The invisible "model minority": images of Koreans on American TV

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The invisible "model minority":
Images of Koreans on American TV

by

Hoon Shim

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Journalism and Mass Communication

Major Professor: Lulu Rodriguez

Iowa State University

Ames, Iowa

1997

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Graduate College
Iowa State University

This is to certify that the Master’s thesis of

Hoon Shim

Had met the thesis requirement of Iowa State University

Signatures have been redacted for privacy


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INTRODUCTION

Cognitive theories in social psychology emphasize that ideal cognitive states are simple, coherent, and relatively enduring structures that provide organization for interpreting new experience. In psychological jargon, the concept of schema is the grounding for most social-psychological research on social cognition. Although the exact meaning of this popular concept has varied somewhat among scholars, a schema may be defined as “a cognitive structure that represents knowledge about a concept or type of stimulus, including its attributes and the relations among those attitudes” (Stein, 1994, p. 12). Schemata are the cognitive structures that help us process and organize information.

One of the basic types of schemata is the stereotype. Stereotypes are cognitively useful because they simplify our understanding of the world. Reliance on them makes information-processing more efficient. Unfortunately, although these cognitive structures are most often useful heuristics, distortions contained in stereotypes sometimes can lead to bias and errors in judgment.

According to Webster (1981), a stereotype is a “standardized mental picture held in common by members of a group, representing an oversimplified opinion, affective attitude, or uncritical judgment” (p. 2238). This seems to imply that stereotyping is a common phenomenon and that people tend to have some shared stereotypes. On the other hand, Leyens et al. (1994) define stereotypes as “shared beliefs about personal attributes, usually personality traits, but often also behaviors, of a group of people” (p. 25). Every country has stereotypes about other nationalities and races, including its own ethnic
minorities. Billing (1995) distinguishes stereotypes from racist, sexist, or xenophobic prejudices in that stereotypes are not held for "deep-seated motivational reasons."

Although the exact manner in which stereotypes are formed remains unclear, the sources of information available to an individual play an important role in their development. In modern mass society, people’s understanding of the world outside their immediate personal experience is influenced by a number of sources related to communication channels. There is good reason to believe, however, that people also rely heavily upon mass media for cues about their social world when dealing with perceptions about distant foreign objects. For example, Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli (1986) have demonstrated that heavy exposure to television is associated with a tendency to describe the world in a manner consistent with the distorted view presented on television. Founded on this belief, many have criticized Hollywood and the television industry for filling viewers’ minds with prefabricated images and themes, a reality invented by media. Parenti (1990) expresses the type of social concern surrounding the issue, claiming that

even if supposedly not political in intent, the entertainment industry has been political in its impact, discouraging critical perceptions of our social order while planting pictures in our heads that have been supportive of US militarism, armed intervention abroad, phobic anti-communism, authoritarian violence, consumer acquisitiveness, racial and sexual stereotypes, vigilantism, simple-minded religiosity, and anti-working-class attitudes (p. 18).

Among those ideologies that the mass media have been purportedly molding, one of the most attacked relates to media portrayal of racial minorities. US mainstream
media’s coverage of non-Caucasian Americans is riddled with stereotypes. In day-to-day coverage, minorities often are ignored except in limited program categories related to issues like crime and sports. This is particularly true for the portrayal of African Americans (Stein, 1994). Since the vast majority of television programs and major films have focused on only that tiny fraction of the African American community that engages in drugs and violence, African Americans are usually depicted as oversexed maniacs, crack-smoking criminals, and dumb athletes (Marable, 1994). Even television journalists appear to be feeding racial stereotypes to their audience. Research by Entman (1994) suggests that TV news, especially local news, portrays an image of blacks as “violent and threatening toward Whites, self-interested and demanding toward the body politic — continually causing problems for the law-abiding, tax-paying majority” (p. 29).

The media indeed play a vital role in generating stereotypes about other races and ethnic minorities in a society by providing their audiences with vicarious experiences.

Gerbner (1973) elaborates on this view by emphasizing the symbolic functions of media in the cultivation of assumptions about life and the world. He declares that television in particular is especially responsible for an extremely important “cultivating” and “accumulating” process, which he defines as “the systematic exposure of the viewers to a particular narrow concept of all aspects of social life. This limited concept then tends to shape the viewers’ beliefs and values accordingly” (p. 571). Eagly (1987), focusing on the role of the media in disseminating stereotypes, explains that if observers know very little about a given country, and if they have very few occasions to interact with citizens of that country, the only cognitions they will form are those that derive from the media. But because the media have a very limited way of portraying ethnic and other
national groups, Pickering (1995) points out that the media have the potential to damage the real identities of ethnic minorities by distorting their images in specific ways.

Of all the media, television has the most potential in disseminating ethnic stereotypes. Used daily, it bombards audiences with visual images that have cognitive and emotional impact. Durkin (1985), for example, blames TV for “injecting” sex role stereotypes among children.

TV generates and disseminates stereotypes about ethnic groups. McQuire (1994) sees this in the nationalistic and ethnocentric bias portrayed in the choice of topics and opinions in TV news. In addition, “minorities are differently marginalized, ignored or stigmatized” in TV portrayals. Ethnic minorities tended to have low status or dubious social roles, which may be modified without necessarily becoming more realistic.

Such stereotypes abound in US TV, as could be surmised in a country that is a melting pot of diverse races. The Bureau of the Census (1996) categorizes the resident populations of the US ethnically as White, Black, Hispanic, American Indian, Eskimo, Aleutian, or Asian and Pacific Islander. The flood of stereotypes of ethnic minorities on US TV can be demonstrated by the great number of studies about these minority groups. Considering the power and influence of the US media in the world, this phenomenon deserves study. The US media extend far beyond this country. According to deSilva (1989), the US accounted for an estimated 79% of the TV programs exported throughout the world in 1987. Thus the portrayal of stereotypes about ethnic minorities on TV can be transported without any special buffer to rest of the globe; negative stereotypes can be spread to nations whose people may be totally unaware that they are already perceiving stereotyped presentations.
This study looks at how Koreans and Korean-Americans are treated on US TV. In the process, it examines the role of television in fostering ethnic stereotypes.

This study aims to:

1. Identify the main TV programs that contribute to building specific images about Koreans and Korean-Americans.

2. Identify students’ perceptions of Koreans as seen from US TV portrayals.
LITERATURE REVIEW

Many studies have examined the stereotyping of major ethnic groups such as African-Americans and Hispanics on TV (e.g., Taylor & Barbara, 1995). Poindexter and Stroman (1981) observe that blacks are underrepresented on American TV although there has been a trend toward their increased visibility. When they do appear on TV, however, typically they are relegated to minor and low-status occupational roles. Chavez (1996) also notices that since World War II Hispanics have either been totally absent from the screen or stereotyped by television as Latin lovers, uneducated bandidos, and violent criminals.

There are few studies that deal with Asian Americans, probably because most Americans do not view Asian-Americans as legitimate racial minorities due to the black and white discourse of race (Lee, 1996). Another explanation is that the media frequently connect African-Americans and Latinos with social problems that many Asian-Americans regard as the result of moral depravity: drug use, teen pregnancy, and unemployment (Sleeter, 1993). Asian-Americans are hailed as the “model minority,” portrayed as achieving status in the US through hard work and family cohesiveness (Suzuki, 1989), following the same route to success that many Whites believed their ancestors took. While this phenomenon has been the subject of considerable sociological inquiry, such “model minority” portrayals have been absent in the American media.

Asian Americans are growing at a rate faster than any other minority group. In numbers and percent of the population, Asian Americans are predicted to jump from the
current 9.4 million (3.6%) to 16 million (6%) in 2010 and to 20 million in 2020 (Bureau of the Census 1996). This rapid growth is accompanied by affluence. Asian Americans have a median household income of $44,460 per year, higher than that of any racial group, including Caucasians (Taylor, 1996). In spite of the growth and high income, US media have failed to show this "model minority" status of Asian Americans.

In fact, Cheng and Marsha (1982) point out that the commercial broadcasting industry continues to convey limited and unsatisfactory images of Asian-Americans, most of them based on subtle or blatant forms of racism and ignorance. Iiyama and Harry (1982) agree, indicating that Asian portrayals were very stereotyped, often as a result of a program's location. Geographically distributed primarily along the West coast and Hawaii, Asian-Americans are highly segregated because there are limited opportunities for equal-status interaction with dominant groups. Under such conditions, their images on television may be the primary source of information, so that the picture becomes the reality. People are more inclined to accept a photograph, motion picture, or television show as "more real" than words on a printed page. To see, after all, is to believe.

Mendelson and Young's 1972 study found at the beginning of the 1970's that native Americans and Asians are almost always treated using negative stereotypes. Barcus (1983), categorizing Asians as Japanese, Chinese, and Hawaiian peoples in his study, found that the main role of Asians, representing only 0.8% of characters on commercial children's TV, are limited to cooks, rickshaw men, busboys, and dragon ladies. Hamamoto (1993) notes in his article "The Asian-American Child on Television" that the Asian-American child's socialization experience of himself or herself on TV is
limited to portrayals of the “evil genius,” “benign mystic,” “sidekick,” “helping professional,” and “newscaster” (females only). All these indicate that the media have yet to depict Asian-Americans as the “model minority.” Iiyama and Harry (1982) mention that many of these stereotypes have been so popular in the media that Asian Americans themselves unconsciously have accepted them and do not even realize the true impact of such portrayals in the media.

Koreans are a growing segment of Asian-Americans. In the world, Korea ranks as the sixth largest nation in import and export volume and the second largest Asian country with which the US conducts trade. The 1990 Census shows a total of 799,000 Korean Americans, ranking as the fourth biggest minority group among Asian-Americans (Bureau of the Census, 1996).

Koreans, however, have been relatively excluded as subjects of media studies. Hence, there are very few studies about Korean portrayals on television. Some have explored Chinese, Japanese, Indian, and Arab stereotypes, but they pale in comparison with studies about Blacks and Hispanics (Anderson, 1991; FitzGerald, 1989; Ogawa et al., 1971).

Of the few TV programs that have shown Koreans, three are worth mentioning. First, the US Commission on Civil Rights mentioned in its 1977 report that the main Korean characters in MASH, which backgrounds the Korean War, were limited to nurses or doctors’ receptionists. Secondly, Kitano and Daniels (1988) argued that the orphaned Asian child often has been employed masterfully as a method of graphically dramatizing the evils of Communism to good-hearted Americans. Finally, The Korean Legacy, produced and directed by Baldwin Baker, Jr., is a television documentary of the Holt
Adoption Agency, which supplied Americans with children orphaned by the Korean War and alone was responsible for placing 6,293 Korean children in the United States between 1955 and 1966.

Barcus (1983) argued that situation comedies set in foreign or ethnic locales such as Korea, the Black ghettos, and barrios were the only ones with more than token appearances of nonwhite characters. In 1992, Rivenburgh found that the NBC broadcast of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games displayed a poverty of perspective, empathy, and knowledge about the host country.

Charles (1994) notes that studies on stereotypical and ideological representation of ethnic minorities in the mass media are being characterized by ever-increasing sophistication. This, according to Atkin and Fife (1994), might have been brought about by the increased portrayal of African Americans on local TV news. This suggests that portrayals of Korean-Americans or any other ethnic group on US TV should be studied independently. This current study is an attempt to explore and cultivate this field further.

By conducting this research, it is hoped that the media’s role in developing mental images about ethnic groups in general, and Koreans in particular, will be illuminated.
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Gerbner (1967) had identified the significance of mass communication, in terms not of the concept of masses, but of the transformation of society brought about by the extension of institutionalized public accumulation beyond the limits of face to face and any other personally mediated interaction (p. 50). He declared that television is responsible for an extremely important "cultivating" and "accumulating" process brought about by viewers' systematic exposure to particularly narrow concepts of a complex reality. These limited concepts then tend to shape the viewers' beliefs and values accordingly. As such, television becomes a potent part of a message system based on culture that not only informs but forms common images.

In what was probably the longest-running and most extensive program of research on the effects of television, Gerbner argues that television has become the central cultural arm of American society. It has become "a key member of the family, the one who tells most of the stories most of the time" (Gerbner et al., 1980, p. 42). Gerbner points out that the average viewer watches television four hours a day. The heavy watcher does even more. For heavy viewers, television virtually monopolizes and subsumes other information, ideas, and consciousness. The effect of all this exposure to similar messages produces what he calls "cultivation," or the teaching of a common world view, common roles, and common values.

According to Gerbner, cultivation analysis begins with insights on institutions and the message systems they produce and goes on to investigate the contributions that these
systems and their symbolic functions make to the cultivation of assumptions about life and the world. Style of expression, quality of representation, artistic excellence, or the quality of individual experience associated with selective exposure to and participation in mass-cultural activity are not considered critical variables for this purpose. Conventional and formal judgments applied to specific communications may be irrelevant to general questions about the cultivation of assumptions about what is, what is important, what is right, and what is related to what (Gerbner, 1973).

This perspective, I think, explains well the effect of media’s stereotyping of minorities in the US. Following cultural and environmental cues, the media cultivate another generation who keeps their ancestor’s stereotypes intact.

Gerbner’s cultivation theory and the ideas elaborated by Noelle-Neumann (1974) in her ‘spiral of silence’ theory indicate that the media “construct social formations and history itself by framing images of reality (in fiction as well as news) in a predictable and patterned way; and secondly, that people in audiences construct for themselves their own view of social reality and their place in it, in interaction with the symbolic constructions offered by the media” (McQuire, 1994, p. 331). In Gerbner’s view, however, television, above all modern media, is pre-eminent in every day life and dominates the “symbolic environment,” replacing direct, short-hand perception and understanding of life with an artificial norm (1973).

Cultivation is said to differ from a directed stimulus-response effect process mainly due to its gradual and cumulative character. As such, the stereotypical images of minorities gradually evolve and accumulate over time. As people are exposed constantly to such stereotypes, they unconsciously form beliefs that some minorities tend to have
some fixed character. In this theory of media effect, television provides many people with a consistent and near-total symbolic environment that supplies norms for conduct and beliefs about a wide range of real-life situations (McQuire, 1994). In the US, at least, TV occupies a central place in daily life and plays a crucial role in constructing certain images to audiences despite assertions from the media that stereotypes come from the social environment and from culture. Still, the media tend to magnify and prolong minority stereotype portrayals in a crucial way. The most critical public consequences of mass communication are indicating and ordering issues, and it seems that stereotyping never disappears when people try to place issues in order (Gerbner, 1973).

These continuing portrayals gradually lead to the adoption of beliefs about the nature of the social world that conform to the stereotyped, distorted, and very selective view of reality as portrayed in a systematic way in television fiction and news (Gerbner, 1973).

Eagly likewise focused on the role of media in shaping cognitions and developing stereotypes and insisted that if observers know very little about a given country, and if they have very few occasions to interact with citizens of that country, the only behaviors they will observe are those that attract media attention (Leyens et al. 1994). Hence, their perceptions of “others,” especially of minorities, tended to be shaped by their vicarious experiences with these groups made possible by the mass media.

**Factors Affecting the Cultivation Effect**

Gerbner (1976) presents research supporting cultivation theory that is based on comparisons of heavy and light television viewers. He analyzed questions posed in surveys and found that heavy and light viewers typically give different answers.
Furthermore, heavy viewers often give answers that are closer to the way the world is portrayed on TV.

For instance, his surveys have asked what percentage of the world’s population lives in the US. The correct answer is six percent. The respondents were given a choice of three, six and nine percent, which obliged them either to underestimate or overestimate the correct percentage. Heavy viewers tend to overestimate this figure much more than light viewers. As to the reason, Gerbner (1976) explained that television might not directly cause this result that have turned up in his studies, it certainly can confirm or encourage views of the world in which Americans are majority.

Other surveys have asked what percentage of Americans who have jobs work in law enforcement. The correct answer is one percent. Heavy television viewers give much higher figures, and they are more likely to do this than light viewers. On TV, about 20% of the characters are involved in law enforcement.

In response to a question like “Can people be trusted?” the heavy viewers are more likely than light viewers to check a response such as “Can’t be too careful.”

These responses suggest that heavy TV viewers are getting a heightened sense of risk and insecurity from television. Gerbner suggests that this may be one of the primary, and widely shared, cultivation effects due to TV.

Gerbner has shown that the differences between heavy and light TV viewers show up even across a number of other important variables, including age, education, news reading, and gender (Gerbner & Gross, 1976). That is, Gerbner realized that the relationship between TV viewing and different views of the world could be caused by other variables, and he attempted to control for those.
He later revised cultivation theory by adding two concepts: *mainstreaming* and *resonance* (Gerbner et al., 1980). These concepts take into account that heavy TV viewing has different outcomes for different social groups. *Mainstreaming* occurs when heavy viewing leads to a convergence of outlooks across groups. *Resonance*, on the other hand, occurs when the cultivation effect is boosted for a certain group of the population.

The addition of these two factors to cultivation theory represents substantial modifications to it, as it no longer claims uniform, across-the-board effects of television on all heavy viewers. By modifying the theory, Gerbner recognizes that one’s immediate environment, especially the social one, is an important factor that mitigates the effect of cultivation. People, for example, are likely to feel victimized by crime perpetuators — a topic or theme common in television programs — if they actually live in a crime-ridden area. By extension then, a person’s area of residence can affect his or her “susceptibility” to TV’s cultivation effects.

It therefore follows that if one lives in more cosmopolitan places, in the presence of more minority groups, one is sensitized to the real-world characteristics of these groups. Such interpersonal experiences with other cultures thus bring about a heightened awareness of such cultures that would invalidate any perception attained through television portrayals that are usually negative.

Put another way, TV’s crucial role of implanting stereotyped images about minorities can be maximized among individuals with rare interpersonal contacts with minorities. It is hypothesized, therefore, that individuals who have had personal contacts with Koreans will have more positive attitudes or opinions toward Koreans than those
who have not. Those who personally know Koreans can distinguish between reality and fiction. The US Bureau of Census in its 1992 report indicates that of the more than 2.8 million people living in Iowa, only 0.92%, or a little more than 25,000, are classified as Asian or Pacific Islanders. Asians in Iowa could be found mostly in urban areas (about 22,500); fewer than 3,000 have settled in rural farms. The Korean contingent of this Asian or Pacific Islander group is less than 5,000 (0.17% of total state population); a great majority of them (90%) has opted for urban living. Because Koreans are rarely seen in rural areas, it is therefore hypothesized that individuals whose home town is rural will have more negative attitudes or negative opinions of Koreans. Ruralites who have comparatively low chances of meeting a Korean will count heavily on images portrayed on TV to develop their perceptions about Koreans.
HYPOTHESES

Based on the foregoing literature, the following research question and hypotheses are posed:

Research question: Are the respondents’ attitudes and opinions about Koreans and Korean-Americans consistent with the negative images of this group portrayed on network TV?

H 1. Heavy viewers of television will have more negative attitudes or opinions of Koreans than those who are light viewers.

H 2. Individuals who have had personal contacts with Koreans will have more positive attitudes or opinions toward Koreans than those who have not.

H 3. Individuals whose hometown is rural will have more negative attitudes or opinions about Koreans than those who came from more cosmopolitan urban areas.
METHODOLOGY

This chapter will address the survey design, sample population, and sampling procedures, creation of the survey instrument, and preliminary data analysis.

Survey Design

Surveys have certain advantages over other research methods. They can be used to investigate problems in realistic settings, are reasonable in their cost-to-information-obtained ratio, allow for the collection of large amounts of data from a variety of people, and have a large pool of previously collected data which aid in the development of new surveys (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991).

While there are any number of survey methods that can be applied in measuring television viewing and attitudes, one of the most cost-effective and easily administered techniques is stratified cluster sampling. This method decreases the financial burden on the researcher and increases his or her control over respondent rate. In particular, this method allows for a certain degree of anonymity, something extremely important when dealing with a sensitive issue like attitude toward an ethnic minority, specifically toward Koreans. Finally, it eliminates potential interview bias.

One of the first decisions to be made when using stratified cluster sampling is the design. Because a cursory survey of TV programs indicates that the images of Koreans on US TV have not changed drastically over the years, this study did not call for a long-term panel design. Hence, a one-shot survey was used to gather data for this study.
The population of this study was composed of Iowa State University undergraduate students. Stratified cluster sampling was employed as the sampling method, with the sampling frame being the classes offered during the summer semester (July - August) of school year 1997. The sample was stratified into natural science, humanities, mathematics, and social science. Because these four basic courses are required of all ISU undergraduate students, these are usually large classes with students majoring in a number of fields. All classes included in these four strata were considered as cluster units of which nine were randomly selected for a total of 136 respondents.

The self-administered questionnaire, divided into four parts, asked for (1) television viewing habits, (2) opinions and attitudes, (3) an interpersonal contact with Koreans, and (4) demographic information. The questionnaire was distributed in class with the instructor's permission. It took about 10 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

Prior to the pretest the Iowa State University Human subjects in Research Committee reviewed and approved the questionnaire (see Appendix B). Subjects were informed that participation was voluntary and that they could choose not to answer any question.

Pretest of the Questionnaire

An original version of the questionnaire was pre-tested in May, 1997. Iowa State University undergraduates from Journalism and Mass Communication made up the representative sample. There were 19 students, 12 males and 7 females. Their ages ranged from 19 to 30, with the average being 23. Seventy-nine percent of the sample was from the Midwest.
In this pre-test, students were asked to complete the questionnaire. They were told that their information would be used only to improve the final version of the survey. They were asked to make notes on sections that were unclear. After all instructions were given, students were told to begin and were timed to see how long the survey took to complete. After completing the task students were debriefed and given a treat in appreciation of their participation. The students were able to complete the questionnaire in an average of 10 minutes. No major flaws or problems were discovered.

Survey Participants

Population. The population for this is defined as Iowa State University students living on campus. The total number of classes which were held for the 1997 summer semester (July - August) were 34, and approximately 1,000 students were registered for these classes. Both undergraduate and graduate students were included in the population.

Sampling Technique. The 34 classes treated as cluster units were stratified into four strata: arts and humanities included five classes, social science contained 14 classes, mathematics had four classes, and natural science involved 11 classes. The number of classes randomly selected within each stratum was determined according to ratio: one for arts and humanities, four classes from social science, one class from mathematics, and three classes from natural science. All of the instructors in these selected classes gave their permission to conduct this survey. Except for one instructor who demanded that the survey be administered at the end of the class, the survey was conducted at the beginnings of the classes. The survey’s purpose was explained, and those who might have answered the questionnaire in previous classes were asked not to participate.
Final Sample. Of the 198 students who attended the nine selected classes, 176 returned their questionnaires, providing a return rate of 88.9%. Of these, 40 were omitted from the data set due to large amounts of missing data. Therefore the total number of useable questionnaires was reduced to 136, a sample size sufficient to reduce sampling error to an acceptable level. At the 95 percent level of confidence the return rate from this study yields a sampling error of ± 8.4 percent.

Demographically the participants surveyed were predominantly young and from Iowa. Seventy-one percent of the students who returned their questionnaires were 19 to 23 years old. Of the 189 respondents surveyed, 70.6 percent indicated that their home town is somewhere in Iowa. The remaining 29.4 percent of the respondents came from 14 other states.

The Instrument

Questionnaire Description. The questionnaire was composed of 27 questions. Six of the questions were open-ended, allowing respondents to generate their own answers. The remaining 21 questions included rank-order, dichotomous, Likert rating scales, and checklist questions. Of the total questions, 8 questions were inserted as disguise questions, two of which are in the Likert scale section.

Operationalization of the Variables. The primary theoretical concepts of interest in this survey include television usage, the attitude held toward Koreans, and students’ perceptions of Koreans on television. Also of interest are the variables gender and personal familiarity with Koreans.

Television use was operationalized by calculating the total number of hours spent per week watching TV. The values for this variable ranged from 1 - 40 hours per week.
The large range made it necessary to reduce the number of cells into much smaller numbers to elicit respondents in each cell. A split-half technique was used to divide the respondents into two cells that were coded light and heavy viewers. The break occurred at 18 hours of viewing. Previous studies that have measured college viewing pattern found that on average students watched TV 18 to 20 hours per week (Armstrong et al., 1992).

Attitudes toward Koreans as gleaned from TV was a bit more difficult to operationalize. Two different measurements of attitude were taken. The first was derived from the respondent's level of agreement with eight statements about Koreans and society. Respondents used a five-point Likert scale to indicate their answer. The scale ranged from "I strongly agree" to "I strongly disagree" for each statement. Here a higher total score indicated a more negative attitude.

The second measure of attitude was determined from respondents' answers to the open-ended questions, which asked them to describe a typical Korean individual and a typical Korean character on television. Negative answers (negative character traits) indicated a negative attitude toward Koreans.

The television imagery of Koreans was determined by using both an open-ended question asking respondents to list three characteristics of Koreans appearing on television and a question that asked them to rank by perceived probability what role a Korean character is most likely to hold in a given TV program.

The operational definition of other variables used in this survey are as follows:

- **Koreans**: Includes native Koreans and Americans with Korean ancestry.
• **Heavy viewers:** Individuals who watch television 3 or more hours daily (Armstrong et al., 1992) and more than 30 hours a week.

• **Light viewers:** Individuals who watch television 3 hour or less daily (Armstrong et al., 1992) and less than 20 hours a week.

• **Urban:** A city with a population of 10,000 or more (1990 Census of Population, 1992).

• **Rural:** A city with a population of less than 10,000 and predominantly derives its income from farming (1990 Census of Population, 1992).

• The image of Koreans/Korean-Americans on TV was measured in two ways. First, respondents were asked to rank order the most probable role a Korean/Korean-American could have on any given television program. These potential roles are hero/heroine, villain/villainess, sidekick or accomplice, supporting actor/actress with speaking roles, background role, or “extra.” Second, respondents were asked to name, in an open-ended question, the program they watch most on TV. It is expected that the role of any cultural minority in such a program could be ascertained easily.

The dependent variable for all of the hypotheses in this study is **attitude toward Koreans and Korean-Americans.** This variable was measured as an index composed of eight items in Likert-scale format. The respondents’ level of agreement was summed across the eight attitude statements. Place of residence was indicated following the US Bureau of the Census’ definition of “urban” and “rural” areas. Census data indicate that in Iowa, 22,501 Asians or Pacific Islanders lived in urban areas and 2,657 resided in rural areas in 1990. In the case of Koreans, 3,637 among 4,618 (94%) lived in urban areas. It is therefore reasonable to assume that individuals whose hometown is rural will have rare
opportunities to interact with Koreans, a factor that may limit their perceptions of minority group within the confines of televised portrayals. Two open-ended questions in the survey asked respondents to describe typical Korean people and Korean television characters using their own words. Each question required the researcher to record responses by hand and then categorize these responses, as positive, neutral, or negative.
RESULTS

In this section the hypotheses tests are presented along with an explanation of collapsed data and additional analysis beyond the original hypotheses.

Collecting Data

In the initial frequencies run there were several variables that needed to be collapsed for each cell in the planned analyses to have a large enough sample size. The variables affected by the collapsing procedure included total TV viewing, attitudes toward Korean scales, and the two open-ended questions describing Korean characters on television and in real life.

Television viewing was condensed into either heavy or light viewing using a split-half technique. The break between heavy and light viewing was made at the 20 hours per week level, an appropriate break both in cell numbers and college viewing habits. Based on the fact that college students watch far less television than the average adult (3 hours per day vs. 7+ hours), a break at the 3 hours per day level is appropriate (Armstrong et al., 1992). The resulting frequencies from this manipulation are presented in Table 1.

Attitude toward Koreans was determined by calculating the mean of the Likert scale responses in section 2 of the questionnaire. Sums of responses to 8 scale questions or items were added (reversing the value when necessary due to questionnaire wording) and then divided by 8 to get a mean. The resulting mean values were collapsed into positive or negative groups using the overall mean as the split point.
Table 1. Frequency totals of heavy and light television viewers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cell n</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Light viewers (≤ 18 hours per week)</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>77.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavy viewers (&gt; 18 hours per week)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Means below the 2.593 (based on a 5-point scale) were considered positive attitudes and means greater than 2.593 were coded as negative attitudes toward Koreans. The resulting frequencies are presented in Table 2.

Attitude was also measured using open-ended questions. Here, volunteered written responses were analyzed for positive or negative connotations and descriptors. The same was done to determine viewers’ perceptions of Koreans on television. Any descriptor with a positive connotation was given a score of 2 and any descriptor with a negative connotation was scored 0. A neutral descriptor was given a score of 1. For example, if a respondent gave descriptors such as “smart” (2), “improper English” (0), and “black hair” (1), he/she was considered as having a neutral attitude toward Koreans.

Table 2. Frequency totals for respondents’ attitudes toward Koreans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cell n</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negative attitudes</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>53.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive attitudes</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3. Categorization of descriptors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitudes toward Korean characters on TV/ score</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Positive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sidekick (0), Short (0), Timid (0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Black hair (1)</td>
<td>Diligent (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery owner (0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Attractive (2)</td>
<td>Talent (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table 3). His or her score of 3 (2+0+1) is in the middle of the most positive responses (6) and the most negative responses (0). A score below 3 was categorized as negative while a score above 3 was considered as indicating a positive attitude toward Koreans on TV. Descriptors containing stereotypical images such as “sidekick,” “short,” and “restaurant owner” were categorized as negative ones. The resulting frequencies for these results are presented in Table 4.

Both attitude and perception were analyzed as continuous and ordinal values. For the ordinal analysis a negative sum indicated negative perceptions and a positive sum was considered a positive perception.

Test of Hypotheses

Research question:

Are respondents’ attitude and opinions about Koreans and Korean-Americans consistent with the negative images of this group portrayed on network TV?

This question was answered using the descriptive statistics outlined in Table 3 wherein respondents clearly indicated negative attitudes about Korean TV characters
Table 4. Frequency totals for attitudes toward Korean characters on television

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Cell</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negative attitudes</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral attitudes</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive attitudes</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>77.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(mean = 0.3810). When asked to rate their attitudes toward Koreans in “real life,” however, respondents indicated a more positive response (mean = 5.7312). In other words, “real life” Koreans are perceived more positively than those on television.

Hypothesis 1

Heavy viewers of television will have more negative attitudes or opinions of Koreans than those who are light viewers.

Crosstabulations of heavy and light viewers as determined by the total hours of television watched per week and attitudes toward Koreans as measured by the Likert scale yielded no significant results. There was no significant difference in attitudes toward Koreans between those who were categorized as heavy viewers and those who were classified as light viewers. Table 5 shows the results.

In order to get a more robust test for the potential cultivation effect in regard to Koreans in the media these same variables were also compared using a t-test. This was possible because the total hours of viewing for each respondent was computed before it was categorized as either heavy or light. As total hours (range 1 - 40 hours per week) the television viewing measure could be run as a continuous variable. Again there was no
Table 5. Attitude toward Koreans as a function of heavy and light viewing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Level of Viewing</th>
<th>Light</th>
<th>Heavy</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Row pct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col pct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td></td>
<td>82.2</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>53.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td></td>
<td>73.0</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column</td>
<td></td>
<td>106</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>77.9</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 1.6560; \ df = 1; \ p = .1981$

A significant difference between those respondents who held positive and negative attitudes toward Koreans, $T(134 \ df)= 1.78, p = .812$.

Based on the results of this analysis hypothesis 1 was not supported. Heavy viewers of television did not show a significantly more negative attitude toward Koreans compared to the light viewers.

Hypothesis 2

Individuals who have had personal contacts with Koreans will have more positive attitudes or opinions toward Koreans than those who have not.

Personal contact was determined by asking the respondent whether he/she had any personal acquaintance with a Korean (Table 6). It was recorded as a dichotomous variable. To determine whether this variable had any influence on attitudes toward Koreans, crosstabulations were done.
Table 6. Attitude toward Koreans as a function of personal contact

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude Condition</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row pct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col pct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No personal Contact w/ Koreans</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact w/ Koreans</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td>44.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Contact w/ Korean</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact w/ Korean</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>55.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 2.1669; \text{ df} = 1; p = .1410 \]

In the cross tabulation between the dichotomous personal contact variable and attitude measured as a continuous variable (from the Likert scale summated rating), the Chi-square value was 2.1669. As Table 6 indicates, this was not significant.

Looking at cell frequencies, the number of negative attitudes between the “no personal contact with Koreans” group and those with personal contact was exactly the same. In addition, among those with personal contact, there is no statistical difference in terms of positive or negative attitudes toward Koreans. However, respondents who had come in contact with Koreans and had positive attitudes somewhat outnumbered the respondents who had no personal contact with Koreans.
Based on the results of this analysis hypothesis 2 was not supported. Individuals who have had personal contact with Koreans did not show a significantly more positive attitudes or opinions toward Koreans.

**Hypothesis 3**

Individuals whose hometown is rural will have more negative attitudes or opinions about Koreans than those who came from more cosmopolitan urban areas.

Hometown was determined by asking the respondent where his/her home community is. It was recorded as a dichotomous variable. Operationally an urban area covered large cities. Small towns, rural farms and the other areas were coded as rural. To determine whether this variable had any influence on attitudes toward Koreans, crosstabulations were used (Table 7).

In the crosstabulation between the dichotomous rural and urban area variable and attitude measured as a continuous variable (from the Likert scale summated rating), the Chi-square value was .0071. Again, as Table 5 indicates, this was not significant.

Looking at cell frequencies, the distribution of negative and positive attitudes toward Koreans between rural and urban respondents were almost same.

Hypothesis 3, therefore, was not supported. Individuals whose hometown is rural did not show significantly more negative attitudes or opinions toward Koreans.
Table 7. Attitude toward Koreans as a function of hometown area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural area</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>64.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban area</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

χ² = .0071; df = 1; p = .9325
DISCUSSION

This chapter presents a discussion of the study results and addresses the study’s limitations, as well as recommendations for future research.

**Hypothesis Testing Results**

Researchers have long documented underepresentation and negative stereotyping of Koreans on television. The results of this study indicate that if negative attitudes develop as a result of this, TV is not the only culprit. The results did not lend any support at all to the cultivation hypothesis: there was no agreement between the images of Koreans on TV and attitudes and opinions toward Koreans held by the respondents; heavy viewers of television had opinions and attitudes toward Koreans not significantly different from light viewers; there was little homogeneity in the sample’s images of Koreans. Attitudes did not vary by the kinds of shows watched. In fact the portrayal of Koreans on television (clearly negative) was not even closely related to the images of Koreans in the minds of mostly white, young, midwestern college students. Clearly, college experience must have played a major part in influencing students’ attitudes.

Research question 1.

Are respondents’ attitude and opinions about Koreans and Korean-Americans consistent with the negative images of this group portrayed on network TV?

This hypothesis asserts that respondents’ attitudes and/or opinions of real life non-Koreans would be the same as their attitudes/opinions of Koreans portrayed on television. It is clear that college students’ perceptions of Koreans in real life were more positive than those they get of Koreans portrayed through television. This was not surprising
because more than half of the respondents (55.1%) reported having had some sort of contact with Koreans.

In Gerbner’s (1993) theory of cultivation he states that the more one watches the more likely he or she is to believe what is seen on television. Gerbner also notes that personal influence may alter or have an impact on the cultivation effect. Clearly, this is what has occurred in this study. Most respondents felt that describing a typical Korean individual was more “distasteful” and “unfair” than describing Korean characters on television, agreeing that Koreans are negatively portrayed on television. Words like “short,” “shy,” “poor English,” “martial arts,” “grocery business” appeared often on the open-ended responses (Appendix C). It is important to note, however, that some respondents felt it hard to tell Koreans from other Asians.

Hypothesis 1

Heavy viewers of television will have more negative attitudes or opinions of Koreans than those who are light viewers.

Hypothesis 1 asserts that heavy viewers of television would be most affected by negative images of Koreans on television and would therefore have negative opinions and attitudes about Koreans. This was not supported. There are a number of reasons why results did not follow the hypothesized direction here, but the most critical factor was probably the amount of television viewing. A majority of respondents were light viewers. In fact, the mean difference between the light and heavy viewer groups was less than 140 minutes a day. Compared to the general US adult population, ISU students are light TV viewers and are therefore not as likely to be influenced by the medium.
Sears (1986) reported that college sophomores are an excellent sample population because if a significant effect is discovered within this group, there is a good chance that the effect could also be observed with less educated members of the general population. In this study, however, many students felt uncomfortable answering questions about real-life Koreans and rejected the “typecasting” of Koreans in the US media. This suggests any one or a combination of two things: that students’ level of liberal arts education was effective and sufficient enough for them to be able to say they “know better than what those silly TV programs are showing” and/or that they are giving the “politically correct “ or socially responsible answer. In fact, recent events on the ISU campus (i.e., the move to re-name Catt Hall and diversity issues) may have sensitized the students enough toward becoming more multi-culturally oriented.

It was interesting that fewer respondents fell into the “heavy viewer, negative image of Koreans” cell than those who were heavy viewers with positive attitudes toward Koreans, a trend which is a complete reversal of the cause-effect scenario envisioned by the cultivation theory. Cultivation theorists would speculate that heavy viewers of TV, having been exposed to greater numbers of negative portrayals, would be more likely to have negative images of Koreans. Further, in the “light viewers” cells, negative responses outnumber the positive ones.

**Hypothesis 2**

Individuals who have had personal contacts with Koreans will have more positive attitudes or opinions toward Koreans than who have not.

Hypothesis 2 speculates on the effects of an intervening factor: personal contact with the Korean minority group. In this case, the effect was negligible; personal
acquaintance did not affect the respondents’ attitudes’ and opinions toward Koreans. This is so because it is rare for college students to develop friendly or close personal relationships with a Korean considering the very small number of Koreans in the state. Even though more than half of the respondents said they know a Korean, 75% reportedly knew one in the class; only 25% had established strong and close ties with Koreans or Korean-Americans (i.e., roommate, boy/girl friends, and adopted relative).

**Hypothesis 3**

Individuals whose hometown is rural will have more negative attitudes or opinions about Koreans than those who came from more cosmopolitan or urban areas.

What might have led to responses concerning Hypothesis 2 also applies to Hypothesis 3. Because of the very small number of Koreans in Iowa, the probability of knowing a Korean in rural and urban areas is very small indeed.

**Limitations**

Conducting this survey during the last six weeks of the summer semester must have considerably limited this study’s population base. Surveying during a regular semester may have involved more students. Although the return rate was satisfactory from a reliability standpoint, some of the analysis suffered from low cell counts, especially when it came to the open-ended attitude responses.

Clearly, students were giving the socially responsible answers. A sample more representative of the general adult population might have produced different results. These respondents would tend to have higher television viewing totals and would have less personal contact with Koreans than college campuses normally provide.
Finally, the questionnaire fell short in the area of determining the type of television programs the respondents watched.

Based on these limitations there are things that could have been done differently. These include:

- Altering the timeframe for distribution of the survey to hit students at the beginning of the summer semester. This would most likely increase participation and may result in heavier television viewing since students typically do most of their studying at the end of the semester.

- Changing the population parameters. This could be done by using high school students or a random sample of the general adult population who are heavier viewers of television and have not been acculturated to minorities by the college experience.

- Restructuring the questionnaire to allow respondents to give more independent and volunteered viewing habits. An open-ended question addressing program choice would have provided a much richer picture of the influence of content on the individual.

**Future Direction**

Although all of the three hypotheses were not supported the study highlights some methodological facets.

First, a standardized index or scale to measure attitudes toward minority groups could be helpful especially in large-scale studies. Such scales could be used in studies across minority groupings to strengthen internal and external validity of data. The items selected to create a scale in the study were significantly correlated, but they have not been
widely tested. Anyone who has been fortunate enough to conduct a study that uses a previously tested instrument understands the benefit accruing from such a device.

Second, the effect of cultivation can perhaps be better explained by the use of experimental designs to test non-Koreans' reaction to negative and positive stereotypes. The entire cultivation hypothesis is based on heavy exposure over time. A better theoretical support that can be easily tested is priming. Priming suggests that when people see, read, or hear of an event via the mass media, ideas normally associated with the event, or having a similar meaning as the event, are activated in the mind, at least for a short time. Priming does not presume any attitude change per se, merely the "triggering" of already acquired concepts. There are certain things that can enhance the effect, including the reality of the depiction and the number of times the prime is repeated. With sufficient exposure and execution the mass media may influence thoughts and behaviors of people based on media activated images.

A test over several weeks with controlled viewing and pre/post test attitude measures could much more accurately account for any variance in attitude as a result of television programming. This same procedure has been used to determine the effects of varied news content, exposure to pornographic materials, and even commercials with disabled people (Farnall, 1996).
APPENDIX A:

HUMAN SUBJECTS IN RESEARCH APPROVAL FORM
Checklist for Attachments and Time Schedule

The following are attached (please check):

12. ☑ Letter or written statement to subjects indicating clearly:
   a) the purpose of the research
   b) the use of any identifier codes (names, #’s), how they will be used, and when they will be removed (see item 17)
   c) an estimate of time needed for participation in the research
   d) if applicable, the location of the research activity
   e) how you will ensure confidentiality
   f) in a longitudinal study, when and how you will contact subjects later
   g) that participation is voluntary; nonparticipation will not affect evaluations of the subject

13. ☐ Signed consent form (if applicable)

14. ☐ Letter of approval for research from cooperating organizations or institutions (if applicable)

15. ☑ Data-gathering instruments

16. Anticipated dates for contact with subjects:

   First contact: June 25, 1997
   Last contact: August 5, 1997

17. If applicable: anticipated date that identifiers will be removed from completed survey instruments and/or audio or visual tapes will be erased:

   May 5, 1998

18. Signature of Departmental Executive Officer: [Signature]
    Date: [Date]
    Department or Administrative Unit: Journalism and Mass Communication

19. Decision of the University Human Subjects Review Committee:

   ☑ Project approved
   ☐ Project not approved
   ☐ No action required

   Patricia M. Keith
   Name of Committee Chairperson
   Date: 6/27/97

   Signatures have been redacted for privacy
APPENDIX B: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE
Koreans in the Media
A study of ISU students

The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of Americans’ attitudes toward Koreans. The term “Koreans” is used here to include Korean-Americans as well as Korean nationals. Neither your name, nor any individual information you provide, will ever be released to any other source. All responses will be treated confidentially. Your response to the survey is, of course, voluntary. However, if results are to truly represent the views of all American students at Iowa State University, I need your response. It will take approximately 10 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

Please answer all questions. If you need to make comments or explain your answers, please use the space around the questions. Your comments will be read and taken into consideration.

Thank you very much for your participation.

Please read the instructions for each sections and indicate your answer in the spaces provided.

You may use pen or pencil.

SECTION ONE: VIEWING HABITS

1. On average about how many hours a week do you watch TV? (Please fill in estimate.) __________ hours a week

2. What type of TV programs do you watch most frequently? Please indicate your first choice by marking the appropriate blank with a “1.” Do the same for your second, third, etc. until all program types are ranked.

_____ News
_____ Sports
_____ Soap Opera
_____ Sitcom
_____ Cartoon
_____ Documentary
_____ Educational Program
_____ Others
3. Do you have cable access?
   Yes _____
   No (Please go to Q.5) _____

4. Do you watch the international news channel on cable?
   Yes _____
   No _____

5. When you are watching TV, how closely do you attend to it on a scale of 1 to 5
   where (1) means not closely at all and (5) means as closely as you can? Please check
   the circle number that best applies.

   1  2  3  4  5
   not closely at all  as closely as I can

6. Can you name any prominent Korean? If you can't remember the name, please
   indicate what that person's title, position or occupation is.
   (List as many as you can recall.)

   _______________________________
   _______________________________

7. What television program do you watch the most?
   (Please indicate the title of program)

   _______________________________

8. Consider that you are watching a television program with a Korean character in it.
   Rank order, from 1 to 5, the following list of possible roles that character would most
   likely hold with (1) meaning it is most likely that the character would
   hold that role listed below and (5) indicating it is least likely.

   ___ Hero/Heroine
   ___ Villain/Villainess
   ___ Sidekick/Accomplice
   ___ Supporting actor/actress
   ___ Background role (i.e., non-speaking or in only one scene)

Next, I would like you to respond to some general statements.

SECTION TWO: OPINIONS

For this section please indicate how much you agree with each statement by circling the
number which best matches your level of agreement. On this scale, (1) means that you
strongly disagree with the statement and (5) means you strongly agree with the
statement.
1. Most Korean-Americans work minimum wage jobs.  
   1  2  3  4  5

2. I would go to a doctor who is Korean-American.  
   1  2  3  4  5

   1  2  3  4  5

4. My daughter/son would have my permission to marry a Korean-American if she/he were in love.  
   1  2  3  4  5

5. Most Korean-Americans are under-educated and poor.  
   1  2  3  4  5

6. If I were facing litigation, I would retain a Korean-American lawyer.  
   1  2  3  4  5

7. African-Americans are superior to any other ethnic groups in sports.  
   1  2  3  4  5

8. Prisons are filled with Blacks, Hispanics and other minorities, including Korean-Americans.  
   1  2  3  4  5

SECTION THREE: KOREANS IN THE MEDIA

If you need additional space for the following questions, please use the margins.

1. List three characteristics or adjectives that will describe a typical Korean character you see on television.
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________

2. Do you have any personal acquaintances with anyone who is Korean? (Please check one only).
   ____ Yes
   ____ No (Please go to Q.4)

3. If yes, please describe the relationship(s).
   (i.e., classmate, roommate, fellow church goer, fellow club member, etc.)
   ______________________________________________________
4. List three characteristics or adjectives to describe this Korean individual you personally know.

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

SECTION FOUR: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. What is the highest level of education you have attained? (Please check only one.)
   ____ Freshmen college  ____ Sophomore college  ____ Junior college
   ____ Senior college  ____ Masters student  ____ Ph.D. student

2. What is your age? ____ years

3. What is your gender? _____ Male _____ Female

4. My ethnicity is
   ____ Caucasian  ____ African American
   ____ Hispanic  ____ Asian American
   ____ Others (Please specify)

5. My home community (where you grew up) is best described as ...
   (Please check only one.)
   ____ Large city
   ____ Small town
   ____ Rural farm
   ____ Other (Please specify) __________________________

6. My home state is (Please give the two letter abbreviation)
   ____

7. If your home state is Iowa, please write in the space provided the city in which you live
   (i.e., Ames, Nevada, etc.)
   __________________________________________

If there is anything else you would like to say about the topic of this study, please do so in the space below.

Again I thank you for your help in this study.
APPENDIX C: OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS
List three characteristics or adjectives that will describe a typical Korean character you see on television. (Q. 1 in the section three)

**Descriptors**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics/Adjectives</th>
<th>Characteristics/Adjectives</th>
<th>Characteristics/Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Martial art (side kick)</td>
<td>Inquisitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gang</td>
<td>Soft-spoken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funny (humorous)</td>
<td>Attractive (beautiful)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short (small)</td>
<td>Black hair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesman</td>
<td>Talkative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>Educated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor English (accent)</td>
<td>Polite</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hero</td>
<td>Reserved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Aggressive (fighter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shy</td>
<td>Egoism</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Quiet</td>
<td>Timid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subservient</td>
<td>Strict</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background (assistant)</td>
<td>Grocery owner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligent (smart, witty, wise)</td>
<td>Weird</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nice</td>
<td>Family-oriented</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant owner</td>
<td>Quick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist</td>
<td>Undereducated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jittery</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td>Sincere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasses</td>
<td>Rebel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skinny (thin)</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckteeth</td>
<td>Self-controlled</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slow</td>
<td>Drug dealer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant</td>
<td>Evil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomat</td>
<td>Dark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stupid</td>
<td>Humble</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helper</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determined</td>
<td>Bowing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diligent</td>
<td>Mean (cunning)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Old</td>
<td>MASH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Weak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerky (spastic)</td>
<td>Happy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mystery</td>
<td>Gentle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>As same as others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Athletic</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unique</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bilingual</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List three characteristics or adjectives to describe this Korean individual you personally know. (Q.4 in the section three)

Descriptors

Careful
Intelligent
Fat
Lazy
Dependent
As same as others
Nice
Smart
Funny (humorous)
Material
Flash
Tough
Pretty (beautiful, cute)
Popular
Sweet
Happy
Reliable
Diligent
Not athletic
Rich
Outgoing
Goal oriented
Ambitious
Kind (generous)
Curious
Short
Black hair
Quiet
Friendly
Polite
Soft-spoken
Educated
Athletic
Personal
Classy
Studious
Talent
Obedient
Strong
Outgoing
Talkative
Reserved
Traditional
Patient
Charismatic
Rude
Shy
Helpful
Energetic
Unpredictable
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Asian Americans in magazine advertising. The American Behavioral Scientist. 38,
608-621.

Advertising. Villanova University.


Merriam Co.

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