore this adoption seemed to be valid according to Chosun tradition. The plaintiff could not accept so he brought an intermediate appeal in high court, and it was accepted. The high court announced that plaintiff's appeal seemed to be reasonable and since it was matter of validity of Chosun conviction, there would be joint trial in 19th. This trial aroused public's interest.

No. 81 VISITING MOTHERLAND AFTER HALF YEAR WITH MOTHER

¹¹ A proper noun, like name of adoptee and name of place is written in Italic letter.

10.06.1958

Po is well raised with the tenderest care by adoptive parents

A kid who was born as mixed-blood child and was abandoned by parent came to visit motherland after half year being adopted to America. She is doing cute things and speaking couple of Korean words like 'Let's go home' and 'Uncle' which she still remembers. This kid is *Lee Porina* who was adopted to Mr. and Mrs. *Raver* who live in Hollywood. She wore nice one-piece dress called her adoptive mother mommy, acted cute and even sang a song. She was found in a wadded baby wrapper in front of Colomba orphanage in *Chungpyong*. She was raised there until she moved to *Chunghyun* orphanage. In last 22nd of January she was adopted to *Raver* family. Mrs. *Raver*, an adoptive mother was looking at her playing and proudly said "She is quite smart and very healthy. I want her to study music when she grows up so I have to be careful to educate her since she is too smart."

Porina remembered Mrs. *Meng* who took care of her while she was in *Chunghyun* orphanage and wanted to be next to her all the time, Mrs. *Meng* said. When *Porina* smiled while she tilted her head and whispered her mother, her face dimpled with a smile sweetly. She came to Korea along with Mrs. *Raver's* visit. Mrs. *Raver* wanted to visit her adopted daughter's homeland. They would visit where *Porina* was brought up during visit.

No. 124 PARENTAL LOVE TO ORPHANS 24.04.1963

Seoul City is driving an adoption campaign.

Sending adoption information to childless family

To make people choose whom they like nursing house and orphanage are widely open.

Seoul City made a large scale adoption plan to give hope to poor orphans and to bring up them ideally. To accomplish this plan Seoul City already conducted a survey of childless family in Seoul from 15th of March until 15th of April. There are 592 households without child in *Yeongdeungpo* district, 446 in *Yongsan* district, 161 in *Jongnu* district, 588 in *Mapo* district, 184 in *Jung* district, 123 in *Seongbuk* district, 498 in *Seongdong* district, 242 *Seodeamun* district and 313 in *Dongdeamun* district. In total there are 3146 households without child which are 0.5 percent of 568856 total households in Seoul.

Seoul City will send information letters with details of adoption application to those childless families, and if they will voluntarily want adoption Seoul City will open orphanages in Seoul for them to help them to choose whom they like best.

The authorities concerned emphasized about this plan that privacy of adoptive parents which they would not want to be revealed would be kept completely secret.

No. 209 A PRIORITY TO DOMESTIC ADOPTION 21.06.1979

The raise of national prestige would be achieved by self-respect.

Every Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday 8 in the morning KAL 901 from Seoul arrives at Paris Orly airport. When adoptive parents try to pull 6~7 years old brother and sister apart children start to cry and make vain effort not

to be apart from each other. The adoptive parents, the immigration controls, the custom controls and employees of airline companies also start to cry when they see children crying not to be separated. French people also moisten at their eyes when they know what it is about.

Even though they are an orphan, but they have grown up in same orphanage, so they are like brother and sister. However, they are adopted to different French families so it might be eternal good bye to each other at Orly airport. This kind of scenes has been repeated over years. Parisians might have seen this at least couple of times. It is too tragic to get used even if employees at airport might have seen hundreds times. Which is more important between brother and sister would live apart in different rich families or brother and sister live together in poverty? This reporter feels terrible to go Orly airport with feeling desperate to make some plans for that. It is part of report by our Paris correspondent 2 months ago, however this kind of story seems will be gone.

Ministry of Health and Society announced a new policy that a group adoption will be prohibited and even in individual adoption adoptive parents should come to Korea and pick adoptee personally on the principle of gradually decreasing transnational adoption and expanding domestic adoption. It is really right thing to do.

An adoption business is basically humane. It is because adoption leads better life to both adoptive parents and adoptee by giving baby who wants and offering parents to children in poor environment. It is essential figure of adoption both domestic and transnational.

However, our transnational adoption has not been just humane which started with war orphan adoption. The bad side of our adoption can be shown obviously by repeated tragic scenes in Orly airport. In adoption procedure adoptee's intention and environment should be concerned first and then, it must be conducted. However, solving orphan problem has been first concern on adoption policy, so this has caused absurd adoptions like group adoption.

We hopefully expect these absurd adoptions would stop from now on. However, in order to do so, social self-consciousness should come first. People have to be aware of avoiding national self-wrong anymore above all things and take an action of the recognition that domestic policy should be prioritized to solve orphan problem, namely adoption problem And then we can avoid transnational adoption which cannot be humane.

Orphans will exist anyhow as it is called, because of single mother and abandoned child. Therefore accommodations for orphans and public management of those should be expanded and improved, and condition of bringing up also should become better. Now it is time that we have to start to show interest in public service as national self-consciousness. To maintain national reputation enhance the prestige of the country we have to make ourselves familiar with self-respect instead of self-wrong.

No. 253 NO. 1 IN THE WORLD OF EXPORTING ORPHANS 24.04.1988

There have been continuously reports which focus on transnational adoption from Korea on American mass media to introduce Korea because of 88 Seoul Olympic nowadays. American mass media shows surprise to that Korea sends thousands orphans abroad every year as describing Korea as "No. 1 country in the world on exporting orphans."

NBC, one of the three major American broadcastings finished collecting news material and planed to televise in September before Seoul Olympic, and other newspapers and magazines also planed special reports.

New York Times pointed out that 6 thousand Korean orphans abandoned by unmarried mothers were exported in form of adoption, and Korean government not only is aware of this malpractice but also supports this on column 'Seoul Journal' last 21st.

This report criticized Korea as Korean started 'exporting orrphan' in 50s because of devastated situation after Korean war however this undeveloped custom still happens after Korea has developed rapid economic development and is about to hold Olympic games. In addition to that this report quoted one Korean government official that the reason why there are many Korean adoptees is not because that Korea is poor, it is because Confucian tradition which makes Korean not want to adopt and raise other children whose parents are irresponsible, so Korean government just looks transnational adoption with folded arms in a dilemma.

This newspaper also mentioned that there are 4 adoption agencies in Korea and they charge 4000 dollars for one adopted child as a fee. Korean children are 59 percents of all transnational adopted children to America and 90 percents of adoptions arranged by adoption agency like Korean case.

It is really shameful to think how long this dilemma would continue, which we already know but we do not want to open our eyes and see.

No. 353 ADULTS DECIDE CHIDREN'S LIVES AS THEY WISH THIS TRADEGY MUST STOP 29.05.1994

The malevolence of Mrs. Schuvalie who was adopted to France 11 years old

Missed her homeland with tears

Decided "Forget about country which abandoned me" 15 years old

Korean government and people should start domestic adoption campaign

"I cried a lot when I was thinking about why I am here, who I am. However my homeland was too far away whenever I cried." Mrs. *Katrine Shuvalie's* (34, nurse *France Leman*) soak voice was wobbled like scream.

"Why does Korea still continue expatriation which means that adults decide children's own lives as they wish? Hasn't Korea developed economically enough?"

Even though she made a family with French and even has a son *Giyum* (5), however there seem to be malevolence in her heart which was made by her abandoned past.

She was abandoned by mother in June '60, 6 months after birth. She was found next to an American foundation building in *Deajun* with lung trouble. There were documents about her father died by lung trouble and her mother's name *Goo Sunseo* in the bag which was found with her. She was raised in foster care family by American foundation's help and was adopted to French family in September '71. She described that she was expatriated to France 11 years old. A different appearance than others, French girls who were hard to be close, vivid memories about home country, a grunge against her mother whom she doesn't remember how she looks.

Everything in foreign country and everyday lives were combat beyond little girl's power.

“I wrote Korean in notebook and counted in Korean. I just wanted to let teacher know about my situation by any means.” However, she finally chose a way of complete self denial. “I stop corresponding with foster mother. I denied writing and speaking Korean. It was to be perfect French. My resistance was useless, it was obviously forced choice.”

She could not open her heart to anyone even to heartwarming adoptive parents. She could be finally settled after she met her current husband in '89. However the present stabilization could not make her sad past beautiful.

“I just live in France, my root is still Korean. We, adoptees think Koreans coward who do not take care of children of their nation by themselves. From now on Korean government and Koreans should start huge campaign for adopting their own children by themselves.”

She said “I have always had desire to look for my mother and my root,” and “It would not be as strong as before, I would be happy if I would meet my birth mother,” then wiped her tears away.

No. 806 NEWSWRITER'S POCKETBOOK SAYING GOOD BYE TO GRANDMA HOLT 10.08.2000

Many Korean adoptees attended a funeral of Mrs. *Holt*, ‘an eternal grandmother of Korean orphans’ in Holt welfare town *Ilsan Kyounggi* in last 9th. Disabled persons and mental disabled persons also cried in front of the picture of the late Mrs. Holt.

Mrs. Holt had arranged 70352 adoptions from '55 until '99. The official adoption agencies including Holt have sent 143144 children abroad by adoption. As a result Korea has been attached to stigma as ‘No. 1 country in exporting children.’

Therefore someone accused adoption agencies like Holt as that “these agencies like Holt took a big role to attach this stigma to us.”

Then, what has our society done for these abandoned children? Korea's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) reached 406700 million dollar which ranked 13th in the world. Despite this large size of economy Korea sent 2049 children abroad to be adopted last year. It is still terrible ,sometimes even harsh that caring and concerns of the neglected neighbors like disabled or orphans.

Mr. *Stephan Sterling* (54, Korean name *Cho Myung soo*) who was always teased because he walks lame graduated a big-name school and succeeded as chief executive officer after he was adopted to America in '66. Mr. Sterling said in interview, “I could live as a person, not as a limper anymore in America.” One 40s years old patriarch also said in funeral “Everyone excluded me because I'm orphan, but Mrs. Holt was different who raised me up” with tears.

The persons concerned from adoption agencies made cynical remarks about “many Koreans say do not send children abroad to be adopted anymore in name only, but it is hard to meet Korean who wants to adopt other kids.”

At this moment I think what we need is not criticism about transnational adoption, it is courageous practice to offer home with full of love to abandoned children.

9. 2. Translated newspaper articles for qualitative analysis

No. 172 Unmarried mothers are increasing 13.03.1975

280% increased compared to 1972...most of them in the industrial complex

Report caused by fire accident of 'the Angel House'

The fire accident of 'the Angel House', which led us lose the angels, airs a forgotten dirty linen of modern Korean society; it is not only reports tragic death of infants which is related to humane side, but also outspokenly reports about social ills in a timely manner. The fact is that all of the 14 burnt to death infants were from unmarried mothers, and it is a direct representation of changed concept of orphan in Korea, from war- or poverty- orphan to unmarried mother- or immortality-orphan.

According to statistics from the Department of Society in major cities, the numbers of unmarried mother-orphan have been increased average of 30% at the end of 1972, and those numbers have been increased 280% at the end of 1974. The seed of tragedy has been increased rapidly in newly built industrial complexes.

According to the Christian Adoption Agency which counsels unmarried mothers, the age of the youngest unmarried mother is getting lower; the age of the youngest unmarried mother in 1967 was 14 years old, but in last year was 12 years old who goes to the Elementary school. This demonstrates the level of immorality is getting worse. Among the fathers of unmarried mother-orphan, about 70% of them are young and never been married man, so it truly represents deeper understanding of sexual moral among young generation.

The tragic caused by 1) increasing employed teenage girls due to industrialization, 2) decreasing authority of a guardian due to the change of family dynamic, and 3) degrading sexual moral due to indulging the horizontal foreign culture instead of the vertical traditional culture, contains exponential increase of social situation.

On the other hand, adoption which is considered as the only way to save this seed of tragedy also has many problems. The government issued a new policy to restrict transnational adoption to protect prestige of Korea. In addition, traditional custom and lack of adoption regulations opens a 'tiny door' in history to people who actually needs to be saved.

Parents who want to adopt a child to maintain their bloodline still choose a child, who is related by blood to them. Even though some parents want to adopt a child who is not related by blood to them, civil law refers that a child cannot have headship of parents' possession, including house, unless a child is related to parents by blood. All these conditions make parents to give up adoption.

Furthermore, according to civil law, parents should register adoptee as an adoptee in a family registration even though general idea is parents want to register and raise adoptee as a biological child. There is no regulation of giving up parental authority to prevent biological parents show up and ask ownership of parental power in few years after adoption. These are also one of main reason why adoption is so hard.

The occasions of half-burned bottles and baby toys and death of burnt angels are necessary to consider a counter plan to reduce the number of unmarried mothers and improved regulation to protect them as soon as possible, so the Government takes social responsibility of these innocent deaths.

First of all, restrain teenagers by re-establish authority of a guardian; second, prevent female employees in industrial complexes from some possible options by management; and third, improve knowledge to resist evil temptation by educating healthy relationship in school and work.

In addition, for these unfortunate seeds, either government or big companies should invest facilities to protect unmarried mother-orphans in domestic agencies instead of transnational adoption. Before that, government should reconsider regulations that mentioned before as soon as possible.

No. 197 Living with bringing up parental affection 27.04.1977

Orphan adoption is increasing

Busan Children Counseling Office investigates during last 4 years

The number of childless couples who came to children counseling office to look for adoption has been increasing.

Busan Children Counseling Office reports that until 25th of this year, 83 families wanted to adopt children. Among them, 32 families have already adopted a boy or a girl through counseling office.

The couples who want to adopt babies are in their 40s and live in middle-class. During their marriage over 10 years, they could not have a baby, so they gave up “giving a birth”; instead they choose to have “fostering birth”.

At this moment, there are 3 adoption agencies, including Busan Children Counseling Office. These agencies will have a first meeting with the couple who want adoption, and investigate their home environment secretly. If the family is suitable for adoption, the agency and the couple go to an orphanage together and being introduced the babies. These couples mostly want a baby of an unmarried mother since the couple think babies are cleaner and healthier because of their unmarried mothers. After they choose a baby, they fill up the adoption form and bring the baby.

Mrs. An, the counselor of the office, said “It has never been happened that adoptee returned in last 4 years.” The adoptive parents generally have deeper parental affection with their child.

The couple who adopted the baby usually moves out right after they bring their child to home. It is to prevent the notice of their adoption by neighbor.

The story of one lady from last winter who couldn't have a baby because of extrauterine pregnancy is really tearful.

The wife (27) and the husband (32) decided to adopt a baby, so she started to bind up her belly as if she was pregnant to deceive her neighbors. In the end of last March, counseling office informed her that there was an infant of an unmarried mother who was 10 days old.

The wife said good bye to neighbors that she would go to her parents' home to deliver a baby. She picked the baby at the counseling office and went to her parents' home.

After staying one month at her parents' home, she came back and said “Even though it was a 8 month premature baby, he is doing fine,” to neighbors.

Busan Children Counseling Office started to arrange adoption process since 1973. There were 41 adoptees in 1973, 39 adoptees in 1974, 44 adoptees in 1975, 92 adoptees in last year, and 32 adoptees in this year, all together there were 248 adoptees.

According to sex, there were more boys in 1973 (25 boys and 17 girls) but there were same numbers, 46 boys and girls, in last year. In this year, there are even more girls, 17 out of 32. By age, younger than one year was extreme (92%), and 1~2 year was next.

Based on 44 adoptees in 1975, there are 2.1 times more adoptees in 1976, and almost 3 times more adoptees in 1977.

The head of office said that ‘the phrase, “childless is the most comfortable living” should be gone at this moment.’

No. 225 Healthy Korean adoptees in Northern Europe 19.08.1982

Adoptive parents are so satisfied.

Mostly Norway and Denmark

Being popular since they are good at acclimating to local customs.

It is common to see Asian children with dark hair walking with adoptive parents with blonde, blue eyes in Oslo, the capital city of Norway.

This scene is common in not only Oslo but also small rural towns. It found out that most of Asian adoptees are from Korea.

Mr. and Mrs. Helen (39, accountant) who live in Drammen (close to Oslo, 12000 inhabitants) have adopted 3 girls from Korea. A neighbor who adopted Korean girl (now 2nd grade in junior high school) boasted that ‘It became much less lonely for me after adopting a girl than living without kids.’ It encouraged Mr. and Mrs Helen to contact to Holt agency in 1975 and adopted a 6 months old abandoned girl from Korea. They thought their daughter might be getting lonely as she grew up, so they adopted another girl 3 years later. After that, they wanted to have more children, so they adopted a 3 months old girl as a third daughter.

Now the eldest daughter (7) and the second daughter (6) are in their responsible age and still follow their adopted parents without any constraint, so Mr. and Mrs. Helen just love their ‘three Korean daughters.’

Maria (sophomore in college, just turned to 19 years old) who was adopted to Mr. Bredrup’s (50) family in Drammen, south from Oslo, ten years ago said “It was awkward for the first few months when I was 9 years old, I came to this country as a daughter of a foreigner who has a different skin color. Now, I would be more uncomfortable if my biological mother would show up and introduce herself, comparing to how I felt when I first met my adoptive parents.”

In this family, there are 3 healthy Korean children; Maria, her younger brother (14, second grade in junior high), and her younger sister (13, first grade in junior high).

Not only in Norway but also in Sweden and Denmark, 60 to 70% of adoptive families usually adopted 2 or 3 children from Korea. Adoptive parents explain that if a child has siblings then he or she feels less lonely and it helps to be more harmonious in the family. It is not necessary that the adoptive family is childless. Even if they have their own children, many families adopt children after their children get married. It seems like those adoptive parents are rich enough but they cannot bear loneliness at home as they get older.

Of course there are a few adoptive families who want to adopt children from their own country, but most of them adopt foreign children like Korean. It is because there are only few adoptable children in their country, and the mothers of children whom the government suggests to adopt are mostly unhealthy as drug abuser or alcoholics, so adoptive parents hesitate to adopt them.

Among countries which adopted foreign children, Norway and Denmark adopted Korean children the most.

In Norway there were 227 adopted children from Korea of 442 foreign adoptees in total, which is more than half. Children from Columbia (70 adoptees) and children from India (58 adoptees) were next. In Denmark there were 252 adopted children from Korea out of 556 foreign adoptees, which is almost 50%.

Why there are so many Korean adoptees in these countries? Mr. Mankov who is in charge of adoption in the Norwegian social ministry, mentioned that Korean children were known for being healthy and being better at acclimating to local customs than any other foreign children, so many people prefer to adopt them.

It seems people do not worry about the numbers of Korean children increasing in Scandinavian which shows low population density.

One lady who runs a glossary store at Shedelberg Street in Copenhagen, Denmark said that many neighbors were adopting foreign children. "There are huge differences in appearance and clothes among the same ethnic group, so we don't look strange just because they have different skin color." She also mentioned that it seemed people were getting indifferent about race since there are more and more different races coming in this country through international marriage and immigration.

There is one concern for Korean adoptees; when they reach puberty after childhood they can be emotionally sensitive and can deviate from the right path because of their miserable history.

According to this concern, Mr. and Mrs. Gel Hanson in Copenhagen (high school teacher), sometimes teach Korean culture and traditions to their two Korean children, 16 years old and 13 years old, and let them correspond with Korean pen pal friends.

It can't be proud that we cannot take care of our poor children by ourselves and send them away to be adopted.

Actually some people doubt the necessity of transnational adoption and question why we should keep transnational adoption. However, if we cannot take care of those abandoned children as well as normal children with family, it might be necessary to arrange transnational adoption for those children's future. This is my impression after this trip.

No. 230 The adoption of children of unmarried mothers is being inactive 26.10.1983

Most people hesitate to do...the facilities for them are in very short supply

Mr. Kim, the chairman of the Holt Agency reports

As the age of unmarried mothers who visit social welfare office are getting younger, unmarried mothers and teenage pregnancy became a huge social problem. Therefore, a counter plan should be considered.

Mr. Kim, the chairman of the Holt Agency announced a serious problem of unmarried mothers and got public's attention at the social welfare conference about 'An Advanced Motherland and Social Welfare' held by Korean Social Welfare Association on 25th, 26th at Seoul Hyatt Hotel.

Mr. Kim announced that more than half of 1261 unmarried mothers who came to Holt Agency for adoption counseling in 1982 were low-educated, being raised in poor family, and left parents and worked at badly paid job. That is 55% of unmarried mothers were between 21~25 years old and more than half of them did not finish junior high school. 46% of them were from broken home and more than half of them left home to make money.

The unmarried mothers who came to Holt agency gave up their babies because 'it was unplanned and I do not want to raise my baby,' or 'I cannot be together with the father of the baby.' 46% of them sent their babies for adoption.

However, there is one huge obstacle on its way to solve this problem of unmarried mothers, Mr. Kim indicated. A notion of preferring a son to a daughter is still deeply engaged in Korean society, so most of the abandoned children are girls. These girls can hardly be adopted domestically. Families who want to adopt a baby do not want children of unmarried mothers and mostly want to adopt a boy. Shortage of places to take care of those children temporarily before adoption is also a huge problem, Kim said.

In western society, the social view of unmarried mothers has changed; the unmarried mothers who raise their children by themselves have been increasing. Unmarried mothers and their children are protected by laws, such as approval as a legitimate child, approval of headship, regulation of duty of biological father, appointment of guardian, etc., it was said.

There are the ways to ease the problem of unmarried mothers, presented by Mr. Kim: 'strengthening the education of birth control,' 'expanding and supporting private help center,' 'legal regulations for unmarried mothers and children,' 'securing and specializing women counselors,' and 'the campaign of guidance of unmarried women by women associations'.

He especially emphasized sex education for teenagers, and supports, medical care, and rehabilitation services for unmarried parents to strengthening the education of birth control.

People especially paid attention to the serious problem of increasing teenage pregnancy in this report. It was discussed the importance of sex education for teenagers who are in their school age, since the negative effect of teenage pregnancy caused huge burden and loss to neighbors and society around them.

No. 263 The orphan who is not an orphan, 'An abandoned child' 12.02.1989

The competition to adopted Korean children....100 to 1 in America

Transnational adoption is 10 times more beneficial than domestic adoption

Unmarried mothers, employees in industrial complex take 54% part

While industrialization and urbanization have been deepened and allowed people to enjoy economical affluence, more than 10,000 children are being abandoned every year at this moment.

In addition, those abandoned children cannot be adopted domestically so more than half of them are sent abroad for transnational adoption, which put into shade of those colorful descriptions as ‘\$ 3728.00 national income’ or ‘winning fourth rank in Olympic games.’

The transnational adoption which started in the ruins and hunger right after Korean War is still continued even though our economy has been improved to the level of other industrially advanced nations in 30 years. The size of this adoption is of ‘world class’ scale.

The January of last year, a few months before the Olympic Games, an American news magazine, ‘Progressive’ reported that ‘Korean earned foreign currency around \$15,000.000 to \$ 20,000.000 by a special export business, called the ‘baby exporting business’ in the article with the title of ‘We Sell Babies.’

Recently, British newspaper, ‘Daily Telegraph’ also reported that ‘Korea resumed the ‘baby trading’ which they stopped during the Olympic Games.’ ‘There are many adoption applicants who would like to pay 2, 3 times more than the established fee.’ There have been many critical articles about transnational adoption in foreign mass media.

Many Koreans feel angry and shamed about this.

Unmarried mothers and abandoned children: A transnational adoption is fundamentally caused by the increasing number of abandoned children. It is started with spreading the trends of being open to sexual relationships and negligence of life which lead to increasing number of unmarried mothers who gave up their legal guardianship.

Ms. Kim (19) who is working at an electronic company became an unmarried woman since the man who promised marriage ran away. She met a man who was working at the factory next to her work place in late 1987 and started to live together after they promised their marriage. However last September, two months before the expected date, he suddenly did not come home. She went to his work place and asked about him, and found out that he already quit his job. She delivered her baby at the hospital and gave up her legal guardianship. She gave her baby to the social welfare office through doctor’s recommendation.

Among unmarried mothers, the proportion of factory workers like Ms. Kim is overwhelming. According to recent survey of 310 unmarred mothers by Department of Population and Health Services demonstrated that 54% of them were factory workers and 37% of unmarried fathers were also factory workers.

There are more than 10,000 abandoned children each year caused by giving up their legal guardianship like Ms. Kim.

According to Department of Health and Society, since 1980 through present, there are 105,326 abandoned children.

More than 60% of these abandoned children are infants of unmarried mothers who gave up her legal guardianships. Rests of them are from extremely poor families, broken families, or divorced families, and having disabilities.

Current situation of transnational adoption: The transnational adoption began in 1958 by the late Mr. Holt who adopted mix-blooded children who were abandoned during Korean War. In the beginning, several social welfare agencies participated voluntarily, but at this moment there are 4 officially licensed agencies which arrange adoption process.

Between 1970 and 1975, government tried to stop adoption to European countries and repress transnational adoption. However, it restarted to restrictedly send children to European countries in 1975, and in 1981 transnational adoption was encouraged as a way of 'immigration enlargement and non-governmental diplomacy,' so the numbers of adoption has been increased rapidly.

Due to this, foreign countries criticize that 'Korean government solves the difficult social problem, abandoned children and orphans, and earns foreign money instead of spending some.'

According to Department of Health and Society, there have been 116,222 transnational adoptees from 50s through the end of last year. There have been 73,407 children sent to America, which account to 63% of the total number. France comes second, 9,672 adoptees, Sweden 7,310 and Denmark 7,190. There are more than 90% adoptees in America and European countries. It is caused by the fact that there are many people who enjoy economical wellness, but do not want to give a birth. Instead, they want to adopt children from abroad to relieve tedium, to enjoy the life of raising children, and to have a normal family life.

Especially according to American immigration, there were 5,749 Korean adoptees in 1987 and 6,150 in 1986, so Korean adoptees accounted to 60% of all foreign adoptees in America.

The reason why there are so many adoptees in America is that there are so many Americans who want to adopt children. It is known that there are 2 million couples want to adopt children. However there are only 20,000 children coming to America to be adopted, so American parents must compete 1 against 100.

The trend of increasing transnational adoption in the 1980s is clearly shown when comparing the trend in the 1960s. In the 1960s, the decades of having war-orphans after Korean War, there were only 7,885 transnational adoptees. In the 1980s, until late last year, there were 62,312 transnational adoptees, which is 8 times increased.

On the other hand, the number of domestic adoption is very small. Since 1980 to late last year, there were only 27,129 domestic adoptees, which is less than half of transnational adoptees. Especially, in the early 80s, there were more than 3,000 domestic adoptees every year, but it decreased after 1985. There were only 2,324 domestic adoptees last year.

Department of Health and Society and adoption agencies presented that the tradition of maintaining bloodline is the main reason of low domestic adoption rate.

Actually, the statistics of domestic adoption by the Department of Health and Society in 1987 mentioned that 66% of adoption is for childless families to want to have children, 16% is for maintain their blood line, 15% for harmony of families, and only 2% of poor children's welfare.

According to adoption agencies, due to the fact that people want to adopt children for maintaining their bloodline, adoptive parents ask several things, such as blood type, last name, health, appearance, and intelligence. They even ask about college degrees of the biological parents of the baby. Therefore, it is impossible to be domestically adopted if a child is too old, biological parents' history is unclear, and a child is unhealthy.

The problem of adoption agency: The 4 adoption agencies which arrange transnational adoption run by supporters' donation and their own profit, without government subsidy. Adoption fee while arranging transnational adoption, flight fee, and honorarium are the main source for these agencies. Therefore, they have to arrange more transnational adoptions to ensure their funds.

Right now, the adoption fee is regulated by the exemption law of adoption. It is \$1,450.00 per child, which is the living cost for 6 months. In addition, flight fee is charged. Some amount of honorarium is common when adoptive parents pick up a child. The estimated cost per one adoptee in America is about 4 to 6 thousand US dollars. Compared to domestic adoption cost, 350,000 won (around \$600.00), transnational adoption costs almost 10 times more.

Because of the cost, adoption agencies are competing to secure more children of unmarried mothers who gave up their guardianship or children who live in the facilities in order to send more children abroad to be adopted.

Ms. Lee (31), an adoption agency worker, said, "The agency even threatens workers by reducing salary if we aren't able to secure assigned numbers of children in order to encourage transnational adoption." Workers often go to the women's medical clinic or maternity hospitals which are located around industrial complexes to ask, "Please contact to me, if you have an infant," with some presents.

In addition, agencies pay for delivery when an unmarried mother promises to give up her baby for adoption or a hospital informs them when unmarried mother comes. They also try to secure unmarried mothers beforehand by advertising 'unmarried mother counseling' in weekly magazines which unmarried mothers might read.

The unmarried mothers who are secured are sent to shelter of unmarried mothers when they are closed to their due date and give birth. As soon as giving birth, they are asked to filling a form to give up their babies, and agencies start looking for adoptive parents for transnational adoption.

According to the last inspection of the administration conducted by the National Assembly, subsidies to unmarried mothers by these 4 adoption agencies are as much as 378,000 Won (about \$648,000.00) in 1987. In addition, they spent 295,000 won (about \$505,715.00) for secret service fund or arrangement fee, so it is shown that agencies spent a certain amount of money to secure children.

It is common to ask for escort adoptees to residences abroad who visit Korea, students studying abroad, or employees who work at the Embassy in order to save the flight fee. In this case, the person who escort adoptees get paid two thirds of his or her flight ticket and the agency can save more than a half of the flight fee which the adoptive parents paid.

Since there have been many critics about this, representatives of 4 agencies made the resolution, called 'Prohibiting unfair behaviors of selecting children.' They offered, 'Stop making or giving out advertising materials of

selecting children,' 'Stop negotiating to undertake children,' 'Stop supporting facilities or institutions related to selecting children,' and 'Stop publishing advertisement on media' as a practical plan.

High demand for Korean children in abroad is also an important reason why there is high competition. Korean adoptees are known as smart and better at acclimating to local customs, besides it costs less than adoption from any other countries.

Counter plan: Transnational adoption helps many abandoned children in a certain level since domestic adoption hardly happens. Especially children with disabilities, such as mentally or physically disabled, can live happily through transnational adoption since it is almost impossible to be adopted domestically. In many transnational adoption cases, adoptive parents voluntarily want to adopt children with disabilities. These children can grow up with tender care in a happy family instead of being left alone with indifference in Korea. Mrs. Park (44), the head of counseling of the Holt Agency, said "It would be just misfortune for many abandoned children if transnational adoption ceased under this social welfare policy." "In order to decrease transnational adoption, the government should support domestic adoption similar to what the government did for family planning policy."

Prof. Kim (Social Welfare Department) said, "A plan of preventing unmarried mothers by strengthening sexual education to decrease abandoned children should be prioritized to decrease transnational adoption."

He also mentioned that the government should continuously lead people to change their view of adopted children or orphans by having as 'our children should be raised by us' attitude. There should be national concern for adoptees in order to make them be able to live as normal people when they get into society after they grew up.

First gathering of adoptive parents in Korea 16.10.2000

Big hands and tears with sympathy per each story

It is time for changing recognition and throwing fears and prejudice away

"On December, 1998, I met an 11 month old baby at the nursery house for the first time. He didn't have a left foot and a right leg under his knee. He also had only a thumb on his right hand. I felt that it was my destiny when this tiny loving creature stopped crying in my arms. My husband and Euna, my daughter (10), agreed on adoption even though it was a hard time for us due to my husband's business went bankrupt."

In the afternoon, on 14th, at the civic center. The 1st national gathering of adoptive parents was held to encourage domestic adoption. At this gathering, Other 400 adoptive parents or potential adoptive parents gave big hands when Mrs. Yang (33) told about her story. She adopted Sejin (3), a child with a disability. They seemed like they felt Mrs. Yang's joyful and painful story was not just someone else's story.

"When Sejin crawled on his knees at the restaurant, the owner kicked us out. Even if it almost made me cry, I crawled on my knees to get out of the restaurant in order not to hurt Sejin's feeling. Euna also crawled for her sister."

The audience wiped their eyes and gave big hands to her when she said, "Now Sejin overcame those difficulties, and plays the violin really well."

This gathering was held by Mission to Promoting Adoption in Korea (MPAK). MPAK was established in last April. It ran the campaign for ‘domestic adoption’ and ‘open adoption’. Adoptive parents said, “This is an impressive, touching, and meaningful moment to announce the happiness of adoption.” “I’m glad to share concerns and issues related to adoption.”

Steven Morrison (44, a chief researcher at NASA) said “Adoption is nothing shameful or fearful, but beautiful and joyful. People who openly accept adoption are real courageous adults.” He is the founder of MPAK and an adoptee to America at the age of 14. He is going to adopt 3 years old boy, Heysung.

Co-chairman, Mr. Hwang who adopted two twin brothers (4) in addition to his two daughters (15, 14) said, “Many orphans are adopted to abroad or raised alone. It is due to the fact that there are only few domestic adoptions because of prejudice of maintaining the bloodline and fear of letting other people know about their sterility”.

MPAK reported that there are 50,000 adoptive families and 1,700 adoptees each year. However, there are only 230 adoptive families who choose open adoption.

Molly Holt, the chief director of Holt agency also participated. She said, “The Korean recognition about adoption needs to be changed. A systematic support is necessary like America’s.”

Participants decided on ‘simplification of adoption process’, ‘adoption vacation’, ‘subsidy for adoption’, and ‘creating a day of adoption’ as a proposal to the government before they went home.

9. 3. Table 1. Definitions of sub-categories

Category	Sub-category	Applying section	Definition	
Adoption profile	<i>Visibility</i>		This category concerns how visible the article is, thus taking into account the length of the article (less than approx. 200 words, less than approx. 700 words, and more) ¹² location of the article in the paper or font of the article.	1.small 2.medium 3.large
	<i>Aim of article</i>		What kind of aim the article has, to deliver information, to report an accident or to show opinion.	1.informative 2.report 3.editorial 4.feature
	<i>Perspectives¹³</i>	1.adoptee 2.A.parents 3.B.parents 4.Agency 5.Government 6.Society 7.Family	What kind of perspectives of elements of adoption is projected in the article.	
	<i>Attitude</i>		The journalist attitude toward adoption.	-1.negative 0.neutral 1.positive

¹² Newspaper articles were presented in pdf form, thus it was not possible to count all the word of each article in a systematic fashion. This sub-category is scored by the impression of the reader.

¹³ In scoring, ‘perspectives’ sub-categories were divided into 7 sub-sub-categories (Adoptee, A.parents, B.parents, Agency, Gvoernment, Society, Family). These 7 sub-sub-categories were counted in the methodology chapter.

	<i>Co-theme</i>		Role of 'adoption' in the article, the measuring importance of adoption in the article	1.core 2.important but not main 3.mentioned 4.irrelevant	
	<i>Voice</i>		Whose voice is heard or quoted in the article		
	<i>Story</i>		Whether article is about one special story of adoptee or general description of adoption.	1.description 2.story	
Participant's profile	<i>Age</i>	Adoptee in adoption time	The age of adoptee when he/she was adopted		
		Adoptee in later stage	The age of adoptee when he/she was mentioned in articles because of, for instance, visiting Korea		
		Biological parents	The age of biological parents when they sent children away		
		Adoptive parents	The age of adoptive parents when they adopted children		
	<i>Job</i>	Adoptee in later stage	The job's status in Korea according to how much people like it.	1.low preference 2.med. preference 3.high preference	
		Biological parents	The job's status in Korea according to how much people like it.	1.low preference 2.med. preference 3.high preference	
		Adoptive parents	The job's status in Korea according to how much people like it.	1.low preference 2.med. preference 3.high preference	
	<i>Wage</i>	Adoptee in later stage	The wage of adoptees in later stage	1.low preference 2.med. preference 3.high preference	
		Biological parents	The wage of biological parents	1.low preference 2.med. preference 3.high preference	
		Adoptive parents	The wage of adoptive parents	1.low preference 2.med. preference 3.high preference	
	<i>Gender</i>	Adoptee	The gender of adoptee	1.male 2.female	
	<i>Education level</i>	Adoptee in later stage	Which level of education adoptee has when he/she is grown up	1.under secondary 2.secondary 3.above secondary	
		Biological parents	Which level of education biological parents have	1.under secondary 2.secondary 3.above secondary	
		Adoptive parents	Which level of education adoptive parents have	1.under secondary 2.secondary 3.above secondary	
	<i>Disability</i>	Adoptee	Whether or not adoptee is handicapped and if, yes, how serious it is	0.none 1.mild 2.strong	
	<i>Adoptee status</i>	Adoptee in adoption time	Adoptee's situation which leads him/her to be adopted, for instance, war-orphan, mixed-blood children, single mother, etc.	1.war orphan 2.orphan 3.mixed-blood child 4.single mother 5.abandoned child 6.parents (some adoptees represented as being adopted even though he/she had both parents, or kindanpping cases)	
	Adoption profile	<i>Type of adoption</i>		Whether or not	1.domestic

			adoptees across the borders	2.transnational 3.in general
	<i>In charge</i>		The person or the organization which is in charge of adoption procedure	1.individual 2.agency 3.government 4.society
	<i>Group/Individual</i>		Whether adoptee is mentioned as an individual or a group	1.group 2.individual 3.both
	<i>Reunion</i>		Adoptee tries to find his/her biological family	0.not mentioned 1.mentioned
	<i>Conflict</i>		Adoption related to conflict, for instance kidnapping, law suit. It is not psychological or emotional conflict since adoption generally causes that.	0.not mentioned 1.mentioned
	<i>Sending/Visiting</i>		Article about adoptee leaves Korea or adoptee comes back to Korea	0.sending 1.visiting
	<i>Minority</i>		Adoption related to minority of society, such as mixed blood children, gay couple	1.mixed-blood child 2.disabled 3.gay couple 4.unmarried mother
	<i>Business</i>		The materialization of adoption, such as describing adoption as a business or adoption as exporting or importing children.	0.not mentioned 1.mentioned
	<i>Evaluation of domestic adoption</i>		What kinds of expression have applied to domestic adoption.	0.not mentioned 1.positively mentioned 2.negatively mentioned
	<i>Evaluation of transnational adoption</i>		What kinds of expression have applied to transnational adoption	0.mentioned 1.positively mentioned 2.negatively mentioned
Authority	<i>Law and policy</i>	Korea	Law or policy which are related to adoption in Korea	0.not mentioned 1.mentioned
		Other countries	Law or policy which are related to adoption in foreign countries	0.not mentioned 1.mentioned
	<i>Hierarchy</i>		Which level of bureaucracy is involved to adoption procedure in Korea	1.local government 2.ministry 3.state
Beliefs	<i>Global perspective</i>		The role expectation toward Korea as a member of global society. How Koreans think about how foreigners think about Korea. The concern of the relationships with other countries.	0. none 1.yes – positive 2.yes – negative
	<i>Reputation of Nation</i>		The image of Korea to foreigners.	0.none 1.yes – positive 2.yes - negative
	<i>Koreanness</i>		The expectation toward the adoptee regarding 'being Korean', for instance language, food, drinks, etc. and nostalgic feeling toward Korea.	0. not 1. food 2. name 3. language 4. appearance
	<i>Otherness</i>		Adoptee's other national identity except	0. not 1. food

			Korean.	2. name 3. language
	<i>Name of transnational adoptee's</i>		Which name of adoptee is mentioned in the article, Korean, foreign or both.	0. none 1. Korean 2. Foreign 3. both
	<i>Blood line</i>		The concept of people care about blood line, especially paternal line.	0. not mentioned 1. implied 2. explicitly mentioned
	<i>Gender preference</i>		The notion of preferring a son to daughter	0. not mentioned 1. implied 2. explicitly mentioned

9. 4. Table 2. The numbers of adoptees classified by adoptive countries.

year	total	America	France	Denmark	Sweden	Norway	the rest
'58- '68	6,677	6,002	12	13	491	83	76
`69	1,190	755	33	12	198	37	155
`70	1,932	998	47	126	340	71	350
`71	2,725	1,252	112	308	511	148	394
`72	3,490	1,671	120	347	602	186	564
`73	4,688	2,329	163	555	618	259	764
`74	5,302	2,661	188	542	636	389	886
`75	5,077	2,995	155	246	308	109	1,264
'76	6,597	4,008	376	419	266	247	1,281
'77	6,159	3,711	571	460	355	302	760
'78	5,917	2,942	972	417	312	269	1,005
'79	4,148	2,347	560	406	169	112	554
'80	4,144	2,404	522	403	156	173	486
'81	4,628	2,684	484	402	279	246	533
'82	6,434	3,862	827	483	315	285	662
'83	7,263	4,854	859	347	278	287	638
'84	7,924	5,348	942	295	288	287	764
'85	8,837	6,021	975	402	301	234	904
'86	8,680	6,138	703	401	367	198	873
'87	7,947	5,707	589	336	280	212	823
'88	6,463	4,710	417	270	240	149	677
'89							

	4,191	3,343	204	109	83	147	305
'90	2,962	2,315	161	136	88	124	138
'91	2,197	1,744	89	115	83	91	75
'92	2,045	1,563	79	101	97	103	102
'93	2,290	1,807	85	139	60	104	95
'94	2,262	1,696	97	105	102	122	140
'95	2,180	1,614	86	120	110	126	124
'96	2,080	1,546	73	80	137	108	136
'97	2,057	1,620	66	65	66	112	128
'98	2,443	1,854	115	63	111	131	169
'99	2,409	1,786	107	65	136	128	187
2000	2,360	1,752	73	68	116	118	233
2001	2,436	1,798	61	61	123	109	284
2002	2,365	1,797	66	45	98	106	253
2003	2,287	1,748	53	56	110	81	239
2004	2,258	1,713	48	53	123	87	234
2005	2,101	1,623	34	46	98	80	220
2006.6	988	773	14	22	53	33	93
Total	158,133	105,491	11,138	8,639	9,104	6,193	17,568

9. 5. Table 3. The selected sub-categories used in quantitative analysis, percentages of articles scored by selected sub-categories for each decade, correlations with linear time for occurrences of selected sub-categories.

	1920s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	Whole	Pearson's r	sig
Visibility										
Small	60 (3)	80.3 (49)	59.3 (32)	29.8 (17)	21.4 (12)	29.4 (35)	33.7 (28)	40.4 (176)	-0.70	0.065*
Medium	40 (2)	18 (11)	20.4 (11)	50.9 (29)	55.4 (31)	65.5 (78)	63.9 (53)	49.5 (216)	0.67	0.089
Large	0	1.6 (1)	20.4 (11)	19.3 (11)	23.2 (13)	5 (6)	2.4 (2)	10.1 (44)	0.23	0.619
Co-theme										
Core	100 (5)	93.4 (57)	88.9 (48)	78.9 (45)	67.9 (38)	41.2 (49)	22.9 (19)	60.1 (262)	-0.90	0.003**
Important	0	0	9.3 (5)	15.8 (9)	19.6 (11)	23.5 (28)	24.1 (20)	16.7 (73)	0.94	0.001**
Mentioned	0	4.9 (3)	1.9 (1)	5.3 (3)	12.5 (7)	32.8 (39)	51.8 (43)	22 (96)	0.81	0.023*
Irrelevant	0	1.6 (1)	0	0	0	2.5 (3)	1.2 (1)	1.1 (5)	0.42	0.347
Attitude										
Negative	0	4,9 (3)	1,9 (1)	7 (4)	14,3 (8)	3,4 (4)	3,6 (3)	5,3 (23)	0.40	0.364
Neutral	100 (5)	88,5 (54)	98,1 (53)	93 (53)	80,4 (45)	93,3 (111)	95,2 (79)	92 (401)	-0.35	0.431
Positive	0	6,6 (4)	0	0	5,4 (3)	3,4 (4)	1,2 (1)	2,8 (12)	0.16	0.723

Gender										
Male	20 (1)	6,6 (4)	20,4 (11)	14 (8)	7,1 (4)	16,8 (20)	14,5 (12)	14 (61)	-0.23	0.612
Female	40 (2)	16,4 (10)	22,2 (12)	15,8 (9)	30,4 (17)	22,7 (27)	20,5 (17)	21,6 (94)	-0.51	0.238
Multiple	0	4,9 (3)	9,3 (5)	10,6 (6)	8,9 (5)	4,2 (5)	8,4 (7)	7,1 (31)	n/a	n/a
Adoptees										
War orphan	0	23 (14)	14.8 (8)	5.3 (3)	0	5 (6)	2.4 (2)	7.6 (33)	-0.21	0.649
Orphan	0	21.3 (13)	40.7 (22)	15.8 (9)	10.7 (6)	11.8 (14)	6 (5)	15.8 (69)	-0.003	0.995
Mixed-blood child	0	44.3 (27)	11.1 (6)	7 (4)	1.8 (1)	0.8 (1)	3.6 (3)	9.6 (42)	-0.26	0.570
Single mother	0	1.6 (1)	5.6 (3)	3.5 (2)	3.6 (2)	6.7 (8)	7.2 (6)	5 (22)	0.89	0.005**
Abandoned child	20 (1)	1.6 (1)	1.9 (1)	1.8 (1)	23.2 (13)	8.4 (10)	6 (5)	7.3 (32)	-0.20	0.665
Parents	60 (3)	1.6 (1)	1.9 (1)	21.1 (12)	14.3 (8)	5.9 (7)	6 (5)	8.7 (38)	-0.69	0.079
Multiple	0	1.7 (1)	12.9 (7)	10.4 (6)	12.5 (7)	5.1 (6)	2.5 (2)	6.8 (29)	n/a	n/a
Reunion										
mentioned,%	0	0	1.9 (1)	17.5 (10)	21.4 (12)	20.2 (24)	12 (10)	13.1 (57)	0.75	0.045*
Sending										
Sending	0	82 (50)	42.6 (23)	26.3 (15)	26.8 (15)	0.8 (1)	4.8 (4)	24.8 (108)	-0.23	0.608
Visiting	0	1.6 (1)	7.4 (4)	21.1 (12)	21.4 (12)	19.3 (23)	13.3 (11)	14.4 (63)	0.77	0.036*
Conflict										
mentioned,%	60 (3)	6.6 (4)	7.4 (4)	36.8 (21)	41.1 (23)	24.4 (29)	24.1 (20)	24.1 (105)	-0.33	0.466
Transnational										
Positive	0	73.8 (45)	51.9 (28)	7 (4)	5.4 (3)	2.5 (3)	1.2 (1)	19.3 (84)	-0.30	0.507
Negative	0	6.6 (4)	7.4 (4)	35.1 (20)	14.3 (8)	5.9 (7)	6 (5)	11 (48)	0.24	0.600
Domestic										
Positive	40 (2)	8.2 (5)	11.1 (6)	22.8 (13)	8.9 (5)	3.4 (4)	12 (10)	10.3 (45)	-0.72	0.057
Negative	40 (2)	3.3 (2)	0	1.8 (1)	0	0.8 (1)	1.2 (1)	1.8 (8)	-0.79	0.028*
Bloodline										
Implicit	20 (1)	8.2 (5)	11.1 (6)	22.8 (13)	8.9 (5)	15.1 (18)	25.3 (21)	16.1 (70)	0.17	0.705
Explicit	0 (0)	1.6 (1)	11.1 (6)	26.3 (15)	51.8 (29)	47.9 (57)	44.6 (37)	33.3 (145)	0.89	0.005**
Mentioned,%	20	9.8	22.2	49.1	60.7	63	69.9	49.3		
Business										
Implicit	0 (0)	1.6 (1)	1.9 (1)	3.5 (2)	8.9 (5)	8.4 (10)	6 (5)	5.5 (24)	0.84	0.014*
Explicit	40 (2)	1.6 (1)	0 (0)	1.8 (1)	16.1 (9)	5 (5)	6 (5)	5.5 (24)	-0.60	0.14
Mentioned,%	40	3.4	1.9	5.3	25	13.4	12	11		
Gender										
Implicit	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1.8 (1)	0 (0)	0.8 (1)	0 (0)	0.5 (2)	0.22	0.634
Explicit	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	7 (4)	7.1 (4)	2.5 (3)	3.6 (3)	3.2 (14)	0.56	0.181
mentioned,%	0	0	0	8.8	7.1	3.3	3.6	3.7		
Reputation										
Positive	0	0	0	0	0	6.7	14.5	4.6	0.69	0.076
Negative	0	0	1.9	15.8	19.6	6.7	9.6	8.5	0.60	0.145
Global										
Positive	0	1.6	0	0	0	7.6	14.5	5	0.68	0.080**
Negative	0	1.6	0	12.3	21.4	9.2	9.6	8.9	0.64	0.113

9. 6. Spread sheets from scoring

Article no.	Date	Title	Size	Aim of article	Adoptees p	a parents' p	b parents' p	agency p	govt p	soc p	fam p	Attitude	Co-theme	Type of doption	Voice	Adoption age	Adult age
			1=small 2=medium 3=large	1=informative 2=report 3=editorial 4=feature	0=no 1=yes	0=no 1=yes	0=no 1=yes	0=no 1=yes	0=no 1=yes	0=no 1=yes	0=no 1=yes	-1=negative 0=neutral 1=positive	1=core 2=important but not main 3=mentioned 4=irrelevant	1=domestic 2=transnational 3=in general			
1	29.06.1924	One Japanese adopted a	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	none	0	99
2	02.11.1925	A law suit for confirmation of	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	none	99	99
5	06.02.1927	Want to adopt abandoned child	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	none	3	99
8	31.05.1929	Struggle for girl on the street	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	none	11	99
9	06.08.1929	A complicated law suit for	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	none	99	99
13	18.07.1935	A complicated law suit for	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	court,	99	99
17	01.02.1953	On way to Syria to be adopted	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	none	6	99
18	07.02.1953	Dr. Ad and his two adopted	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
21	29.01.1954	Mixed-blood children will be	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	authority	99	99
22	10.02.1954	The investigation about actual	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
23	22.02.1954	Why do they want keep mix-	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	none	99	99
24	22.02.1954	Busy preparing to be adopted	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
25	23.07.1954	People who go abroad to seek	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
26	08.07.1955	Want to be adopted	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	1	1	none	99	99
27	15.08.1955	White mixed-blood children are	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	4, 8	99
28	13.10.1955	Going to America to find	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	4, 5	99
29	05.11.1955	Please send Korean orphan	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
30	17.11.1955	International marriage 87,	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
31	14.12.1955	Two girls on their way to	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
32	30.01.1956	Lucky Sinja in adoptive brother	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	3	99
33	29.03.1956	500 mixed-blood children will	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
34	31.03.1956	Orphans are on their way to	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	3,4,4,8	99
35	06.04.1956	13 orphans went to America to	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
36	07.04.1956	News from Munkyo who was	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	6	99
37	10.04.1956	Busy finding adoptive parents	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
38	20.04.1956	Beloved adopted daughter	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	2	99
39	29.04.1956	Happy Tony in adoptive	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	3	99
40	04.05.1956	Adoption to American until end	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
41	12.05.1956	In adoptive grandma's arms	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	1	99
44	14.06.1956	17 orphans are on their way to	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	1-14	99
45	20.06.1956	A crying adoptive mother	3	4	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	-1	1	1	adoptive	3	99
46	05.08.1956	In new sister's arms	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	adoptive	2,4	99
47	22.09.1956	25 orphans left again	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
48	23.09.1956	15 Korean orphans arrived in	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
49	09.10.1956	27 orphans left for America	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
50	27.10.1956	Adoptive parents to orphans	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	Seoul	99	99
51	01.11.1956	A mother of mixed-blood	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
52	08.11.1956	Formed a relationship between	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	none	99	99
53	10.11.1956	A joint ceremony on 20th	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	none	5-10	99
54	25.11.1956	1200 orphans forming	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	President	99	99

55	11.12.1956	With 70 Korean orphans	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
56	13.12.1956	88 mixed-blood children went to	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	ministry of	99	99
57	18.12.1956	No casualty	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	none	6 month ~	99
59	25.12.1956	The orphans arrived in America	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
60	30.12.1956	600 orphans went to America a	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
61	31.01.1956	50 mixed blooded children went	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
63	06.02.1957	The cry for mother	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	1	2	writer	4, 8	99
64	03.03.1957	70 mixed blood children will	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	Adoption	99	99
65	04.03.1957	Trying to arrange adoptions for	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	Adoption	99	99
66	15.03.1957	Wanting to raise mixed blood	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	Adoption	99	99
71	14.11.1957	The first priority is a wife	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	3	none	99	99
72	01.12.1957	They arrived in America safely	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	Adoption	0~ 6	99
73	18.12.1957	Going to America with	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	Adoption	10 months	99
74	01.02.1958	113 Korean war orphans were	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	The	99	99
78	26.03.1958	Pearl Buck will raise seven	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	1 ~ 5	99
79	30.05.1958	Senator Charles adopt Korean	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	3	99
80	01.06.1958	80 orphans were adopted again	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
81	10.06.1958	Visiting motherland with mother	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adopted	3	4
82	08.08.1958	Joey in her new mother's arms	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	6	99
83	17.03.1959	100 mixed blood children were	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
84	19.05.1959	20 mixed blood children were	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	Holt	99	99
85	09.07.1959	190 mixed blood children will be	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	Holt	99	99
86	18.07.1959	Meeting adopted parents after	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adopted	4 months	99
87	30.07.1959	Adoptees are heading to	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
88	01.08.1959	97 Korean orphans arrived in	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
89	28.08.1959	Forced adoption against will	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	none	99	99
90	20.09.1959	The dawn for adoption to	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
91	20.01.1960	20 orphans will be adopted	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	Kerry	99	99
92	07.02.1960	The adoption for the rest of	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	Korean	99	99
93	27.02.1960	80 mixed blood children will be	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	Korean	99	99
94	17.03.1960	The bill about adoption of	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	none	5	99
95	06.07.1960	82 orphans arrived in America	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
96	20.09.1960	100 people go to America	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
97	18.10.1960	New 80 people	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	Holt	99	99
98	29.11.1960	The adoption case which is	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	none	99	99
99	21.12.1960	The 10 years anniversary for	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	American	99	99
100	06.01.1961	The investigation team about	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	none	99	99
101	08.01.1961	In step mother's arms	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	4	99
102	02.06.1961	On their way to strange country	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptees	10, 5	99
103	03.06.1961	To America yesterday	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	6,7	99
104	09.07.1961	Bye rainy homeland	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	1, 10	99
105	26.07.1961	On way to England by himself	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	10	99
106	17.08.1961	Joy of American adoptive	3	2,4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptive	99	99
108	20.10.1961	A meeting is needed for	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
111	24.11.1961	The adoption and findind family	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	none	99	99
112	23.02.1962	10000 adoptions in this year	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	none	99	99
113	18.03.1962	18 years Korean boy met new	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	18	99
114	09.04.1962	Triplets went to America	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
115	14.05.1962	The lives of quadruplets	3	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptive	1,2	99
116	23.06.1962	Pushing on with adoption	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	agency	99	99
117	01.08.1962	Taking a house as security for	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	8	99
118	23.08.1962	Joy came after sadness	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	biological	6	99
119	07.09.1962	Do you want to do like giving	3	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	-1	1	2	editor	99	99
120	07.09.1962	The condition of mix-blooded	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	authority	99	99
121	12.02.1963	Adoptions for orphans	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	none	99	99
122	20.02.1963	Applications for adoption of	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	none	99	99
123	16.03.1963	Orphans til home	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	none	99	99
124	24.04.1963	Parental love til orphans	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	none	99	99
125	26.11.1963	Orphans on an interview	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
126	27.03.1964	Korean adoptee started to cry	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	3	99

127	05.05.1964	Adoption business will continue	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	agency	99	99
128	24.05.1964	Ex-wife is adopted as a	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	none	25	99
129	27.05.1964	40 America parents will look for	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
130	11.07.1964	Something thicker than blood	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptees	9	99
131	18.09.1964	Looking for relatives	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	5	18
132	18.11.1964	Prof. Cobern wants to adopt	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
133	04.12.1964	A warm-hearted dancer	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptive	3	99
134	09.02.1965	Jinju has been missing	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	12	99
135	12.02.1965	Wanting to know my hometown	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	4	21
136	29.12.1965	Hadicapped Kim went to	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	10	99
137	08.03.1966	Korean orphan became	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	16	28
138	21.04.1966	The tragedy in Vietnam war	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
139	06.05.1966	Mrs. Holt became '66 mother of	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
140	23.10.1966	I want to be a writer another 30	3	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	agency	99	99
141	25.12.1966	Memories of Debby	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptive	1	99
142	14.03.1967	Visiting motherland after 9	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	12	21
143	11.02.1969	I will keep my homecoutry in my	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptive	4	99
144	13.02.1969	Please give my daughter back	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptive	7	99
145	20.02.1969	Going to America to meet new	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	1 ~ 6	99
146	30.07.1969	Reject orphans on board	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	agency,	99	99
147	16.04.1970	5000th adoption by Holt	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	1	99
148	29.05.1970	Welcom Kaser grandpa	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	agency	99	99
149	28.08.1970	10 orphans are adopted to	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
150	04.09.1971	Drea found his Korean mother	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee,	11	20
151	13.11.1971	Mrs. Spostru leaves Korea	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	agency	99	99
152	09.12.1971	Transnational adoption boom	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	governme	99	99
154	29.07.1973	One sick adopted orphan looks	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	9	14
155	16.03.1974	Adopted mix-blood child met his	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	2	22
156	13.04.1974	5 Korean kids are invited	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	10 ~ 12	99
157	13.04.1974	Debates in America on	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	governme	99	99
158	14.04.1974	A child uninfected with leprosy is	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	authority	99	99
159	16.04.1974	Debates in America on	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	2	2	authority	99	99
160	02.06.1974	Children are precious in France	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	none	99	99
161	04.07.1974	Disable Kids are increasing	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	authority	99	99
163	08.08.1974	Blind musician came	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	10	27
164	09.08.1974	Hymn with tears in front of	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee,	10	27
165	15.09.1974	Laying a bill about adoption	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
166	15.11.1974	Kidnapped child was adopted to	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	biological	1	99
167	19.11.1974	Please give Youngim in	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	biological	1	99
168	12.12.1974	We found the address of	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	authority	1	99
169	29.12.1974	Suicidal trouble in Switzerland	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	authority	5	99
170	23.01.1975	Woman of year	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	3	authority	99	99
172	13.03.1975	14 babies past away	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	authority	99	99
173	16.03.1975	Encouraging domestic adoption	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	none	99	99
174	22.03.1975	Social justice is different than	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	1	3	editor	99	99
175	04.04.1975	Vietnamese orphans are on	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
176	04.05.1975	Found son right before being	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
177	14.06.1975	Came homecountry after 20	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
178	28.06.1975	The alive witness for alliance	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	governme	99	99
179	03.08.1975	A misfortune Korean orphan	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	1	13
181	05.10.1975	Please give my only son back	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	biological	4	99
182	08.10.1975	International Human Right	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	authority	4	99
183	01.11.1975	American soldier met his	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee,	6	23
184	06.02.1976	Increasing domestic adoption	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	none	99	99
186	24.03.1976	Establish a special adoption law	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	none	99	99
187	05.05.1976	Domestic adoption is only a	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	none	99	99
188	18.06.1976	Day and night of Komerican	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	adoptee,	99	99
189	30.06.1976	Age limit for adoption is 18	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	none	99	99
190	15.07.1976	A shelter for unfortunate	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	3	none	99	99
191	22.09.1976	10 bills are submitted to	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99

192	13.10.1976	Children uninfected with leprosy	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	agency	99	99
193	14.10.1976	Children uninfected with leprosy	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
194	10.02.1977	Forming 2600 relations in this	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	none	99	99
195	13.03.1977	Illegal adoptions of Korean	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	none	5 months	99
196	17.04.1977	Promoting domestic adoption of	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	none	99	99
197	27.04.1977	Adoptions of orphans has	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	authority	99	99
198	21.06.1977	Visiting motherland in June	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptees	1, 10	20, 24
199	30.07.1977	Even if it didn't go through	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	judge	99	99
200	20.12.1977	Domestic adoption has	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	authority	99	99
201	15.03.1978	Adoptions of animal are boom	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	none	99	99
206	16.05.1979	3 years old baby is missing	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	3	99
207	03.06.1979	Human welfare for orphans	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	1	3	editor	99	99
208	06.05.1979	Swedish adoptees visited	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	1-6	3-16
209	21.06.1979	Prioritizing domestic adoption	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	1	3	editor	99	99
210	04.07.1979	Looking for my biological	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	6	28
211	21.09.1979	Domestic adoption surpassed	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	none	99	99
212	17.06.1980	5 crocodiles were adopted	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	none	99	99
213	23.09.1980	American adoptee is looking for	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	3	26
214	25.12.1980	One Korean girl got together	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptive	9,11,14	99
215	19.05.1981	An elementary school student	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	none	99	99
216	28.05.1981	A birth registration	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	none	99	99
217	10.06.1981	An adoption registration	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
218	24.06.1981	An adoption registration	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
219	26.06.1981	I want to live as a proud Korean	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	13,15	18,20
220	17.09.1981	Looking for biological brother	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	6	22
221	13.10.1981	A family registration	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	none	99	99
222	12.11.1981	After 20 years from adoption to	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	10	34
223	18.06.1982	Court helped finding biological	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	none	2	99
224	18.06.1982	With warm welcome in mother	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
225	19.08.1982	Healthy Korean adoptees in	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	adoptees,	1,9	99
226	26.09.1982	It is difficult to adopt in America	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	authority	99	99
227	07.10.1982	Looking for biological mother	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	5	17
228	14.04.1983	Happy smile of one adoptive	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	1	3	editor	99	15,17
229	10.08.1983	Triples were adopted to	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptive	6 months	99
230	26.10.1983	Adoptions of children of single	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	authority	99	99
231	03.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered kidnapping	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
232	03.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered kidnapping	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
233	03.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered kidnapping	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
234	03.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered kidnapping	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
235	05.04.1984	Around 5000 adoptions in	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
236	16.05.1984	Looking for parents	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	12	23
237	02.06.1984	Looking for parents	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	2	26
238	17.06.1984	Sophia Roren adopted cabbage	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	none	99	99
239	17.06.1984	Found biological relatives after	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	2	26
240	24.06.1984	Looking for parents	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	9	22
241	17.07.1984	Please give me my son back	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	biological	8	99
242	17.07.1984	Will start negotiation	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	agency	8	99
243	12.08.1984	Big success after adoption	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	none	99	37
244	21.08.1984	Tears bursted out when blind	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
245	30.08.1984	First girl player at World little	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
246	30.08.1984	Transnational adoption is a	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	1	3	public,	99	99
247	31.10.1984	Triples met dramatically their	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee,	3	25
249	10.09.1985	Quadruplets met relatives on	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	2	26
250	25.10.1986	10 adoptees visited to	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
251	11.03.1987	Twins met again	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptive	4	99
252	04.02.1988	Adoption of orphans	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	1	2	editor	3 months	99
253	24.04.1988	No. 1 in orphan adoption	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	1	2	editor	99	99
254	26.04.1988	Kingdom of orphan adoptions...	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	1	2	editor	99	99
255	05.05.1988	Country of exporting orphans	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	1	2	editor	99	99
256	26.05.1988	Abandonment of girls	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	none	99	99

257	08.06.1988	Adoption of orphans	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	1	2	editor	99	99
258	29.06.1988	Finally I could meet my mother	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	1	2	adoptee,	6, 10, 5	18, 18, 21
259	14.08.1988	Black market for babies in Italia	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	none	99	99
260	13.09.1988	One adoptee visited Olympic	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	4	21
261	13.11.1988	13000 children are abandoned	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	none	99	99
262	02.02.1989	Adoption agencies compete for	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	none	99	99
263	12.02.1989	Abandoned children	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	authority	99	99
265	28.07.1989	AIDS orphans become social	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	authority	99	99
266	27.09.1989	Adoption agencies are selling	3	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	3	none	99	99
267	04.10.1989	Most of adoptees in America	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
268	18.10.1989	Abandoned children also have	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	agency	5	37
270	24.11.1989	Why did they abandon me?	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	adoptee,	7	14
271	11.02.1990	American dream	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	editor	99	99
272	11.02.1990	A general store	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	editor	99	99
273	13.03.1990	Transnational adoption will be	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	none	99	99
274	14.03.1990	We should prohibit orphan	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	1	3	editor	99	99
275	04.04.1990	Domestic violence	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	none	99	99
276	16.04.1990	Looking for parents	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	3	21
278	12.05.1990	Abandoned twins had a party	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
280	23.06.1990	The Korean War	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
281	25.06.1990	The war victim came back as a	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	14	53
282	04.07.1990	The gratitude of sister	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	none	99	99
285	10.11.1990	Norwegian adoptee	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	1	2	none	99	99
287	04.12.1990	Dirty media	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	editor	99	99
291	25.02.1991	A barber of Love	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
292	04.03.1991	Transnational adoptees try to	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee,	8, 10	23, 12
294	07.07.1991	Adoptive mother murdered	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	none	2	99
295	07.08.1991	40s American lady is externally	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
296	13.10.1991	Legal system in North Korea	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
297	17.10.1991	Beating circus training	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	none	99	99
298	22.10.1991	Circus girl is adopted	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	none	11	99
299	22.10.1991	It is acceptable to register birth	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	none	99	99
300	22.10.1991	We have big problem	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	2	3	editor	99	99
301	06.11.1991	Kidnapped daughter is found	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	none	8 months	99
302	07.11.1991	This is my kid	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	none	8 months	99
303	19.11.1991	Adopted daughter returned to	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	none	8 months	99
307	05.04.1992	Mammy!	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee,	99	99
308	09.04.1992	Gift story	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	editor	99	99
310	11.05.1992	I cannot raise them anymore	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	authority	2	99
311	26.05.1992	The guilt of violating lives	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	3	editor	99	99
312	19.06.1992	Meeting forster mother after 14	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
313	20.06.1992	Sad visit after 18 years	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	9	27
315	20.08.1992	The essay about visit of first	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	editor	99	99
316	06.09.1992	Suni	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	1	2	editor	99	99
317	07.09.1992	18 disabled children were	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	none	99	99
319	15.11.1992	Korean adoptee was elected for	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	3	36
320	25.11.1992	Korean adoptee is chosen as a	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	6	46
322	08.12.1992	The seminar about domestic	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	authority	99	99
323	31.01.1993	The procreative operation	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
324	18.02.1993	Adopt child since second wife	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	none	99	99
325	03.03.1993	Vietnam special report	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
327	20.03.1993	An investigation on special	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
328	05.05.1993	Hurted children's hearts	2	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	adoptee,	3, 6	99
330	14.06.1993	My love, Soonyi	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	none	99	99
331	15.06.1993	Professor who is specialized in	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	adoptive	99	99
332	03.07.1993	A sterile couple	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	3	none	99	99
333	08.07.1993	Looking for parents	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	2	19
335	04.08.1993	Looking for family	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	10	23
336	07.08.1993	Looking for family	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	3	27
338	23.11.1993	Orphans visited Disneyland	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	orphans	99	99

339	06.01.1994	Loan benefit for adoptive family	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	none	99	99
340	15.01.1994	Families in the world	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
341	04.03.1994	Happy couple is buried together	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	none	99	99
342	10.03.1994	Animal adoption	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
346	07.04.1994	Adoption or kidnapping	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	none	99	99
347	02.05.1994	Looking for parents	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	1	25
356	02.06.1994	Seminar for children's right	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	authority	99	99
362	23.07.1994	View of French about family	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	none	99	99
366	06.08.1994	Revised law about adoption	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	authority	99	99
371	25.09.1994	Selfisk department	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
373	09.11.1994	Tax office informed	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	3	none	99	99
379	10.12.1994	Looking for parents	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	4	27
382	07.01.1995	Catching children's taste	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
383	13.01.1995	Domestic adoption	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	editor	99	99
386	04.02.1995	American strengthens taking	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
390	11.03.1995	80s couple got divorced	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	none	99	99
394	28.04.1995	Looking for parents	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	5	29
395	09.05.1995	Subsidy for adoption of	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	authority	99	99
400	18.06.1995	Book review	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
401	08.07.1995	Minister profile	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
404	11.08.1995	Cannot take adopted son back	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	none	0	99
407	05.10.1995	Taking care of unmarried	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	authority	99	99
413	26.11.1995	Facts about depression	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
414	16.12.1995	Looking for parents	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	8	29
416	05.01.1996	Series of Chosun dynasty	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	none	99	99
421	02.02.1996	Found similar gene for donation	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	1	21
434	02.03.1996	New drama series	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	none	99	99
441	07.04.1996	Missionary work	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	99	none	99	99
447	04.05.1996	TV preview	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	none	99	99
457	18.06.1996	Looking for parents	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	5	26
466	14.08.1996	Bauman is recovering	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	21
467	26.09.1996	Interview with chairman of Holt	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	agency	99	99
468	11.10.1996	Isn't adoptee a member of	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	none	3 months	99
475	13.11.1996	I want to find my story to tell my	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	4	33
479	15.12.1996	40 years transnational adoption	3	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	7	43
492	05.01.1997	I'm proud of my grandpa	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptive	8 months	12
506	05.02.1997	Another donation for adoptee	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	14
512	01.03.1997	Album review	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
515	07.04.1997	Film preview	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	99	none	99	99
522	04.06.1997	Kindness from baseball player	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	none	99	99
532	05.07.1997	On theater	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
542	06.08.1997	Bauman is going back to school	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	3	23
549	03.09.1997	Dog adoption	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	99	none	99	99
559	08.10.1997	Woody Allen	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	adoptive	99	27
563	03.11.1997	Film review	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
574	06.12.1997	Ceremony of foundation of	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	agency	99	99
580	01.01.1998	Film review	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	99	none	99	99
586	01.02.1998	Do we really have to give a	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptive	5 months,	13,15,4
590	14.03.1998	Clearing cats1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	99	none	99	99
595	01.04.1998	Nurse is arrested	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	none	99	99
600	03.05.1998	Film review	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	99	none	99	99
604	03.06.1998	Exorcism danse for sadness of	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	3 months	25
608	06.07.1998	Special entrance qualification	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
615	06.08.1998	Adoptive mother helps her	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptive	1	20
619	14.09.1998	Korea is my friend	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
622	03.10.1998	The dean of Nazarene	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
628	05.11.1998	6.25 adoptee was elected for a	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	19	62
639	01.12.1998	TV review	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	adoptive	7 months	99
646	01.01.1999	Global etiquette	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	colleague	99	99
652	05.02.1999	Letters of friendship	2	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptive	99	99

656	03.03.1999	Becoming missionary	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	3	99
665	06.04.1999	35 American adoptees visit to	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	none	99	99
668	07.05.1999	Winner of public welfare work is	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	adoptee	7 months	17	
677	01.06.1999	Interview with an actress	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	99	99	
687	01.07.1999	On theater	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	99	99	
694	10.08.1999	The family of Reagan	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	99	none	99	53	
700	03.09.1999	Korean American writer	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	99	99	
716	02.10.1999	Father of orphans Mr. Hess	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	adoptee	6	43	
724	06.11.1999	Looking for roots	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	1	31	
729	07.12.1995	American Senator published his	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	18	64	
739	07.01.2000	Our adopted kid is a rat?	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	none	99	99	
743	07.02.2000	I just want to repay what I have	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	adoptee	2	37	
749	08.03.2000	Considering to ratify Hague	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	authority	99	99	
759	05.04.2000	It is needed to build web site for	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	reader	99	99	
762	05.05.2000	Special entrance qualification	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	none	99	99	
772	01.06.2000	Let's write explanation of	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	99	none	99	99	
783	01.07.2000	I'm 55% Korean	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	99	32	
796	02.08.2000	Wanna be a champion in	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	adoptee	5	34	
814	09.09.2000	Film preview	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	none	99	99	
819	01.10.2000	Interview with prime minister of	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	3	none	99	99	
829	01.11.2000	Society with disabled people	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	authority	99	99	
836	05.12.2000	This year's family	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	adoptee	99	99	
845	10.01.2001	Gene information bank	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	none	99	99	
853	05.02.2001	Black adoptee becomes great	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	adoptee	1	24	
858	01.03.2001	Always love my homecountry	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99	
868	04.03.2001	This time should be...	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	3	27	
885	01.05.2001	Debates on life morals	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	editor	99	99	
894	01.06.2001	Profiles of two writers of game	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	adoptee	99	31	
900	05.07.2001	14 years in palace and 20 years	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	none	5	48	
905	01.08.2001	Interview with an actress	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	none	99	99	
919	05.09.2001	You should be busy to be single	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99	
927	08.10.2001	Transsexual Chinese dancer	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	adoptee	99	99	
934	02.11.2001	Domestic adoption	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	adoptee	1	4	
944	01.12.2001	Book review	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	none	99	99	
953	03.01.2002	Honesty is efficiency	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	3	2	editor	99	99
962	07.02.2002	New family registration law	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	none	99	99	
968	11.03.2002	American adoptee won figure	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	none	1	17	
975	06.04.2002	Using Asian instead of Oriental	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	adoptee	18	66	
983	04.05.2002	Literature world	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	none	99	99	
997	07.06.2002	Gay couple can adopt in	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	3	none	99	99	
1007	02.07.2002	Two adoptees participated with	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	9,7	
1021	03.08.2002	Police officer helped adoptee	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	none	1	21	
1035	04.09.2002	Popular drama seems same	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	none	99	99	
1039	02.10.2002	Happiness should be prioritized	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	none	99	99	
1047	04.11.2002	Teps lecture	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99	
1056	02.12.2002	We understand Korea and	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	adoptee	4 months	23, 20	
1066	04.01.2003	5 children are most same as	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	adoptee	99	18,11,10,5	
1075	03.02.2003	One essay will be on a textbook	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	none	99	99	
1084	04.03.2003	Twins met again	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	1	20	
1091	04.04.2003	Being a teacher at disabled	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	none	99	99	
1101	05.05.2003	Minority report mixed blood	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	3	none	99	99	
1114	03.06.2003	Indian film festival	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99	
1124	02.07.2003	Adoptees taste Korean	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	99	99	
1137	01.08.2003	Mixed blood wants to leave this	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	3	editor	99	99	
1146	01.09.2003	Swedish writer is Korean	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	5	33	
1156	01.10.2003	Reader's opinion	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	3	2	editor	99	99
1164	03.11.2003	Film preview	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	99	99	
1173	08.12.2003	TV preview	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	none	99	99	
1181	01.01.2004	American families donate	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	none	99	99	
1187	04.02.2004	Reader's opinion	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	3	editor	99	99	

1199	04.03.2004	TV preview	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
1211	07.04.2004	Wife of British ambassador	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	none	99	99
1221	04.05.2004	Conferring a decoration	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	none	99	99
1230	02.06.2004	Health information	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
1242	01.07.2004	Subsidy for third kid	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
1251	02.08.2004	Concert to find adoptee's	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	none	1	21
1276	06.09.2004	Adoptee becomes doctor about	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	1	41
1285	01.10.2004	Interview with an actress	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	none	99	99
1294	10.11.2004	Photo exhibition	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	none	99	99
1300	09.12.2004	Succession family by adoption	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	editor	26	99
1307	06.01.2005	Szunami disaster	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
1316	01.02.2005	Basketball player came back	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	adoptee	20	27
1323	03.03.2005	New family registration law	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	3	none	99	99
1331	14.04.2005	World headline	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	none	99	99
1336	02.05.2005	Miracle is made by four fingers	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
1346	03.06.2005	TV preview	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
1358	01.07.2005	Interview with an actor	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	son of	1	99
1370	06.08.2005	TV preview	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	son of	99	99
1378	01.09.2005	TV preview	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
1390	12.10.2005	First Korean adoptees visited to	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	adoptee	2	52
1400	01.11.2005	Concert of Holt chior	2	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	7	99
1412	10.12.2005	Uncle abused nephew	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	none	9	13
1424	03.01.2006	This year's province policy	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	1	none	99	99
1436	09.02.2006	Torino Winter Olympic games	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
1444	02.03.2006	Taking a break from acting after	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	adoptive	99	99
1448	03.04.2006	Love is life	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	none	99	99
1456	04.05.2006	Son of adoptee won a award	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	son of	99	53
1471	05.06.2006	Cruel parents murdered kids	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
1487	12.07.2006	It is necessary to learn Korean	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	none	99	99
1497	02.08.2006	Wanna be a pro-golfer	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	adoptee	99	27
1512	11.09.2006	Should be careful to choose	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
1521	02.10.2006	The reason why she won a	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
1535	04.11.2006	There is invisible discrimination	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
1540	04.12.2006	2006 Incheon public welfare	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	none	99	99
109, 110	14.11.1961	Dr. Lee finished the adoption	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	none	31	99
204, 205	27.04.1979	A tragedy at Orly airport	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	1	2	editor	6,7	99

Article no.	Date	Title	B.Parents age	A.Parents age	Adoptee Gender	B.Parents job	A.Parents job	Adoptee's job	B.Parents wage	A.Parents wage	Adoptee's wage	B.Parents Edu.Level	A.Parents Edu.Level	Adoptee Edu.Level	Adoptee Disability	Adoptee Profile	In charge	
						1 = low preference	1 = low preference	1 = low preference				1=under secondary	2=under secondary	1=under secondary	0=none	1=war orphan 2=orphan 3=mixed-blood children 4=single mother 5=abandoned child 6=parents	1=Individual 2=Agency 3=Government 4=Society	
						2 = med.	2 = med.	2 = med.	1=LOW	1=LOW	2=LOW	2=	2=	2=	1= mild			
						3 = high	3 = high	3 = high	2=MED	2=MED	3=High	3=above secondary	3=above secondary	3=above secondary	2=strong			
						female												
129.06.1924		One Japanese adopted a Korean	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	1
202.11.1925		A law suit for confrimation of adoptee	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	1
506.02.1927		Want to adopt abandoned child	99	99	2	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	1
831.05.1929		Struggle for girl on the street	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	1
906.08.1929		A complicated law suit for nullification	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	1
1318.07.1935		A complicated law suit for adoption	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	1
1701.02.1953		On way to Syria to be adopted	99	99	2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	99	0	1	1	
1807.02.1953		Dr. Ad and his two adopted	99	99	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	99	0	1	1	
2129.01.1954		Mixed-blood children will be adopted	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1,3
2210.02.1954		The investigation about actual	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	3
2322.02.1954		Why do they want keep mix-blood	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	3
2422.02.1954		Busy preparing to be adopted	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	3
2523.07.1954		People who go abroad to seek	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
2608.07.1955		Want to be adopted	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	99
2715.08.1955		White mixed-blood children are on	99	99	1,2	99	3,3	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	2
2813.10.1955		Going to America to find adoptive	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	1
2905.11.1955		Please send Korean orphan	99	99	99	99	2	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	1
3017.11.1955		International marriage 87,	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
3114.12.1955		Two girls on their way to America to	99	99	2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	1
3230.01.1956		Lucky Sinja in adoptive brother arm's	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	1
3329.03.1956		500 mixed-blood children will be	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
3431.03.1956		Orphans are on their way to America	99	99	1,2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1,3	1
3506.04.1956		13 orphans went to America to be	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	99
3607.04.1956		News from Munkyo who was	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	99
3710.04.1956		Busy finding adoptive parents	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	1
3820.04.1956		Beloved adopted daughter	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
3929.04.1956		Happy Tony in adoptive parents'	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	99
4004.05.1956		Adoption to American until end of	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	3
4112.05.1956		In adoptive grandma's arms	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	1
4414.06.1956		17 orphans are on their way to	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	99
4520.06.1956		A crying adoptive mother because of	23	31	2	1	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4	1
4605.08.1956		In new sister's arms	99	99	1	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	1
4722.09.1956		25 orphans left again	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
4823.09.1956		15 Korean orphans arrived in San	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	1
4909.10.1956		27 orphans left for America again	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
5027.10.1956		Adoptive parents to orphans	99	99	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
5101.11.1956		A mother of mixed-blood returned	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
5208.11.1956		Formed a relationship between	99	99	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
5310.11.1956		A joint ceremony on 20th	99	99	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
5425.11.1956		1200 orphans forming relationships	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	3

5511.12.1956	With 70 Korean orphans	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
5613.12.1956	88 mixed-blood children went to	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
5718.12.1956	No casualty	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	1
5925.12.1956	The orphans arrived in America	99	99	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	1
6030.12.1956	600 orphans went to America a year	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	2
6131.01.1956	50 mixed blooded children went to	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
6306.02.1957	The cry for mother	99	99	1,2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
6403.03.1957	70 mixed blood children will leave for	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
6504.03.1957	Trying to arrange adoptions for black	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
6615.03.1957	Wanting to raise mixed blood	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
7114.11.1957	The first priority is a wife	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
7201.12.1957	They arrived in America safely	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
7318.12.1957	Going to America with American	99	99	99	99	3	99	99	3	99	99	99	0	2	1
7401.02.1958	113 Korean war orphans were	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	1	1	3
7826.03.1958	Pearl Buck will raise seven children	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
7930.05.1958	Senator Charles adopt Korean	99	99	1	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	1
8001.06.1958	80 orphans were adopted again	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
8110.06.1958	Visiting motherland with mother after	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
8208.08.1958	Joey in her new mother's arms	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	1
8317.03.1959	100 mixed blood children were	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	2
8419.05.1959	20 mixed blood children were	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
8509.07.1959	190 mixed blood children will be	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	2
8618.07.1959	Meeting adopted parents after death	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	1
8730.07.1959	Adoptees are heading to America	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	99
8801.08.1959	97 Korean orphans arrived in	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	99
8928.08.1959	Forced adoption against will	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	1
9020.09.1959	The dawn for adoption to America	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	3
9120.01.1960	20 orphans will be adopted again	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	1
9207.02.1960	The adoption for the rest of mixed	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	3
9327.02.1960	80 mixed blood children will be	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	99
9417.03.1960	The bill about adoption of Korean	99	99	2	99	1	99	99	1	99	99	99	0	1	3
9506.07.1960	82 orphans arrived in America	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	1
9620.09.1960	100 people go to America	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	2
9718.10.1960	New 80 people	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2,3	2
9829.11.1960	The adoption case which is done by	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	1
9921.12.1960	The 10 years anniversary for	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
10006.01.1961	The investigation team about Korean	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
10108.01.1961	In step mother's arms	99	99	2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	1
10202.06.1961	On their way to strange country and	99	99	1,2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2,3	2
10303.06.1961	To America yesterday	99	99	1,2	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2,3	2
10409.07.1961	Bye rainy homeland	99	99	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	2
10526.07.1961	On way to England by himself	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	3
10617.08.1961	Joy of American adoptive parents	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	2
10820.10.1961	A meeting is needed for adoption	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3
11124.11.1961	The adoption and findind family	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
11223.02.1962	10000 adoptions in this year	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
11318.03.1962	18 years Korean boy met new	99	99	1	99	3	99	99	99	99	3	99	0	99	1
11409.04.1962	Triples went to America	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
11514.05.1962	The lives of quadruplets	99	51,40	1,2	99	2	99	99	2	99	99	99	0	4	1
11623.06.1962	Pushing on with adoption	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	2
11701.08.1962	Taking a house as security for an	99	99	2	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	1
11823.08.1962	Joy came after sadness	32	99	2	1	99	99	1	3	99	99	99	0	4	1
11907.09.1962	Do you want to do like giving pets?	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
12007.09.1962	The condition of mix-blooded	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	3
12112.02.1963	Adoptions for orphans	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
12220.02.1963	Applications for adoption of orphans	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
12316.03.1963	Orphans til home	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
12424.04.1962	Parental love til orphans	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
12526.11.1963	Orphans on an interview	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	1
12627.03.1964	Korean adoptee started to cry in	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99

12705.05.1964	Adoption business will continue	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	2
12824.05.1964	Ex-wife is adopted as a daughter	99	66	2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	1
12927.05.1964	40 America parents will look for	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	2
13011.07.1964	Something thicker than blood	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	1
13118.09.1964	Looking for relatives	99	99	1	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	1
13218.11.1964	Prof. Cobern wants to adopt two	99	99	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	3	99	0	2	1
13304.12.1964	A warm-hearted dancer	99	23	1	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	1
13409.02.1965	Jinju has been missing	99	99	2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	1
13512.02.1965	Wanting to know my hometown	99	99	1	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	1
13629.12.1965	Hadicapped Kim went to America	99	48	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	2	2
13708.03.1966	Korean orphan became American	99	58	1	99	3	3	99	99	99	99	99	2	0	1
13821.04.1966	The tragedy in Vietnam war	99	99	1	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	1
13906.05.1966	Mrs. Holt became '66 mother of	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	2
14023.10.1966	I want to be a writer another 30 years	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2,3	2
14125.12.1966	Memories of Debby	99	99	2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2,3	1
14214.03.1967	Visiting motherland after 9 years	99	99	2	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	6
14311.02.1969	I will keep my homecounry in my	99	4	1,2	99	3	99	99	99	99	3	99	0	2	1
14413.02.1969	Please give my daughter back	28	29	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4	1
14520.02.1969	Going to America to meet new	99	99	1,2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1,3	2
14630.07.1969	Reject orphans on board	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1,3	2
14716.04.1970	5000th adoption by Holt	99	29	2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	2
14829.05.1970	Welcome Kaser grandpa	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
14928.08.1970	10 orphans are adopted to America	99	45	1,2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	1
15004.09.1971	Drea found his Korean mother	42	99	1	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	0	3,4
15113.11.1971	Mrs. Spostru leaves Korea	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	2
15209.12.1971	Transnational adoption boom	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2,3	3
15429.07.1973	One sick adopted orphan looks for	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	2
15516.03.1974	Adopted mix-blood child met his	43	99	1	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	2	0	3
15613.04.1974	Korean kids are invited	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
15713.04.1974	Debates in America on adoption of	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	6	2
15814.04.1974	A child uninfected with leprosy is	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	99	99
15916.04.1974	Debates in America on adoption of	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	6	2
16002.06.1974	Children are precious in France	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
16104.07.1974	Disable kids are increasing	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	99	99
16308.08.1974	Blind musician came homecountry	66	99	2	99	99	3	1	99	99	99	99	3	2	6
16409.08.1974	Hymn with tears in front of father	66	99	2	1	99	3	1	99	99	99	99	3	2	6
16515.09.1974	Laying a bill about adoption	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	6	3
16615.11.1974	Kidnapped child was adopted to	30	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	2
16719.11.1974	Please give Youngim in Canada me	30	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	2
16812.12.1974	We found the address of Youngim in	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	2
16929.12.1974	Suicidal trouble in Switzerland	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	2
17023.01.1975	Woman of year	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	2
17213.03.1975	14 babies past away	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4	2
17316.03.1975	Encouraging domestic adoption	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3
17422.03.1975	Social justice is different than how is	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	1,2,3,5,6	2
17504.04.1975	Vietnamese orphans are on their way	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	99
17604.05.1975	Found son right before being	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
17714.06.1975	Came homecountry after 20 years	99	99	1,2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	1
17828.06.1975	The alive witness for alliance	99	99	1,2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	1
17903.08.1975	A misfortune Korean orphan	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	5	2
18105.10.1975	Please give my only son back	28	99	1	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	2
18208.10.1975	International Human Right starts to	28	99	1	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	2
18301.11.1975	American soldier met his biological	45	99	1	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	2	0	3
18406.02.1976	Increasing domestic adoption	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	2
18624.03.1976	Establish a special adoption law	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3
18705.05.1976	Domestic adoption is only a word	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2,4	3
18818.06.1976	Day and night of Komerican	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	99
18930.06.1976	Age limit for adoption is 18 years old	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3
19015.07.1976	A shelter for unfortunate children will	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3
19122.09.1976	10 bills are submitted to congress	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3

19213.10.1976	Children uninfected with leprosy will	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	6	2
19314.10.1976	Children uninfected with leprosy went	99	99	1,2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	6	2
19410.02.1977	Forming 2600 relations in this year	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3
19513.03.1977	Illegal adoptions of Korean orphans	99	99	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	2
19617.04.1977	Promoting domestic adoption of	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3
19727.04.1977	Adoptions of orphans has increased	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	2
19821.06.1977	Visiting motherland in June	99	99	1,2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	1,3	99
19930.07.1977	Even if it didn't go through adoption	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	1
20020.12.1977	Domestic adoption has increased a	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3
20115.03.1978	Adoptions of animal are boom in	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
20616.05.1979	3 years old baby is missing	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	2
20703.06.1979	Human welfare for orphans	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2,4,5	4
20806.05.1979	Swedish adoptees visited motherland	99	99	1,2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	2
20921.06.1979	Prioritizing domestic adoption	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
21004.07.1979	Looking for my biological mother	51	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4	99
21121.09.1979	Domestic adoption surpassed	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
21217.06.1980	5 crocodiles were adopted	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
21323.09.1980	American adoptee is looking for his	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	99
21425.12.1980	One Korean girl got together with her	99	38	1,2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	99
21519.05.1981	An elementary school student was	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
21628.05.1981	A birth registration	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
21710.06.1981	An adoption registration	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
21824.06.1981	An adoption registration	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
21926.06.1981	I want to live as a proud Korean	60,53	43	1,2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	2	0	6	2
22017.09.1981	Looking for biological brother	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	99
22113.10.1981	A family registration	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
22212.11.1981	After 20 years from adoption to	99	99	2	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	3	2	2	2
22318.06.1982	Court helped finding biological	27	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	1
22418.06.1982	With warm welcome in mother land	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	2
22519.08.1982	Healthy Korean adoptees in nothern	99	39,50	1,2	99	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	0	2,5	99
22626.09.1982	It is difficult to adopt in America	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
22707.10.1982	Looking for biological mother	99	47	2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	2	0	99	2
22814.04.1983	Happy smile of one adoptive parents	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	0	99	99
22910.08.1983	Triplets were adopted to America	99	25	2	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4	2
23026.10.1983	Adoptions of children of single	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4	2
23103.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered kidnapping	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	99
23203.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered kidnapping	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	99
23303.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered kidnapping	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	99
23403.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered kidnapping	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	99
23505.04.1984	Around 5000 adoptions in America	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
23616.05.1984	Looking for parents	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	5	2
23702.06.1984	Looking for parents	99	99	2	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	5	2
23817.06.1984	Sophia Roren adopted cabbage	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
23917.06.1984	Found biological relatives after 24	69	99	2	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	2
24024.06.1984	Looking for parents	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	5	2
24117.07.1984	Please give me my son back	46	99	1	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	2
24217.07.1984	Will start negotiation	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	2
24312.08.1984	Big success after adoption	99	99	2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	2	5	2
24421.08.1984	Tears bursted out when blind	99	99	2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	5	99
24530.08.1984	First girl player at World little	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
24630.08.1984	Transnational adoption is a boom	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2,4	2
24731.10.1984	Triplets met dramatically their	68	99	1,2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	2
24910.09.1985	Quadruplets met relatives on the	57	99	2	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	1
25025.10.1986	10 adoptees visited to motherland	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	2
25111.03.1987	Twins met again	99	33	2	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	99
25204.02.1988	Adoption of orphans	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	99
25324.04.1988	No. 1 in orphan adoption	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2,4	2
25426.04.1988	Kingdom of orphan adoptions...	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2,4	4
25505.05.1988	Country of exporting orphans	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	4
25626.05.1988	Abandonment of girls	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	2

25708.06.1988	Adoption of orphans	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2,4	3	
25829.06.1988	Finally I could meet my mother whom	99	56	1,2	99	3	3	99	99	3	99	99	3	0	99	2
25914.08.1988	Black market for babies in Italia	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4,5	2
26013.09.1988	One adoptee visited Olympic games	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	99	99
26113.11.1988	13000 children are abandoned every	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	2
26202.02.1989	Adoption agencies compete for	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	2
26312.02.1989	Abandoned children	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	4,5	2
26528.07.1989	AIDS orphans become social	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	6	4
26627.09.1989	Adoption agencies are selling rice	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	2
26704.10.1989	Most of adoptees in America are	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
26818.10.1989	Abandoned children also have right	99	99	2	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	2	0	3	2
27024.11.1989	Why did they abandon me?	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	0	5	99
27111.02.1990	American dream	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
27211.02.1990	A general store	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
27313.03.1990	Transnational adoption will be	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3
27414.03.1990	We should prohibit orphan adoption	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3,4
27504.04.1990	Domestic violence	36	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	99
27616.04.1990	Looking for parents	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	2
27812.05.1990	Abandoned twins had a party	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	99
28023.06.1990	The Korean War correspondents	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	1
28125.06.1990	The war victim came back as a	99	99	1	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	1	1
28204.07.1990	The gratitude of sister	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
28510.11.1990	Norwegian adoptee	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	3
28704.12.1990	Dirty media	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4	99
29125.02.1991	A barber of Love	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
29204.03.1991	Transnational adoptees try to find	54	43	1,2	99	99	99	99	1,2	99	99	99	99	0	2,5	2
29407.07.1991	Adoptive mother murdered adoptee	99	39	2	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	2
29507.08.1991	40s American lady is externally	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
29613.10.1991	Legal system in North Korea	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4,6	3
29717.10.1991	Beating circus training	50	99	1,2	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	1
29822.10.1991	Circus girl is adopted	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	2
29922.10.1991	It is acceptable to register birth after	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2,4	1
30022.10.1991	We have big problem	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	4
30106.11.1991	Kidnapped daughter is found	33	35	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	2
30207.11.1991	This is my kid	33, 46	35	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	2
30319.11.1991	Adopted daughter returned to	46	35	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	2
30705.04.1992	Mammy!	56	99	1,2	99	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	2
30809.04.1992	Gift story	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	99
31011.05.1992	cannot raise them anymore	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	1	2	2
31126.05.1992	The guilt of violating lives	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	2	4
31219.06.1992	Meeting forster mother after 14 years	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	2
31320.06.1992	Sad visit after 18 years	99	80	2	99	2	2	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	5	2
31520.08.1992	The essay about visit of first satellite	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
31606.09.1992	Suni	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	99
31707.09.1992	18 disabled children were adopted	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	99	2
31915.11.1992	Korean adoptee was elected for the	99	99	2	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	99	99
32025.11.1992	Korean adoptee is chosen as a chief	99	99	1	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	1	1
32208.12.1992	The seminar about domestic	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	2,5	2,3
32331.01.1993	The procreative operation	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
32418.02.1993	Adopt child since second wife	99	99	2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	2
32503.03.1993	Vietnam special report	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	4
32720.03.1993	An investigation on special entrance	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
32805.05.1993	Hurted children's hearts	99	99	1,2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2,5	2
33014.06.1993	My love, Soonyi	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
33115.06.1993	Professor who is specialized in	99	45	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	99	99
33203.07.1993	A sterile couple	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
33308.07.1993	Looking for parents	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	2
33504.08.1993	Looking for family	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	2
33607.08.1993	Looking for family	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	2
33823.11.1993	Orphans visited Disneyland	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99

33906.01.1994	Loan benefit for adoptive family	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
34015.01.1994	Families in the world	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
34104.03.1994	Happy couple is buried together	99	99	2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	99	0	99
34210.03.1994	Animal adoption	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
34607.04.1994	Adoption or kidnapping	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
34702.05.1994	Looking for parents	99	32	2	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2
35602.06.1994	Seminar for children's right	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
36223.07.1994	View of French about family has	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
36606.08.1994	Revised law about adoption	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
37125.09.1994	Selfisk department	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
37309.11.1994	Tax office informed	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
37910.12.1994	Looking for parents	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5
38207.01.1995	Catching children's taste	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
38313.01.1995	Domestic adoption	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2.5
38604.02.1995	American strengthens taking figure	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
39011.03.1995	80s couple got divorced	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
39428.04.1995	Looking for parents	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4
39509.05.1995	Subsidy for adoption of disabled	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	99
40018.06.1995	Book review	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
40108.07.1995	Minister profile	99	49	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	99	0	99
40411.08.1995	Cannot take adopted son back	23	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4
40705.10.1995	Taking care of unmarried mother	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4
41326.11.1995	Facts about depression	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
41416.12.1995	Looking for parents	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5
41605.01.1996	Series of Chosun dynasty	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6
42102.02.1996	Found similar gene for donation	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	2	99	99
43402.03.1996	New drama series	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2
44107.04.1996	Missionary work	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
44704.05.1996	TV preview	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	99
45718.06.1996	Looking for parents	99	99	1	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	99
46614.08.1996	Bauman is recovering	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	2	99	99
46726.09.1996	Interview with chairman of Holt	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
46811.10.1996	Isn't adoptee a member of family?	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
47513.11.1996	want to find my story to tell my	99	99	2	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	2	0	99
47915.12.1996	40 years transnational adoption	99	99	1	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	99
49205.01.1997	I'm proud of my grandpa	99	48	1	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	99	0	4
50605.02.1997	Another donation for adoptee	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	99
51201.03.1997	Album review	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
51507.04.1997	Film preview	99	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
52204.06.1997	Kindness from baseball player	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
53205.07.1997	On the theater	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
54206.08.1997	Bauman is going back to school	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	2	99
54903.09.1997	Dog adoption	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
55908.10.1997	Woody Allen	99	60	2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
56303.11.1997	Film review	99	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
57406.12.1997	Ceremony of foundation of domestic	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4
58001.01.1998	Film review	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
58601.02.1998	Do we really have to give a birth?	99	49	1.2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	4
59014.03.1998	Clearing cats1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
59501.04.1998	Nurse is arrested	26	99	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4
60003.05.1998	Film review	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	0	2
60403.06.1998	Exorcism danse for sadness of being	99	99	2	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	5
60806.07.1998	Special entrance qualification for	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
61506.08.1998	Adoptive mother helps her adopted	99	51	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5
61914.09.1998	Korea is my friend	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
62203.10.1998	The dean of Nazarene university	99	56	1	99	3	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	0	99
62805.11.1998	25 adoptee was elected for a	99	99	1	99	3	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	1
63901.12.1998	TV review	99	43	2	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
64601.01.1999	Global etiquette	99	99	2	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99
65205.02.1999	Letters of friendship	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99

65603.03.1999	Becoming missionary	99	99	2	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	99	99
66506.04.1999	35 American adoptees visit to	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
66807.05.1999	Winner of public welfare work is an	99	54	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	99	99
67701.06.1999	Interview with an actress	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
68701.07.1999	On theater	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
69410.08.1999	The family of Reagan	99	78	1	99	3	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
70003.09.1999	Korean American writer	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
71602.10.1999	Father of orphans Mr. Hess visits to	99	82	2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1	99
72406.11.1999	Looking for roots	99	77	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	5	2
72907.12.1995	American Senator published his	99	99	1	99	3	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	1	1
73907.01.2000	Our adopted kid is a rat?	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
74307.02.2000	I just want to repay what I have	99	99	1	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	2	0	2	1
74908.03.2000	Considering to ratify Hague	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3
75905.04.2000	It is needed to build web site for	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	4
76205.05.2000	Special entrance qualification for	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
77201.06.2000	Let's write explanation of remains in	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
78301.07.2000	I'm 55% Korean	99	99	2	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4	99
79602.08.2000	Wanna be a champion in motherland	99	99	2	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
81409.09.2000	Film preview	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
81901.10.2000	Interview with prime minister of	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
82901.11.2000	Society with disabled people	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	99	4
83605.12.2000	This year's family	99	42	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2.5	99
84510.01.2001	Gene information bank	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
85305.02.2001	Black adoptee becomes great player	16	62	1	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4	1
85801.03.2001	Always love my homecountry	99	35	1.2	99	3	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
86804.03.2001	This time should be...	99	99	2	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	2
88501.05.2001	Debates on life morals regarding to	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4	4
89401.06.2001	Profiles of two writers of game	99	99	1	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
90005.07.2001	14 years in palace and 20 years in	99	99	2	3	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	1
90501.08.2001	Interview with an actress	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
91905.09.2001	You should be busy to be single	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
92708.10.2001	Transexual Chinese dancer	99	34	1	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
93402.11.2001	Domestic adoption	99	35	1.2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	4	2
94401.12.2001	Book review	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	1
95303.01.2002	Honesty is efficiency	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	4
96207.02.2002	New family registration law according	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	3
96811.03.2002	American adoptee won figure skating	99	99	2	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
97506.04.2002	Using Asian instead of Oriental	99	99	1	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	1	99
98304.05.2002	Literature world	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	99	99
99707.06.2002	Gay couple can adopt in Sweden	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3
100702.07.2002	Two adoptees participated with	99	48	1.2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
102103.08.2002	Police officer helped adoptee finding	60	99	2	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4	2
103504.09.2002	Popular drama seems same	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
103902.10.2002	Happiness should be prioritized to	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
104704.11.2002	Teps lecture	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
105602.12.2002	We understand Korea and Korean	99	99	1.2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
106604.01.2003	35 children are most same as	99	46	1.2	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	3	99	0	2	2
107503.02.2003	One essay will be on a textbook	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
108404.03.2003	Twins met again	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
109104.04.2003	Being a teacher at disabled people	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	99	2
110105.05.2003	Minority report mixed blood children	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	4
111403.06.2003	Indian film festival	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
112402.07.2003	Adoptees taste Korean traditional	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
113701.08.2003	Mixed blood wants to leave this	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	4
114601.09.2003	Swedish writer is Korean adoptee	99	99	1	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	99
115601.10.2003	Reader's opinion	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3
116403.11.2003	Film preview	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
117308.12.2003	TV preview	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
118101.01.2004	American families donate 1600\$ a	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99
118704.02.2004	Reader's opinion	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3

119904.03.2004	TV preview	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99	
121107.04.2004	Wife of British ambassador	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	4	
122104.05.2004	Conferring a decoration	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	2	
123002.06.2004	Health information	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99	
124201.07.2004	Subsidy for third kid	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99	
125102.08.2004	Concert to find adoptee's biological	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	3	0	5	2	
127606.09.2004	Adoptee becomes doctor about	99	99	2	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	3	0	5	2	
128501.10.2004	Interview with an actress	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99	
129410.11.2004	Photo exhibition	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	4	
130009.12.2004	Succession family by adoption	99	99	1	99	3	99	99	3	99	99	99	0	6	1	
130706.01.2005	Szunami disaster	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	4	
131601.02.2005	Basketball player came back home	99	99	2	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	0	6	1	
132303.03.2005	New family registration law Q&A	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3	
133114.04.2005	World headline	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3	
133602.05.2005	Miracle is made by four fingers	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	99	99	
134603.06.2005	TV preview	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99	
135801.07.2005	Interview with an actor	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	5	99	
137006.08.2005	TV preview	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99	
137801.09.2005	TV preview	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99	
139012.10.2005	First Korean adoptees visited to	99	99	1,2	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	1,3	1	
140001.11.2005	Concert of Holt chior	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	99	2	
141210.12.2005	Uncle abused nephew	99	43	2	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	1	
142403.01.2006	This year's province policy	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	3	
143609.02.2006	Torino Winter Olympic games	99	99	1	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	2	
144402.03.2006	Taking a break from acting after 30	99	99	1	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99	
144803.04.2006	Love is life	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	4	
145604.05.2006	Son of adoptee won a award	99	99	2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	2	1	99	
147105.06.2006	Cruel parents murdered kids and let	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99	
148712.07.2006	It is necessary to learn Korean to live	99	99	1	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	3	99	
149702.08.2006	Wanna be a pro-golfer	99	99	1	99	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99	
151211.09.2006	Should be careful to choose words	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	4	
152102.10.2006	The reason why she won a prize	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	99	
153504.11.2006	There is invisible discrimination to	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	99	4	
154004.12.2006	2006 Incheon public welfare work	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	4	2	
109, 11014.11.1961	Dr. Lee finished the adoption	99	86	1	99	3	99	99	99	99	99	3	3	0	6	1
204, 20527.04.1979	A tragedy at Orly airport	99	99	1,2	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	0	2	99	

Article no.	Date	Title	Group/Individual	Story	Reunion	Conflict	Sending	Minority	Korean law/policy	Other countries' law and policy	Hierarchy	Global perspective	Reputation of nation	Korean-ness	other-ness	Name of transnational adoptee	Blood line
			1=Group 2=Individual	1=Description 2=Story	0=no 1=yes	0=no 1=yes	1=send 2=visiting	1=mixedblood child 2=disabled 3=gay couple 4=unmarried mother 5=a child by a concubine 6=divorced	0=no 1=yes	0=no 1=yes	1 = local government 2 = Ministry 3 = state	0 = not positive 1 = y 2 = y negative	0 = not positive 1 = y 2 = y negative	1 = food 2 = name 3 = language 4 = appearance	1 = food 2 = name 3 = language	0=none 1=Korean 2=Foreign 3=both	0=not mentioned 1=implied 2=explicitly mentioned
1	29.06.1924	One Japanese adopted a	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	02.11.1925	A law suit for confirmation of	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	06.02.1927	Want to adopt abandoned child	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	31.05.1929	Struggle for girl on the street	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	06.08.1929	A complicated law suit for	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
13	18.07.1935	A complicated law suit for	2	2	0	1	99	5	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
17	01.02.1953	On way to Syria to be adopted	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1	0
18	07.02.1953	Dr. Ad and his two adopted	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1	0
21	29.01.1954	Mixed-blood children will be	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
22	10.02.1954	The investigation about actual	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
23	22.02.1954	Why do they want keep mix-	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	22.02.1954	Busy preparing to be adopted	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
25	23.07.1954	People who go abroad to seek	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	08.07.1955	Want to be adopted	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	15.08.1955	White mixed-blood children are	2	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1	0
28	13.10.1955	Going to America to find	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
29	05.11.1955	Please send Korean orphan	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	17.11.1955	International marriage 87,	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
31	14.12.1955	Two girls on their way to	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	3	0
32	30.01.1956	Lucky Sinja in adoptive brother	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	3	0
33	29.03.1956	500 mixed-blood children will be	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	31.03.1956	Orphans are on their way to	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1	0
35	06.04.1956	13 orphans went to America to	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	07.04.1956	News from Munkyo who was	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1	0
37	10.04.1956	Busy finding adoptive parents	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
38	20.04.1956	Beloved adopted daughter	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	2	0
39	29.04.1956	Happy Tony in adoptive parents'	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	3	0
40	04.05.1956	Adoption to American until end	1	1	0	0	1	3	1	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
41	12.05.1956	In adoptive grandma's arms	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1	0
44	14.06.1956	17 orphans are on their way to	1	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
45	20.06.1956	A crying adoptive mother	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
46	05.08.1956	In new sister's arms	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
47	22.09.1956	25 orphans left again	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
48	23.09.1956	15 Korean orphans arrived in	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
49	09.10.1956	27 orphans left for America	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
50	27.10.1956	Adoptive parents to orphans	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
51	01.11.1956	A mother of mixed-blood	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	08.11.1956	Formed a relationship between	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
53	10.11.1956	A joint ceremony on 20th	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

54	25.11.1956	1200 orphans forming	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
55	11.12.1956	With 70 Korean orphans	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
56	13.12.1956	88 mixed-blood children went to	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
57	18.12.1956	No casualty	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
59	25.12.1956	The orphans arrived in America	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
60	30.12.1956	600 orphans went to America a	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
61	31.01.1956	50 mixed blooded children went	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
63	06.02.1957	The cry for mother	1	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	99	2	0	0	0	2
64	03.03.1957	70 mixed blood children will	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
65	04.03.1957	Trying to arrange adoptions for	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
66	15.03.1957	Wanting to raise mixed blood	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
71	14.11.1957	The first priority is a wife	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	99	0	0	0	0	1
72	01.12.1957	They arrived in America safely	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
73	18.12.1957	Going to America with American	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
74	01.02.1958	113 Korean war orphans were	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	1	99	1	0	0	0	0
78	26.03.1958	Pearl Buck will raise seven	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
79	30.05.1958	Senator Charles adopt Korean	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	0
80	01.06.1958	80 orphans were adopted again	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
81	10.06.1958	Visiting motherland with mother	2	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	99	0	0	3	0	2
82	08.08.1958	Joey in her new mother's arms	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	2
83	17.03.1959	100 mixed blood children were	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
84	19.05.1959	20 mixed blood children were	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
85	09.07.1959	190 mixed blood children will be	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
86	18.07.1959	Meeting adopted parents after	2	2	0	1	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
87	30.07.1959	Adoptees are heading to	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
88	01.08.1959	97 Korean orphans arrived in	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
89	28.08.1959	Forced adoption against will	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
90	20.09.1959	The dawn for adoption to	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	0
91	20.01.1960	20 orphans will be adopted	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
92	07.02.1960	The adoption for the rest of	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
93	27.02.1960	80 mixed blood children will be	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
94	17.03.1960	The bill about adoption of	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	2
95	06.07.1960	82 orphans arrived in America	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
96	20.09.1960	100 people go to America	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
97	18.10.1960	New 80 people	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
98	29.11.1960	The adoption case which is	2	2	0	1	99	99	1	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
99	21.12.1960	The 10 years anniversary for	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
100	06.01.1961	The investigation team about	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	0
101	08.01.1961	In step mother's arms	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3
102	02.06.1961	On their way to strange country	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1
103	03.06.1961	To America yesterday	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1
104	09.07.1961	Bye rainy homeland	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1
105	26.07.1961	On way to England by himself	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1
106	17.08.1961	Joy of American adoptive	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	2
108	20.10.1961	A meeting is needed for	1	99	0	0	99	99	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	0
111	24.11.1961	The adoption and findind family	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
112	23.02.1962	10000 adoptions in this year	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
113	18.03.1962	18 years Korean boy met new	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1
114	09.04.1962	Triplets went to America	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	2	2
115	14.05.1962	The lives of quadruplets	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	2	2
116	23.06.1962	Pushing on with adoption	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
117	01.08.1962	Taking a house as security for	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	2	2
118	23.08.1962	Joy came after sadness	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1
119	07.09.1962	Do you want to do like giving	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	2	0	0	0
120	07.09.1962	The condition of mix-blooded	1	1	0	0	99	1	1	0	99	0	0	0	0	1
121	12.02.1963	Adoptions for orphans	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
122	20.02.1963	Applications for adoption of	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
123	16.03.1963	Orphans til home	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
124	24.04.1962	Parental love til orphans	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
125	26.11.1963	Orphans on an interview	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0

126	27.03.1964	Korean adoptee started to cry in	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1	0
127	05.05.1964	Adoption business will continue	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
128	24.05.1964	Ex-wife is adopted as a	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
129	27.05.1964	40 America parents will look for	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
130	11.07.1964	Something thicker than blood	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1	0
131	18.09.1964	Looking for relatives	2	2	1	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1	2
132	18.11.1964	Prof. Cobern wants to adopt two	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
133	04.12.1964	A warm-hearted dancer	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	2	2	0
134	09.02.1965	Jinju has been missing	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1	0
135	12.02.1965	Wanting to know my hometown	2	2	0	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	2	2	2
136	29.12.1965	Hadicapped Kim went to	2	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1	2
137	08.03.1966	Korean orphan became	2	2	0	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3	2
138	21.04.1966	The tragedy in Vietnam war	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
139	06.05.1966	Mrs. Holt became '66 mother of	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
140	23.10.1966	I want to be a writer another 30	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
141	25.12.1966	Memories of Debby	2	2	0	0	99	1	0	0	99	0	0	1	2	2	1
142	14.03.1967	Visiting motherland after 9 years	2	2	0	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	3	1	1
143	11.02.1969	I will keep my homecoutry in my	2	2	0	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3	2
144	13.02.1969	Please give my daughter back	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1	0
145	20.02.1969	Going to America to meet new	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1	0
146	30.07.1969	Reject orphans on board	1	1	0	1	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
147	16.04.1970	5000th adoption by Holt	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1	0
148	29.05.1970	Welcom Kaser grandpa	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
149	28.08.1970	10 orphans are adopted to	1	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
150	04.09.1971	Drea found his Korean mother	2	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3	2
151	13.11.1971	Mrs. Spostraleaves Korea	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
152	09.12.1971	Transnational adoption boom	1	1	0	0	1	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2
154	29.07.1973	One sick adopted orphan looks	2	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1	1
155	16.03.1974	Adopted mix-blood child met his	2	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3	1
156	13.04.1974	5 Korean kids are invited	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
157	13.04.1974	Debates in America on adoption	1	1	0	1	1	2	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
158	14.04.1974	A child uninfected with leprosy is	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
159	16.04.1974	Debates in America on adoption	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	99	0	2	0	0	0	0
160	02.06.1974	Children are precious in France	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
161	04.07.1974	Disable kids are increasing	99	99	0	0	99	2	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
163	08.08.1974	Blind musician came	2	2	1	0	2	2	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3	2
164	09.08.1974	Hymn with tears in front of father	2	2	0	0	2	2	0	0	99	0	0	1,2,3	2	3	2
165	15.09.1974	Laying a bill about adoption	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
166	15.11.1974	Kidnapped child was adopted to	2	2	0	1	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1	0
167	19.11.1974	Please give Youngim in Canada	2	2	0	1	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1	2
168	12.12.1974	We found the address of	2	2	0	1	1	99	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
169	29.12.1974	Suicidal trouble in Switzerland	2	2	0	1	1	99	0	1	99	2	2	1,2,3,4	0	1	2
170	23.01.1975	Woman of year	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
172	13.03.1975	14 babies past away	1	2	0	1	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2
173	16.03.1975	Encouraging domestic adoption	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	0
174	22.03.1975	Social justice is different than	1	1	0	1	99	99	1	0	3	2	2	0	0	0	2
175	04.04.1975	Vietnamese orphans are on	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
176	04.05.1975	Found son right before being	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
177	14.06.1975	Came homecountry after 20	1	1	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
178	28.06.1975	The alive witness for alliance	1	1	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	2	2	2
179	03.08.1975	A misfortune Korean orphan	2	2	0	1	99	2	0	1	99	0	0	2	2	3	0
181	05.10.1975	Please give my only son back	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1	0
182	08.10.1975	International Human Right starts	2	2	0	1	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	2	0	1	0
183	01.11.1975	American solidier met his	2	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	99	0	0	0	2	2	2
184	06.02.1976	Increasing domestic adoption	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
186	24.03.1976	Establish a special adoption law	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
187	05.05.1976	Domestic adoption is only a	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2
188	18.06.1976	Day and night of Komerican	1,2	1,2	0	1	99	99	0	1	99	2	2	1,2,3	0	1	2
189	30.06.1976	Age limit for adoption is 18	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1
190	15.07.1976	A shelter for unfortunate	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	0

191	22.09.1976	10 bills are submitted to	99	99	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	1
192	13.10.1976	Children uninfected with leprosy	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	1
193	14.10.1976	Children uninfected with leprosy	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
194	10.02.1977	Forming 2600 relations in this	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
195	13.03.1977	Illegal adoptions of Korean	1	1	0	1	1	99	0	0	99	2	0	0	0	0
196	17.04.1977	Promoting domestic adoption of	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
197	27.04.1977	Adoptions of orphans has	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
198	21.06.1977	Visiting motherland in June	1	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	2
199	30.07.1977	Even if it didn't go through	2	2	0	1	99	99	1	0	99	0	0	0	0	1
200	20.12.1977	Domestic adoption has	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	2	0	0	0	0
201	15.03.1978	Adoptions of animal are boom in	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
206	16.05.1979	3 years old baby is missing	2	2	0	1	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
207	03.06.1979	Human welfare for orphans	1	1	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	2	2	0	0	2
208	06.05.1979	Swedish adoptees visited	1	1	0	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1
209	21.06.1979	Prioritizing domestic adoption	99	99	0	0	99	99	1	0	2	2	2	0	0	0
210	04.07.1979	Looking for my biological mother	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1
211	21.09.1979	Domestic adoption surpassed	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	2	0	2	0	0	2
212	17.06.1980	5 crocodiles were adopted	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
213	23.09.1980	American adoptee is looking for	2	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3
214	25.12.1980	One Korean girl got together	2	2	1	0	1	99	0	1	99	0	0	0	2	2
215	19.05.1981	An elementary school student	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
216	28.05.1981	A birth registration	1	99	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	2
217	10.06.1981	An adoption registration	1	99	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	2
218	24.06.1981	An adoption registration	1	99	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	2
219	26.06.1981	I want to live as a proud Korean	2	2	1	0	2	2	0	0	99	2	2	2	2	3
220	17.09.1981	Looking for biological brother	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1
221	13.10.1981	A family registration	1	99	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
222	12.11.1981	After 20 years from adoption to	2	2	0	0	2	2	0	0	99	0	0	0	2	2
223	18.06.1982	Court helped finding biological	2	2	0	1	99	99	1	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
224	18.06.1982	With warm welcome in mother	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1
225	19.08.1982	Healthy Korean adoptees in	1	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	2	2	1,4	2	2
226	26.09.1982	It is difficult to adopt in America	1	1	0	1	99	99	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	0
227	07.10.1982	Looking for biological mother	2	2	1	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3
228	14.04.1983	Happy smile of one adoptive	1	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	2	2	4	0	0
229	10.08.1983	Triples were adopted to	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1
230	26.10.1983	Adoptions of children of single	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	2
231	03.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered kidnapping	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
232	03.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered kidnapping	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
233	03.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered kidnapping	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
234	03.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered kidnapping	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
235	05.04.1984	Around 5000 adoptions in	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	2	2	0	0	0
236	16.05.1984	Looking for parents	2	2	1	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3
237	02.06.1984	Looking for parents	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1
238	17.06.1984	Sophia Roren adopted cabbage	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
239	17.06.1984	Found biological relatives after	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1
240	24.06.1984	Looking for parents	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	2,3	0	1	2
241	17.07.1984	Please give me my son back	2	2	0	1	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1
242	17.07.1984	Will start negotiation	2	2	0	1	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1
243	12.08.1984	Big success after adoption	2	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
244	21.08.1984	Tears burst out when blind	2	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
245	30.08.1984	First girl player at World little	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	2	0
246	30.08.1984	Transnational adoption is a	1	1	0	1	1	99	0	0	99	2	2	0	0	2
247	31.10.1984	Triples met dramatically their	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	4	2	2
249	10.09.1985	Quadruplets met relatives on the	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2,3	3
250	25.10.1986	10 adoptees visited to	1	1	0	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1
251	11.03.1987	Twins met again	2	2	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	2	1
252	04.02.1988	Adoption of orphans	1	1	0	0	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	3	0	2
253	24.04.1988	No. 1 in orphan adoption	1	1	0	1	1	99	0	0	99	2	2	0	0	2
254	26.04.1988	Kingdom of orphan adoptions...	1	1	0	1	1	99	0	0	99	2	2	0	0	2
255	05.05.1988	Country of exporting orphans	1	1	0	1	1	99	0	0	99	2	2	0	0	2

256	26.05.1988	Abandonment of girls	1	1	0	1	1	99	0	0	99	2	0	0	0	0	2
257	08.06.1988	Adoption of orphans	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	2	2	0	0	0	2
258	29.06.1988	Finally I could meet my mother	1	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2,3,4	2	3	2
259	14.08.1988	Black market for babies in Italia	1	1	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
260	13.09.1988	One adoptee visited Olympic	2	2	0	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2,3	2,3	3	2
261	13.11.1988	13000 children are abandoned	1	1	0	1	1	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
262	02.02.1989	Adoption agencies compete for	1	1	0	1	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
263	12.02.1989	Abandoned children	1	1	0	1	1	99	1	0	3	2	2	0	0	0	2
265	28.07.1989	AIDS orphans become social	1	1	0	1	99	2	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
266	27.09.1989	Adoption agencies are selling	1	1	0	1	99	99	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
267	04.10.1989	Most of adoptees in America are	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
268	18.10.1989	Abandoned children also have	1	2	0	0	99	1	1	0	3	0	0	1,3,4	2	2	2
270	24.11.1989	Why did they abandon me?	2	2	0	1	99	99	1	0	3	2	2	0	2	2	0
271	11.02.1990	American dream	99	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
272	11.02.1990	A general store	99	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
273	13.03.1990	Transnational adoption will be	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
274	14.03.1990	We should prohibit orphan	1	1	0	1	99	99	1	0	3	2	2	0	0	0	0
275	04.04.1990	Domestic violence	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
276	16.04.1990	Looking for parents	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2,3,4	2,3	3	2
278	12.05.1990	Abandoned twins had a party	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
280	23.06.1990	The Korean War	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	1	0	0	0	0	0
281	25.06.1990	The war victim came back as a	2	2	0	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	1	2,3,4	2	3	2
282	04.07.1990	The gratitude of sister	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
285	10.11.1990	Norwegian adoptee	1	1	0	1	1	99	1	0	3	2	2	0	0	0	0
287	04.12.1990	Dirty media	2	2	0	1	99	4	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
291	25.02.1991	A barber of Love	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
292	04.03.1991	Transnational adoptees try to	1	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1	2
294	07.07.1991	Adoptive mother murdered	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	1	0	1	2
295	07.08.1991	40s American lady is externally	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
296	13.10.1991	Legal system in North Korea	1	1	0	0	99	4,5	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
297	17.10.1991	Beating circus training	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
298	22.10.1991	Circus girl is adopted	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
299	22.10.1991	It is acceptable to register birth	1	2	0	1	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2
300	22.10.1991	We have big problem	1	1	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	2	2	0	0	0	2
301	06.11.1991	Kidnapped daughter is found	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
302	07.11.1991	This is my kid	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
303	19.11.1991	Adopted daughter returned to	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
307	05.04.1992	Mammy!	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1	2
308	09.04.1992	Gift story	1	1	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
310	11.05.1992	I cannot raise them anymore	1	2	0	1	99	99	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
311	26.05.1992	The guilt of violating lives	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	2	0	0	0	0	0
312	19.06.1992	Meeting forster mother after 14	1	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
313	20.06.1992	Sad visit after 18 years	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2,3,4	3	1	2
315	20.08.1992	The essay about visit of first	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
316	06.09.1992	Suni	1	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1	2
317	07.09.1992	18 disabled children were	1	1	0	0	99	2	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
319	15.11.1992	Korean adoptee was elected for	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	1	1	2	2	2	2
320	25.11.1992	Korean adoptee is chosen as a	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	1	1	2,3	2	3	2
322	08.12.1992	The seminar about domestic	1	1	0	0	99	2	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2
323	31.01.1993	The procreative operation	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
324	18.02.1993	Adopt child since second wife	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
325	03.03.1993	Vietnam special report	1	1	0	1	99	1	0	1	99	2	2	2,3	0	0	2
327	20.03.1993	An investigation on special	1	1	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
328	05.05.1993	Hurted children's hearts	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
330	14.06.1993	My love, Soonyi	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3	0
331	15.06.1993	Professor who is specialized in	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
332	03.07.1993	A sterile couple	1	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
333	08.07.1993	Looking for parents	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3	2
335	04.08.1993	Looking for family	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3	2
336	07.08.1993	Looking for family	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3	2

338	23.11.1993	Orphans visited Disneyland	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
339	06.01.1994	Loan benefit for adoptive family	99	99	0	0	99	99	1	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
340	15.01.1994	Families in the world	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
341	04.03.1994	Happy couple is buried together	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
342	10.03.1994	Animal adoption	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
346	07.04.1994	Adoption or kidnapping	1	1	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	2	0	0	0	0	0
347	02.05.1994	Looking for parents	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2,3	0	1	2
356	02.06.1994	Seminar for children's right	1	1	0	1	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1
362	23.07.1994	View of French about family has	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
366	06.08.1994	Revised law about adoption	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
371	25.09.1994	Selfisk department	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
373	09.11.1994	Tax office informed	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1
379	10.12.1994	Looking for parents	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3	1
382	07.01.1995	Catching children's taste	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
383	13.01.1995	Domestic adoption	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	2
386	04.02.1995	American strengthens taking	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
390	11.03.1995	80s couple got divorced	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
394	28.04.1995	Looking for parents	2	2	1	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1	2
395	09.05.1995	Subsidy for adoption of disabled	1	1	0	0	99	2	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
400	18.06.1995	Book review	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
401	08.07.1995	Minister profile	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
404	11.08.1995	Cannot take adopted son back	2	2	0	1	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2
407	05.10.1995	Taking care of unmarried	1	1	0	0	99	4	0	0	99	2	2	0	0	0	2
413	26.11.1995	Facts about depression	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
414	16.12.1995	Looking for parents	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	1	2
416	05.01.1996	Series of Chosun dynasty	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
421	02.02.1996	Found similar gene for donation	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3	2
434	02.03.1996	New drama series	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
441	07.04.1996	Missionary work	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
447	04.05.1996	TV preview	1	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
457	18.06.1996	Looking for parents	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	2	2	3	2	2
466	14.08.1996	Bauman is recovering	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	2	2
467	26.09.1996	Interview with chairman of Holt	1	1	0	0	99	2	0	0	99	1	1,3	0	0	0	2
468	11.10.1996	Isn't adoptee a member of	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
475	13.11.1996	I want to find my story to tell my	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2,4	1	3	2
479	15.12.1996	40 years transnational adoption	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	2	2	1,2,4	2	3	2
492	05.01.1997	I'm proud of my grandpa	2	2	1	0	99	4	0	0	99	0	0	1,2,4	2	3	2
506	05.02.1997	Another donation for adoptee	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	2	2	2
512	01.03.1997	Album review	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
515	07.04.1997	Film preview	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
522	04.06.1997	Kindness from baseball player	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
532	05.07.1997	On theater	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
542	06.08.1997	Bauman is going back to school	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	2	2
549	03.09.1997	Dog adoption	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
559	08.10.1997	Woody Allen	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
563	03.11.1997	Film review	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
574	06.12.1997	Ceremony of foundation of	1	1	0	0	99	4	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	2
580	01.01.1998	Film review	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
586	01.02.1998	Do we really have to give a	2	2	0	0	99	2,4	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3	1
590	14.03.1998	Clearing cats1	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
595	01.04.1998	Nurse is arrested	2	2	0	1	99	4	1	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
600	03.05.1998	Film review	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
604	03.06.1998	Exorcism danse for sadness of	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	3,4	2	2	2
608	06.07.1998	Special entrance qualification for	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
615	06.08.1998	Adoptive mother helps her	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3	2
619	14.09.1998	Korea is my friend	1	1	1	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
622	03.10.1998	The dean of Nazarene university	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
628	05.11.1998	6.25 adoptee was elected for a	2	2	1	0	99	99	0	0	99	1	1	2	2	3	2
639	01.12.1998	TV review	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
646	01.01.1999	Global etiquette	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	1	0	0	0	0	2

652	05.02.1999	Letters of friendship	1	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	1	1	0	2	2	2
656	03.03.1999	Becoming missionary	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	2	2	0
665	06.04.1999	35 American adoptees visit to	1	1	0	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	1	0	0	0	2
668	07.05.1999	Winner of public welfare work is	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	1	0	2	2	3	2
677	01.06.1999	Interview with an actress	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
687	01.07.1999	On theater	1	1	0	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
694	10.08.1999	The family of Reagan	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
700	03.09.1999	Korean American writer	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
716	02.10.1999	Father of orphans Mr. Hess	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
724	06.11.1999	Looking for roots	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	2	2	2	3	2
729	07.12.1995	American Senator published his	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	1	1	2	2	3	2
739	07.01.2000	Our adopted kid is a rat?	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
743	07.02.2000	I just want to repay what I have	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
749	08.03.2000	Considering to ratify Hague	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	2	2	0	0	0	0
759	05.04.2000	It is needed to build web site for	1	1	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
762	05.05.2000	Special entrance qualification for	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
772	01.06.2000	Let's write explanation of	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
783	01.07.2000	I'm 55% Korean	2	2	1	0	99	99	0	0	99	2	2	2	2	3	2
796	02.08.2000	Wanna be a champion in	2	2	1	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	2	2	1
814	09.09.2000	Film preview	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
819	01.10.2000	Interview with prime minister of	1	1	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
829	01.11.2000	Society with disabled people	1	1	0	0	99	99	2	1	0	99	0	0	0	0	1
836	05.12.2000	This year's family	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
845	10.01.2001	Gene information bank	1	1	1	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
853	05.02.2001	Black adoptee becomes great	2	2	0	0	99	99	4	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0
858	01.03.2001	Always love my homecountry	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	2	2	0	0	0	1
868	04.03.2001	This time should be...	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	3	2
885	01.05.2001	Debates on life morals regarding	1	1	0	0	99	99	4	1	0	99	0	0	0	0	2
894	01.06.2001	Profiles of two writers of game	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	2	2	2
900	05.07.2001	14 years in palace and 20 years	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
905	01.08.2001	Interview with an actress	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
919	05.09.2001	You should be busy to be single	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
927	08.10.2001	Transexual Chinese dancer	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
934	02.11.2001	Domestic adoption	1	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
944	01.12.2001	Book review	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
953	03.01.2002	Honesty is efficiency	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	2	2	0	0	0	1
962	07.02.2002	New family registration law	1	1	0	1	99	99	6	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	2
968	11.03.2002	American adoptee won figure	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	1	1	0	2	2	2
975	06.04.2002	Using Asian instead of Oriental	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	1	99	1	1	2	2	3	0
983	04.05.2002	Literature world	1	2	0	1	99	99	2	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	1
997	07.06.2002	Gay couple can adopt in	1	1	0	0	99	99	3	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	0
1007	02.07.2002	Two adoptees participated with	2	2	0	0	2	99	0	0	99	1	1	2	2	3	2
1021	03.08.2002	Police officer helped adoptee	2	2	1	0	2	99	4	0	0	99	0	0	0	2	2
1035	04.09.2002	Popular drama seems same	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
1039	02.10.2002	Happiness should be prioritized	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
1047	04.11.2002	Teps lecture	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1056	02.12.2002	We understand Korea and	1	2	1	1	2	99	0	0	99	1	1	1,2,3	2	3	2
1066	04.01.2003	5 children are most same as	2	2	0	1	99	99	1	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
1075	03.02.2003	One essay will be on a textbook	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	1	1	3	2	2	1
1084	04.03.2003	Twins met again	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
1091	04.04.2003	Being a teacher at disabled	1	2	0	0	99	99	2	1	0	99	0	0	0	0	2
1101	05.05.2003	Minority report mixed blood	1	2	0	1	99	99	1	0	0	99	2	2	4	0	2
1114	03.06.2003	Indian film festival	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1124	02.07.2003	Adoptees taste Korean	1	1	0	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	0	0	2
1137	01.08.2003	Mixed blood wants to leave this	1	1	0	1	1	99	1	1	0	3	2	2	4	0	2
1146	01.09.2003	Swedish writer is Korean	2	2	0	0	2	99	0	0	99	1	1	0	2,3	2	1
1156	01.10.2003	Reader's opinion	1	1	0	0	1	99	1	0	99	2	2	0	0	0	1
1164	03.11.2003	Film preview	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
1173	08.12.2003	TV preview	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1181	01.01.2004	American families donate 1600\$	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0

1187	04.02.2004	Reader's opinion	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	2	2	0	0	0	2
1199	04.03.2004	TV preview	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1211	07.04.2004	Wife of British ambassador	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
1221	04.05.2004	Conferring a decoration	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1230	02.06.2004	Health information	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1242	01.07.2004	Subsidy for third kid	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1251	02.08.2004	Concert to find adoptee's	2	2	1	0	2	99	0	0	99	1	1	2	2	3	2
1276	06.09.2004	Adoptee becomes doctor about	2	2	0	1	2	99	0	0	99	1	1	0	2	2	2
1285	01.10.2004	Interview with an actress	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
1294	10.11.2004	Photo exhibition	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
1300	09.12.2004	Succession family by adoption	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
1307	06.01.2005	Szunami disaster	1	1	0	1	99	99	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1316	01.02.2005	Basketball player came back	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
1323	03.03.2005	New family registration law Q&A	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2
1331	14.04.2005	World headline	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	1	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1336	02.05.2005	Miracle is made by four fingers	2	2	0	0	99	2	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
1346	03.06.2005	TV preview	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1358	01.07.2005	Interview with an actor	2	2	1	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	2,3	0	1	2
1370	06.08.2005	TV preview	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
1378	01.09.2005	TV preview	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
1390	12.10.2005	First Korean adoptees visited to	2	2	0	0	2	3	0	0	99	1	1	1	3	2	2
1400	01.11.2005	Concert of Holt chior	1	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1412	10.12.2005	Uncle abused nephew	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	2
1424	03.01.2006	This year's province policy	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1436	09.02.2006	Torino Winter Olympic games	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	1	1	2	2	3	2
1444	02.03.2006	Taking a break from acting after	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1448	03.04.2006	Love is life	1	1	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1456	04.05.2006	Son of adoptee won a award	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	1	1	2	2	3	2
1471	05.06.2006	Cruel parents murdered kids	2	2	0	1	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1487	12.07.2006	It is necessary to learn Korean	2	2	0	0	99	1	0	0	99	1	1	3	0	0	1
1497	02.08.2006	Wanna be a pro-golfer	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	2	2	2	2
1512	11.09.2006	Should be careful to choose	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1521	02.10.2006	The reason why she won a prize	99	99	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1535	04.11.2006	There is invisible discrimination	1	1	0	0	99	99	1	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0
1540	04.12.2006	2006 Incheon public welfare	1	1	0	0	99	4	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
109, 110	14.11.1961	Dr. Lee finished the adoption	2	2	0	0	99	99	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	1
204, 205	27.04.1979	A tragedy at Orly airport	2	2	0	1	1	99	0	0	99	2	2	0	0	0	2

Article no.	Date	Title	Gender preference 0=not mentioned 1=implied 2=explicitly mentioned	Business 0=not mentioned 1=implied 2=explicitly mentioned	Perception of domestic adoption 0 = not 1 = y positive 2 = y negative	Perception of transnational adoption 0 = not 1 = y positive 2 = y negative	Note
1	29.06.1924	One Japanese adopted	0	2	1	0	
2	02.11.1925	A law suit for	0	0	0	0	
5	06.02.1927	Want to adopt	0	0	1	0	fruit seller
8	31.05.1929	Struggle for girl on the	0	2	2	0	secret adoption
9	06.08.1929	A complicated law suit	0	0	2	0	inheritance might imply bloodism
13	18.07.1935	A complicated law suit	0	0	2	0	discrimination to a child by concubine implies bloodism
17	01.02.1953	On way to Syria to be	0	0	0	1	Happy journey
18	07.02.1953	Dr. Ad and his two	0	0	0	1	Only picture
21	29.01.1954	Mixed-blood children	0	0	0	1	sending mixed-blood children implies bloodism, and keeping orphans to get supplies implies business
22	10.02.1954	The investigation about	0	0	0	1	Korean policy to send mixed-blood children away
23	22.02.1954	Why do they want keep	0	1	0	1	sarcastic criticism of presidents of orphanages who want to keep orphans to get supplies
24	22.02.1954	Busy preparing to be	0	0	0	1	
25	23.07.1954	People who go abroad	0	0	0	0	
26	08.07.1955	Want to be adopted	0	0	1	0	Q&A persuasion not to be adopted
27	15.08.1955	White mixed-blood	0	0	0	1	
28	13.10.1955	Going to America to	0	0	0	1	
29	05.11.1955	Please send Korean	0	0	0	1	Request of adoption, differentiate what they want and what really happened, elementary school teacher, 500\$ a month
30	17.11.1955	International marriage	0	0	0	0	
31	14.12.1955	Two girls on their way	0	0	0	1	Soldier
32	30.01.1956	Lucky Sinja in adoptive	0	0	0	1	Soldier brother
33	29.03.1956	500 mixed-blood	0	0	0	1	
34	31.03.1956	Orphans are on their	0	0	0	1	
35	06.04.1956	13 orphans went to	0	0	0	1	
36	07.04.1956	News from Munkyo	0	0	0	1	
37	10.04.1956	Busy finding adoptive	0	0	0	1	
38	20.04.1956	Beloved adopted	0	0	0	1	Life of adoptee
39	29.04.1956	Happy Tony in	0	0	0	1	Life of adoptee, soldier brother
40	04.05.1956	Adoption to American	0	0	0	1	Sending all mixed-blood children is national policy
41	12.05.1956	In adoptive grandma's	0	0	0	1	
44	14.06.1956	17 orphans are on their	0	0	0	1	
45	20.06.1956	A crying adoptive	0	2	2	0	
46	05.08.1956	In new sister's arms	0	0	0	1	Mother left, single father, a contractor
47	22.09.1956	25 orphans left again	0	0	0	1	Holt
48	23.09.1956	15 Korean orphans	0	0	0	1	Holt
49	09.10.1956	27 orphans left for	0	0	0	1	
50	27.10.1956	Adoptive parents to	0	0	1	0	Domestic adoption policy, policemen and the rich adopt orphans
51	01.11.1956	A mother of mixed-	0	0	0	1	
52	08.11.1956	Formed a relationship	0	0	1	0	Policemen and the rich adopt orphans
53	10.11.1956	A joint ceremony on	0	0	1	0	Police officials and the rich adopt orphans
54	25.11.1956	1200 orphans forming	0	0	1	0	
55	11.12.1956	With 70 Korean	0	0	0	1	Holt
56	13.12.1956	88 mixed-blood	0	0	0	1	Holt
57	18.12.1956	No casualty	0	0	0	0	Holt and hard to score perspective
59	25.12.1956	The orphans arrived in	0	0	0	0	Holt
60	30.12.1956	600 orphans went to	0	0	0	1	
61	31.01.1956	50 mixed blooded	0	0	0	1	Holt
63	06.02.1957	The cry for mother	0	0	0	2	
64	03.03.1957	70 mixed blood	0	0	0	1	Holt
65	04.03.1957	Trying to arrange	0	0	0	1	

66	15.03.1957	Wanting to raise mixed	0	0	0	2	
71	14.11.1957	The first priority is a	0	0	0	0	Hard to score co-theme
72	01.12.1957	They arrived in	0	0	0	1	Holt
73	18.12.1957	Going to America with	0	0	0	1	
74	01.02.1958	113 Korean war	0	0	0	1	
78	26.03.1958	Pearl Buck will raise	0	0	0	1	Pearl Buck og Holt
79	30.05.1958	Senator Charles adopt	0	0	0	2	
80	01.06.1958	80 orphans were	0	0	0	1	Holt
81	10.06.1958	Visiting motherland	0	0	0	1	
82	08.08.1958	Joey in her new	0	0	0	1	
83	17.03.1959	100 mixed blood	0	0	0	1	Holt agency
84	19.05.1959	20 mixed blood	0	0	0	1	Holt
85	09.07.1959	190 mixed blood	0	0	0	1	Holt agency
86	18.07.1959	Meeting adopted	0	0	0	2	
87	30.07.1959	Adoptees are heading	0	0	0	1	
88	01.08.1959	97 Korean orphans	0	0	0	1	
89	28.08.1959	Forced adoption	0	0	2	0	Law suit about inheritance
90	20.09.1959	The dawn for adoption	0	0	0	1	Only for government's sake
91	20.01.1960	20 orphans will be	0	0	0	1	
92	07.02.1960	The adoption for the	0	0	0	1	Trial to send children by government
93	27.02.1960	80 mixed blood	0	0	0	1	
94	17.03.1960	The bill about adoption	0	0	0	1	
95	06.07.1960	82 orphans arrived in	0	0	0	1	
96	20.09.1960	100 people go to	0	0	0	1	
97	18.10.1960	New 80 people	0	0	0	1	
98	29.11.1960	The adoption case	0	0	0	0	Q&A adoption process
99	21.12.1960	The 10 years	0	0	0	1	Bit complicated to score
100	06.01.1961	The investigation team	0	0	0	0	
101	08.01.1961	In step mother's arms	0	0	0	1	soldier
102	02.06.1961	On their way to strange	0	0	0	1	bloodism implied, holt
103	03.06.1961	To America yesterday	0	0	0	1,2	holt, child of american soldier(bio.parents), bloodism (since we cannot take care of them, they are sent to America, t's unpleasant but necessary)
104	09.07.1961	Bye rainy homeland	0	0	0	2	
105	26.07.1961	On way to England by	0	0	0	1	
106	17.08.1961	Joy of American	0	0	0	1	
108	20.10.1961	A meeting is needed	0	0	0	0	
111	24.11.1961	The adoption and	0	0	1	0	like military mission
112	23.02.1962	10000 adoptions in this	0	0	1	0	like military mission
113	18.03.1962	18 years Korean boy	0	0	0	1	
114	09.04.1962	Triplets went to	0	0	0	1	
115	14.05.1962	The lives of	0	0	0	1	single father
116	23.06.1962	Pushing on with	0	0	0	1	
117	01.08.1962	Taking a house as	0	0	0	1	carpenter
118	23.08.1962	Joy came after	0	0	0	1	
119	07.09.1962	Do you want to do like	0	0	0	2	
120	07.09.1962	The condition of mix-	0	0	0	0	
121	12.02.1963	Adoptions for orphans	0	0	1	0	
122	20.02.1963	Applications for	0	0	1	0	
123	16.03.1963	Orphans til home	0	0	1	0	
124	24.04.1962	Parental love til	0	0	1	0	
125	26.11.1963	Orphans on an	0	0	0	0	
126	27.03.1964	Korean adoptee started	0	0	0	1	
127	05.05.1964	Adoption business will	0	1	0	1	
128	24.05.1964	Ex-wife is adopted as a	0	0	0	0	Penang case
129	27.05.1964	40 America parents will	0	0	0	1	
130	11.07.1964	Something thicker than	0	0	0	0	Forster caring
131	18.09.1964	Looking for relatives	0	0	0	0	
132	18.11.1964	Prof. Cobern wants to	0	0	0	1	
133	04.12.1964	A warm-hearted dancer	0	0	0	1	
134	09.02.1965	Jinju has been missing	0	0	0	0	soldier, missing kid
135	12.02.1965	Wanting to know my	0	0	0	0	

136	29.12.1965	Hadicapped Kim went	0	0	0	0	
137	08.03.1966	Korean orphan became	0	0	0	0	
138	21.04.1966	The tragedy in Vietnam	0	0	0	0	Vietnamese case
139	06.05.1966	Mrs. Holt became '66	0	0	0	1	
140	23.10.1966	I want to be a writer	0	0	0	1	
141	25.12.1966	Memories of Debby	0	0	0	0	
142	14.03.1967	Visiting motherland	0	0	0	1	
143	11.02.1969	I will keep my	0	0	0	1	
144	13.02.1969	Please give my	0	0	0	2	missing kid is adopted
145	20.02.1969	Going to America to	0	0	0	0	
146	30.07.1969	Reject orphans on	0	0	0	2	Kal rejects orphans
147	16.04.1970	5000th adoption by	0	0	0	1	
148	29.05.1970	Welcom Kaser grandpa	0	0	0	0	
149	28.08.1970	10 orphans are	0	0	0	1	
150	04.09.1971	Drea found his Korean	0	0	0	0	
151	13.11.1971	Mrs. Spostru leaves	0	1	1	0	
152	09.12.1971	Transnational adoption	0	0	0	0	
154	29.07.1973	One sick adopted	0	0	0	0	
155	16.03.1974	Adopted mix-blood	0	0	0	0	
156	13.04.1974	5 Korean kids are	0	0	0	0	
157	13.04.1974	Debates in America on	0	0	0	0	A child uninfected with leprosy
158	14.04.1974	A child uninfected with	0	0	0	0	A child uninfected with leprosy
159	16.04.1974	Debates in America on	0	0	0	0	A child uninfected with leprosy
160	02.06.1974	Children are precious	0	0	0	1	French case
161	04.07.1974	Disable kids are	0	0	0	0	
163	08.08.1974	Blind musician came	0	0	0	2	
164	09.08.1974	Hymn with tears in	0	0	0	2	
165	15.09.1974	Laying a bill about	0	0	0	1	
166	15.11.1974	Kidnapped child was	0	0	0	2	Kidnapping
167	19.11.1974	Please give Youngim in	0	0	0	2	Kidnapping
168	12.12.1974	We found the address	0	0	0	2	
169	29.12.1974	Suicidal trouble in	0	0	0	2	
170	23.01.1975	Woman of year	2	0	0	0	
172	13.03.1975	14 babies past away	0	0	0	0	Fire incident and article about single mother
173	16.03.1975	Encouraging domestic	0	0	0	2	Military mission
174	22.03.1975	Social justice is	2	2	0	2	
175	04.04.1975	Vietnamese orphans	0	0	0	0	Vietnamese case
176	04.05.1975	Found son right before	0	0	0	2	Kidnapping
177	14.06.1975	Came homecountry	0	0	0	0	
178	28.06.1975	The alive witness for	0	0	0	0	
179	03.08.1975	A misfortune Korean	0	0	0	2	
181	05.10.1975	Please give my only	0	0	0	2	missing kid is adopted
182	08.10.1975	International Human	0	0	0	2	missing kid is adopted
183	01.11.1975	American soldier met	0	0	0	0	
184	06.02.1976	Increasing domestic	0	0	1	0	Demography of adoptive parents in Korea
186	24.03.1976	Establish a special	0	0	1	0	
187	05.05.1976	Domestic adoption is	2	0	1	0	
188	18.06.1976	Day and night of	0	0	0	1	Multiple stories
189	30.06.1976	Age limit for adoption is	0	0	1	0	
190	15.07.1976	A shelter for	0	0	1	2	
191	22.09.1976	10 bills are submitted	0	0	1	0	
192	13.10.1976	Children uninfected	0	0	0	0	A child uninfected with leprosy
193	14.10.1976	Children uninfected	0	0	0	0	A child uninfected with leprosy
194	10.02.1977	Forming 2600 relations	0	0	1	2	Military mission
195	13.03.1977	Illegal adoptions of	0	1	0	2	
196	17.04.1977	Promoting domestic	0	0	1	2	
197	27.04.1977	Adoptions of orphans	1	0	2	0	Demography of adoptive parents in Korea
198	21.06.1977	Visiting motherland in	0	0	0	0	
199	30.07.1977	Even if it didn't go	0	0	0	0	
200	20.12.1977	Domestic adoption has	0	0	1	2	Demography of adoptive parents in Korea

201	15.03.1978	Adoptions of animal	0	0	0	0	Animal
206	16.05.1979	3 years old baby is	0	0	0	0	missing kid
207	03.06.1979	Human welfare for	2	0	1	2	
208	06.05.1979	Swedish adoptees	0	0	0	0	
209	21.06.1979	Prioritizing domestic	0	0	1	2	
210	04.07.1979	Looking for my	0	0	0	0	
211	21.09.1979	Domestic adoption	0	0	1	2	
212	17.06.1980	5 crocodiles were	0	0	0	0	Animal
213	23.09.1980	American adoptee is	0	0	0	0	
214	25.12.1980	One Korean girl got	0	0	0	0	
215	19.05.1981	An elementary school	0	0	0	0	Kidnapping
216	28.05.1981	A birth registration	0	0	1	0	Law about adoption
217	10.06.1981	An adoption	0	0	0	0	Law about adoption
218	24.06.1981	An adoption	0	0	0	0	Law about adoption
219	26.06.1981	I want to live as a	0	0	0	0	
220	17.09.1981	Looking for biological	0	0	0	0	
221	13.10.1981	A family registration	0	0	0	0	Law about adoption
222	12.11.1981	After 20 years from	0	0	0	0	
223	18.06.1982	Court helped finding	0	0	0	0	Law suit about adoption
224	18.06.1982	With warm welcome in	0	0	0	0	
225	19.08.1982	Healthy Korean	0	0	0	1	
226	26.09.1982	It is difficult to adopt in	0	1	0	0	American case
227	07.10.1982	Looking for biological	0	0	0	0	
228	14.04.1983	Happy smile of one	0	0	1	2	
229	10.08.1983	Triplets were adopted	0	0	0	0	
230	26.10.1983	Adoptions of children of	2	0	0	0	
231	03.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered	0	0	0	0	Kim Jungil
232	03.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered	0	0	0	0	Kim Jungil
233	03.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered	0	0	0	0	Kim Jungil
234	03.04.1984	Kim Jungil ordered	0	0	0	0	Kim Jungil
235	05.04.1984	Around 5000 adoptions	0	1	0	0	
236	16.05.1984	Looking for parents	0	0	0	0	
237	02.06.1984	Looking for parents	0	0	0	0	
238	17.06.1984	Sophia Roren adopted	0	0	0	0	
239	17.06.1984	Found biological	0	0	0	0	
240	24.06.1984	Looking for parents	0	0	0	0	
241	17.07.1984	Please give me my son	0	0	0	0	missing kid is adopted
242	17.07.1984	Will start negotiation	0	0	0	0	
243	12.08.1984	Big success after	0	0	0	0	
244	21.08.1984	Tears bursted out	0	0	0	0	
245	30.08.1984	First girl player at	0	0	0	0	
246	30.08.1984	Transnational adoption	2	0	1	2	
247	31.10.1984	Triplets met	0	0	0	0	
249	10.09.1985	Quadruplets met	0	0	0	0	
250	25.10.1986	10 adoptees visited to	0	1	0	0	
251	11.03.1987	Twins met again	0	0	0	0	
252	04.02.1988	Adoption of orphans	0	0	0	0	
253	24.04.1988	No. 1 in orphan	0	2	0	2	
254	26.04.1988	Kingdom of orphan	0	2	0	2	
255	05.05.1988	Country of exporting	0	2	0	2	
256	26.05.1988	Abandonment of girls	2	2	0	0	Chinese case
257	08.06.1988	Adoption of orphans	0	0	0	2	
258	29.06.1988	Finally I could meet my	0	0	0	2	Multiple stories
259	14.08.1988	Black market for babies	0	2	0	0	Italian case
260	13.09.1988	One adoptee visited	0	0	0	0	
261	13.11.1988	13000 children are	0	0	0	0	
262	02.02.1989	Adoption agencies	0	2	0	0	
263	12.02.1989	Abandoned children	2	2	1	2	Multiple stories
265	28.07.1989	AIDS orphans become	0	0	0	0	American case
266	27.09.1989	Adoption agencies are	0	2	0	0	

267	04.10.1989	Most of adoptees in	0	0	0	0	American case
268	18.10.1989	Abandoned children	0	2	1	1	
270	24.11.1989	Why did they abandon	0	0	0	1	
271	11.02.1990	American dream	0	1	0	0	
272	11.02.1990	A general store	0	1	0	0	
273	13.03.1990	Transnational adoption	0	0	0	2	
274	14.03.1990	We should prohibit	0	0	1	2	
275	04.04.1990	Domestic violence	0	0	0	0	
276	16.04.1990	Looking for parents	0	0	0	0	
278	12.05.1990	Abandoned twins had a	0	0	0	0	
280	23.06.1990	The Korean War	0	0	0	0	
281	25.06.1990	The war victim came	0	0	0	0	
282	04.07.1990	The gratitude of sister	0	0	0	0	
285	10.11.1990	Norwegian adoptee	0	2	0	0	
287	04.12.1990	Dirty media	0	0	0	0	
291	25.02.1991	A barber of Love	0	0	0	0	
292	04.03.1991	Transnational adoptees	0	0	0	0	Multiple stories
294	07.07.1991	Adoptive mother	0	0	0	0	Murder of adoptee
295	07.08.1991	40s American lady is	0	0	0	0	
296	13.10.1991	Legal system in North	0	0	0	0	North Korean case
297	17.10.1991	Beating circus training	0	2	0	0	circus
298	22.10.1991	Circus girl is adopted	0	1	0	0	circus
299	22.10.1991	It is acceptable to	0	2	0	0	
300	22.10.1991	We have big problem	0	2	0	0	
301	06.11.1991	Kidnapped daughter is	0	1	0	0	Kidnapping
302	07.11.1991	This is my kid	0	1	0	0	Kidnapping
303	19.11.1991	Adopted daughter	0	1	0	0	Kidnapping
307	05.04.1992	Mammy!	0	0	0	0	
308	09.04.1992	Gift story	0	0	0	0	
310	11.05.1992	I cannot raise them	2	0	0	0	
311	26.05.1992	The guilt of violating	0	0	0	0	
312	19.06.1992	Meeting foster mother	0	0	0	0	
313	20.06.1992	Sad visit after 18 years	0	0	0	0	
315	20.08.1992	The essay about visit	0	0	1	1	
316	06.09.1992	Suni	0	0	0	0	soonyi
317	07.09.1992	18 disabled children	0	0	0	0	
319	15.11.1992	Korean adoptee was	0	0	0	0	
320	25.11.1992	Korean adoptee is	0	0	0	0	
322	08.12.1992	The seminar about	2	0	0	0	
323	31.01.1993	The procreative	0	0	0	0	
324	18.02.1993	Adopt child since	0	0	0	0	
325	03.03.1993	Vietnam special report	0	0	0	0	Korean Vietnamese condition
327	20.03.1993	An investigation on	0	0	0	0	
328	05.05.1993	Hurted children's	0	0	0	0	
330	14.06.1993	My love, Soonyi	0	0	0	0	soonyi
331	15.06.1993	Professor who is	0	0	0	0	
332	03.07.1993	A sterile couple	0	0	2	2	
333	08.07.1993	Looking for parents	0	0	0	0	
335	04.08.1993	Looking for family	0	0	0	0	
336	07.08.1993	Looking for family	0	0	0	0	
338	23.11.1993	Orphans visited	0	0	0	0	
339	06.01.1994	Loan benefit for	0	1	0	0	
340	15.01.1994	Families in the world	0	0	0	0	
341	04.03.1994	Happy couple is buried	0	0	0	0	
342	10.03.1994	Animal adoption	0	0	0	0	animal
346	07.04.1994	Adoption or kidnapping	0	2	0	2	American case
347	02.05.1994	Looking for parents	0	0	0	0	
356	02.06.1994	Seminar for children's	0	0	0	0	
362	23.07.1994	View of French about	0	0	0	0	French case
366	06.08.1994	Revised law about	0	0	1	2	

371	25.09.1994	Selfisk department	0	0	0	0	
373	09.11.1994	Tax office informed	0	1	0	0	
379	10.12.1994	Looking for parents	0	0	0	0	
382	07.01.1995	Catching children's	0	0	0	0	Book review
383	13.01.1995	Domestic adoption	1	0	0	0	
386	04.02.1995	American strengthens	0	0	0	0	American case
390	11.03.1995	80s couple got	0	0	0	0	
394	28.04.1995	Looking for parents	0	0	0	0	
395	09.05.1995	Subsidy for adoption of	0	1	0	0	
400	18.06.1995	Book review	0	0	0	0	Book review
401	08.07.1995	Minister profile	0	0	0	0	French case
404	11.08.1995	Cannot take adopted	0	0	0	0	Law suit for taking son back
407	05.10.1995	Taking care of	0	0	0	0	
413	26.11.1995	Facts about depression	0	0	0	0	
414	16.12.1995	Looking for parents	0	0	0	0	
416	05.01.1996	Series of Chosun	0	1	0	0	
421	02.02.1996	Found similar gene for	0	0	0	0	Bauman case
434	02.03.1996	New drama series	0	0	0	0	Drama review
441	07.04.1996	Missionary work	0	0	0	0	Missionary work
447	04.05.1996	TV preview	0	0	0	0	
457	18.06.1996	Looking for parents	0	0	0	0	
466	14.08.1996	Bauman is recovering	0	0	0	0	Bauman case
467	26.09.1996	Interview with chairman	0	1	0	0	
468	11.10.1996	Isn't adoptee a member	0	0	0	0	British case
475	13.11.1996	I want to find my story	0	0	0	0	
479	15.12.1996	40 years transnational	0	0	0	1	
492	05.01.1997	I'm proud of my	0	0	0	0	
506	05.02.1997	Another donation for	0	0	0	0	
512	01.03.1997	Album review	0	0	0	0	
515	07.04.1997	Film preview	0	0	0	0	Film preview
522	04.06.1997	Kindness from baseball	0	0	0	0	
532	05.07.1997	On theater	0	0	0	0	
542	06.08.1997	Bauman is going back	0	0	0	0	
549	03.09.1997	Dog adoption	0	0	0	0	animal
559	08.10.1997	Woody Allen	0	0	0	0	soonyi
563	03.11.1997	Film review	0	0	0	0	Film preview
574	06.12.1997	Ceremony of	0	0	1	2	
580	01.01.1998	Film review	0	0	0	0	Film preview
586	01.02.1998	Do we really have to	0	0	0	0	
590	14.03.1998	Clearing cats1	0	0	0	0	animal
595	01.04.1998	Nurse is arrested	0	2	0	0	Illegal adoption
600	03.05.1998	Film review	0	0	0	0	Film review Daddy long legs
604	03.06.1998	Exorcism danse for	2	0	0	0	
608	06.07.1998	Special entrance	0	0	0	0	education, poor class, benefit
615	06.08.1998	Adoptive mother helps	0	0	0	0	
619	14.09.1998	Korea is my friend	0	0	0	0	
622	03.10.1998	The dean of Nazarene	0	0	0	0	
628	05.11.1998	6.25 adoptee was	0	0	0	0	
639	01.12.1998	TV review	0	0	0	0	
646	01.01.1999	Global etiquette	0	0	0	0	
652	05.02.1999	Letters of friendship	0	0	0	0	
656	03.03.1999	Becoming missionary	0	0	0	0	
665	06.04.1999	35 American adoptees	0	0	0	2	
668	07.05.1999	Winner of public	0	0	0	0	
677	01.06.1999	Interview with an	0	1	0	0	character of drama who is sexually abused by adoptive father
687	01.07.1999	On theater	0	0	0	0	
694	10.08.1999	The family of Reagan	0	0	0	0	American case
700	03.09.1999	Korean American writer	0	0	0	0	Novel character
716	02.10.1999	Father of orphans Mr.	0	0	0	0	
724	06.11.1999	Looking for roots	0	0	0	0	

729	07.12.1995	American Senator	0	0	0	0	
739	07.01.2000	Our adopted kid is a	0	0	0	0	Film review Stweat little
743	07.02.2000	I just want to repay	0	0	0	0	
749	08.03.2000	Considering to ratify	0	0	0	1	
759	05.04.2000	It is needed to build	0	1	0	0	Reader opinion
762	05.05.2000	Special entrance	0	0	0	0	education, poor class, benefit
772	01.06.2000	Let's write explanation	0	1	0	0	stolen, taken away
783	01.07.2000	I'm 55% Korean	0	0	0	0	
796	02.08.2000	Wanna be a champion	0	0	0	0	
814	09.09.2000	Film preview	0	0	0	0	Film character
819	01.10.2000	Interview with prime	0	0	0	0	
829	01.11.2000	Society with disabled	0	0	0	0	
836	05.12.2000	This year's family	0	0	0	0	
845	10.01.2001	Gene information bank	0	0	0	0	
853	05.02.2001	Black adoptee	0	0	0	0	American case
858	01.03.2001	Always love my	0	0	0	0	American case
868	04.03.2001	This time should be...	0	0	0	0	
885	01.05.2001	Debates on life morals	0	0	0	0	about abortion
894	01.06.2001	Profiles of two writers	0	0	0	0	wanting to get married to Korean girl
900	05.07.2001	14 years in palace and	0	2	0	0	adopted as a toy to princess
905	01.08.2001	Interview with an	0	0	0	0	
919	05.09.2001	You should be busy to	0	0	0	0	
927	08.10.2001	Transsexual Chinese	0	0	0	0	
934	02.11.2001	Domestic adoption	0	0	1	0	
944	01.12.2001	Book review	0	0	1	0	Book review
953	03.01.2002	Honesty is efficiency	0	0	0	0	
962	07.02.2002	New family registration	0	0	1	0	
968	11.03.2002	American adoptee won	0	0	0	0	
975	06.04.2002	Using Asian instead of	0	0	0	0	
983	04.05.2002	Literature world	0	0	0	0	
997	07.06.2002	Gay couple can adopt	0	0	0	0	Swedish case
1007	02.07.2002	Two adoptees	0	0	0	0	
1021	03.08.2002	Police officer helped	0	0	0	0	
1035	04.09.2002	Popular drama seems	0	0	0	0	Drama review
1039	02.10.2002	Happiness should be	0	0	0	0	
1047	04.11.2002	Teps lecture	0	0	1	1	English lecture
1056	02.12.2002	We understand Korea	0	0	0	2	
1066	04.01.2003	5 children are most	0	0	1	0	
1075	03.02.2003	One essay will be on a	0	0	0	0	
1084	04.03.2003	Twins met again	0	0	0	0	American case
1091	04.04.2003	Being a teacher at	0	0	1	0	
1101	05.05.2003	Minority report mixed	0	0	0	0	
1114	03.06.2003	Indian film festival	0	1	0	0	Film subject India
1124	02.07.2003	Adoptees taste Korean	0	0	0	0	
1137	01.08.2003	Mixed blood wants to	0	0	0	0	
1146	01.09.2003	Swedish writer is	0	0	0	0	
1156	01.10.2003	Reader's opinion	0	2	0	2	
1164	03.11.2003	Film preview	0	0	0	0	Film preview
1173	08.12.2003	TV preview	0	0	1	0	TV preview
1181	01.01.2004	American families	0	0	0	0	
1187	04.02.2004	Reader's opinion	0	0	0	2	
1199	04.03.2004	TV preview	0	0	0	0	TV preview
1211	07.04.2004	Wife of British	0	0	1	0	
1221	04.05.2004	Conferring a decoration	0	0	0	0	
1230	02.06.2004	Health information	0	0	0	0	African's circumcision case
1242	01.07.2004	Subsidy for third kid	0	1	0	0	Brith promotion policy
1251	02.08.2004	Concert to find	0	0	0	0	
1276	06.09.2004	Adoptee becomes	0	0	0	0	
1285	01.10.2004	Interview with an	0	0	0	0	TV preview
1294	10.11.2004	Photo exhibition	0	0	0	0	

1300	09.12.2004	Succession family by	2	0	2	0	LG enterprise inheritance
1307	06.01.2005	Szunami disaster	0	2	0	0	Indonesian case, kidnapping
1316	01.02.2005	Basketball player came	0	2	0	0	basketball player
1323	03.03.2005	New family registration	2	0	0	0	
1331	14.04.2005	World headline	0	0	0	0	French case
1336	02.05.2005	Miracle is made by four	0	0	0	2	
1346	03.06.2005	TV preview	0	0	0	0	animal, tv preview
1358	01.07.2005	Interview with an actor	0	0	0	0	
1370	06.08.2005	TV preview	0	0	0	0	
1378	01.09.2005	TV preview	0	0	0	0	animal, tv preview
1390	12.10.2005	First Korean adoptees	0	0	0	0	
1400	01.11.2005	Concert of Holt choir	0	0	0	0	
1412	10.12.2005	Uncle abused nephew	0	2	0	0	abuse adoptee, uncle
1424	03.01.2006	This year's province	0	1	0	0	
1436	09.02.2006	Torino Winter Olympic	0	0	0	0	Dawson
1444	02.03.2006	Taking a break from	0	0	1	0	
1448	03.04.2006	Love is life	0	0	1	0	
1456	04.05.2006	Son of adoptee won a	0	0	0	0	Richard Yongjea
1471	05.06.2006	Cruel parents	0	0	0	0	crime, lie that dead kids are sent
1487	12.07.2006	It is necessary to learn	0	0	0	0	
1497	02.08.2006	Wanna be a pro-golfer	0	0	0	0	Dawson
1512	11.09.2006	Should be careful to	0	0	0	0	Essay lecture subject
1521	02.10.2006	The reason why she	0	0	0	0	Novel character
1535	04.11.2006	There is invisible	2	0	0	0	
1540	04.12.2006	2006 Incheon public	0	0	0	0	
109,	14.11.1961	Dr. Lee finished the	0	0	0	0	Dr. Lee
204,	27.04.1979	A tragedy at Orly	0	0	0	2	