요약
전지구화는 국제사회의 인구 이동을 더욱 가속화시켰으며, 한국도 이러한 변화로부터 예외가 될 수는 없었다. 한국은 국가의 경제 성장 및 발전을 위해 역사적으로 해외로 노동력을 수출한 경험이 있다. 그러나 1990년대 말부터 이러한 사회적 흐름이 바뀌었고, 국내에 거주하는 이주민의 수가 급증하였으며, 단일민족 국가로서의 특징이 점차 변화하였다. 그러나 대중 매체를 통해 비춰지는 소수민족집단의 모습이 한국사회에 어떠한 문화적 및 정치적인 영향력을 행사하고 있는지 살펴볼 필요가 있음을 알 수 있으며, 대중매체의 역할은 그중 하나가 될 수 있다. 따라서 본 연구는 한국공영방송에 비춰지는 소수민족집단에 초점을 맞추어 실증적 분석을 통해 한국사회의 시대적 변화 속에서 공영방송이 인종적 소수자들을 구체적으로 어떠한 보도하는지를 밝히고자 한다.

■ 중심어 : 텔레비전 콘텐츠 | 공영방송 | 문화적 다양성 | 재현 | 인종적 소수자

Abstract
Globalisation has intensified the international movement of labour and South Korea is no exception. Korea, which in the past was itself a labour-exporting country, has seen a reversal in human mobility since the late 1990’s with a rapid growth in immigration and a transformation of a previously almost ethnically homogenous society. In this context, the important questions about the cultural and political implications associated with the construction of minority representations in the media have remained highly unexplored. The starting point of this study is an examination of the vital role of public service broadcasting (PSB) in Korean society, where ethnic minorities have increasingly become visible. The study shows the significant role of PSB in representing cultural diversity in public debates and the ways in which such representations and their dissemination reflect media power.

■ keyword : Television Content | Public Service Broadcasting | Cultural Diversity | Representation | Ethnic Minority
stratified racial order. This is particularly important as ethnic minorities are recognised as representing an element of a globalised economic system but they are refused cultural and citizenship recognition and rights. The study aims to understand how control of culturalist and racialised ideologies of social order are expressed in the construction of media discourses. To put it concretely, this research on the trend in the portrayal of ethnic minorities on prime time public television serves two major purposes. Firstly, it aims to identify the extent to which public service television represent Korean ethnic minorities and especially to determine what tendencies have been shown in the news reports of the last five years. Secondly, the nature of the portrayal of ethnic minorities has been conceptualised as a potential contributor to perpetuating racial stereotypes; examining the dominant attributes of news representations informs that issue.

The aim of this study is to examine how ethnic minorities are represented on KBS News 9 through a news content analysis. Analysed in the study are 364 news items related with ‘non-nationals including ethnic minorities and migrants in Korea’ for five years between 1st January 2004 and 31st December 2008. This is a surprisingly small number of items for such a long period, especially as more than a million non-Koreans live in the country. The average number of news items on KBS News 9 is thirty-five per day. It is estimated that around 63,875 news items were produced during the five years being studied (35 items x 365 days x 5 years = 63,875 items). During that period only 364 news items relating to non-national minorities were broadcast, which means only one news item per five days or an average of 0.2 per day. According to the Korea Ministry of Justice in 2010, the non-nationals residing in Korea represent approximately 2.8 per cent of the whole population (approximately 49 million). This equals 1.3 million according to June 2010 estimates. In addition, around 15 per cent of all marriages in the country were intercultural marriages in 2008[22]. The number of non-nationals in Korea has greatly increased in the last decade. Considering this sudden increase in the number of non-nationals, the fact that so little news attention is paid to them could be an indication of a marginalisation of these populations within the public national imaginary. Statistical data collected for this study confirms this lack of visibility of non-nationals in public service television, with only seventy news items dealing with relevant issues in 2008, when these groups represented 1.15 million people. This is even fewer than the 71 relevant news stories in the news recorded in 2004, when their numbers totalled 0.75 million. This study focuses on a quantitative analysis as hard data reflects a phenomenon with relevance to news representation of difference, but which also has wider implications for participation and visibility of diversity in Korean society.

2. The Role of Mass Media in Multicultural Society

Media play a leading role in producing a negative discourse towards specific nations, ethnic groups and regions that are disempowered[20]. Media discourses have been immensely influential in constructing migrants and ethnic minorities as Others, and even as criminals or undesirables[8]. In Korea, Yang Jeong-Hye[23] examines how news coverage represent the married migrant women in Korean society since 1990s. She finds married migrant women are represented as confused and helpless subjects who need to adjust themselves to the values and lifestyle of the mainstream Korean society. The
news media depict educational programs sponsored by the Korean government as the solution to the frustration and hardships these women suffer. Kim Kyung-Hee[14] argues that approximately eighty percent of the news topics revolved on two major issues: hardships and frustrations in the lives of immigrants and immigrants being protected by Koreans. TV news depicts immigrants as 'the other': for example, most Koreans are portrayed as professionals working hard in formal attire while only a few immigrants are described as productive. TV news also represents immigrants as negative stereotypes who are reported to be unhealthy, with psychological anxiety problems, and living in a state of poverty.

The reason that this study choose Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) as my study subject arises from the basic question of 'how “public” and “public service” can be defined in a multi-ethnic or multicultural society'. Commercial broadcasting has the fundamental objective of 'profit pursuit', whereas PSB is funded by viewers' licence fees. This means PSB has a social responsibility and a mandate to create an impartial and diverse broadcasting environment, which reflects various opinions from all levels of society, regardless of age, region or ideology[4]. As Avery[1] states, PSB is based on the principles of universality of service, diversity of programming, provision for minority audiences including the disadvantaged, sustaining an informed electorate, and cultural and educational enrichment. Campion[2] also argues that PSB has a vital role to play in mediating the public sphere and in helping diverse communities to learn about each other. To do this effectively 'it must reach as much of the population as possible and be trusted to portray all groups accurately and fairly, particularly those who are currently marginalised in society'[2].

Westerstahl[21] introduced ‘objectivity’ as a fairness examination standard. In his study, objectivity is defined as satisfying the criteria of factuality and impartiality. Factuality consists of turning out truthful reports and contents relevant to the actual incident. Impartiality consists of giving equal weight to opposite opinions and maintaining balanced and neutral criticism not biased toward any one side.

So, how can the impartiality and diversity of PSB be interpreted in this era of globalisation? Traditionally, PSB has been expected to represent the national as opposed to the foreign[22]. However, in December 1994, a new definition of PSB was agreed upon by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, which was that it should ‘support the values underlying the respect for human rights, culture and pluralism[21]’. Cultural diversity and impartiality in the public media is as much about the human right to live one’s own cultural identity, as it is about the human right to have access to the wealth of cultural diversity represented by the social majority.

3. Newsworthiness of Others

From a media and communications studies’ point of view there are two significant traditions in studying news. The first is to understand news as a means of selective representation of reality through gatekeeping[22]. Another area of studies has focused on the interpretation of news as a social construction of reality. In both cases, the study of news values is a core issue. Not every event or piece of information counts as news. News has to be notable according to particular principles of selection, paradigms of relevance, and frames for including and excluding material. Selecting news to report is one of the most important practices of text production. There is a
process of selecting news and knowing what to weed out and what to publish or broadcast. In terms of criteria for such selection, ‘newsworthiness is not an inherent characteristic of events and news items’. Rather it is determined by the news production and institutional practices. Newsworthiness is created and not discovered through its act of publication. It follows, then, that news is whatever the editor or the journalist says it is[22].

Television news reflects both the televisual cultures and journalistic practices. In other words, news reflects features of television reporting – difficulties of in-depth report due to time limits, reproduced scenes, news packages – but also production practices associated with the norms that apply across the medium and its specific incarnations in public broadcasting. Thus, as noted by major studies, the notion of news values in television news should be considered separately from that of newspaper journalism. In the long tradition of news values systems it has also been emphasised that these are not only associated to the specific medium and professional practice but also contextualised politically and temporally[9].

This study adapted the notion of ‘newsworthiness points’ in order to evaluate the news values of items regarding non-nationals, including ethnic minorities. In an effort to assess the news values of international news, Lee and Son (1999) utilised the concept of ‘broadcast order’ to calculate an average value. This method, however, does not allow an absolute comparison when the total number of news items is different. This means that, for example, in a simple analysis of order, the tenth news item within totals of both forty and twenty news items is erroneously perceived as having the same value. For this reason, this study has adapted the existing analysis method to develop a new concept of newsworthiness points.

The proposed newsworthiness points are the result of the evaluation of importance according to the broadcast order of the news items. The formula to calculate a newsworthiness point is as follows:

\[
\text{Newsworthiness point} = \frac{\text{news order about non-nationals}}{\text{whole numbers of news items}}
\]

Using this analysis method, the newsworthiness point of the tenth news item from a total of twenty results in .500 whereas the newsworthiness point of the same tenth news item within forty news items is .250, meaning the news value of the latter is much higher than the former. Thus, a newsworthiness point closer to zero reflects that the news item is placed closer to the beginning of the programme, and a newsworthiness point near one refers to a position towards the end. In other words, a lower newsworthiness point, closer to zero, indicates higher value of the news, and a higher newsworthiness point, closer to one, indicates lower value of the news. The average newsworthiness point of the 364 analysed news items from KBS news was .608, which means that, if the total number of news items was ten, news related to minority groups in Korea is broadcasted seventh turn on average. This result is significant as it serves as an indicator to reveal on the surface how KBS approaches these subjects, why it considers these frames less or more important, and why these items have high or low news values. This will be elaborated on further in the study.

The news frame which is regarded as the most valued item was ‘non-nationals as migrant workers’, with a newsworthiness point of .641, whilst ‘non-nationals as criminals’ showed a similar value of .649, closely followed by ‘non-nationals in multicultural families’ (.749), and ‘non-nationals as visitors’ (.753). ‘Koreans as compassionate people’
Table 1. News Items about Non-nationals in Korea Year by Year and Newsworthiness Points

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Frames</td>
<td>2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 Total N/P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-nationals as migrant workers (N/P)</td>
<td>16 (.693) 24 (.655) 16 (.708) 15 (.553) 13 (.534) 84 .641</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-nationals as criminals (N/P)</td>
<td>20 (.695) 8 (.716) 10 (.757) 11 (.676) 20 (.520) 69 .649</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-nationals in multicultural families (N/P)</td>
<td>3 (.783) 8 (.678) 14 (.727) 14 (.778) 12 (.801) 51 .749</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-nationals as visitors (N/P)</td>
<td>16 (.712) 12 (.895) 15 (.677) 10 (.798) 4 (.692) 57 .753</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-nationals as celebrities</td>
<td>13 7 282 13 15 76 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans as compassionate people (N/P)</td>
<td>1 (.818) 3 (.976) 6 (.953) 1 (.846) 4 (.917) 15 .930</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (N/P)</td>
<td>1 (.719) 2 (.765) 4 (.621) 1 (.920) 2 (.893) 12 .741</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>71 66 92 65 70 364 .698</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recorded the lowest newsworthiness point of .530. Looking at the details, the number of news items on ‘non-nationals as migrant workers’ has decreased since its peak in 2005 with 24 items. However, its newsworthiness point begins to soar when the conservative government came into power in 2007, scoring .534 in 2008. This can be interpreted as an example of the shift of perception from the usual negative news values of stories related to migrant workers due to the new government. News items on ‘non-nationals as criminals’ can also be read in a similar way, as this category’s newsworthiness point increased rapidly to .520 in 2008. Considering the fact that crimes related to non-nationals are mostly minor offences such as illegal immigration, forgery of documents, light violence, drugs, phony marriage and fraud, it could be said that an unusually high news value was imposed upon this frame. On the other hand, the newsworthiness point regarding crimes committed by non-nationals was considerably low at 2006, a time when positive discourse on ethnic minorities such as non-nationals and mixed-heritage people was sparked by the visit of Hines Ward1).

However, the number of stories on ‘non-nationals in multicultural families’, which tend to be reconstructed with a positive tint, dramatically increased until 2007, compared to the minimal presence of three items in 2004. Its newsworthiness point also continued to rise until 2006, only to drop sharply in 2007 and 2008. Considering the fact that the number of marriages with migrant women has exploded from 2005 onwards, and that in 2008 more than half of Korean men in the countryside married migrant women, the drop will be even larger than the record.

These results reflect the Korean news producing system which evaluates negative news towards non-nationals as comparatively high value. Especially under the conservative government, which has recorded the lowest newsworthiness point of .530. Looking at the details, the number of news items on ‘non-nationals as migrant workers’ has decreased since its peak in 2005 with 24 items. However, its newsworthiness point begins to soar when the conservative government came into power in 2007, scoring .534 in 2008. This can be interpreted as an example of the shift of perception from the usual negative news values of stories related to migrant workers due to the new government. News items on ‘non-nationals as criminals’ can also be read in a similar way, as this category’s newsworthiness point increased rapidly to .520 in 2008. Considering the fact that crimes related to non-nationals are mostly minor offences such as illegal immigration, forgery of documents, light violence, drugs, phony marriage and fraud, it could be said that an unusually high news value was imposed upon this frame. On the other hand, the newsworthiness point regarding crimes committed by non-nationals was considerably low at 2006, a time when positive discourse on ethnic minorities such as non-nationals and mixed-heritage people was sparked by the visit of Hines Ward1).

His visit sparked a sudden interest in mixed-heritage people, leading to the Korean media dubbing the phenomenon the ‘Hines Ward Syndrome’. Since his visit, many mixed-heritage athletes were brought to the Korean sports scene, some even managing to get into the national basketball team after naturalising. However, interests for mixed-heritage citizens still tend to be limited towards sports celebrities only.

2) 15 out of 28 news items are related to Hines Ward.

3) Because celebrities are mostly sports stars who run for the team under the title of ‘foreign players’, stories of them are usually broadcasted on sports news programmes, aired after the main news. Thus, regarding the difficulty of assessing this frame’s newsworthiness point in the same way as other news items, this study has decided to exclude the news frame from analysis.

repeatedly expressed its hostility towards ethnic minorities and migrants and stresses nationalism, the sudden increase of the newsworthiness of migrant workers and criminal-related news which represents people with foreign nationalities negatively can be seen as indicative of nationalism and of KBS news not being free from government power. In addition, under the conservative government news items relating to multicultural families also declined in their newsworthiness. It must be noted that nearly half of the total newly married men in rural areas in 2007 and 2008 are in intercultural marriages. As to the underlying causes, the following can be suggested: i) intercultural marriages are seen as problematic within ideological frames of Korean nationalism which stresses ethnic origin and relations of blood as defining ‘Korean-ness’; ii) the majority of intercultural marriages take place in rural areas and as such they are dealt within an ideological frame that emphasises the divides between us (urban middle classes) and them (rural agricultural, working class families); and iii) producers and audiences have lost interest in these stories because of the similarity of these news segments over the past years.

4. Iconography of Others

The total number of non-nationals who appeared on KBS News 9 from 1st January 2004 to 31st December 2008 is 511. This includes interviewees and non-interviewees. Although the sample is relatively small, especially for a five year period, it represents the very first substantial evidence available on the representation of minorities in the PSB. Besides its limitations, it systematically records the predominant tendencies within the representation of minorities. Of these appearances, 58.2 per cent were Asians, who can be divided into further categories. South and Southeast Asians – called ‘Dong-Nam-A’ in Korean society, literally meaning ‘Southeast-Asia’ – who have significant differences in appearance compared to Koreans, comprised 30.9 per cent of the total. East Asians – Chinese, Japanese and Mongolian – occupied 25 per cent of the total. Furthermore 70 per cent of East Asians on the news were Chinese, with 43 of them, which is nearly half of the total number of Chinese, being ethnic Koreans with Chinese nationality, which means that they are no different to Koreans except for the fact that their place of birth is China. Of the remaining East Asians, twelve were categorised as other Asians, including eight interviewees from Uzbekistan. The group with the next highest percentage were Whites. It should be taken into account that the category White in Korean society does not refer to the conventional Caucasian, but rather takes the meaning of White and non-White, which is a concept generally perceived by the Korean people as a divide between Western people (of European origins) and non-Western Europeans (which includes a whole range of people of various origins and heritages). From the 128 Whites, 55 were Americans, followed by Australians, Canadians and Russians, each with eight people respectively. Blacks took up the smallest proportion of 5.9 per cent among different ethnic minority groups, with half of the percentage originating from the US. From the total 511, 53 people (10.4 per cent) were 'half-Koreans'4), a conventional category in the popular imagination referring to people with mixed-heritage. Appearance of ‘mixed-heritage Koreans’ included 15 news items broadcasted in 2006, telling the story of Hines Ward. In analysing presence

4) In fact, the term ‘half-blood’ or ‘half-Korean’ is mainly used in Korean society. In this study, however, the expression ‘mixed-heritage Korean’ is mainly used for the objective and scientific purpose of this research.
Table 2. Top Three Roles Played by Non-nationals on KBS News 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>East Asians (Chinese)</th>
<th>South and Southeast Asians</th>
<th>Other Asians</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>Mixed-heritage Koreans</th>
<th>Whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Criminals (35.9%)</td>
<td>Manual Labourers (45.6%)</td>
<td>Manual Labourers (66.7%)</td>
<td>Sports Players (76.7%)</td>
<td>Sports Players (45.3%)</td>
<td>Professionals (33.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Afflicted or Victims (12.5%)</td>
<td>Housewives (32.3%)</td>
<td>Housewives (25.0%)</td>
<td>Criminals (10.0%)</td>
<td>Children (39.6%)</td>
<td>Visitors (18.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Housewives (10.9%)</td>
<td>Afflicted or Victims (10.7%)</td>
<td>Unclear (8.3%)</td>
<td>Soldiers (6.7%)</td>
<td>Afflicted or Victims (7.5%)</td>
<td>Sports Players (17.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>59.3%</td>
<td>88.6%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>93.4%</td>
<td>92.4%</td>
<td>69.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to nationality, China accounts for the most appearances with 94 people (50 Chinese, 44 Korean-Chinese) followed by the U.S. with 70 people (55 Whites, 15 Blacks). Successively, 35 Vietnamese, 25 Bangladeshi, 19 Filipino, and 16 Sri-Lankan nationals appeared in the news programme.

For the purpose of analysing how non-nationals are depicted in the KBS nine o’clock news, 511 non-national appearances were sorted according to professions to examine their social and economic class. One of the earliest studies analysing television content focusing upon ethnic minority representation in terms of class was reported by Sydney Head in 1954. In terms of specific occupations, minority members were more often portrayed in domestic and service roles and seldom in white-collar jobs[22]. In 1959, Wright found that in a week of television viewing only 10 members of minority groups appeared, and they were in supporting roles[22]. Seggar and Wheeler explored job stereotyping and the use of minority group members in network television programming[21]. They found that there was a gross under-representation of females, and ethnic minorities, more than American Whites, were concentrated in fields of personal service and were most likely in this field to suffer from stereotyped images; and ethnic groups with especially small numbers tended to be portrayed homogeneously. Among more recent studies, Cottle[5] focuses upon the British television news media’s representation of ethnic minorities. According to his article, many external factors influence the representation or misrepresentation of ethnic minorities, such as the prejudices of journalists, outsider pressures and news values. The news programmes produced under these influences, feature stereotypes and intentional and unintentional discrimination, and the discussion instigated by them affects the public social and political interests. Downing and Husband[6] noticed a dominance of textual research on the representation of ethnic minorities in the media. They emphasise that the actual term ‘representation’ is most often used to signal either the presence or absence of people of colour in the media in a constructive or unconstructive way. They argue that, for a long time, television has produced specific – mainly negative – discourses about ethnic minorities and has thus discriminated against them. The discourses on ethnic minorities produced in media representations have extended to the cultural and political arenas and have led to a social bias towards them.

With the case of East Asians, in this study, 35.9 per cent were portrayed as criminals, 12.5 per cent as the afflicted or victims of crimes, and 10.9 per cent as housewives. With South and Southeast Asians, 45.6 per cent appeared as manual labourers, 32.3 per cent as housewives, and 10.7 per cent as the afflicted and victims of crime. 76.7 per cent of Blacks were
illustrated as sports players, ten per cent as criminals, and 6.7 per cent as soldiers. Mixed-heritage Koreans were also mostly portrayed as sports players, accounting for 45.3 per cent, with the rest being children or victims of crime, accounting for 39.6 per cent and 7.5 per cent respectively. Notably, with the case of Whites, the top three groups defined on the basis of their presence in Korea consist of professionals (33.6 per cent), visitors or tourists (18.7 per cent) and sports players (17.2 per cent), showing no significant difference in the presence in other categories in the news. The reason certain ethnic minorities are linked to certain professions does not lie in the characteristics of the ethnic groups, but in the stereotypes of society and the fixed routines of the news makers who represent stereotypes in an exaggerated way.

5. Conclusion

Although this study requires the circumspection due to limitations of small-scale sample, the content analysis of news items on non-nationals residing in Korea can lead to a number of conclusions. First of all, clear differences were found in the number of broadcasted items and newsworthiness points of the six news frames, which is the result of influences of complex social and political issues. For instance, in 2006, when public opinions regarding ethnic minorities started to change, leading to a social phenomenon named the ‘Hines Ward Syndrome’, the number of negative and crime-related stories of migrant workers being broadcast on television news decreased, while these frames’ newsworthiness points saw a slight rise. However, when the conservative government came to power in 2008, the newsworthiness points of frames, such as ‘non-nationals as migrant workers’ and ‘non-nationals as criminals’, increased, with crime-related news doubling its numbers. After the change of government, the newsworthiness point of news regarding multicultural families continued to drop, and was gradually considered as having less importance. This case shows the political relationship of the conservative government with ethnic minorities, migrant workers and multiculturalism, and its involvement with the KBS News 9 productions. On the whole, news frames about ‘non-nationals as migrant workers’ recorded the highest number of items and had the highest average newsworthiness point (.641), followed by stories of ‘non-nationals as criminals’ (.649), reflecting that these two frames are regarded as the most common issues in news items related to non-nationals.

Secondly, specific trends in hierarchical representations of non-nationals were found according to ethnicity, nationality and gender. Southeast Asian men were mainly portrayed as manual labourers due to their difference in appearance from Koreans and other East Asians. Southeast Asian women were also mostly represented as marriage migrants. Among East Asians, who share similar facial features with Koreans, Chinese were often described as criminals, whereas most Korean-Chinese appeared as the afflicted, victims of crime or housewives. Black and mixed-heritage Korean interviewees were mostly sports players, with some of the mixed-heritage children also being interviewed. Whites were mostly represented as visitors, professionals or sports players. These differences were also found in visual representations, where more than half of East Asians and Southeast Asians being represented as a group, while 94.5 per cent of Whites were treated as individuals, focusing on their unique characteristics. These fixed representation routines
recreate stereotypes against certain ethnicities, misleading the viewers into thinking the social discrimination originates from the innate differences in racial backgrounds.

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