Appendix

A.1 List of research interviews

1) Pro-LGBT NGO, representative, August 10, 2018.
2) Professor of Protestant theology, August 27, 2018
3) Pro-LGBT NGO, representative, August 27, 2018.
4) Professor of Catholic theology, March 9, 2019.
5) Pro-LGBT NGO, representative, March 19, 2019.
6) Faculty member of Seoul National University, March 25, 2019.
7) Anti-LGBT activist, March 29, 2019.
8) Journalist, April 1, 2019.
9) Pro-LGBT NGO, interview with two representatives, April 2, 2019.
10) Catholic Bishops' Conference Korea, staff member, April 3, 2019
11) Person working in the human rights field, April 4, 2019.
12) Researcher at a university, April 4, 2019.
13) Pro-LGBT religious group, interview with two representatives, April 5, 2019.
14) Justice Party, representative, April 09, 2019.
15) Pro-LGBT NGO, representative, April 10, 2019.
16) Two anti-LGBT activists, April 18, 2019.
17) Anti-LGBT activist, also written interview, April 20, 2019.
18) Pro-LGBT Protestant pastor, June 5, 2019.
19) Professor of Catholic theology, June 7, 2019.
20) Researcher, June 10, 2019.
21) National Human Rights Commission of Korea, contact via phone and mail, June 11, 2019.
22) Anti-LGBT activist, June 16, 2019.
23) Anti-LGBT activist, June 20, 2019.
24) Anti-LGBT activist, July 4, 2019.
25) Representative from a Christian political party, also written interview, July 15, 2019.
26) Journalist, July 16, 2019.
27) Anti-LGBT activist, July 18, 2019.
28) Anti-LGBT activist, July 26, 2019.

29) Pro-LGBT NGO, representative, also written interview, July 29, 2019.

30) Representative of Buddhist faith, July 30, 2019.

31) Anti-LGBT activist, July 30, 2019.

32) Anti-LGBT activist, written interview, August 1, 2019.

33) Anti-LGBT activist, written interview, August 8, 2019.

34) Representative from a Christian political party, August 14, 2019.

35) Lawyer, August 14, 2019.

36) Member of a regional parliament, August 19, 2019.

A.2   List of (participant) observations

1) "Hapshin Christian academy on countermeasures against homosexuality", organizer: Homosexuality Response Committee of Hapshin Presbyterian Church General Assembly, place: Hapdong Theological Seminary, March 18, 2019.

2) "Rainbow Activism and the anti-discrimination law", lecture event, March 27, 2019.

3) "Rally to condemn the National Human Rights Council of Korea (NHRCK): resolute opposition against the distorted gender equality policy and against the anti-discrimination law", organizers: People's Coalition against Homosexuality and Same-Sex Marriage, National Alliance of Professors against the Legalization of Homosexuality and Same-Sex Marriage, place: in front of the NHRCK building, April 23, 2019.

4) Press conference against the rainbow flag at the United States' embassy and the embassy's support for LGBT, place: in front of the US embassy in Seoul, May 27, 2019.

5) "The 12th International Ex-Gay Human Rights Forum", organizer: Coalition for the Evangelization of Sexual Minorities, supervision: HolyLife, May 30, 2019.

6) "Holy Festival", organizer: HolyLife, place: Ch'ŏnggyech'ŏn Plaza, and "2019 Citizens' Rally Against the Homosexual Queer Culture Festival", place: across the street from the Seoul Queer Culture Festival on Seoul Plaza, June 1, 2019.

7) "People's gathering against the homosexual queer festival: love is plus festival", place: in front of Tŏksugung Palace, opposite of Seoul Square where the Seoul Queer Culture Festival takes place on the same day, June 1, 2019.

8) "The problems and damage caused by the distorted hate, discrimination and the Basic Human Rights Law", host: Chŏng Kap-yun, Member of National Assembly, supervision: Emergency Countermeasure Committee against the Homosexual Dictatorship which Includes Hate and Discrimination, place: National Assembly Members' Office Building, July 3, 2019.

9) "People's gathering against the wrong attempt to revise the gender equality law of the city of Puchŏn, in front of Puchŏn city hall, July 19, 2019.

10) "Rally to condemn the National Human Rights Council of Korea (NHRCK) which attempts to introduce homosexual dictatorship by asserting that there is hate and discrimination [against homosexuals]", organizers: Emergency Countermeasure Committee against the Homosexual Dictatorship which Includes Hate and Discrimination, People's Coalition against Homosexuality and Same-Sex Marriage, place: in front of the NHRCK building, July 25, 2019.

11) Rally against the introduction of education on gender and human rights as a requirement at Yonsei University, organizer: Group of the People Loving Yonsei University, place: at the gate to Yonsei University's Sinch'on campus, August 13, 2019.

A.3   Questionnaire for the survey of participants at the 'National Convention Against the Homosexuality Queer Festival' on 1st June 2019 (English translation)

Survey: National Convention Against the Homosexuality Queer Festival, 2019–06–01
Hello, my name is Hendrik Johannemann and I am doing my PhD at the Freie Universität Berlin in Germany. My thesis is a study that examines social movements in Korea that are related to homosexuality and LGBT issues from a political science perspective, and will be written in English. I think that the opinions of the participants of the 'National Convention Against the Homosexual Queer Festival', which is held today, are important, so may I ask you some questions? This short interview is expected to take about 5 minutes, and all information collected will be kept strictly anonymous. Of course, the collected data will be used only for research purposes. If there are any questions that are difficult to answer, you do not have to answer them.

1) How old are you? 1.2) Sex: – male, female
2) In which region do you live? – Seoul, Inch'ŏn/Kyŏnggi, Kangwŏn, Taejŏn/Sejong/ Ch'ungch'ŏn, Taegu/Kyŏngbuk, Pusan/Ulsan/Kyŏngnam, Cheju, other
3) What is your occupation? – Farming/forestry/fishing, self-employed, blue collar, white collar, housewife, student, unemployed, retired, other
4) When you look at Korean society and politics, what do you think are the three most important issues?
5) Which political party do you mainly support? – Liberty Korea Party, Democratic Party, People's Party, Bareun Party, Justice Party, I do not have any, other
6) If you have a religion, which religion and/or denomination do you belong to?
7) How often do you attend religious services? – More than once a week, once a week, once a month, only on special occasions, once a year, I almost do not attend services, I have never participated in religious services
8) Why do you participate in this event? What is your motivation of participating?
9) How did you get to know about this event?
10) Are you a member of a group which deals with the issue of homosexuality? If yes, of which group(s) exactly are you a member?
11) Have you participated in other events (rallies, forums, lectures, etc.) related to the opposition against homosexuality? If yes, how often approximately? And in which events did you participate? – I have, I haven't – How many times? ...times

A.4 Codesheet for protest event analysis on anti-LGBT activism in South Korea

1. Basic data

1.1 Protest event number (PEN) and date

Input mask	Variable	Values
PEN	PEN	Date of article/press statement and serial number (YYMMDDxxx)
Year of event	YEARN	YY
Month of event	MONTHN	1–12
Day of event	DAYN	1–31

1.2 Basic data

Input mask	Variable	Values
Short title: Who? What? Where? Against what? For what?	TITLE	Alpha-numerical input

1.3 Source

Input mask	Variable	Values
Source	SOURCE	Kukmin Daily 1 Korean Association of Church Communication (KACC) 2

1.4 Main place(s) of protest

Input mask	Variable	Values
Main place(s) of protest	PLACE1 PLACE2	Alpha-numerical input

Province	PROVIN	Seoul 1
		Pusan 2
		Taegu 3
		Inch'ŏn 4
		Kwangju 5
		Taejeon 6
		Ulsan 7
		Sejong 8
		Kyŏnggi 9
		Kangwon 10
		North Ch'ungch'ŏng 11
		South Ch'ungch'ŏng 12
		North Chŏlla 13
		South Chŏlla 14
		North Kyŏngsang 15
		South Kyŏngsang 16
		Cheju 17
		Whole South Korea 18
		Not specified 0

2. Supporters/organizers

2.1 Number of participants

Input mask	Variable	Values
Number of individual participants; also number of signatories of (online) petitions	NUMBER	Multi-digit number

2.2 Collective participants: social movement organizations (SMOs), groups and networks

Input mask	Variable	Values
Name of SMO, group, network, organization (include the main 5 groups into this, excluding political parties! See 2.3)	GROUPN1 GROUPN2 GROUPN3 GROUPN4 GROUPN5	Alpha-numerical (or Korean, i.e., *hangŭl*) input
Code number of groups etc.	GROUPCO1 GROUPCO2 GROUPCO3 GROUPCO4 GROUPCO5	Multi-digit number (see attached list)

Function	GROUPFU1	Promoter, participant 1
	GROUPFU2	Organizer (also: writer of statement etc.) 2
	GROUPFU3	Not specified 0
	GROUPFU4	
	GROUPFU5	

2.3 Participants/interlocutors from political parties

Input mask	Variable	Values
Participating politician's name (include the main 2 or, if unclear, the first two mentioned)	PARTPOL1 PARTPOL2	Alpha-numerical input (transcribed names)
Political party the politician belongs to	PARTN1 PARTN2	Hannara/Saenuri/Liberty Korea/ United Future Party 1 Democratic Party 2 Bareun/Bareun Mirae Party 3 Christian Liberal/Christian Liberty Unification Party 4 Kukmin-ŭi tang 5 Korean Patriots/Our Republican Party 6 Our Opened Party 7 Unified Progressive Party 8
Function	PARTFU1 PARTFU2	Promoter, participant 1 Organizer 2 Interlocutor 3 Not specified 0

2.4 Number of groups, organizations and parties

Input mask	Variable	Values
Number of organizations, groups, and parties	PARTICALL	Multi-digit number

2.5 Persons mentioned by name

Input mask	Variable	Values
Name of person (include main 3)	PERSONN1 PERSONN2 PERSONN3	Alpha-numerical input (names transcribed in McCune-Reischauer)

Function (belonging to which group, which position there?)	PERSONFU1 PERSONFU2 PERSONFU3	Alpha-numerical input

3. Topic/problem

3.1 Concrete topic/problem

Input mask	Variable	Values
Concrete topic/problem	TOPIC1 TOPIC2	See claimlist (please contact the author for further information)

3.2 Context of the event

3.2.1 Is protest event part of a campaign?

Input mask	Variable	Values
Is protest event part of a campaign?	CAM	Yes 1 No 2
Name of campaign?	CAMN	Alpha-numerical (*hangŭl*) input

3.2.2 Does protest event trigger counterprotest?

Input mask	Variable	Values
Does protest event trigger counterprotest?	COUNTA	Yes 1 No 2
If yes, who is/are the counterprotester(s)?	COUNTAN	Alpha-numerical (*hangŭl*) input

3.2.3 Is protest event a counterprotest?

Input mask	Variable	Values
Is protest event a counterprotest?	COUNTB	Yes 1 No 2
If yes, against what?	COUNTBN	Alpha-numerical (*hangŭl*) input

3.3 Immediate target of protest

Input mask	Variable	Values
Immediate target of protest: name	TARGETN1 TARGETN2	Alpha-numerical input
Immediate target of protest: type of target	TARGETT1 TARGETT2	Public/government institution 1 Political party (politician) 2 Official representative (like mayor) or candidate for a post 3 Trade associations/company 4 Private person 5 Pro-LGBT group 6 Individual church/pastor 7 Church association/denomination 8 Other church/religious organization/person 9 Judiciary branch 10 TV station, media 11 Others 12 University/educational institution 13

4. Action

4.1 Form of action

Input mask	Variable	Values
Form of action	FORM1 FORM2 FORM3	Signatures, petition 1 Press conference, press release 2 Rally, assembly, protest 3 Educational event, forum, seminar 4 Non-verbal, symbolic protest 5 Demonstration march 6 Procedural complaint 7 Litigation 8 Defamation 9 Disturbance, hindrance, boycott 10 Scuffle, brawl 11 Hunger strike 12 Meeting with politician(s) etc. 13 Survey produced by anti-LGBT organization 14 Leaflet, booklet, etc. (distribution) 15 Strategic/emergency/preparatory meeting 16 Sending emails, faxes, messages (to politicians or members) 17 Prayer meeting, worship service 18 Writing online comments 19 Online/TV programs 20 Mission, evangelization 21 Sending questionnaires to politicians or creating an index on them 22 Repressive measure 23 Other 0

4.2 Immediate consequences and consecutive reactions

Input mask	Variable	Values
Injured participants? Arrests? Statements from (political/ administrative) officials?	CONSEQ	Alpha-numeric input

5. Frames

5.1 Diagnostic framing

Input mask	Variable	Values
Diagnostic framing: problem identification and attribution of blame or causality	FRAMDIAG1 FRAMDIAG2 FRAMDIAG3 FRAMDIAG4	Alpha-numeric input
Diagnostic framing: Codes. Inductive coding.	FRAMDCO1 FRAMDCO2 FRAMDCO3 FRAMDCO4	See code list (please contact the author for further information)

5.2 Prognostic framing

Input mask	Variable	Values
Prognostic framing: proposed solution to the identified problem; indication of strategies, tactics, and goals	FRAMPROG1 FRAMPROG2	Alpha-numeric input
Prognostic framing: Codes. Inductive coding.	FRAMPCO1 FRAMPCO2	See code list

5.3 Motivational framing

Input mask	Variable	Values
Motivational framing: indication of a rationale for action	FRAMMOT1 FRAMMOT2	Alpha-numeric input
Motivational framing: Codes. Inductive coding	FRAMMCO1 FRAMMCO2	See code list

5.4 Symbolic framing

Input mask	Variable	Values
Symbolic framing: Code. Indication of symbolic terms, concepts, comparisons, reproaches, etc. that are used (e.g. "toxic" law, LGBT "dictatorship", "destruction" of the nation, church, etc.)	FRAMSYM1 FRAMSYM2	See code list

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