Mediated Contact, Intergroup Attitudes, and Ingroup Members' Basic Values: South Koreans and migrant workers

Abstract

An experiment was conducted to examine the effects of mediated contact between ethnic Koreans and migrant workers in South Korea. Positive contact generated more positive perception of and affect toward the migrant workers, but did not change South Koreans' social distance from migrant workers. The effects of negative contact, on the other hand, were consistently significant across all three attitude measures. When the effect size of positive and negative mediated contact was compared, positive mediated contact produced a more pronounced effect on the perception of the outgroup. On the affect measure, the statistics indicated a similar tendency, but the difference was not significant. When social distance and power values were examined, however, only negative mediated contact produced significant effects. Theoretical and practical implications of these findings are discussed, followed by suggestions for future studies.

Keywords: migrant workers; Korea; intergroup contact; mediated contact; cultivation; power values

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The globalization of labor is a general trend of the current time (Bukodi, Ebralidze, Schmelzer, & Blossfeld, 2008). South Korea is no exception. With the rapidly increasing number of foreign residents, South Korea is currently undergoing the process of transformation from a predominantly monoethnic society to a polyethnic society. In 1990, there were less than 5,000 resident foreigners. By 2007, the number of foreigners living in South Korea surpassed a million mark, leading to the projection that resident foreigners will comprise 5% of the total population by 2020 and 10% by 2050 (Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, 2010).

Among them, migrant workers comprise the largest category, far exceeding international students or international marriage-related immigrants (Ministry of Security and Public Administration, 2012). In the late 1980s, South Korean government enacted policies that facilitated the flow of migrant workers from other Asian countries to fill the gap in the supply of manual labor shunned by domestic workers. Since then, migrant workers have become indispensible part of the economy (Yang, 2010).

At the same time, the influx of migrant workers created new challenges for the society. Due to little interaction with the outside world before the Second World War, except for chronic invasions from China and Japan, Koreans have a very strong national identity, which has long been regarded as a virtue. Now, however, the national allegiance and solidarity is sometimes expressed as negative attitudes and hostile behaviors toward migrant workers, causing conflicts and mutual resentment (Jung, 2005).

In this context, the role of media can be crucial. For most South Koreans, the opportunity to interact with migrant workers at a meaningful level is very limited. Instead, they heavily depend on the media to learn about the new members of their society (Kim & Kim, 2008). Recently, the concept of mediated intergroup contact, an expansion of intergroup contact theory, has been clarified and refocused to explore the effects of intergroup contact taking place via media consumption (e.g., Author, 2012). According to the theory, media depictions of migrant workers can influence South Korean general public's attitudes toward them.

Therefore, an experiment is conducted here. South Korean college students are exposed to either positive or negative media coverage of migrant workers. Subsequently, changes in their attitudes toward migrant workers are observed. In addition, two mediation models are tested in which the positive and negative mediated contact, respectively, are expected to influence universalism and power values of South Koreans via their influence on the ingroup members' attitudes toward migrant workers. Furthermore, the current study also aims to advance the contact theory by closely examining and comparing the effects of positive and negative mediated contact.

Migrant Workers in South Korea

The International Labour Organization (n.d.) defines a migrant worker as "a person who migrates from one country to another with a view to being employed otherwise than on his own account and includes any person regularly admitted as a migrant for employment." In the South Korean law, a migrant worker is defined as "a non-Korean citizen who offers his or her labor in return for salary, wage, or other forms of payment, regardless of the type of work rendered (Seol, 1999)."

Broadly, migrant workers can be divided into two groups: professionals/skilled workers and low-skilled laborers. In the current study, the focus is given to the second category of migrant workers. Most migrant workers in the first category are from Western and/or developed countries and enjoying a decent salary and an accommodating work environment (Choi, 2004). Because of their higher socioeconomic status, often in conjunction with their being a Caucasian, a privileged race in South Korea, they are relatively immune to prejudice and discrimination that could come with their minority status in the highly homogeneous society. On the other hand, the opposite is the case for low-skilled laborers. Their work environment and compensation are often less than desirable. The vast majority of them come from other Asian countries, including China, Vietnam, and Philippines (Statistics Korea, n.d.), and having the developing or underdeveloped countries as their country of origin also exposes them to disrespect and mistreatment. Because most migrant workers have not spoken Korean before coming to South Korea, the language barrier often aggravates the problems as well (Koo, 2006).

According to a few studies that examined the representation of migrant workers in South Korea media, they are virtually invisible (Baek, 2005). When the media do cover migrant workers, it tends to focus on violent crimes, sexual abuse, sex crimes involving them either as the victims or perpetrators, and dysfunctions within the expatriate communities (Im, 2012; Jung, 2005; Kim & Kim, 2008; Yoon, 2002). Critical scholars also noted that Korean media characterize migrant workers as either the subject of pity or potential criminals. At best, they are portrayed as newcomers who have to make every effort to assimilate into the society that doesn't have a choice but to learn to live together with them (Jang, 2008; Joo, 2006).

South Koreans' Mediated Contact with Migrant Workers

Intergroup contact theory states that personal contact between members of different groups is an effective means of reducing prejudice between the groups and discrimination against minorities within a multicultural society (Allport, 1954). According to a meta-analysis, intergroup contact does reduce anxiety and prejudice. The positive effects are also generalizable to other contexts beyond the immediate environment the contact takes place. When there is a status differential between the two groups involved in a contact, whether in size or power, the positive effects are more frequently observed in the dominant group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Whereas the notion of "contact" originally entailed interpersonal, face-to-face interaction between individuals from different social groups, the concept has been expanded over time. The extended contact hypothesis states, "knowledge that an in-group member has a close relationship with an out-group member can lead to more positive intergroup attitude (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997, p.74)." Concurrent to this development, media effect researchers began to apply contact theory to examine the changes in the audience perception of social groups (e.g., racial or ethnic groups) as a consequence of their exposure to the media depiction of outgroups.

The notion of intergroup contact via media consumption has been called by a few different names, including "vicarious contact," (Fujioka, 1999) "parasocial contact," (Schiappa, Gregg, & Hewes, 2005) and "mediated intergroup contact" (Ortiz & Harwood, 2007). A comprehensive review and synthesis of relevant literature closely examined these terms and offered a typology of intergroup contact via media consumption (Author, 2012). Empirically, the relationships between mediated contact and reduced prejudice and/or increased positive attitudes toward minority groups held by ingroup audiences were found in surveys (e.g., Ortiz & Harwood, 2007), controlled experiments (e.g., Schiappa et al., 2005), and field experiments (e.g., Graves,

1999; Lovelace, Scheiner, Dollberg, Seguf, & Black, 1994). The positive effect of mediated contact was observed for non-fictional media content as well: Extensive exposure to the Black President, Barack Obama, decreased White audiences' racial prejudice against Blacks through increased accessibility of positive Black exemplars (Plant et al., 2009). To date, dependent measures employed in the effect studies include intergroup anxiety (Ortiz & Harwood, 2007), perceptions of outgroups (Plant et al., 2009; Schiappa et al., 2005), and social distance (Ortiz & Harwood, 2007).

Therefore, it is proposed here that South Koreans engage in mediated contact with migrant workers by reading newspaper articles about the outgroup. When the newspaper articles portray migrant workers in a positive light, the contact is likely to generate positive attitudes toward them.

H1. Participants in the positive mediated contact condition, as opposed to those in the control condition, will exhibit (a) more positive perception of, (b) more positive affect toward, and (c) less social distance from migrant workers.

While it is the optimism about the positive outcomes of intergroup contact that inspired researchers, Pettigrew (2008) recognized the need to pay attention to negative intergroup contact and its consequences as well. So far, the need for more balanced attention to positive and negative contact has been addressed in a few studies and the results support the general idea that negative contact generates undesirable intergroup outcomes such as negative attitude, prejudice, racism, and issue/contact avoidance (Barlow et al., 2012; Joyce & Harwood, 2015; Pettigrew, 2008).

Parallel to this distinction between positive and negative contact in the interpersonal context, mediated contact can be also classified as either positive or negative. Contrary to the "severe positivity bias (Paolini et al., 2010, p. 1723)" in the interpersonal-level contact research, most existing media research documented the negative consequences of intergroup contact via media consumption. Lumped under a broad heading of "media stereotype research," substantial research evidence indicates that exposure to typical U.S. media content—fictional or non-fictional—increased prejudice held by White Americans against racial/ethnic minority groups (Mastro, 2009). The studies focusing on Whites' perceptions and attitudes concerning Latino immigrants can be particularly applicable to the current study because of the similarities in the intergroup dynamics and news frames covering them. In one study, the stronger a White person believed that television portrayed Latinos as criminals, the stronger was the person's belief that Latinos were crime-prone. The criminal stereotype of Latinos, in turn, was related to support for the abolition of affirmative action policies (Mastro & Kopacz, 2006). Regular viewers of a conservative cable news network—which also tend to portray Mexican immigrants more negatively—were also less supportive of Mexican immigration than regular viewers of a more liberal cable news network (Gil de Zúñiga, Correa, & Valenzuela, 2012).

Based on the findings regarding the effects of negative contact—both interpersonal and mediated—, it is hypothesized that exposure to negative news articles about migrant workers in South Korea will generate more negative attitudes toward the outgroup.

H2. Participants in the negative mediated contact condition, as opposed to those in the control condition, will exhibit (a) more negative perception of, (b) more negative affect toward, and (c) more social distance from migrant workers.

Positive vs. Negative Contact

With the emerging interest in the negative contact, researchers also began comparing the process and effect size of negative and positive contact. A large-scale survey of Germans revealed that the effect of positive contact was more robust than the effect of negative contact, although positive contact and negative contact was each related to decreased and increased prejudice against Muslim immigrants (Pettigrew, 2008). However, a set of experiments produced findings seemingly conflicting this study. In a lab experiment, negative contact with an outgroup member, in comparison to positive contact, made the person's (out)group membership more salient. A subsequent two-wave experiment also established the causal order that the valence of intergroup contact leads to category salience, rather than vice versa (Paolini et al., 2010).

By noting this inconsistency, Barlow and her colleagues (2012) conducted a study that analyzed two sets of large survey data, one carried out in Australia and the other in the U.S. The two surveys yielded results supporting their hypothesis that negative contact exacerbates prejudice more than positive contact relieves it, when the two effects are directly compared with each other. They named this disparate effect size of positive and negative contact "*positive-negative asymmetry effect*" and interpreted this finding in the context of the general psychological understanding that people heed to and weigh negative information more than positive information (for a review, see Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, & Vohs, 2001).

Most recently, Joyce and Harwood (2014) conducted an experiment in which participants watched a 10-minute edited version of a documentary depicting interactions between an illegal immigrant family and a border-patrolman. Although it was not the primary purpose of the study to compare the relative size of positive and negative contact effect, their finding added another wrinkle to the ongoing discussion regarding the positive-negative asymmetry effect. Compared to those in the mixed or control condition, participants in the positive contact condition exhibited significantly more positive attitudes toward illegal immigrants. At the same time, participants in the negative contact condition were not different from those in the mixed or control condition in their attitudes toward the outgroup. Regarding this finding, the authors speculated two possibilities. Because of the prevalent and mostly negative news media coverage of illegal immigrants, especially in the border state where the study was conducted, the negative contact manipulation might not have been perceived as discernably more negative than either the mixed or control condition. The authors also wondered whether the participants in the negative contact condition might have perceived the border-patrolman – the ingroup character — rather than the illegal immigrant – the outgroup character — as the source of the negatively, which could have resulted in not as negative attitude toward the outgroup as expected.

Indeed, the sociocultural context of contact and different interpretations of a given contact situation could be considered as noises and thus future experiments should pay attention to them. At the same time, these seemingly inconsistent findings might suggest that not all concepts and theses of intergroup contact research are directly applicable to mediated contact research. Pettigrew (2008) reported that intergroup contact experienced by a large probability sample of Germans was overwhelmingly positive. On the other hand, media stereotype research and the conflict-oriented news values in journalistic practices suggest that the opposite might be the case for mediated contact. Another possible complicating factor might be some differences between survey and experiment methods. Furthermore, researchers should not conflate the differences between positive and negative contact in the *effect size,* as reported in Barlow and

others (2012), and in the *effect process*, as demonstrated by Paolini and her colleagues (2010), although they may well be related with each other. Future discussions about positive and negative contact may also benefit from clarifying whether the two are employed as disparate concepts or bipolar ends of one concept.

Because the current study examines the effects of mediated contact, as opposed to interpersonal contact, by using an experimental design, as opposed to a survey, a hypothesis is formulated based on Joyce and Harwood (2014) that found a more pronounced effect of positive mediated contact than negative contact on ingroup members' attitudes toward an outgroup.

H3. The effect of positive mediated contact will be stronger than the effect of negative mediated contact on the (a) perception of, (b) affect toward, and (c) social distance from migrant workers

Mediated Contact, Intergroup Attitudes, and Power and Universalism Values

Cultivation is another theory that has been employed frequently by media researchers to explain and predict the effects of minority representations in the media on audience perceptions and attitudes. So far, a number of studies demonstrated that media use affects social reality beliefs about minority groups, including stereotypes about and socioeconomic status of the groups, reasons for their success or lack thereof, and their contribution to the mainstream society (e.g., Armstrong, Neuendorf, & Brentar, 1992; Atkin, Greenberg, & McDermott, 1983; Busselle & Crandall, 2002; Dixon, 2006; Dixon, 2008; Ford, 1997; Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Ortiz, 2007).

The cultivation effects are often discussed at two levels (e.g., Hawkins & Pingree, 1982; 1990; Shrum, 2008). The first-order effects refer to the influence of media on the perceived frequency of certain types of people or situations. The first-order effects are commonly examined by comparing the frequency or occurrence rate of an event or situation perceived by heavy media users with real-world statistics. The second-order effects, on the other hand, are lessons abstracted from repeated exposure to media content containing a certain theme. One of the most commonly examined second-order effects is the "mean world syndrome," a general outlook on the society and fellow humans as a cold place full of untrustworthy and selfish people and hence it transcends a particular context or time (Gerbner, 1998). Once established, therefore, the mean world syndrome can potentially function as an organizing principle to determine how to perceive and respond to other people. Basic human values are similarly fundamental predispositions that can be influenced by the media. It encompasses universalism, benevolence, conformity, tradition, security, power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction as ten distinct types that have been confirmed in cross-cultural samples (Schwartz, 2012).

The potential relationship between basic human values and intergroup attitudes intrigued researchers from early on (Kristiansen & Zanna, 1994; Rokeach, 1973) and has been empirically tested during the recent two decades. In one study, readiness for intergroup contact was positively related to universalism and self-direction and negatively related to security, tradition, and conformity (Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995). In other studies, attitude toward immigrants was positively related to benevolence and universalism (Schwartz, 2007) while negatively related to security and achievement (Leong, 2008). In South Korea, one study (Kim, 2007) found that universalism and power values were more clearly related to South Koreans' attitudes toward social minority groups than other value types. In another study (Park & Jung, 2006), power values were positively correlated with prejudice against the disabled, women, and migrant

workers whereas universalism values were negatively correlated with the same intergroup attitudes.

Because cultivation theory is premised on a long-term, "gravitational" (Gerbner, 1998, p. 180) process and the two basic values are fundamental outlooks on life supposedly accumulated over a period of time, it is highly unlikely that one-time mediated contact with migrant workers will exert discernable direct effects on South Korean's universalism and power values. Still, positive and negative mediated contact might affect the values by influencing South Koreas' attitudes toward migrant workers. In the one experiment that examined the effects of positive and negative mediated contact on Americans' attitudes toward illegal immigrants, the authors (Joyce & Harwood, 2014) demonstrated that the effects of mediated contact can be generalized beyond attitudes toward the immediate outgroup. Several mediation analyses uncovered that the valence of contact—positive, mixed, and negative—generated significant *indirect* effects on attitudes toward many other minority groups (e.g., legal immigrants, the homeless, political refugees, Blacks, Asians, and Latinos) via its influence on the attitude toward illegal immigrants. In the same vein, South Koreans' positive and negative contact with migrant workers could lead to changes in their attitude toward the outgroup and the attitudes may mediate the effects of mediated contact on the basic values. More specifically, two hypotheses are formulated to examine whether intergroup attitudes mediate the relationship between mediated contact and universalism and power values.

H4. Attitudes toward migrant workers will mediate the relationship between positive mediated contact and universalism values.

H5. Attitudes toward migrant workers will mediate the relationship between negative mediated contact and power values.

Method

Experimental Design & Stimuli

A one-factor posttest-only experiment was conducted. The experimental factor was composed of three levels: positive contact; negative contact; no contact control. Participants in the positive contact condition read three positive newspaper articles about migrant workers whereas those in the negative contact condition read three negative articles. People in the control condition were not exposed to any news article and asked to complete post-treatment measures only.

The stimuli were created based on actual news stories. By using a set of keywords, a search of KINDS, the most comprehensive South Korean newspaper article database, was conducted, with the latest five-year time limit. Among the articles the search generated, a few were screened for their typicality and uniformity in the tone, either positive or negative of migrant workers. The chosen articles were subsequently rated by a panel of 20 graduate students, resulting in three articles for each treatment condition. For the positive contact condition, the following stories were selected: (1) migrant workers' volunteerism to help clean up after an oil spill accident in South Korea - Three general statements about the participation of migrant workers from Bangladesh were followed by more specific accounts of three named individuals who took a leave from their work to help with the clean up efforts, alongside with South Korean

volunteers; (2) migrant workers' community service to aid disabled residents of a poor neighborhood - The story reported on a group of Sri Lankan migrant workers who spent their weekend delivering heating fuel to local (South Korean) elderlies to help them get ready for winter. An NGO officer was quoted saying that they were welcomed by the elderly residents who were mostly living alone and had limited physical mobility; (3) migrant workers teaming up to join a neighborhood watch program - The article focused on migrant workers from Indonesia, Uzbekistan, and Pakistan who volunteered to participate in the program, side-by-side with South Korean volunteers, to keep the city streets safe and provide help to local residents. The stories chosen for the negative contact condition were as follows: (1) migrant workers' illegal strike and violence against their co-workers - The story reported on a police arrest of 27 Vietnamese who allegedly staged an illegal strike and physically attacked other Vietnamese migrant workers who did not participate in the strike. A police officer was quoted for saying that the arrested workers had been causing troubles for their company for their lax work ethics and bad attitudes; (2) street crimes committed by migrant workers – This story was about a (South Korean) man who was robbed by three Uzbekistan migrant workers on his way home around midnight. A police officer warned citizens to especially watch out for this type of crimes because victims are often left unconscious, which can be particularly dangerous in cold winter nights; (3) criminal organizations formed by migrant workers and their atrocities – Beyond simple illegal stay and robbery, the story reported, crimes committed by migrant workers became increasingly menacing and organized. As an example, the article described an attempted rape and subsequent murder of a young (South Korean) woman by a Chinese migrant worker. All of the stories were written in a short news article format comprising 72-100 units (equivalent to words in English) or seven to ten sentences.

Participants & Procedure

Undergraduate students attending a comprehensive university in Seoul, South Korea, were recruited from several courses. With the collaboration of instructors, the data collection was conducted in classrooms, using the pencil-and-paper method. The experiment was introduced to the participants as a 'newspaper study.' Participants in the two treatment conditions received a packet that included three printed newspaper articles and a questionnaire. A written instruction asked them to read the three articles first and then subsequently answer the questions. The packet for control group contained the questionnaire only and asked them to fill out the enclosed questionnaire. Once the students received a packet, they were not allowed to talk to one another and asked to leave the classroom immediately after completing the questionnaire. This whole process took approximately 30 minutes.

Complete answers from 160 participants were included in the final data set. Their age ranged between 20 and 34 (M = 24.1, SD = 2.3). There were more women (n = 110) than men (n = 50). Their distribution was comparable across the positive contact (n = 51), negative contact (n = 50), and no contact control condition (n = 59).

Measures

Perception of migrant workers. Because little empirical research has been conducted to assess South Koreans' perception of migrant workers, "Counselor Rating Form-Short," a standard scale commonly used in social psychology research to assess person perception (Corrigan & Schmidt,

1983) was employed. The scale comprised 12 adjectives: sincere; skillful; honest; expert; likable; sociable; warm; trustworthy; experienced; reliable; prepared; friendly. The responses were captured on a 5-point response scale (from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *very much so*). A high reliability score was obtained (α = .85) and the 12 scores were subsequently averaged. The higher the score, the more positive the perception was.

Affect toward migrant workers. Because affect is highly culturally embedded and target-specific, a scale previously employed successfully to measure South Koreans' affective response to North Koreans was adopted here (Kim, 2000). The participants were asked to indicate how much they agreed to the following 12 adjectives in terms of what they thought of migrant workers: enjoyable; likable; respectable; affable; uneasy; upsetting; uncomfortable; afraid; pitiful; sad; abominable; unpleasant. The answers were captured on the same 5-point response scale as above. Some answers were recoded so that a higher score indicated more positive affect. After confirming the scale reliability (α = .86), the 12 scores were averaged and employed in subsequent analyses.

Social distance from migrant workers. The Bogardus social distance scale (Bogardus, 1928) was adopted. This is one of classic measurements of people's attitudes toward outsiders (Aiken, 2002) and has been successfully employed in mediated contact research (Ortiz & Harwood, 2007) as well as in contact research (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001). The responses were captured on a 5-point scale and averaged to indicate social distance from migrant workers. A higher score indicated narrower social distance from migrant workers (α = .86).

Universalism values. A scale based on the Schwartz theory of basic human values (Schwartz, 1992) had been adapted by Korean researchers (e.g., Kim, 2007). The adapted scale was composed of five statements: "If necessary, one has to step up to defend social justice"; "One has to work hard to protect the natural environment even if it doesn't benefit himself or herself directly"; "One has to stop and help others in distress no matter how busy he or she might be." "All human beings are equal regardless of their background and social status"; "In subway cars, one has to yield seats to others." The responses were captured on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree*). A subsequent reliability test indicated low internal consistency of the scale and thus two items were dropped from the scale. The final scale contained first three statements only (α = .61).

Power values. Similarly, an adapted version of Schwartz's power values was employed. The scale included these six statements: "Humans need to be supervised and regulated to function efficiently"; "By nature, humans want to dominate others"; "Some occupations are inherently better than others"; "There will be no end to conflicts and wars because it is in the human nature"; "A government can go beyond its legal limits to prevent crimes"; "The value of a human is judged by his or her material accomplishments." The answers were obtained on the same 5-point scale. Again, a reliability test indicated low internal consistency of the scale and thus one item was dropped from the scale. The first five statements formed the final scale (α = .69).

Manipulation Check

Positive/Negative portrayal of migrant workers in the news articles. Participants were presented with these four statements and asked to mark on a number that best represented their views: "The newspaper articles highlight the positive side of migrant workers living in the Korean society (S1)"; "The newspaper articles illustrate how difficult it is for migrant workers and Koreans to live alongside each other (S4)"; "The newspaper articles tell us that migrant workers are well adapted to the Korean society (S2)"; "The newspaper articles show how troublesome migrant workers can be to the Korean society (S3)." A five-point scale was employed to capture the responses, ranging from 1, *not agreeable at all*, to 5, *highly agreeable*. Because these questions were asked after the participants read all three articles, the manipulation check was based on the overall impression of them, either all positive or all negative stories.

The experimental manipulation was successful. Participants in the positive contact condition ($M_1 = 4.25$, $SD_1 = .63$; $M_2 = 3.69$, $SD_2 = .91$) agreed to the positive statements (*S*1 & *S*2) more than those in the negative contact condition ($M_1 = 1.26$, $SD_1 = .69$; $M_2 = 1.28$, $SD_2 = .54$) did and the differences between the two groups were statistically significant, $t_1 = 22.75$, $df_1 = 99$, $p < .001$; $t_2 = 16.21$, $df_2 = 99$, $p < .001$. Conversely, participants in the negative contact condition ($M_3 = 3.84$, $SD_3 = 1.02$; $M_4 = 4.04$, $SD_4 = 1.01$) agreed to the negative statements (S3 & S4) more than those in the positive contact condition ($M_3 = 1.92$, $SD_3 = .6$; $M_4 = 1.73$, $SD_4 = .7$) did. The differences were statistically significant, $t_3 = -11.60$, $df_3 = 99$, $p < .001$; $t_4 = -13.45$, $df_4 = 99$, $p < .001$

Results

Mediated Contact Effects on Attitudes toward Migrant Workers

H1 examined the effects of positive mediated contact on attitudes toward migrant workers whereas H2 examined the effects of negative mediated contact on the same variables. One-way ANOVA was conducted with mediated contact (positive, control, and negative contact) as the independent variable and each of the three attitude measures as the dependent variable. Because all of the three omnibus tests were statistically significant, a series of post-hoc analyses were conducted that compared only one of the experimental conditions and the control condition to test the specific hypotheses. As shown in Table 1, the mean scores of perception, affect, and social distance differed across all conditions in the predicted direction, with the positive contact condition resulting in more positive attitudes than the control, and the negative condition being more negative than the control. All effects were significant, except that the positive contact - control comparison did not yield a significant difference in social distance.

Table 1. The effects of mediated contact on South Koreans' attitudes toward migrant workers

	Positive contact (N=51)	Control (N=59)	Negative contact (N=50)	*F*	*P* (<)	η^2
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)			
Perception	3.29[a] (.35)	2.86[b] (.42)	2.50[c] (.56)	38.98	.001	.33

Affect	3.40[a] (.54)	3.05[b] (.54)	2.78[c] (.68)	14.67	.001	.16
Social distance	4.03[a] (.51)	3.84[a] (.71)	3.53[b] (.81)	6.75	.01	.08

Note. Within each row, means with different superscripts are statistically different from each other at $p < .05$ or a higher level.

Positive vs. Negative Contact

H3 predicted that the effect of positive mediated contact would be stronger than the effect of negative mediated contact. To directly compare the effect size of positive and negative mediated contact, independent *t*-tests were conducted first and then the *t* statistics were transformed to *r* scores. Subsequently, Fisher's *r*-to-*z* transformation was employed to test the statistical significance of the difference between each pair of the *r* scores for the attitude variables.

Regarding the perception of migrant workers, the *t* statistics for the effect of positive and negative mediated contact, each compared to the control condition, was 5.102 ($df = 108$) and -2.34 ($df = 107$). The *t* statistics were then converted to $r = .44$ and $r = .22$, respectively. A comparison of the two scores generated $z = 1.82$, which was marginally significant in the two-tailed test, $p = .068$, and statistically significant in the one-tailed test, $p = .034$. Hence, it was determined that the effect of positive mediated contact on South Koreans' perception of migrant workers was stronger than the effect of negative mediated contact on the same variable.

Using the same method, the effect size of positive and negative mediated contact on South Koreans' affect toward migrant workers was compared. The *t* statistics were 2.73 ($df = 108$) and -1.265 ($df = 107$) each, which corresponded to $r = .25$ and $r = .12$. The two correlation coefficients were not statistically different from each other, $z = .98$, $p = .32$.

Because negative mediated contact increased South Koreans' social distance from migrant workers whereas positive contact did not produce a statistically significant effect, the effect size comparison was not conducted for social distance.

Mediated Contact, Intergroup Attitudes, and Power and Universalism Values

The indirect effects of mediated contact via attitudes toward migrant workers were explored using Preacher and Hayes' (2008) INDIRECT macro. In the first model, positive mediated contact was included as the predictor that comprised positive contact and control as two categories. Since perception of migrant workers showed the strongest relationship to the predictor variable among the three attitude measures, it was chosen as the mediator. The dependent variable was universalism values. The data revealed no indirect effect (see Figure 1). The second model was constructed by including negative mediated contact as the predictor, with the two levels of negative contact and control. Perception of migrant workers and power values were placed in the model as the mediator and dependent variable each. In the second model, the indirect effect of negative contact on power values via its effect on the perception of migrant workers was statistically significant (see Figure 2).

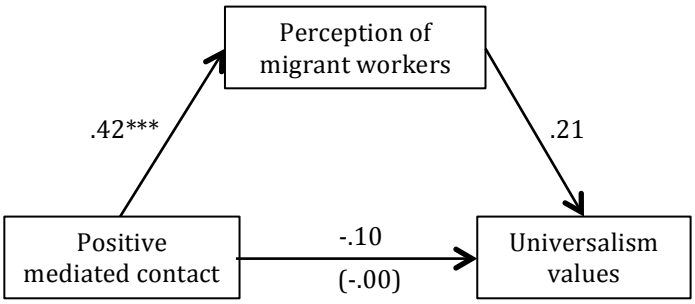

Figure 1. The direct and indirect effects of positive mediated contact on universalism values.
Note: Values are unstandardized regression coefficients (***$p < .001$) and the figure in parentheses represents the total effect of X on Y, encompassing both direct and indirect effects. The indirect effect estimate is .09 (*SD* = .07). Because its bias corrected confidence interval is [-.03, .25], the indirect effect is not statistically significant.

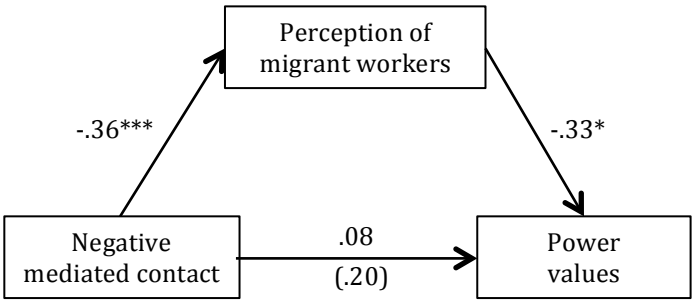

Figure 2. The direct and indirect effects of negative mediated contact on power values
Note: Values are unstandardized regression coefficients (*$p < .05$, ***$p < .001$) and the figure in parentheses represents the total effect of X on Y, encompassing both direct and indirect effects. The indirect effect estimate is .12 (*SD* = .05). Because its bias corrected confidence interval is [.04, .25], the indirect effect is statistically significant at .05 level.

Discussion

An experiment was conducted to examine the effects of mediated contact on ethnic Koreans' attitudes toward migrant workers in South Korea. To better understand the differences between positive and negative contact effects, we also directly compared the effect size of positive and negative mediated contact. Further tested here were two indirect effect models in which the effect of positive/negative mediated contact on South Koreans' universalism/power values was examined via its influence on the perception of migrant workers.

In support of the mediated contact theory, positive contact generated more positive perception of and affect toward the migrant workers, although it did not change South Koreans' social distance from migrant workers. The effects of negative contact, on the other hand, were consistently significant across all three attitude measures. When the effect size of positive and negative mediated contact was compared, positive mediated contact produced a more

pronounced effect on the perception of the outgroup. On the affect measure, the statistics indicated a similar tendency, but the difference was not significant. When social distance and power values were examined, however, only negative mediated contact produced significant effects.

The results of this study can be meaningful to mediated contact researchers in several fronts. First, it lends empirical support to the notion of mediated contact via news consumption, whereas most mediated contact studies to date employed entertainment programs as the media content effecting the change.

Second, this study empirically tested the theory in a non-Western context. To date, most existing research evidence has come from the U.S., Europe, and Australia. Although Shim, Zhang, and Hawrood (2012) examined the effects of direct and mediated contact on South Koreans, the study focused on the relationship between South Koreans and U.S. Americans, an outgroup that had been historically privileged over the ingroup themselves. The increased visibility of migrant workers and ensuing intercultural conflicts in many Asian countries calls for better understanding of mediated contact in the region (e.g., Nebehay & Wee, 2013) and this study can contribute to our collective knowledge.

Third, by examining universalism and power values held by ingroup members as the outcomes of mediated contact, in addition to their attitudes toward the outgroup, this study expanded the scope of variables researchers could consider as a consequence of mediated contact. The inclusion of all three categories of variables-exposure to media stories, attitudes toward migrant workers, and basic human values—in the experimental design also helped to uncover the small yet significant causal relationship between media consumption and the power values.

Fourth, the more robust effect of positive *mediated* contact, as opposed to negative *mediated* contact, on South Korean's perceptions of the disadvantaged minority group is consistent with Joyce and Hayes (2014). At the same time, the significant effects of negative mediated contact on social distance and power values, in the absence of comparable effects of positive mediated contact, prevent us from dismissing the "positive-negative contact asymmetry (Barlow et al., 2012)." Instead, this study revealed asymmetry between positive and negative mediated contact at two different levels, in opposite directions. When the perception of outgroup was concerned, positive media depiction—a relatively scarce mode of encounter with the outgroup via media for South Koreans—exerted a stronger effect than negative media depiction—a much more common type of mediated intergroup contact between migrant workers and the hegemonic majority—did. On the other hand, when the outcome variables were not just focusing on the outgroup, but rather involving the relationship between the outgroup members and hegemonic ingroup members themselves or their fundamental values, negative mediated contact was quite effective in effecting the changes that can be deemed detrimental to intergroup relations. Unfortunately, positive mediated contact was not as effective in generating any changes that could counteract or compensate for the negative effects.

For media educators and social engineers interested in the role of media in reducing intergroup tension and conflicts, this study provides a strong foundation for intervention. The robust effects of both positive and negative contact on the attitudes toward migrant workers shed a light on when and in what context such interventions can be the most effective. In spite of their notable increase in recent years, the influx of migrant workers to South Korea is a relatively new phenomenon and media attention to their presence in the society is even more recent. Hence, one can attribute the robust effects to the novelty of the issue in South Korea and further infer that the

role of media in this particular stage is especially important, more so than later when South Koreans have already established their frames of reference in understanding the newcomers.

In spite of these theoretical and practical contributions, this study is certainly not without limitations. One such limitation is concerned with the external validity of the findings. More specifically, the use of one particular group--college students in this case--as study participants can be considered a threat to the robustness of the findings. Because unit homogeneity is a critical assumption in causal inference (Rubin, 2005) and drawing a random sample for an experiment from a broadly defined population tends to be cost-prohibitive, this issue is typically addressed through replications with different samples in different settings (Brewer, 2000). Since this study established the effects of mediated contact with college students, the logical next step is to replicate this study with different sub-populations of South Koreans. The replications may also reveal, if any, moderators of the observed effect related to the characteristics of the sub-population examined.

In addition, the low reliability scores of universalism value scale should be acknowledged. In two previous studies conducted in South Korea, the universalism values scale obtained the reliability score of 0.7 (Kim, Kim, Shin, & Yi, 2011) and 0.82 (In, 2009). Based on these scores, we assumed that the scale was fully adapted for use in South Korea and thus did not conduct a pretest. In hindsight, however, it would have been advisable to pretest the scale and modify it to enhance reliability. After all, South Korea is not one of the countries where the globally applied scales were extensively tested and the two previous studies employed much larger samples, 1800 and 450 participants each, than the current study. For future use of the universalism values in South Korea, one could create multiple statements for the concept, in addition to the currently available ones, and then select a few that are the most coherent to its conceptual definition that also yield desirable reliability scores.

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