

Media Framing in Corporate Social Responsibility: A Korea–U.S. Comparative Study

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This article discusses the different meanings of corporate social responsibility (CSR) conveyed in news articles across two different countries, South Korea and the United States. In a globalized society, the term CSR has become the center of intense public and practitioners' discussions. This article contributes toward the understanding of the status of CSR in an international context. Content analysis methods show that there are substantial cultural differences in news coverage between South Korea, a collectivistic country, and the United States, an individualistic country, in terms of framing corporate social responsibility issues. Further implications of this study were discussed.

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) has gained popularity in today's business. CSR is a citizenship function for "mutually beneficial exchange" between an organization and the public (David et al., 2005, p. 293). Even though the concept of CSR has appeared in numerous research studies, the definition is still unclear (Garriga & Melé, 2004; De Bakker, Grownwewegen, & Van Hond, 2005). Similarly, it is likely that consumer definitions of corporate social responsibility would vary. The media communicate the notion of CSR, the message coming through media directly from companies, such as through corporate advertising, or indirectly through journalists writing news or feature stories about companies. Both channels of communication can be used by public relations professionals to convey CSR messages to key stakeholders. While the corporation can control the CSR message sent through advertising, the corporation can lose control of the message when using media as intermediaries of the CSR information. Thus, it is important for public relations practitioners to understand how news media frame corporate social responsibility, especially when they must deal with media systems in different countries.

In the context of globalization, when implementing international public relations, a pivotal role of public relations (PR) practitioners is to build positive and mutually beneficial relationships with consumers in different cultures. The term corporate social responsibility has been widely used across the world, but

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we have little knowledge of how this term is being introduced in other countries. Today's businesses operate globally. If PR practitioners pursue corporate social responsibility to develop relationships with stakeholders in a new foreign market, they need to understand how the term CSR is being used and how corporate social responsibility is delivered to the public in those countries. To understand what CSR information the public has in each country, PR practitioners could examine how media are framed. By examining CSR-related news coverage, this paper explores how media framed CSR activities differently, from a cross-cultural perspective, in South Korea and the U.S. The purpose of this paper is to determine the content and discuss implications of media coverage of corporations' social responsibilities. Also, the research seeks to discover the nature of the messages reaching the general public regarding corporate social responsibility. To gain awareness of these messages, the current study explores textual information in major print media outlets in the United States and South Korea. In addition, the picture painted by the media of CSR can affect various consumers' understanding toward CSR. The paper explores the relationship between CSR and PR, the importance of understanding corporate social responsibility in the context of the global business world, and then moves to the discussion of framing theory in the context of CSR.

Public Relations and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

Organizations have tried "relating" to the "public" for centuries (Clark, 2000, p. 364). From the 1920s through the 1950s, dramatic changes occurred in the public relations field. Before this period, public relations focused on the dissemination of information or one-way communication models in which the quality of information was important, but audience feedback had yet to be fully considered (Newsome, Turk, & Kruckeberg, 2000). In the 1930s, after the Great Depression, the primary challenge was to persuade a confused public that things were about to change for the better. The campaign slogan of The National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, "What helps business helps you," reflects the focus of public relations at the time (Golden, 1968, p. 386). In other words, business did not have to listen to consumers' demands since companies already served society enough merely by operating. In an effort to bring prosperity to a post-Depression nation, public relations practices seemed to dip back into one-way communication (Golden, 1968).

However, during the 1960s, corporations could not disregard public views. The anti-business sentiment, which led to the insurgence of activism and public skepticism in the United States, was intense. The much-publicized era of activism began to change the way in which corporations interacted with society, and how they communicated with society became a crucial issue. The public was segmented into more specialized groups of primary and secondary stakeholders. As a result, public relations practitioners had new demands, such as management skills and an understanding of human psychology. Also, public relations moved from public information to relationship management. To maintain a good relationship with the public, the concept of social responsibility of corporations has become an important area in public relations.

The notion of corporate social responsibility seems especially relevant to public relations because, as discussed above, corporations' concerns toward social issues are also important areas in which practitioners can nurture mutual relationships with the public. However, despite these similarities, the

fields of public relations and corporate social responsibility have been studied separately. Clark (2000) noticed an opportunity to study the foundations of each discipline "to reveal concrete ideas about how to optimize their effectiveness and their impact on the corporate world" (p. 363). The history of corporate social responsibility can be traced back to the aftermath of World War I. As society's needs became too great, corporations as well as wealthy individuals responded with charitable contributions to society. Maybe because of this historical origin of the notion of corporate social responsibility, many of today's businesses think of CSR as making paternalistic, charitable contributions. However, another form of CSR is the stewardship principle, in which corporations use their resources to affect, in fundamental ways, all of society, not just stockholders (Post et al., 1996). Further, Wood (1991) asserted, "it became apparent during this time, particularly through social activism and regulatory activity, that social expectations of business had outstripped managers' comprehension and capabilities" (p. 383). Thus, scholars and managers alike began to search for more efficient ways to interact with the resurgence of activism and public skepticism; the notion of CSR fit society's sentiments at the time (Post et al., 1996).

Clark (2000) directly compared the similarities of CSR and PR and concluded that the two disciplines have much in common in terms of processes. For example, both disciplines emphasize the importance of using research to understand environments around corporations, such as environmental auditing of social and political events as well as assessing their impact on the organization. Implementing programs, such as communication planning, based on research findings has been an important step for both disciplines. Evaluation of these programs is the final important stage identified in PR and CSR disciplines. As a result, today, both PR and CSR are focusing on two-way, rather than one-way communications (Clark, 2000). In other words, the primary goal of CSR is to nurture a relationship with the public. In order to have meaningful relationships through CSR activities, it would be important to understand how the public learns about CSR.

Importance of CSR in the Context of Global Business

We are in the Globalization era. Globalization happens when the movement of people, goods or ideas among countries and regions accelerates. Today, companies are more international than ever. According to the United Nations, there are more than 60,000 multinational companies (Mott, 2004). As a company becomes an international corporation, the criticism against it for damaging the world increases, as does the expectation that the company take responsibility for these damages. The notion of corporate social responsibility is an important tool for corporations to use in response to various concerns about them in the globalization era (Rampton, 2004). Corporations and public relations/advertising practitioners have tried to respond to the criticisms by conveying CSR messages that they are contributing to society in various ways, both locally and globally (Alfonso & Sharma, 2005; Prabu, Kline, & Dai, 2005).

Even though globalization indicates that our world is becoming one, there have been several studies explaining how the contents of media from different cultures are different. "Global" is thus embodied in the commonality of cultures on the one hand, and in the diversity of hybridized cultures on the other (Chan, 2005). Awareness of cultural differences also has been emphasized for public relations practitioners (Vasquez & Taylor, 1999). Ithator (2000) asserts, "Globalization of business has created the need for international public relations practitioners to identify, study and understand the world views, mindsets, and habits of their global publics in order to effectively communicate" (p. 38). Also, he believes

that communication styles and meaning, as well as realities, as perceived by individuals, are culturally induced. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that ways of delivering CSR messages will be different across different cultures. Many people may receive their information about CSR through the media, public relations campaigns, special events or interpersonal communication. An investigation of the content in media coverage will be useful for those professionals seeking the best way to convey to the public the need for, benefits of, and facts surrounding CSR issues and activities.

Framing in the Context of Corporate Social Responsibility

Media framing occurs when journalists or editors "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make [it] more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Entman states that a frame is something that defines a problem, meaning that when a journalist frames an issue, he or she is, in turn, elevating that bit of information in salience. Salience is defined as making a piece of information more noticeable and meaningful, or memorable to an audience.

According to framing theory, communicators, such as journalists, make judgments about what messages to send. As a result, the messages they send are frames which are manifested by the presence or absence of key words, phrases, images or sources of information (Entman, 1993). Framing researchers use various methods to document media frames, ranging from words used in news stories and press releases (Miller, Andsager, & Reichert, 1998) to actual message content (Ashley & Olson, 1998).

Given that the mass media are a significant source of public information (Einsiedel & Thorne, 1999), understanding framing can benefit public relations practitioners by helping them see the ways that key stakeholders seek and process information. The framing of news on various issues directly affects the public in that it helps to construct their understanding of those issues. The public is more likely to experience the issues through the media rather than through their own experience (Andsager & Smiley, 1998). The study of framing aims to identify the dominant frame for a particular social issue or phenomenon. Finally, framing studies seek to discover what is present in the form of reading material for the general public, such as newspaper stories and news coverage on television. Framing can provide a useful, strategic way to come to understand how the news media shape how we perceive and think about issues (Miller & Reichert, 2001).

Gamson and Modigliani (1987) further define the tie between the media and frames as they coin the term "media frames." The researchers claim that as the media create story lines, they organize and provide meaning to an unfolding strip of events. In other words, the researchers argue that the media frame suggests and drives the content of the news story or issue at hand (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987). While the intent of media framing is questionable, researchers recognize that it may be an unconscious action (Gamson, 1989; Parenti, 1993). Therefore, those unconscious actions can be embedded in culture. It is also necessary to note that media frames could be a necessary part of how news is processed. As Gitlin (1980) notes, the nature of news reporting requires that small portions of each day's larger events

must be quickly identified, classified, and packaged on a regular basis for presentation to the media's select audiences.

Entman (1993) identifies frames in four locations within the communication process: communicators, text, receivers and culture. "The text contains frames, which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain key words, stock phrases, stereotypical images, source of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (p. 52). The current study explores how the text regarding CSR is framed differently across cultures embedded in two different countries, the United States and South Korea.

Collectivism/Individualism Dimension in Framing CSR

Sethi (2003) relates CSR to collectivistic characteristics, which Asian countries tend to embrace. In other words, he considers a company an individual and society a collective group. Therefore, countries with collectivistic characteristics seem to fit better with the notion of CSR because CSR is about caring for community over the individual's (company's) self-interest. The idea of social responsibility has emerged as an important concept in the global corporate context in the U.S. (Sethi, 2003). However, if CSR exhibits collectivistic characteristics opposite from the individualism that is typical in the U.S., it is worthwhile to pay attention to CSR's characteristics from a cross-cultural perspective. A question in the opposite direction also can be raised: How do countries with collectivistic characteristics depict the notion of CSR? The individualism/collectivism dimension identified in Hofstede's study supports analyzing the importance of the group versus the individual across eastern and western countries. In individualistic countries such as the U.S., Australia and much of Europe, "the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself" (Hofstede 1991, p. 51). Social ties are tighter in collectivistic countries, such as Colombia, Pakistan and most of Asia, where "one owes lifelong loyalty to one's in-group, and breaking this loyalty is one of the worst things a person can do" (p. 50).

Hofstede (1991) declares that extreme individualism and extreme collectivism can be considered as opposite poles in national culture. Most researchers seem to have accepted that position. But according to Kim (1994), actual data have not revealed these two types of people. They report that individualism and collectivism appear to represent two separate dimensions. Other researchers have also noted that individualism and collectivism are likely to be separate dimensions rather than the polar opposites of a single dimension (Oyserman 1993). Recently, many studies acknowledge that CSR can benefit both society and business (Zadeck, 2004). Also, due to globalization, the notions of collectivism and individualism have become more dynamic. The present study also adopts the idea that individualism and collectivism can be treated as separate dimensions. Therefore, an article could contain CSR news coverage representing both collectivistic and individualistic characteristics; however, overall, South Korean articles would convey more collectivistic characteristics than the U.S. articles.

In order to examine cross-cultural aspects in the notion of CSR, the following hypotheses are proposed.

- H1a: In South Korea, there will be CSR news coverage containing stories reflecting collectivism more than in the United States.
- H1b: In the United States, there will be CSR news coverage containing stories reflecting individualism more than in South Korea.

Uncertainty Avoidance Dimension in the Notion of CSR

The study of Chapple and Moon (2005) investigates the relationship between globalization and CSR through three indicators: levels of direct foreign investment, international export patterns, and the domestic/international status of companies. The researchers conclude that the more a country exhibits these three indicators, the CSR reporting in that country's companies is more likely to increase. Therefore, the authors argue that the notion of CSR is likely to be disseminated to other countries due to globalization. The fact that the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) sets global guidelines for CSR reflects the relationship between globalization and CSR. Therefore, it seems that corporations have options either to follow specific standardized guidelines of CSR or follow their abstract consciences. For example, when corporations report about their CSR activities, those not comfortable with CSR's unclear concept are more likely to utilize the global guidelines or government's instructions regarding CSR activities. However, other corporations that care less about CSR's uncertain reality may implement various ethical issues or philanthropic activities and care less about the global guidelines.

Historically, the term CSR originated from the acknowledgment of the relationship between business and society — the concept of *social responsibility or responsibility of businessmen* — rather than from concrete theoretical development (De Bakker et al., 2005; Garriga & Melé, 2004). Further, CSR is studied in various disciplines, such as human resources (Rupp, Ganapathi, Aguilera, & Williams, 2006), marketing (Maignan, Ferrell & Hult, 1999), and public relations (Prabu et al., 2005). The notion of corporate social responsibility can be a very vague and broad term because it presents a proliferation of approaches that are controversial, complex and unclear (Garriga & Melé, 2004; De Bakker et al., 2005). The corporate social responsibility field presents not only a landscape of theories but also a proliferation of approaches that are also controversial, complex and unclear. The notion of corporate social responsibility was introduced a long time ago, but today the conceptualization of CSR as well as the definition of CSR is not stabilized. For example, De Bakker et al. (2005) summarized all of the literature about CSR through a bibliometric analysis; the authors conclude that there is no consistent conceptual framework for CSR. Also, Alfonso and Sharma (2005) imply that managers still do not understand what corporate social responsibility programs mean for all aspects of business. In other words, CSR can be viewed as a concept or vocabulary that creates uncertainty even for top managers who are in positions to implement the programs.

When people deal with this uncertain concept, cultural differences will play a role. The uncertainty avoidance dimension in Hofstede's cultural dimensions seems to explain the issue of unclear concepts of

CSR and cultural differences in Eastern and Western countries. *Uncertainty avoidance* is defined as the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations. Strong uncertainty-avoiding cultures try to avoid ambiguous situations, and look for a structure in their organizations, institutions, and relationships that makes events clearly interpretable and predictable. These cultures are also more dependent on the expertise of the government (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). Therefore, a culture of strong uncertainty avoidance tends to have more precise laws than one with a weak level of cultural uncertainty avoidance.

According to the Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) study, South Korea shows stronger scores on uncertainty avoidance compared to the U.S.; therefore, South Korea PR practitioners are more likely to avoid the uncertain CSR phenomenon by describing CSR in terms of standardized concepts. Also, authority figures might be cited to define or explain CSR in news coverage to avoid uncertainty. On the other hand, countries with weak uncertainty avoidance might be more tolerant of uncertain situations; therefore, they would not need to use precise rules to understand CSR.

Based on the discussion, the following hypotheses are proposed for the uncertainty avoidance dimensions of CSR.

- H2: In South Korea, there will be CSR news coverage containing terms indicating strong uncertainty avoidance more than in the United States.

Long-Term Orientation/Short-Term Orientation Dimension in Implementing CSR

Previous studies recognized that Western and Eastern cultures have differences in types of orientation. Long-term orientation (LTO), also known as Confucian dynamism, has influenced Eastern countries, whereas Western countries are more likely to show short-term orientation (Hofstede & Bond, 1984). Long-term-oriented cultural members value thrift, perseverance, and willingness to subordinate one's self for the purpose of harmony and cooperation. Therefore, it is likely that members of a LTO culture are more inclined to use a harmonious and cooperative approach to describe CSR than members of short-term-oriented cultures who subscribe to the ideas of one truth, quick results, and social pressure. South Korea has relatively high scores in this dimension (75) and the United States has low scores (29) (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005).

Even though the CSR notion itself is closer to a long-term perspective due to its relationship building efforts between an organization and a society in general, CSR can be employed using various tactics and strategies. For example, a company might help non-profit organizations with widely and socially accepted causes like breast cancer awareness in order to remedy a tarnished corporate image caused by critical accidents involving the company. This reactive step would be considered a short-term strategy. However, some organizations could position their images as environment friendly, regardless of whether they have critical accidents they need to defend, and try to focus on the virtue of cooperation and harmony to benefit society as a whole. These cases would be considered proactive and long-term-oriented

strategies. A short-term strategy can be used to defend against activist criticism, whereas a long-term strategy can be used to protect companies' images and sustain their businesses over time.

This paper proposes that even though organizations can employ CSR for both long-term and short-term strategies, cultural differences regarding long-term versus short-term orientations could affect the implementation of the CSR notion. Thus, in applying Hofstede's cultural dimensions to the CSR context, CSR news coverage in long-term-orientation culture might focus on what long-term rewards corporations gain through CSR activities and how CSR activities can succeed through cooperation among the company, government and the public. On the other hand, CSR news coverage in short-term orientation may focus on how corporations gain rewards in the near future.

Based on Hofstede and Bond's (1984) LTO dimension, the following hypotheses are proposed.

- H3a: In South Korea, there will be more CSR news coverage containing stories reflecting long-term orientation than in the U.S.
- H3b: In the U.S., there will be more CSR news coverage containing stories reflecting short-term orientation than in South Korea.

Lastly, although we have discussed how public relations and the notion of corporate social responsibility exist in the phenomenon of globalization, no direct conclusion has been drawn regarding the differences between Korea and the U.S. in understanding CSR in relation to the notion of globalization. Thus, this study posits the research question about how cultural differences play a role in the understanding of CSR as it relates to globalization.

- RQ1: Are there differences in the usage of terms indicating the relationship between globalization and corporate social responsibility between South Korea and the United States?

Method

Content analysis was used to examine the research hypotheses and the research question. Content analysis is a technique for studying and analyzing communication data in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner to measure variables (Neuendorf, 2002). Framing researchers have used various methods to document media frames ranging from words used in news stories and press releases (Miller, Andsager & Reichert, 1998) to actual message content (Ashley & Olson, 1998). Therefore, content analysis is considered an appropriate tool to explore the framed CSR messages across two countries.

Sample

News articles regarding corporate social responsibility were designated as the unit of analysis. News articles published between February 28, 2005, and February 28, 2007 in U.S. and Korean newspapers were selected. A two-year period was considered sufficient to examine the relationship between CSR term usage and cultural dimensions from a public relations perspective.

For sampling of both U.S. and Korean newspapers, major national newspapers and national business journals were chosen because they use staff writers to produce original stories about events rather than merely republishing stories directly from wire services. Articles were obtained from online databases using "Corporate Social Responsibility" as the keywords; Factiva was used for obtaining American news articles. In the Factiva database, the top 30 circulation newspapers (Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2006) and five magazines (*Forbes*, *Fortune*, *Business Week*, *Newsweek*, and *TIME*) were searched in order to obtain U.S. news articles. The KINDS database (www.kinds.or.kr) was used for Korean news articles; a total of 31 newspapers and six business magazines were searched to find Korean news articles. Articles with no relevance to the study (for example, brief announcements of locations and day/time for CSR events or CSR awards, or articles simply containing the term CSR, but not discussing CSR) were eliminated. A total of 263 news articles were selected: 126 for U.S. news, 137 for Korean articles.

Measures

Hofstede's (1984, 2005) cultural dimension was adapted as a general guideline to measure the unique nature of CSR and its relationship with cultural differences (H1, H2, and H3). Three dimensions of the five cultural dimensions, "Collectivism and Individualism," "Uncertainty Avoidance," and "Confucianism" were used as a codification based on CSR literature, since other dimensions, "power distance dimension" and "masculinity and femininity" are either not directly related to the concept of CSR or overlap with other dimensions regarding the CSR concept. For instance, "power distance dimension" suggests that people in cultures with large power distance tend to accept the differences between superiors and subordinates as not directly related to how corporate social responsibility is perceived based on culture.

The dimension of collectivism and individualism was operationally defined as the extent to which an article on CSR places the comparative priority on the company versus society when mentioning CSR benefits and initiatives. In other words, who should initiate corporate social responsibility efforts? And who should receive benefits from those activities: the company or society? Individualism indicators include 1) messages about CSR bringing a company profit or business success; 2) messages about CSR providing a competitive advantage for a company; and 3) messages about a company as an initiator of CSR activities. Collectivism indicators include 1) messages about sharing benefits for a society; 2) messages about CSR activities of contributing to community; and 3) messages about society as an initiative for CSR. All indicators were coded based on the dichotomy of the message presence in order to minimize possible

subjective decisions of coders. As discussed previously, whether individualism and collectivism should be considered as separate two dimensions or two opposite poles on one dimension has been controversial (Hofstede, 1991; Kim, 1994; Oyserman 1993). The present study adopts the idea that individualism and collectivism represent two separate dimensions.

The uncertainty avoidance dimension was defined as the extent to which an article on CSR attempts to avoid ambiguous situations when mentioning CSR. Indicators include 1) number of authority figures mentioned such as government, government officials, experts, or professors; 2) number of standard guidelines of CSR mentioned such as legal limits or acceptable scores for environmental issues; and 3) number of specific CEO of a company mentioned.

The long-term-orientation dimension was operationally defined as the degree to which a CSR article emphasizes the values of CSR from a long-term perspective. Regarding the relationship between CSR and long-term orientation from a PR perspective, long-term orientation of CSR is related to proactive public relations strategies, whereas short-term orientation is more likely to concern reactive public relations strategies. Indicators for long-term orientation include the presence of messages 1) emphasizing long-term benefits to society; 2) emphasizing general corporate survival through CSR activities; 3) mentioning the importance of the publics' and regulatory demands; 4) emphasizing values of learning, honesty, and accountability of CSR activities; 5) focusing on cooperation with the publics; and 6) emphasizing the joint effort with other members for CSR activities. Indicators of short-term orientation include 1) emphasis on receiving relatively immediate reward or benefits by doing CSR activities; 2) emphasis on sales increase or employment recruit rate increase due to CSR activities; and 3) emphasis on stories about activists or previous corporate crisis issues. All indicators of the long-term orientation measurement were also coded based on the dichotomy of the presence of specific messages.

To examine the differences between Korea and the U.S. in terms of globalization aspects of CSR term usages (RQ1), the study employs four indicators: 1) messages about standardized global CSR rules such as UNEP, CERES, GRI, and ISO; 2) presence of the word globalization or globe connected to the notion of CSR; and 3) presence of CSR examples of foreign companies.

Intercoder Reliability

After a training session, two researchers coded the news article in the sample. The unit of analysis was the news articles. Coders completed one coding sheet per news article after reading the article thoroughly. Ten (10%) of the news articles in South Korea and 10 (10%) of the news articles in the U.S. were cross-coded to determine intercoder reliability. This cross-coding resulted in 1,315 coding decisions. There were 25 coding decisions for each news article. To minimize the subjective decisions of the coders, the dichotomy scale was used. Then, a composite measure for each variable was created by summing up the items. Because few questions or disagreements were reported between coders, Holsti was used to measure intercoder reliability. It is acknowledged that Holsti does not take into consideration agreement that occurs by chance (Reber & Kim, 2006). Intercoder reliability ranged from 94 to 100% using Holsti's (1969) formula cited in Stacks (2002). This falls within the acceptable range of .90 or above (Stacks, 2002).

Results

A total of 137 Korean CSR news articles and 126 U.S. CSR news articles were collected for data analysis. After discarding unrelated news articles and short news items, 124 Korean CSR news articles and 108 U.S. CSR news articles were analyzed. All descriptive statistic results are presented in Table 1.

The focus of the study was to see the cultural differences in understanding the notion of CSR by examining six dimensions (collectivism/individualism, long-term/short-term orientation, uncertainty avoidance, and globalization). Each dimension was operationalized into several items coded into the dichotomy data (the absence of indicators = 0, presence of indicators = 1). These data were added up to represent each dimension and changed into numerical data. Independent samples *t*-tests were used in order to test hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1 suggests that there are significant differences in CSR news coverage between South Korea and the U.S. in terms of reflecting collectivistic and individualistic characteristics of CSR. The individualism dimension was operationalized into 3 items. Therefore, the possible score range for each dimension was from 0 to 3. The higher score indicated the higher level of individualism. This relationship applied to the collectivism dimension in the same way. There were significantly higher levels of indications of collectivism in Korean CSR news stories ($M=1.96$, $SD = .830$) than in the U.S. CSR news coverage ($M=.82$, $SD = .807$), lending support to H1 ($t(230) = 10.529$, $p = .00$). On the other hand, the U.S. CSR news stories ($M=1.82$, $SD = .984$) reflected significantly higher levels of individualism than Korean CSR news stories ($M= .83$, $SD = 1.234$), lending support to H2 ($t(230) = - 6.709$, $p = .00$).

Hypothesis 2 suggests that there are significant differences in using indicators to avoid uncertainty to explain CSR between South Korea and the United States. The results from the three variables reflecting uncertainty avoidance (authority figures and standards or scores of CSR, and CEO) were added up. Therefore, the possible score range for each dimension was from 0 to 3. Korean CSR news stories ($M=4.38$, $SD = 5.07$) contained strong uncertainty avoidance indicators more often than the U.S. CSR news stories ($M= 2.29$, $SD = 4.48$), lending support to H2 ($t(230) = 3.306$, $p = .001$).

Hypothesis 3 suggests that there are significant differences in understanding CSR from a short-term orientation (STO) or a long-term orientation (LTO) between CSR news coverage of South Korea and the U.S. The results from the five items reflecting the long-term orientation dimension and the three items reflecting short-term orientation dimensions were added for each dimension. Korean CSR news stories ($M=3.38$, $SD = 1.247$) reflected long-term oriented perspectives significantly higher than U.S. news stories ($M=1.37$, $SD = .972$), lending support to H3a ($t(230) = 13.766$, $p = .00$). The U.S. CSR news stories ($M=1.18$, $SD = .863$) reflected more short-term oriented perspectives than the Korean CSR news stories ($M= .26$, $SD = .539$), lending support to H3b ($t(230) = - 9.550$, $p = .00$).

Table 1. Cultural Differences Between South Korea and the U.S. in Framing of CSR.

Measure	Korea			U.S.			<i>t</i>	<i>d.f.</i>	<i>P</i>
	Mean	SD	<i>N</i>	Mean	SD	<i>n</i>			
Globalization	1.62	1.279	124	.48	.791	108	8.018	230	.00
Individualism	.83	1.234	124	1.82	.984	108	-6.709	230	.00
Collectivism	1.96	.830	124	.82	.807	108	10.529	230	.00
Uncertainty Avoidance	4.37	5.07	124	2.28	4.489	108	3.306	230	.001
Short-Term (STO)	.26	.539	124	1.18	.863	108	-9.550	230	.00
Long-Term (LTO)	3.38	1.247	124	1.37	.972	108	13.766	230	.00

RQ1, "are there differences in using the terms indicating the relationship between globalization and corporate social responsibility between South Korea and the United States?" was supported ($t(230) = 8.018, p = .00$). The result suggests that there are significant differences between the two countries in using terms indicating the relationship between globalization and CSR activities. South Korean news coverage was more likely to have stories about global guidelines of CSR, and CSR in global business settings ($M=1.62, SD = 1.279$) than coverage in the United States ($M = .48, SD = .791$).

Overall, the results showed significant differences between the two countries. The term CSR was understood from collectivistic perspectives, long-term orientations, and with the preference for strong uncertainty avoidance in Korean CSR news coverage. In the U.S., CSR news articles reflected opposite values. All hypotheses proposed for the study were supported.

Discussions and Conclusions

The results show that there are substantial cultural differences in news coverage between South Korea, a collectivistic country, and the United States, an individualistic country, in terms of framing

corporate social responsibility issues. Results from the collectivism and individualism dimension showed that the U.S. news stories about CSR are more likely to focus on whether CSR activities can bring profits or a competitive advantage to a company than whether CSR activities can bring benefits to society. Therefore, even though Sethi (2003) speculated CSR is a notion closer to collectivistic characteristics, the purpose of using CSR is framed differently in U.S. media.

The results from the long-term orientation (LTO) dimension implied that Korean CSR news delivered the stories that for the successful implementation of CSR activities, all government, citizens, activists, and companies should work in a harmonious way. Further, the virtue of the company through CSR activities has been more emphasized in Korean news stories about CSR than in the U.S. In other words, Korean news stories emphasized that CSR activities are more likely an expected virtue that companies should perform, but not for companies to produce immediate results. However, in the U.S., CSR was framed as activities defending a company from activist groups. Also, CSR was framed as corporate activities generating quick results, such as increasing employment recruitment rates, when compared to South Korea. The results suggest that CSR is more likely to be framed as a short-term strategy in the U.S. than in Korea. Previous literature assume that CSR has a long-term perspective (Briggs & Verma, 2006; Goddard, 2005; Mahoney & Thorne, 2005); however, the results imply that consumers in individualistic countries may also be exposed to CSR media coverage from a long-term perspective, but the media more often framed CSR as a useful business tool to gain immediate results from a short-term perspective.

In the United States, most articles described how an individual company contributes to society by using its own resources. It is plausible that companies in the U.S. are perceived as being motivated by self-actualization. Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) assert that self-actualization can only be the supreme motivation in an individualistic country. Therefore, it is more likely that journalists in South Korea may be motivated to cover CSR activities through working together with other entities. On the other hand, U.S. journalists are more likely to be motivated to achieve self-actualization through their own ability, skills and resources. Further, it is noteworthy that the role of activists is covered differently across the two cultures. South Korean activists are described as people who help companies perform CSR activities along with government while U.S. activists were described as people with anti-corporation perspectives. Therefore, companies do CSR to react to activists' demands.

There were significant differences in striving to clarify the concept of CSR. News in South Korea mentioned government officials and university professors who study CSR to comment on the issue. However, news in the U.S. rarely mentioned these authority figures; instead, specific CSR activities of a specific company were described in detail. Also, the news articles in the United States often explicitly stated how the term of CSR is vague. In other words, news in the United States indicates that the United States is more likely to accept the uncertain concept of CSR rather than attempt to make it more certain by using what authorities say and do or what global guidelines say about CSR. Therefore, Hofstede and Hofstede's (2005) statement that countries with strong uncertainty avoidance are more dependent on "the expertise of the government" was supported.

Indications of globalization in CSR-related news coverage were prevalent in print news in South Korea. For example, global guidelines from ISO and the term "globalization" were frequently cited. However, news in the United States contained significantly fewer indications of globalization and global guidelines in relation to CSR; rather, the news articles in the United States described how American companies do CSR activities in other countries. This result may reflect that, in the United States, the notion of globalization might be substituted by the notion of "Americanization," which is often viewed as having a similar meaning to globalization (Mendis, 2005; Moore & Rugman, 2003). Furthermore, the result explains that the U.S. CSR news articles reflect American' preference toward autonomy; in other words, Americans might not prefer to follow global guidelines to understand CSR because they will inhibit the autonomous spirit of individual companies.

The present study contributes to the CSR research stream by exploring how the nature of CSR can be related to cultural aspects and how media convey those cultural differences through framing the notion of CSR. Considering that the CSR research stream tends to focus mostly on Western perspectives (e.g., Carroll, 1999; Clark 2000), this study extends the scope of CSR research as it compares two different cultures regarding CSR framing. Further, the present study used three dimensions from Hofstede's cultural dimensions as a general guideline, but employed six dimensions rather than three dimensions. In other words, collectivism and individualism as well as long-term orientation and short-term orientation were considered as separate dimensions. The findings suggest that an article can contain both orientations, such as collectivistic and individualistic characteristics, which reveal the dynamic representations. However, articles in Korea and the U.S. had significantly different cultural orientations. Therefore, as discussed, although CSR becomes important universally as globalized business emerges in order to respond to consumers' concerns and requests, CSR is likely to be introduced by different orientations in the two countries.

Further, CSR research has tried to approach CSR from either the extreme economic view, such as Friedman's point of view: "Business has the sole responsibility of generating profits" or a societal view, such as "business should return its profits to society" (Freeman, 1984). However, there have been criticisms of the views toward considering Carroll's CSR dimensions as separate. In other words, he argues that even though there are activities purely belonging to economic or legal matters, in most cases, the dimensions (e.g., economic and philanthropic responsibility) can be achieved together and overlap greatly (Freeman, Wicks, & Parmer, 2004). Today, many researchers acknowledge that corporate CSR practices are not an either/or situation for company and society, but benefits to society go in tandem with, rather than counter to, benefits to companies (Porter & Kramer, 2006). Further, Zadeck (2004) argues that companies go through a path over time from defensive, company-oriented strategies to a focus on the civic aspects. Therefore, it seems that CSR is moving along with various environmental factors, which researchers need to follow closely.

Implications

This study can provide useful implications for international public relations practices. First, when PR practitioners try to use CSR strategy in collectivistic countries, they need to acknowledge that consumers are exposed to news coverage on whether a company adheres to specific CSR guidelines.

Therefore, international PR practitioners probably need to understand how government is involved in CSR in collectivistic countries, because the current study shows that consumers in collectivistic society are more likely to be exposed to news coverage mentioning government or authority figures when they face the uncertain phenomenon of CSR. In addition, in South Korea, consumers are more likely to be familiar with the notion that companies work with both government and citizens to complete CSR activities. However, in the United States, news coverage about companies defending themselves from citizen activists was prevalent rather than coverage about working together for CSR activities. In the U.S. market, CSR strategies have been framed from individualistic perspectives. For example, implementing CSR strategy for business success by using a company's own skills and resources seems more appealing to the U.S. market.

Limitations/Future Study

The current study only looked at how media are framed differently for delivering CSR issues between the United States and South Korea. Future studies can expand to how PR practitioners implement CSR activities differently across different countries through conducting interviews or surveys with PR practitioners. Further, each country may have a unique media industry structure and business structure. For example, in South Korea, along with government support and its economic development plan, Korean conglomerates named Chaebols have rapidly expanded their businesses since the 1970s (Kim & Hon, 1998). This formed a unique business structure in South Korea. Therefore, Korean corporations have a responsibility to help small business and industry; this has been addressed as corporate social responsibility in news coverage. In the U.S., the exchange between low retail price and poor treatment of employees could be problematic more than in South Korea today. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge the unique political and economic situations each country faces. Future studies need to explore further possible factors influencing CSR activities in each country. Further, the Korean language is quite different from English. Therefore, the present study considered that comparing Korean articles to American articles in terms of the length of each article would not be meaningful. However, in future studies, article length can be controlled to see whether article length is the reason why several coding variables are mentioned rather than just one.

Additionally, the target audience of national newspapers and business journals are different. The purpose of the current study was to compare the U.S. with Korea regarding CSR-related media coverage. Thus the study included both business-focused and general media in each country. However, it would be interesting to examine if there are differences between CSR coverage in national newspapers and business journals in future. A future study about how activists from different cultures, Eastern and Western, perceive the notion of CSR could also be worthwhile, so that international public relations practitioners can have a deeper understanding about activists who may have high levels of concern toward CSR activities. Finally, understanding how PR practitioners understand the notion of CSR across Eastern and Western countries, through surveys or interviews, could provide a deeper understanding of the nature of CSR from an intercultural perspective.

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