

Mediated Contact, Intergroup Attitudes, and Ingroup Members' Basic Values: South Koreans and Migrant Workers

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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 sizes of positive and negative mediated contact were compared, positive contact generated a stronger effect, albeit only marginally significant, than negative contact on the perception of migrant workers. In the affect and social distance measures, no significant difference was found. Furthermore, negative mediated contact increased power values through its influence on the attitudes toward migrant workers; parallel indirect effects of positive contact on universalism values were not found. Theoretical and practical implications of these findings are discussed, followed by suggestions for future studies.

Keywords: migrant workers, Korea, intergroup contact, mediated contact, power values, positive-negative contact asymmetry

The globalization of labor is currently a general trend (Bukodi, Ebralidze, Schmelzer, & Blossfeld, 2008). South Korea is no exception. With the rapidly increasing number of foreign residents, South Korea is undergoing the process of transformation from a predominantly monoethnic society to a polyethnic society. In 1990, South Korea had fewer than 5,000 resident foreigners. By 2007, the number of foreigners living there surpassed 1 million, leading to the projection that resident foreigners will comprise

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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, the 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 an indispensable 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, in conjunction with 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 through negative attitudes and hostile behavior 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 meaningfully interact with migrant workers 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 through media consumption (e.g., Park, 2012). According to the theory, media depictions of migrant workers can influence the South Korean general public's attitudes toward them.

Therefore, we conducted an experiment in which South Korean college students were exposed to either positive or negative media coverage of migrant workers. Subsequently, we observed changes in their attitudes toward migrant workers. In addition, we tested two mediation models in which the positive and negative mediated contact, respectively, were expected to influence universalism and power values of South Koreans by influencing the ingroup members' attitudes toward migrant workers. Furthermore, the current study also aimed 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 (ILO, 2013) 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" ("Section I: Summary of the Instruments," para. 2).

Broadly, migrant workers can be divided into two groups: professionals/skilled workers and low-skilled laborers. The current study focuses on the second group. Most migrant workers in the first category are from Western or developed countries and enjoy a decent salary and an accommodating work environment (Choi, 2004). Because of their higher socioeconomic status, and often because they are

Caucasian, a privileged race in South Korea, they are relatively immune to the prejudice and discrimination that could come with their minority status in this 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 the Philippines (Statistics Korea, n.d.), and being from these developing or underdeveloped countries also exposes them to disrespect and mistreatment. Because most migrant workers did not speak 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 Korean media, these workers are virtually invisible (Baek, 2005). When the media do cover migrant workers, the coverage 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 as potential criminals. At best, they are portrayed as newcomers who have to make every effort to assimilate into a 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 where the contact takes place. When there is a status differential between the two groups in 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 that "knowledge that an in-group member has a close relationship with an out-group member can lead to more positive intergroup attitudes" (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997, p. 74). Concurrent to this development, media effect researchers began to apply contact theory to examine changes in audience perception of social groups (e.g., racial or ethnic groups) as a consequence of their exposure to media depictions 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 (Park, 2012). Empirically, the relationships between mediated contact and reduced prejudice, increased positive attitudes, or both 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 nonfiction media content as well: Extensive exposure to President Barack Obama, a Black man, 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) a more positive perception of, (b) a more positive affect toward, and (c) less social distance from migrant workers.

Although optimism about the positive outcomes of intergroup contact has 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 attitudes, prejudice, racism, and issue or contact avoidance (Barlow et al., 2012; Joyce & Harwood, 2014; Pettigrew, 2008).

Parallel to this distinction between positive and negative interpersonal contact, mediated contact can be also classified as either positive or negative. Contrary to the "severe positivity bias" (Paolini, Harwood, & Rubin, 2010, p. 1723) in interpersonal contact research, most existing media research has documented the negative consequences of intergroup contact via media consumption. Lumped under the broad heading of "media stereotype research," substantial research evidence indicates that exposure to typical U.S. media content—fictional or nonfictional—increased prejudice held by White Americans against racial and 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 more strongly a White person believed that television portrayed Latinos as criminals, the more strongly that person believed 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 tended 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 these findings of the effects of negative contact—both interpersonal and mediated—we hypothesize that exposure to negative news articles about migrant workers in South Korea will generate negative attitudes toward the outgroup.

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

Positive Versus Negative Contact

With the emerging interest in negative contact, researchers also began comparing the processes and effect sizes 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 were each significantly related to decreased and increased prejudice against Muslim immigrants and respondents experienced positive contact much more frequently than negative contact (Pettigrew, 2008). However, a set of experiments produced findings that seem to conflict with 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).

Noting this inconsistency, Barlow and her colleagues (2012) conducted a study that analyzed two sets of data from large surveys, one carried out in Australia and the other in the United States. The two surveys yielded results supporting the 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 of positive and negative contact "positive-negative asymmetry effect" (p. 1631) and interpreted this finding in the context of the general psychological understanding that people heed and weigh negative information more than positive information (for a review, see Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, & Vohs, 2001).

More 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 sizes of positive and negative contact effects, 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 discernibly more negative than either the mixed or the 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 negativity, which could have resulted in less negative attitudes toward the outgroup than expected.

Indeed, the sociocultural context of contact and different interpretations of a given contact situation could be considered noise, 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 colleagues (2012), and in the *effect process*, as demonstrated by Paolini and 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 polar ends of one concept.

Because of the scarcity of previous research and the lack of agreement among the few existing studies, we pose a research question to compare the effect sizes of positive and negative contact on ingroup members' attitudes toward an outgroup.

RQ1. Between positive and negative mediated contact, which one will generate stronger effects 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 media researchers have frequently employed to explain and predict the effects of minority representations in the media on audience perceptions and attitudes. So far, numerous studies have 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 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. These 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 society as a cold place full of untrustworthy and selfish people that 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. Universalism, benevolence, conformity, tradition, security, power, achievement, hedonism,

stimulation, and self-direction are 10 distinct values that have been confirmed in cross-cultural samples (Schwartz, 2012).

The potential relationship between basic human values and intergroup attitudes has long intrigued researchers (Kristiansen & Zanna, 1994; Rokeach, 1973) and has been empirically tested in the last 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, attitudes toward immigrants were positively related to benevolence and universalism (Schwartz, 2007) but 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) process and its two basic values are fundamental outlooks on life supposedly accumulated over time, it is highly unlikely that one-time mediated contact with migrant workers will exert discernible direct effects on South Koreans' universalism and power values. Still, positive and negative mediated contact might affect these values by influencing South Koreans' 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 attitudes 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.

H3. Attitudes toward migrant workers will mediate the relationship between positive mediated contact and universalism values.

H4. 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 had three levels: positive contact, negative contact, and no contact control. Participants in the positive contact condition read three newspaper articles describing positive interactions between migrant workers and South Korean

citizens; those in the negative contact condition read three articles describing negative interactions between the two groups. People in the control condition were not exposed to any news article and were asked to complete post-treatment measures only.

The stimuli were created based on actual news stories. By using a set of keywords, we conducted a search of KINDS, the most comprehensive South Korean newspaper article database, with the latest five-year time limit. Among the articles the search generated, a few were selected for their typicality and uniformity in tone, either positive or negative, about 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: (a) Migrant workers volunteered 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 cleanup efforts, alongside South Korean volunteers. (b) Migrant workers performed 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 elderly locals (South Koreans) to help them get ready for winter. An NGO officer was quoted saying that the migrant workers were welcomed by the elderly residents, who were mostly living alone and had limited physical mobility. (c) Migrant workers teamed 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, alongside South Korean volunteers, to keep the city streets safe and to help local residents. The stories chosen for the negative contact condition were as follows: (a) Migrant workers went on strike illegally and enacted 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 saying that the arrested workers had been causing troubles for their company with lax work ethic and bad attitudes. (b) Migrant workers committed street crimes. This story was about a (South Korean) man who was robbed by three Uzbekistani migrant workers on his way home around midnight. A police officer warned citizens to especially watch out for this type of crime because victims are often left unconscious, which can be particularly dangerous on cold winter nights. (c) Migrant workers formed criminal organizations and committed 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 to 100 units (equivalent to words in English) or 7 to 10 sentences.

Participants & Procedure

Undergraduate students attending a comprehensive university in Seoul, South Korea, were recruited from several courses. With the collaboration of instructors, data were collected 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. Written instructions asked them to read the three articles first and then answer the questions. The packet for the control group contained only the questionnaire and

instructions, which asked them to fill out the questionnaire. Once the students received a packet, they were not allowed to talk to one another, and they were 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—rated on a 5-point response scale (from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *very much so*). A high reliability score was obtained ($\alpha = .85$), 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 ($\alpha = .86$), the 12 scores were averaged and employed in subsequent analyses.

Social distance from migrant workers. The Bogardus (1928) social distance scale was adopted. This is a classic measurement of people's attitudes toward outsiders (Aiken, 2002) and has been successfully employed in mediated contact research (Ortiz & Harwood, 2007) and 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 ($\alpha = .86$).

Universalism values. We employed a scale based on Schwartz's (1992) theory of basic human values and adapted by Korean researchers (e.g., Kim, 2007), which included these five statements: (a) "If necessary, one has to step up to defend social justice"; (b) "One has to work hard to protect the natural environment even if it doesn't benefit himself or herself directly"; (c) "One has to stop and help others in distress no matter how busy he or she might be"; (d) "All human beings are equal regardless of their background and social status"; (e) "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 only the first three statements ($\alpha = .61$).

Power values. Similarly, we employed an adapted version of Schwartz's (1992) power values. The scale contained these six statements: (a) "Humans need to be supervised and regulated to function efficiently"; (b) "By nature, humans want to dominate others"; (c) "Some occupations are inherently better than others"; (d) "There will be no end to conflicts and wars because it is in the human nature"; (e) "A government can go beyond its legal limits to prevent crimes"; (f) "The value of a human is judged by his or her material accomplishments." The responses 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. The first five statements formed the final scale ($\alpha = .69$).

Manipulation Check

Positive/negative portrayal of migrant workers in the news articles. Participants were presented with four statements, two positive and two negative, and asked to mark a number that best represented their views (e.g., "The newspaper articles highlight the positive side of migrant workers living in the Korean society"). A 5-point response scale was employed, ranging from 1, *highly disagreeable*, to 5, *highly agreeable*. Because these questions were asked after the participants had read all three articles, the manipulation check was based on the overall impression of the articles, either all positive or all negative stories.

The experimental manipulation was successful. Participants in the positive contact condition ($M_1 = 4.25$, $SD_1 = 0.63$; $M_2 = 3.69$, $SD_2 = 0.91$) agreed to the positive statements (S1 and S2) more than those in the negative contact condition ($M_1 = 1.26$, $SD_1 = 0.69$; $M_2 = 1.28$, $SD_2 = 0.54$). 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 and S4) more than those in the positive contact condition ($M_3 = 1.92$, $SD_3 = 0.6$; $M_4 = 1.73$, $SD_4 = 0.7$). The differences were all statistically significant, $t_1 = 22.75$, $df_1 = 99$, $p < .001$; $t_2 = 16.21$, $df_2 = 99$, $p < .001$; $t_3 = -11.60$, $df_3 = 99$, $p < .001$; $t_4 = -13.45$, $df_4 = 99$, $p < .001$.

Results

Mediated Contact Effects on Attitudes Toward Migrant Workers

H1 hypothesized the effects of positive mediated contact on attitudes toward migrant workers, whereas H2 hypothesized the effects of negative mediated contact on the same variables. One-way ANOVA was conducted by entering mediated contact (positive, control, and negative contact) as the independent variable and each of the three attitude measures as the dependent variable. Because all 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)	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i> (<)	η^2
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)			
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 higher.

Positive Versus Negative Contact

To answer RQ1, which compared the effect sizes 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, were 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, $p = .068$.

Using the same method, the effect size statistics of positive and negative mediated contact on South Koreans' affect toward migrant workers were 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, $z = 0.98$, $p = .32$.

A comparison of positive and negative contact effect on social distance generated the same result. The *t* statistics were 1.016 ($df = 108$) and -1.279 ($df = 107$) respectively, which corresponded to $r = .10$ and $r = .12$. The two correlation coefficients were not statistically different from each other, $z = -0.15$, $p = .88$.

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 testing H3, positive mediated contact was included as the independent variable that comprised positive contact and control as the two categories. The dependent variable was universalism values. The data revealed no indirect effect of positive contact through any of the three attitude variables (see Table 2). H3 was not supported.

Table 2. The Mediated Effect of Positive Contact (IV) on Universalism Values (DV) Through Attitudes Toward Migrant Workers (MV).

MV	IV → MV	MV → DV	IV → DV; Direct (Total)	IV → DV; Indirect effect	
				Point estimate (SE)	95% CI
Perception	.42***	.21	-.10 (-.00)	.09 (.07)	[-.03, .25]
Affect	.36***	-.07	.02 (-.00)	-.03 (.05)	[-.13, .08]
Social distance	.19	.19*	-.04 (-.00)	.03 (.03)	[-.00, .12]

Note. Values are unstandardized regression coefficients ($***p < .001$), and the figures in parentheses in the fourth column represent the total effect of IV on DV, encompassing both direct and indirect effects.

The second model testing H4 was constructed by including negative mediated contact as the independent variable, with the two levels of negative contact and control. Power values was the dependent variable. In the second model, the indirect effects of negative contact on power values through its effect on the perception of, affect toward, and social distance from migrant workers were all statistically significant (see Table 3). H4 was supported.

Table 3. The Mediated Effect of Negative Contact (IV) on Power Values (DV) Through Attitudes Toward Migrant Workers (MV).

MV	IV → MV	MV → DV	IV → DV; Direct (Total)	IV → DV; Indirect effect	
				Point estimate (SE)	95% CI
Perception	-.36***	-.33*	.08 (.20)	.12 (.05)	[.04, .23]*
Affect	-.27*	-.25*	.14 (.20)	.07 (.04)	[.01, .17]*
Social distance	-.31*	-.23*	.13 (.20)	.07 (.04)	[.01, .18]*

Note. Values are unstandardized regression coefficients ($*p < .05$, $***p < .001$), and the figures in parentheses in the fourth column represent the total effect of IV on DV, encompassing both direct and indirect effects.

Discussion

Our experiment examined 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 sizes of positive and negative mediated contact. Further tested here were two indirect effect models in which the effect of positive and negative mediated contact on South Koreans' universalism and power values was examined via its influence on the attitudes toward migrant workers.

In support of mediated contact theory, positive contact generated more positive perception of and affect toward 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 sizes of positive and negative mediated contact were compared, though, the differences were not statistically significantly different on any of the three attitude measures.

The results of this study can be meaningful to mediated contact researchers in several ways. First, it lends empirical support to the notion of mediated contact via news consumption, whereas most mediated contact studies to date have examined 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 United States, Europe, and Australia. Although Shim, Zhang, and Harwood (2012) examined the effects of direct and mediated contact on South Koreans, their study focused on the relationship between South Koreans and U.S. Americans, an outgroup historically privileged over the ingroup themselves. The increased visibility of migrant workers and ensuing intercultural conflicts in many Asian countries calls for a better understanding of mediated contact in the region (e.g., Nebehay & Wee, 2013), and the current 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 consequences 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 power values.

Fourth, the stronger effect of positive *mediated* contact, as opposed to negative *mediated* contact, on South Koreans' perceptions of the disadvantaged minority group is consistent with Joyce and Harwood (2014). At the same time, the significant indirect effects of negative mediated contact on power values, in the absence of comparable effects of positive mediated contact, prevent us from dismissing 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 the focus, positive mediated contact, a relatively scarce mode of vicarious

interaction with the outgroup via media for South Koreans, exerted a stronger, albeit only marginally significant, effect than did negative media depiction, a much more common type of mediated intergroup contact between migrant workers and the hegemonic majority. On the other hand, when the outcome variable was not focusing on the outgroup but rather the hegemonic ingroup members' fundamental values, negative mediated contact was found to effect the changes that can be deemed detrimental to intergroup relations. Unfortunately, positive mediated contact did not generate any change 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 conflict, 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 most effective. Despite 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 South Korean 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 is more important at this stage than later, when South Koreans have already established their frames of reference in understanding the newcomers.

Despite 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 because drawing a random sample for an experiment from a broadly defined population tends to be cost prohibitive, the external validity 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 subpopulations of South Koreans. The replications may also reveal, if any, moderators of the observed effect related to the characteristics of the subpopulation examined.

In addition, the low reliability scores of the universalism values scale should be acknowledged. In two previous studies conducted in South Korea, the universalism values scale obtained a 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, 1,800 and 450 participants each, than the current study. For future use of 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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