미메시스로서의 ‘타자’와 디에게시스로서의 ‘다문화’: 지상파 방송 뉴스에 재현된 이주민들의 영상 담론 분석
‘Others’ as Mimesis and ‘Multiculturalism’ as Diegesis: Focus on the Visual Discourses of Migrants Represented on Terrestrial Broadcasting News

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요약
신자유주의 경제의 확산으로 인해 전세계 인구 이동의 흐름은 급격히 변화해왔으며, 단일민족 국가라는 이미지로 한국 역시 이로 인해 변화해왔다. 전형적인 노동력 수출국이었던 한국은 이제 노동력을 수입하는 주요 국가이며, 이주민들로 인해 사회적 지형을 지난 수년간 급격히 변화해왔다. 그 러나 이에 대한 미디어의 재현은 지극히 제한적이고 정형화되어 있다. 따라서 본 연구의 주목적은 한국사회의 시대적 변화 속에서 지상파 방송사들이 뉴스 콘텐츠를 통해 이주민들을 재현하는 양식을 영상담론을 통해 분석하는 것이다. 연구결과 이주민과 방송뉴스에 재현된 이주민들은 특정한 영상을 영상재현 방식으로 재생산하며, 이는 한국인들과의 이항대립을 이루어 그들에 대한 스테레오타입을 확대해생산하는 메커니즘으로 작용한다는 것을 밝혀냈다.

Abstract
The starting point of this study is an examination of the vital role of terrestrial broadcasting in Korean society, where ethnic minorities have increasingly become visible. Korean terrestrial broadcasters’ mandate emphasises the broadcaster’s responsibility to represent and reflect the range of public opinion and experiences beyond class, age, ethnicity and ideological orientation. The main purpose of this study is to visually examine the means through which terrestrial broadcasting generates discourses of We-ness and Otherness at times of change in the Korean society. The study focuses on prime-time broadcasting news programmes’ visual representations of migrants and ethnic minorities.

1. Introduction
In the last decades, the myth based on Koreans’ pure blood has been directly challenged by the large scale of labour migration. The accelerating pace of globalisation is giving rise to various forms of
migration and diasporisation even in South Korea. The Korean Immigration and Foreigner Policy Office (KIFPO) of the Ministry of Justice announced on 26 January 2015 that foreign residents in Korea officially numbered at 1.8 million[7], which accounts for almost 3.5 percent of the total registered population (51 million). This figure was up by 361 percent from 386,972 in 1997. The share of foreign residents is expected to rise to over 5 percent of the total population by 2020[24]. These figures suggest that South Korea now faces the critical challenges of a multi-ethnic society.

However, migrants, the new members of the society, are pushed to the periphery and end up as the strangers in the midst of globalisation[1]. During this process, the existing majority of society that maintains power categorises, discriminates and marginalises the new members of a society[39]. The most important role of this process of exclusion is played primarily by the media[11][36]. A society’s perception of minorities in most cases conforms to the stereotypes created by the media of that society. If the media play a crucial role in the process of exclusion within globalisation, it is important to look at the role of the media in the process of marginalising sub-groups and their culture[26].

The starting point of this study is an examination of the vital role of terrestrial broadcasting in Korean society, where ethnic minorities have increasingly become visible. Korean terrestrial broadcasters’ mandate emphasises the broadcaster’s responsibility to represent and reflect the range of public opinion and experiences beyond class, age, ethnicity and ideological orientation. The main purpose of this study is to visually examine the means through which terrestrial broadcasting generates discourses of We-ness and Otherness at times of change in the Korean society. The study focuses on prime-time broadcasting news programmes’ visual representations of migrants and ethnic minorities. With regard to this, this study examines specific visual tendencies of migrants as ethnic minorities and explores their meaning.

2. Seeing is Believing: The power of visual communication

Modern society is filled with visual images. Urban streets abound with colourful billboards and advertisements. We can easily find this when we are on public transportation and there is a large advertisement, which may contain the smile of the main character in a recently released movie, or when reading the newspapers in which more than half of the pages are filled with pictures and visual images. Moreover, it is possible for a whole page to be filled with one image, and from this image the readers can infer the meaning of the whole story being reported. In addition to movies and television, internet media are also becoming image-centric. It is arguable that visual communication has increased in importance in today’s society due to the fact that values, opinions and beliefs are persuasively delivered by visual culture in everyday life[32].

In this respect, seeing is really a great deal more than believing in the modern society. Berger argues that seeing comes before words[2]. This is the starting point in the study of visual communication. Haraway is concerned with specifying the social power relations that are articulated through the particular form of visuality[18]. She argues that what this visuality does is to produce specific visions of social difference or hierarchies of class, race, gender, sexuality, and so on. That is, the particular forms of representation produced by specific scopic regimes
are important to understand because they are intimately bound into social power relations[27]. According to Hall, culture is the shared practices of a group, community or society, through which meaning is made out of the visual world of representations[16]. Representation is the social process of making sense of the many signifying systems within a culture[40]. Therefore, the act of ‘seeing’ can be further interpreted as one of the practices of culture, which constructs and reproduces culture through the process of understanding the world, exceeding the level of just perceiving an object and understanding it.

Visual images have increasingly come to dominate our culture in recent times[32]. Human beings have continually sought more realistic ways of visual expression and their desires are found in the history of the image, as developed from drawing and painting, to photography and film. The development of media is paralleled with innumerable efforts to access ‘truth’ and ‘reality’. Unlike photography or cinema, there is also the possibility of ‘instant’ transmission in television, providing the medium with that ‘liveness’ which has been seen to be its defining characteristic, even if with the advent of production recording it was no longer the routine necessity it had been in the early years[9]. The ‘liveness’ in this sense is linked to ‘immediateness’ in terms of time, and at the same time is related to ‘on-the-spot’ in terms of space. Therefore, the liveness of television imagery provides viewers with viewpoints which totally differ from images produced by early media.

In this sense, televisual communication produces a ‘mythic belief’ which is regarded as a real situation happening around us right now, rather than merely representing information. The social significance of television as an imaginary tool has been broadly focused on the media and communications studies. The television images turn distant suffering into everyday material[8], deadly war into match of the day[33], and national events into more significant events than those in private lives[37]. Consequently, television has become one of the most influential media as it frames much of the information available in the public domain, with consequences for the construction of identities[29].

3. Television and Social Construction of Reality

Although the Internet has fast become a popular and fascinating medium, television remains one of the most significant media in everyday life. According to a survey of the average time spent using media in 2014, the average person in South Korea – who ranks highly for internet usage internationally – spends 166.5 minutes a day watching television. This compares with an average of 60.2 minutes per day spent on the mobile Internet and 56.6 minutes for Internet on PC[6]. Since the beginning of the 1950s when television sets became commonplace in the developed world, researchers have tried to assess the influence and impact of television on the viewing public[28]. Television, as Silverstone argues, still represents a central dimension of our everyday life and yet its meaning and its potency vary according to our individual circumstances[29]. Its power will always be mediated by the social and cultural worlds we inhabit.

Television lies at the heart of political, social, and cultural life in modern society. As people become more and more dependent on television as an everyday medium and become fully trusting of whatever it says, it will then have absolute power to influence the views of millions[10]. This form of
power is referred to as ‘symbolic power[34]’, which describes the ability to manipulate symbols to influence individual life. Although different forms of power in society commonly overlap in complex and shifting ways, the power of media representation is directly linked to symbolic power[34]. The central location of television in everyday life is thus associated with power relations within society. In the context of this study, this is particularly important when it comes to media representation of Others and the position these Others – especially as they occupy minority positions within society – might become marginalised and socially excluded. This is because, as Thompson argues, ‘individuals are constantly engaged in interpreting the expressions of Others; they are constantly involved in communicating with one another and exchanging information and symbolic content[34]’. Studying the role of media in reproducing or challenging power represents one of the fundamental objectives of media and communications studies.

Among many kinds of television genres, news represents the core informational system within the daily flow of television[20]. Television news can be a means of bridging the gap between the public and the private spheres[14]. This is because television news is one of the main media genres that bring something new about the public to private lives. Most television channels provide their own news programmes for prime time viewing. Television news is one of the most popular sources of information for the public in modern society and therefore has an important part to play in helping people make sense of the world[15]. The key concern here is, accordingly, to examine the extent to which television news can and should be expected to contribute to people’s knowledge[19].

This study focuses on television news reports as a type of discourse expressed, used or made public in broadcast news[35]. The study of television news reports is one of the major tasks of discourse-analytical media research[35]. The news media constantly create discourse by representing social phenomena and values. News discourses not only (re)construct power relations such as racial hierarchies, gender roles, the class system and so forth[3], but also become socially produced and often institutionalised ways of making sense of a certain topic that ‘pre-exist their use in any one discursive practice, and that construct a sense, or social identity, of us as we speak them[13]’. When we look at cultural and political power of news discourse in this context, we mean the power to typify, transmit and define social groups[19].

According to a couple of Korean scholars who have studied migrants on television news, migrants are represented as negative stereotypes who are reported to be unhealthy, psychological anxiety problems, and living in a state of poverty[21]. In this sense, this study describe and analyse how television news content depicts migrants as ethnic minorities in terms of visual representation of Others.

4. Research Method

As a method, discourse analysis pays careful attention to images, and to their social production and effect[27]. This is because discourse can refer to many different types of text such as linguistic, visual, symbolic, etc. As Chouliaraki notes in her research on Others in television news, more than anything else, the impact of any news text is almost always a function of its visual referent[8]. As Corner says, ‘the offer of “seeing” is absolutely central to the project of television journalism[8]’. The image that television news provides is instrumental in helping viewers to
believe that something really happened. Moreover, in the era of visual communication, television and film images function as ‘the book of nature’, as ‘windows on the world’, as ‘observation’, and verbal text serves to identify and interpret, to ‘load the image, burdening it with a culture, a moral, an imagination’. Like linguistic structures, visual structures point to particular interpretations of experience and forms of social interaction. Kress and van Leeuwen define that ‘visual grammar’, which can be expressed linguistically to some degree, describes a social resource of a particular group, its explicit and implicit knowledge about this resource, and its uses in the practices of that group.

In this research, the framework of visual analysis focuses on the original five basic aspects as recomposed and employed from Bignell, Kress and van Leeuwen and Zettle:

Table 1. The Framework of Analysis for the Visual Texts on Television

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Framework</th>
<th>Signifier (representation)</th>
<th>Signified (meaning)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td>low angle</td>
<td>dynamic, superiority, triumph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>high angle</td>
<td>inferiority, loneliness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eye-level angle</td>
<td>stability, regularity, familiarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>private space</td>
<td>professional, trust, important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>public space</td>
<td>non-professional, distrust, unimportant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>space of government</td>
<td>authority, trust, good, protect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact</td>
<td>-contact</td>
<td>demand, human being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-absence of contact</td>
<td>offer, stranger, otherness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance</td>
<td>extreme close-up</td>
<td>anxiety, tension, defect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>close-up</td>
<td>friendly, important, emotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>medium shot</td>
<td>stability, authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>long shot</td>
<td>neutrality, public relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>extreme long shot</td>
<td>spectator, other, spectacle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effect</td>
<td>-tracking</td>
<td>sense of realism, anxiety, shock, accident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-zoom-in</td>
<td>something ours, inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-zoom-out</td>
<td>otherness, outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-panning</td>
<td>changing viewpoint</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These five aspects are named as the ‘visual framework of A to E’. [Table 1] summarises the main kinds of interactive meaning. First of all, the camera angle reflects the viewpoint that the medium directly or indirectly wants to use. The convention of using variations in vertical camera angle to imply relationships of power is well established in visual expression. Second, background images have an influence on the authority of the subject in news footage, as can the behaviour displayed by the interviewee or interviewer. This can be seen as authority given by space. Third, the mutual contact between viewer and actor as closely linked is defined by the matter of who takes the lead in the discourse production. The power reproduction between the viewer and actor needs to be analysed so that we can understand the mechanisms of discourse production and how it relates to socio-cultural power. Fourth, the distance used to represent participants on television is significant to define the relationship between actors and viewers. Finally, camera movement is also a key tool in instituting the relations between the viewer and actor, particularly in terms of angles and frames. In terms of television’s visual communication, camera movement means a change in the point of view for the viewer and the position of the actor.

According to Kress and van Leeuwen, it should be remembered that these are simultaneous systems: any image must either be a demand or an offer and select a certain size of frame and select a certain attitude, and so on. The systems of attitude, background, contact, distance and effect interact to create more complex and subtle relations between represented and interactive participants.

In this study, the visual representation among television news texts, as subjects of analysis, will be examined by the analytic framework presented in [Table 1]. It can be understood as a process, of course
a part of CDA, which converts visual text into linguistic text for analysis. After the first analysis of this visual analysis framework, the research will go on to connect this with linguistic text in news script and analyse them in turn. To fulfill the aims of this study, the visual represantations of the main news programmes of KBS, MBC and SBS aired between 1st January 2012 and 31st December 2014 (3 years) dealing with issues related to ethnic minorities in Korean society will be analysed. All news contents have been accessed through the VOD service on the websites for this period; there are 105 news items (55 items of KBS, 26 items of MBC and 24 items of SBS) concerned with ethnic minorities and multicultural issues.

5. Findings

1) Migrant Workers

Representing the migrant workers as ‘illegal’ could be included in the discourse of dehumanisation. This is the way of the ‘new racism’, as van Dijk[36] mentions, which tries to avoid explicitly racist terms, yet uses negative words to describe the properties or actions of migrants or minorities. The news discourse describes them as passive and dangerous beings that should be managed and controlled. Especially in the news reports related to the domestic labour market, they are categorised not as human beings but as social ills or threats in need of control by the government.

The news discourse which dehumanises migrant workers as illegal residents is also revealed in visual representations. As can be seen in [Fig. 1], the migrant workers portrayed as illegal residents are all faceless. The first image on the top-left presents a migrant worker who has been severely injured at work, but who could not receive any adequate treatment due to not being able to pay the hospital fees. Migrants are described as illegal residents and their faces are not shown. They are also not given the opportunity to speak, but rather are shown aimlessly strolling away. Although they are human beings who suffer in society, the space and time in which they exist are unclear, as are their identities which are hidden. The way of representation at this point makes those migrant workers be imagined as faceless people in the virtual time and space. In fact, the space represented in the first image is presumed to be a slum or backward suburban or rural area, rather than a location in a major Korean city. The difference of social class between urban and rural areas is highlighted at this point and is reproduced in the Korean/migrant divide. This divide suggests that the urban is the space of majority Koreans and they view the incident as happening in the territory of Others rather than Our territory, establishing a system of double exclusion.
Another significant point is that the migrant workers in [Fig. 1] are represented as a dark and anonymous group. They, as voiceless and faceless beings, are principally shown as working in factories or watching television programmes from their accommodation in small and insular residential communities. In other words, they are given limited social roles within a restricted space. They are treated as an accessory of the machinery in the factory, even sometimes described as living together in an unhygienic and dilapidated environment. Visual portrayals describing the migrant workers’ accommodation reproduce the sense of extreme poverty as the camera uses high-angle and zoom-out techniques. Moreover, they appear only in groups, deprived of eye contact, faceless and somewhat out of focus. These visual grammars make them seem inferior lonely Others and strangers. The shots of the camera are out of focus and images are filtered with mosaics: the techniques of long-shots and close-ups of specific body parts of workers are used. This type of screening makes the news audience feel uncomfortable and emotionally negative about the migrant workers who appear in the scene. Chouliaraki argues that 'the deprivation of a sufferer’s voice, the representation of subjects in large, non-descript groups, long-shots of the devastation of an unknown landscape – such visual effects relegate sufferers to the realm of the Other, alienating them from the existential order of Western viewers’[8]. This tendency of visual representation can be understood as a way of depriving them of their own identity, which causes the dehumanisation of migrant workers.

2) Married Migrant Women

Recently in Asia, where migrant and gender research is conducted, the character of gender immigrants has become more obvious and one of the extreme examples is the increase of inter-cultural marriages in Asia. Asian women choose marriage as a migration route in order to move to the developed countries in North-East Asia (South Korea, Japan and Taiwan)[22]. It is a fundamental fact in the migration mechanism that defines the feminisation of migration. This is not only because of a result of the quantitative aspects of the women’s position and the increase in their numbers, but also because of a result of the increased globalisation of gender relationships. Although the total amount of discourse is still small, the feminisation of Other is something that is increasing rapidly through the discourse of multiculturalism in the Korean broadcast news. However, when we consider the number of domestically residing non-nationals, we cannot explain why married migrant women, who only constitute ten per cent of the total, have become the focus of the multicultural discourse led by researchers, media, NGOs, and local and central government. The main point is that migrant workers as males are still treated as aliens in society, whereas
married migrant women, despite demographically representing a smaller group, gain from government interest. This tendency displays a Korean trait of the multiculturalism discourse, which shows a close relationship with the gendered framing of national identity and multiculturalism.

Due to the patriarchal and centralised view of Korean culture, married migrant women are represented as Them, who are fundamentally different from Koreans in the related news stories. These representations merge together when married migrant women experience traditional Korean culture, when multicultural families prepare for the Korean holidays, and when children from multicultural families learn about Korean traditions at school. The common element in these news segments is that they all stressed the ‘difficulty’ for married migrant women and children from multicultural families to learn Korean culture; therefore, it exposed their limitations as being part of their identity as Them as non-national, and it illustrated subliminally the message that Korean culture is not something anyone can easily grasp.

These kinds of situation can be explained in terms of ‘the narcissism of minor differences’ based on Freud’s theory. Freud argues that the smaller the actual difference between groups, the larger it is likely to loom in their imaginations[23]. Freud’s tentative statements were in line with the insights of Simmel, Durkheim, Lévi-Strauss, Dumont, Elias and Girard. Bourdieu writes that social identity lies in differences, and differences are asserted against what is closest, which represents the greatest threat[5]. Appadurai defines as predatory those identities whose social construction and mobilisation require the extinction of one another, proximate social categories, defined as threats to the very existence of the group, defined as Us[1]. In other words, the reason Koreans can keep their composure and have the narcissism of ‘foreigners also enjoy our traditional culture’ is created because there is the ‘difference’ that they are not familiar with Korean culture like the Koreans on the premises. Therefore, their number increases and they hold enough social power to get into the step of enjoying ‘our culture’ as ‘their culture’, that is, when they have the sense of crisis of disappearing ‘minor difference’, such pride will disappear.
This discourse is clearly constructed through images on the television screen. [Fig. 2]. shows visual portrayals displaying such subjectification of married migrant women, as they prepare Korean holiday food. Each of the news reports presents very similar images. The scene of married migrant women wearing traditional Korean clothes, following the instructions of their mothers-in-law is clearly indicative of the power structures within society: The mother-in-law could be constructed as the judge or educator, with the non-national woman as a novice and juvenile, being taught simple daily tasks.

3) Koreans as Binary Opposites: The Superiors and Lawful Judges

Koreans in the news about non-nationals are represented in a completely different light compared to ethnic minorities. First of all, representation of Koreans mostly involved interviewees of high professional status with strong opinions about non-nationals. More specifically, most of the Koreans appearing in the news frame are high-class males who work in professional fields, such as police officials, representatives of NGOs, researchers, executives or scholars. This tendency of discursive representation can be understood as a process of reproducing traditional gender stereotypes in order to reinforce racial discrimination. That is, women are often marginalised and portrayed limitedly in the ‘private sphere’ - as housewives, mothers, victims, etc. - whereas men are represented in the ‘public sphere’ - as social elites, political/economic leaders, representatives of the public sector, and so forth. This strictly limits gender roles between men and women. Compared to non-nationals, who were described as law violators, most of the Koreans were law enforcers or interpreters, who are portrayed as holding the moral high ground and virtue. In the interviews with Koreans, many of the techniques, such as medium-shots and standard angles, contribute to the stress of the Koreans’ authority over the foreigner. According to van Dijk, generally in news articles, White males, as the mainstream of the society, speak about or for ethnic minorities, whereas ethnic minorities’ opinions are not asked for[35]. In the same manner, Korean males, as the majority of the society, are represented as speakers who have got their own professional opinion about or for ethnic minorities in Korean society. The majority of those interviewed wore formal suits and ties, and looked comfortable and settled. For the ultimate result, techniques of medium-shots and standard-angles were applied to the scenes of their interviews [Fig. 3].

Moreover, one of the big differences in visual grammars lies in the gaze at the camera. Most Korean interviewees directly faced the focusing point of the camera or looked at reporters who stood next to the camera, unlike migrant workers who often showed their backs or specific parts of their body. Their images often had mosaics or were just close-ups of specific parts of their bodies, excluding the scenes of their interviews at the festival. There is a fundamental difference between images from which represented participants look directly at the viewer’s eyes, and images in which this is not the case. When represented participants look at the viewer, vectors, formed by participants’ eye lines, connect the participants with the viewer. The participant’s gaze (and the gesture, if present), following Halliday[17], demands something from the viewer, demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relationship with him/her. In each case, whether the participant gazes or not, the image wants something from the viewers - wants them to come closer or stay at a distance or to form a pseudo-social bond of a particular kind with the represented participant[25].
The audience, therefore, feels a certain kind of association and identification with Korean interviewees while they were watching the interviewees’ calm and confident attitude through eye contact. In contrast, the audience stay at a distance while watching the migrant workers, who were not introduced individually and did not gaze at the camera in such an unstable background.

![Image](image1)

(Wearing Suit / Medium Shot / Standard Angle / Authority / Professional)

Fig. 3. Portrayals of Koreans in Migrants related News Reports

6. Conclusion

The key findings in this study can be summarised as follows. First of all, as the most common method of representation, dehumanisation of ethnic minorities was found in the news of non-nationals as migrant workers. Migrant workers were defined mainly as 'illegal residents', 'uneducated', 'people who must be managed by authority' and portrayed with the negative image of a mosaic and with a dark background. In terms of non-nationals as criminals, ethnic minorities were represented as potential criminals and their humanity was ignored and reduced, although the vast majority of the migrant population is not involved with any form of crime.

Dehumanisation of married migrant women is represented in a variety of ways. First of all, they are presented through a very narrow framework of feminine roles in the patriarchal Korean society, rather than as equal human beings. During this process, married migrant women are mostly represented as daughters-in-law or farmers’ wives who have to work hard, often with the caricature of being inarticulate and uneducated, due to their limited proficiency in the Korean language.

Secondly, in opposition to the negatively stereotypical and distorted representation of ethnic minorities, Koreans in news programming appear as distinctively different from ethnic minorities from a binary opposition perspective. Koreans as Us, in opposition to Them, allows for the construction of a clear and concrete argument which is logically presented. Additionally, the concise dichotomous terminologies of Us and Them are used throughout the interviews. Moreover, Koreans are naturally charged with authority and the position of representing Korean society and government, being represented as moral and proud male law enforcers, parents-in-law or husbands in a patriarchal society, and intellectual educators in a developed society. This binary opposition division of Us and Them has already been seen in White-centric Western societies.
and it is interesting that the racial ranking and stereotype towards other ethnicities among non-Caucasians has been constructed, absorbed and reproduced intact. In this process migrants in Korean society are identified as less important in terms of news value and, even if they appear in the news, their existence is excluded and framed through the stereotyped representations. Such representations not only silence minorities but also reinforce ideologies of Korean national superiority. Others are mobilised as a tool for reinforcing and reconfirming the national identity and are subject to limited and incidental roles in the process.

As revealed this study, the multicultural agenda that has been discussed in Korean society has significant limitations in its understanding of cultural difference and the challenges diversity presents to democratic societies.

Table 2. Binary Oppositions: Us and Others in the Korean Broadcasting News on Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Us</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names given</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard language</td>
<td>Poor language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>Illegal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Countryside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superiority</td>
<td>Inferiority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourgeoisie</td>
<td>Working class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority</td>
<td>Subordinated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proud</td>
<td>Shame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Educatee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

참고 문헌

[18] D. Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs and Women,

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