

Introduction

01

Purpose

1. Categorizing the recurrent topics in the public migration debate in South Korea
2. Examining the role of media in framing and depicting migrants
3. Finding potential for solidarity between local and migrant workers
4. Challenging divisive ideologies based on social identities within the working class

02

Organization

1. The role of language in capitalism in shaping societal narratives and influencing perceptions
2. Using topic modeling to categorize language data in capitalist context
3. Insights in the discourses perpetuating capitalist structures

03

Background

1. Migration to South Korea
2. Migrant Status
3. Reproductive Labor
4. Perception
5. Labor Market
6. Refugees

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1. Introduction

2. Literature Review

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- c. Media
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- b. Topic modeling
- c. Search Trends

4. Results

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- b. New Media
- c. Search Trends
- d. Public Opinion

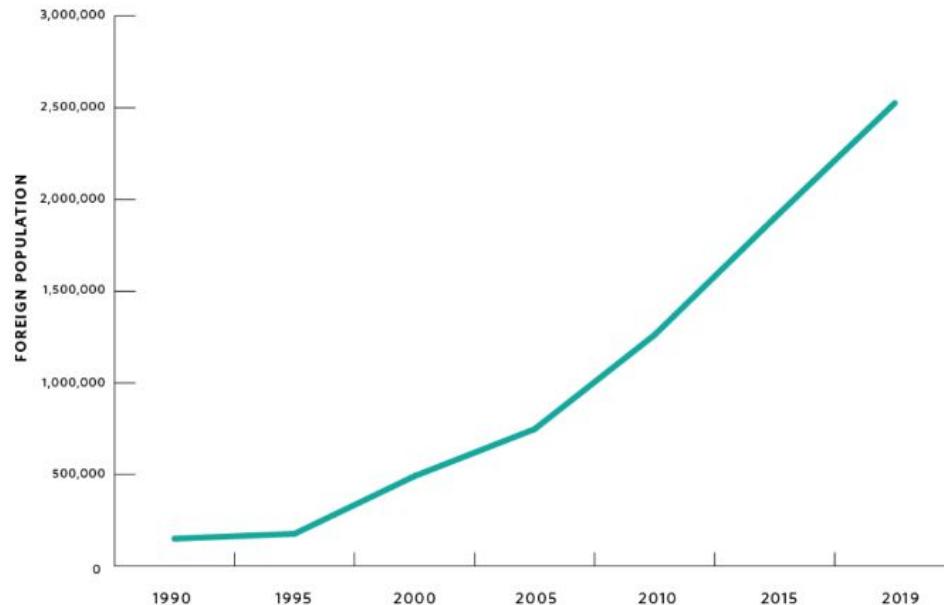
5. Discussion

6. Conclusion

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Background - Migration to South Korea

Foreign Population in South Korea



SOURCE: "Status of Foreign Residents by Nationality (Region)," Korea Immigration Service, 2005-2020, <https://www.immigration.go.kr/immigration/1570/subview.do>.

South Korean Marriages With One Foreign National



SOURCE: "Multicultural Marriages by Type," KOSIS, 1995-2019, https://kosis.kr/statisticsList/statisticsListIndex.do?menuId=M_01_01&vwcd=MT_ZTITLE&parmTabId=M_01_01&outLink=Y&parentIdx=A_1;A_3.2;#A_3.2.

.South Korea transitions from a labor-exporting to a host country for foreign workers as a solution to the labor shortage in newly developed industrial economies.

.**1993** Implementation of official and legalized labor migration with the Industrial Trainee System.

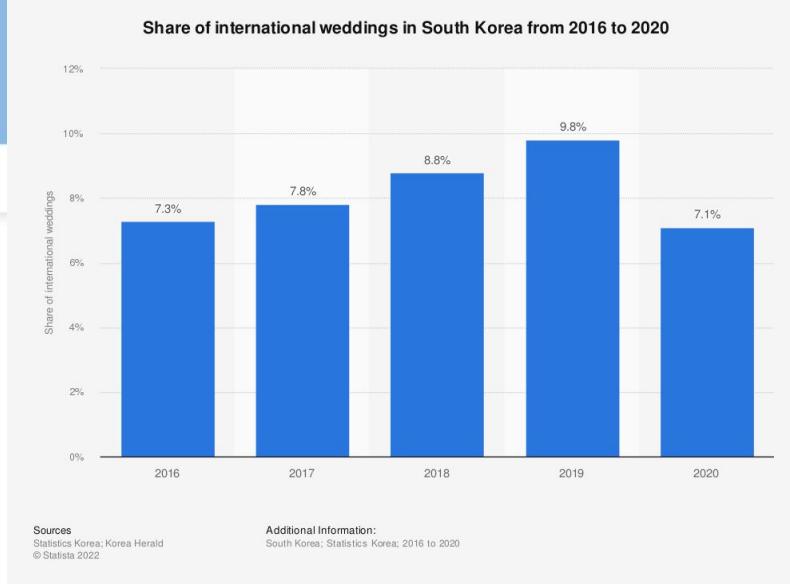
.**1999** Deregulation of the marriage industry, leads to an increase in international marriages in South Korea, and provides a reproductive immigrant labor reserve.

.**2003** The Thainee system was revised, leading to the establishment of the Employment Permit System that recognized imported labor as workers.

.Despite the revisions, the Employment Permit System maintains restrictive policies such as limitations on changing workplaces, a short maximum length of stay (4 years), and no family-unit migration allowed.

.**1992** South Korea signs the UN Refugee Convention: the Refugee Act of South Korea is enacted in **2013**, and establishes the criteria and procedures for recognizing refugees according to the UN Refugee Convention.

Background Reproductive Labor Migrant Status



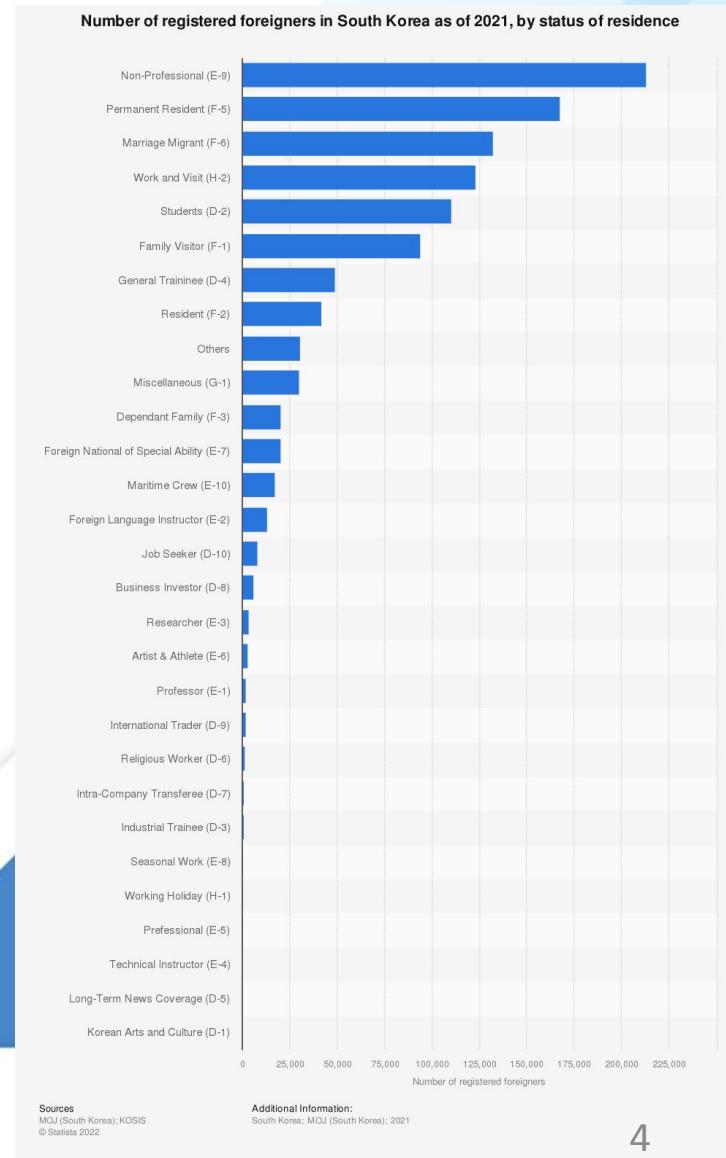
Reproductive and caregiving labor, including child-rearing, household chores, and caring for the elderly, which play a crucial role in the development of future generations of workers, could be carried out by immigrants, specifically women migrants, as unpaid labor, thereby relieving the state from the need to allocate additional resources for welfare provision.

E-9 Visa (Employment Training, most common): issued to foreign workers who come for employment in specific industries such as manufacturing, agriculture, construction, fisheries.

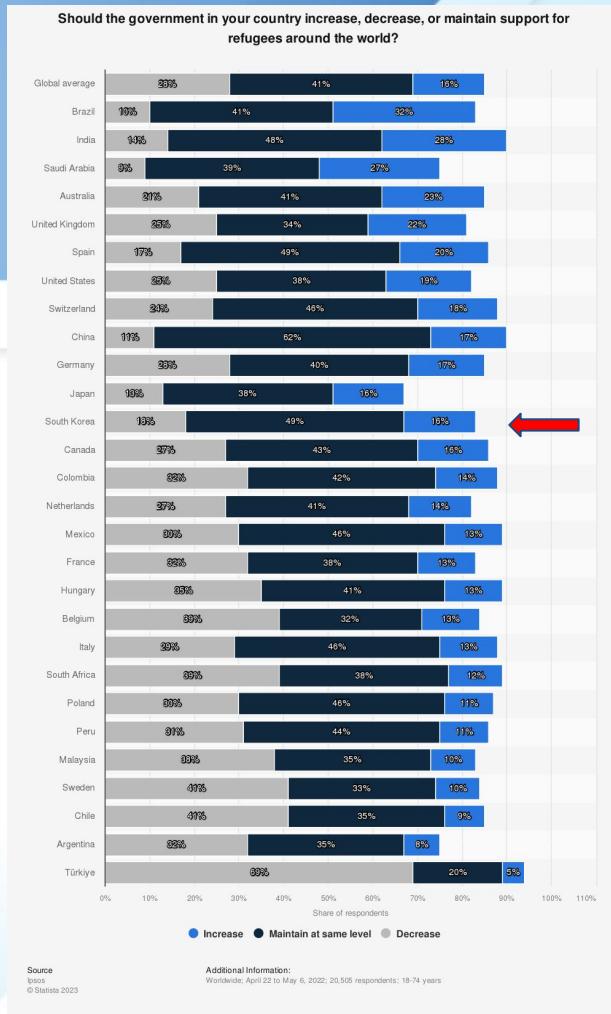
F-6 Visa (Spousal Visa, third common after the Permanent Resident Visa F-5): residence visa issued to foreign nationals married to a South Korean citizen. It is typically granted for a period of one year initially and can be renewed based on the individual's eligibility. The F-6 visa is tied to the marital relationship: thus, once the child reaches adulthood, their dependency on their parents may no longer be a factor in maintaining the visa.

H-2 Visa (Industrial Trainee/Non-Professional Employment, 4th most common): issued to foreign workers engaged in employment in non-professional fields to address labor shortages in sectors such as manufacturing, agriculture, and fisheries. To obtain an H-2 visa, foreign workers need to be sponsored by a Korean employer who has been authorized to hire foreign workers. The H-2 visa is a temporary visa and does not lead to permanent residency or citizenship in South Korea.

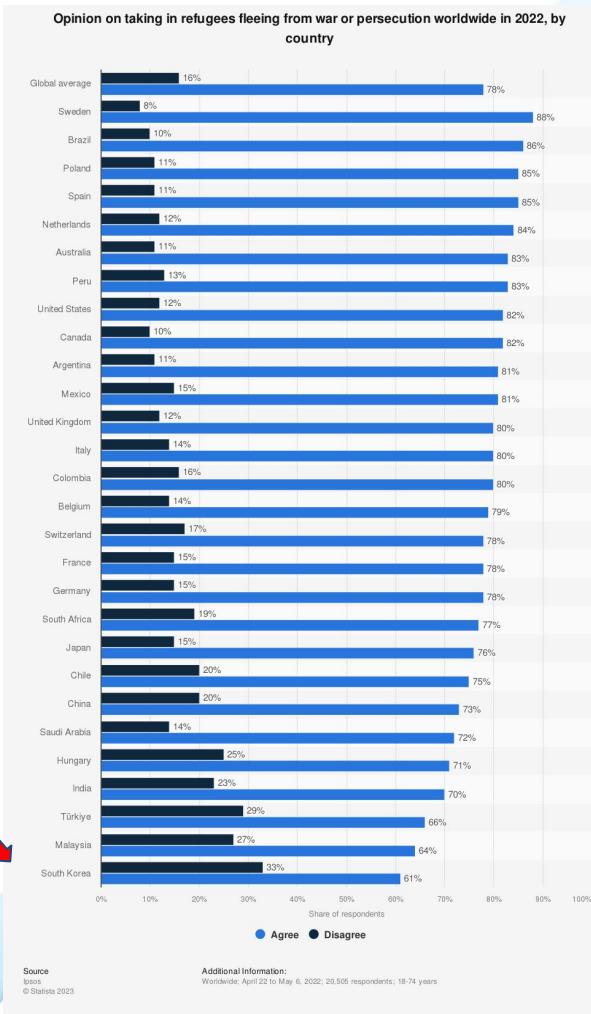
F-1 Visa (Family Reunion, 6th most common, after Work and Visit Visa H-2 and Student Visa D-2): for family reunification. It allows eligible family members to join their South Korean family members in the country. The family member can reside with their sponsoring family member, but as a temporary visa category, it does not lead to permanent residency or citizenship in South Korea.



Background - Refugees



65% want to maintain or increase support for refugees around the world (above the global average of 57%)

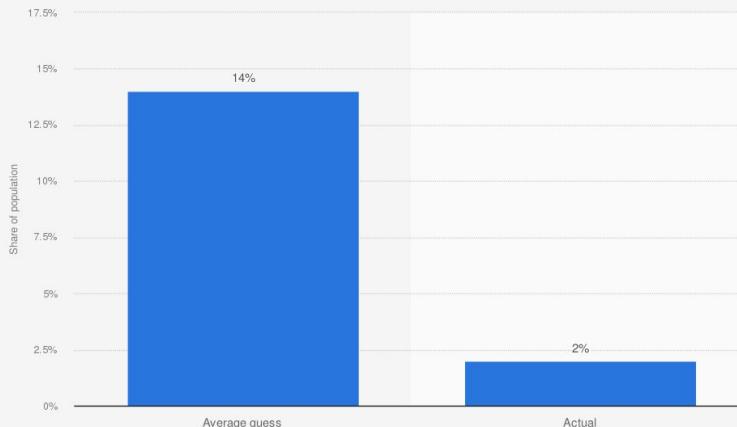


But 33% disagree with taking in refugees (twice the 16% global average)

There is a discrepancy between people's attitudes towards refugees **outside** of their country, where they may show **compassion**, and their reluctance to accept refugees **within** their own country. One reason is the perception of refugees as a potential burden on local resources, such as housing, healthcare, and employment opportunities. Concerns about cultural differences, national security, and the fear of economic competition can also influence public opinion. Political rhetoric and media portrayal of refugees can shape this public sentiment by creating a negative narrative. However, individual attitudes can vary significantly, with people advocating for the acceptance and integration of refugees within their countries.

Background - Perception

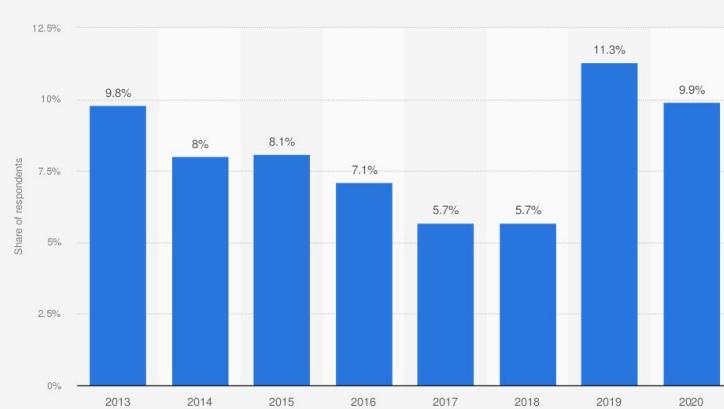
Perceived and actual percentage of immigrants in South Korea as of 2018



Source
Ipsos
© Statista 2022

Additional Information:
South Korea; September 28 to October 16, 2018; approximately 500 respondents; 16-64 years; nationally representative sample

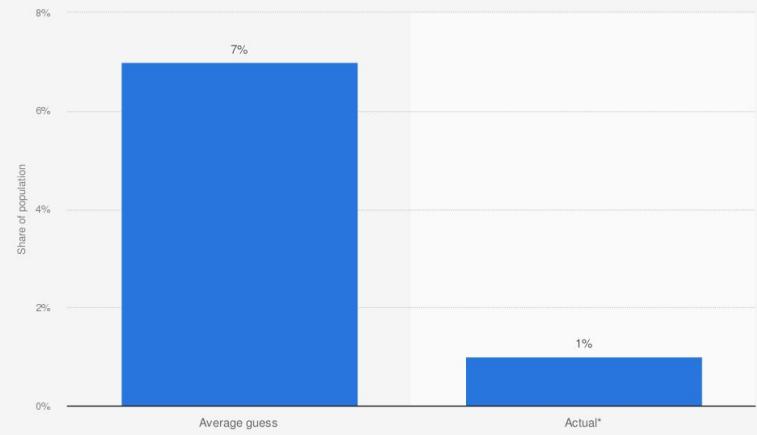
Reluctance to accept foreign workers and immigrants in South Korea from 2013 to 2020



Sources
KPA; Gallup Korea
© Statista 2021

Additional Information:
South Korea; Gallup Korea; 2013 to 2020; 8,336 respondents*; 19 years and older; Questionnaire and personal interview

Perceived and actual percentage of Muslim population South Korea as of 2018



Source
Ipsos
© Statista 2022

Additional Information:
South Korea; September 28 to October 16, 2018; approximately 500 respondents; 16-64 years; nationally representative sample

Despite their active contribution to the economy as workers, immigrants often face negative perceptions, which can result in discrimination. Negative perceptions of immigrants, despite their economic contributions, can stem from the tendency to scapegoat immigrants for societal issues. Islamophobia in particular, contribute to the stigmatization and marginalization of Muslim immigrants.

Literature Review

Placing language in its socio-political context: an overview of the Marxist analysis of the government's exploitation of migrants



01

Global Capitalism and Borders

The concept of the immigrant labor reserve

02

Class based exploitation, Identity based oppressions

The limitations of identity politics

03

Mass Media, New Media, and Public Opinion

The role of media in the reproduction of class relations

01

Global Capitalism and Borders

The concept of the immigrant labor reserve

In Marxist analysis, the concept of the migrant labor force reserve refers to the migrant **workers who are willing to accept lower wages** and more precarious working conditions than the local workforce. This reserve is created and perpetuated by the workings of **global capitalism**, as industries seek out this vulnerable labor force to **maximize their profits**. By utilizing migrants, capitalists can **drive down wages** and working conditions for **both migrant and local workers**, establishing a **competitive environment** that exploits the labor force and reinforces the unequal power dynamic between capital and labor.

02

Class based exploitation, Identity based oppressions

The limitations of identity politics

Marxist theory emphasizes how **capitalism generates different forms of oppression**, including racism, ableism, homophobia, transphobia and sexism, with the bourgeoisie using these divisions to maintain **control over the working class**, in a “divide to rule” strategy. A **class-based perspective** can address the challenges faced by marginalized populations and **challenge the capitalist system**. The dangers of **identity politics** pushing workers into **confrontational positions** can discourage organized resistance against capitalist exploitation. Rather than social identity based theories, the importance of a broader **class consciousness** can challenge the divisions created by the capitalist system.

Mass Media, New Media, and Public Opinion

The role of media in the reproduction of class relations

From a Marxist perspective, **mass media** is controlled by the **ruling class**, and is used to reinforce its ideology. Curran argues that media owners with **political ties** and shared ideologies tend to promote supportive views of conservative ministers. The mass media coverage can influence public opinion to tolerate oppressive **government policies** and **scapegoat** marginalized groups. Ralph Milliband suggests that the media creates partisan views and the audience **passively** accepts these views without critically analyzing them.

However, the emergence of **new media** with the internet has also increased the **diversity of media sources**, giving the audience more **choice and power** in selecting their preferred sources of information, challenging the notion of a passive audience. There is a potential for new media to challenge dominant narratives and provide alternative viewpoints.

However, **postmodernists** argue that society now faces **media saturation**. This can make difficult choosing a media source, and lead to the formation of **echo chambers** where people are exposed only to content that reaffirms their existing beliefs.

The role of **social media** as a platform allowing users to express themselves and share information outside of the mainstream perspective offers potential for activism, organizing social movements, and promoting **political opposition**. However, the concentration of ownership in social media platforms by the world's richest individuals raises questions about the **freedom of choice** in new media. Social media is still embedded within the capitalist framework.

In the context of South Korea, the three major conservative newspapers, **Chosun Ilbo, Joongang Ilbo, and Donga Ilbo**, dominate the country's hard news and support the capitalist ideology of the ruling class. Smaller newspapers with varying political inclinations are also available as alternatives, but their **circulation** is lower.

According to the Marxist perspective, while new media platforms provide space for **alternative narratives**, they are ultimately shaped by the same **capitalist dynamics** of accumulation and exploitation. Therefore, from a Marxist perspective, both mass media and new media are responsible for the **reproduction of class relations** and serve as instruments of ideological domination and shaping of the public opinion.

Through the **discourse analysis** of distinct corpora representing the mass media, the new media, and the public opinion, the marxist perspective on the roles of mass media and new media on the reproduction of class relations in capitalism is **quantitatively studied**.

Purpose Statement

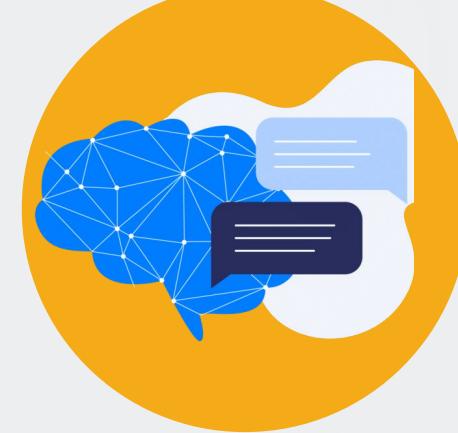
Through the discourse analysis of distinct corpora representing the mass media, the new media, and the public opinion, the Marxist perspective on the roles of media in the reproduction of class relations in the capitalist system is quantitatively studied.

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Hypothesis

False Consciousness

Mass media plays a role in shaping public opinion and reinforcing a false consciousness regarding migration. It frames migrants as burdens on the economy, criminals, or cultural threats. This false consciousness prevents the public from recognizing the global economic inequality and imperialism at the root of migration.



Divisive Narrative

The media perpetuates a divisive narrative that portrays migrants as a threat to the native population in order to divert attention from the capitalist exploitation and redirect public anger towards vulnerable migrant communities. This narrative fueling xenophobia reinforces divisions among the working class to prevent union and collective action against the capitalist system.

Control of the Media

The concentration of media ownership limits the diversity of voices and perspectives on migration, which allows the ruling class to shape the dominant narrative and control the discourse surrounding migration. Both mass media and new media are responsible for the reproduction of class relations and serve as instruments of ideological domination and shaping of the public opinion.

Challenging Mainstream Narratives

Overcoming the passiveness of the public by challenging the dominant narrative is possible through promoting media plurality and alternative viewpoints. Shared class, shared social identities, shared experiences as migrants can be starting points to promote solidarity among different groups of the working class and confront the root causes of exploitation and inequality in the capitalist system.

Method - Data Collection

Mass Media

Sample = News articles from
Mass Media (Chosun Ilbo,
Joongang Ilbo, and Donga Ilbo)

N = 16,127
Time Window = 1969-2023
(predominantly 2021-2023)

Harvested with Selenium and
Webchromedriver

New Media

Sample = Descriptions of
articles from New Media
(Naver News)

N = 10,000

Time Window = 2007-2023
(predominantly 2002-2023)

Harvested with Official
Naver API

Public Opinion

Sample = Tweets

N = 3,120,297

Time Window = 2009-2022

2022 Corpus = 316,970 Tweets

Harvested with Snscape

Corpus Mass Media

Corpus by Media outlet

Queries = 난민, 이민자, 이주민, 결혼이민자, 불법체류자,
이주여성, 외국인, 외국인노동자, 미등록이주민, 이주노동자)

Source	Chosun Ilbo	Joongang Ilbo	Donga Ilbo
Articles scraped	5,325	6,722	4,080
Total	16,127		

Corpus by Time Period

Queries = 난민, 이민자, 이주민, 결혼이민자, 불법체류자, 이주여성, 외국인, 외국인노동자,
미등록이주민, 이주노동자)

Time Period	2023	2022	2021	2018-2020	2017-2015	2014-2009	2001-2008	1969-2000
Articles scraped	4,000	3,000	1,000	~900 per year	~500 per year	~300 per year	100 to 200 per year	1 to 60 per year

Limitation

Scraping is focused on the 2023 period: the topics are representative of this short time window.

Corpus New Media

Most recent 1000 descriptions of articles shared on the Naver News platform

Query	PubDate	1000 most recent titles among total articles	Total scraped = 10,000
난민	07 Apr 2023 - 27 Dec 2022	271,709	1000
이민자	07 Apr 2023 - 30 Oct 2022	230,077	1000
이주민	07 Apr 2023 - 30 Oct 2022	124,980	1000
결혼이민자	07 Apr 2023 - 15 Feb 2022	75,848	1000
불법체류자	07 Apr 2023 - 07 Apr 2022	61,396	1000
이주여성	07 Apr 2023 - 16 May 2022	116,779	1000
외국인	07 Apr 2023 - 21 Mar 2023	4,670,435	1000
외국인노동자	07 Apr 2023 - 03 Nov 2022	137,645	1000
미등록이주민	07 Apr 2023 - 24 Oct 2007	3,238	1000
이주노동자	07 Apr 2023 - 19 Apr 2022	66,288	1000

Limitation
All queries result in 1000 scraped articles. Regardless of their frequency, each term obtains an equal weight in the discourse. This is not an accurate representation of the debate. Rarer terms (here, irregular migrants) will be overrepresented.

Corpus Public Opinion

Scraped Tweets, n = 3,120,297

Dataset Period	Number of scraped tweets
2009-12-01 to 2010-12-31	114,134
2011-01-01 to 2011-12-31	200,723
2012-01-01 to 2012-12-31	288,758
2013-01-01 to 2013-12-31	231,090
2014-01-01 to 2014-12-31	200,294
2015-01-01 to 2015-12-31	200,596
2016-01-01 to 2016-12-31	235,687
2017-01-01 to 2017-12-31	233,680
2018-01-01 to 2018-12-31	280,913
2019-01-01 to 2019-12-31	247,085
2020-01-01 to 2020-12-31	291,644
2021-01-01 to 2021-12-31	264,517
2022-01-01 to 2022-11-10	316,970
Total before manually removing 101,434 duplicates	3,221,731

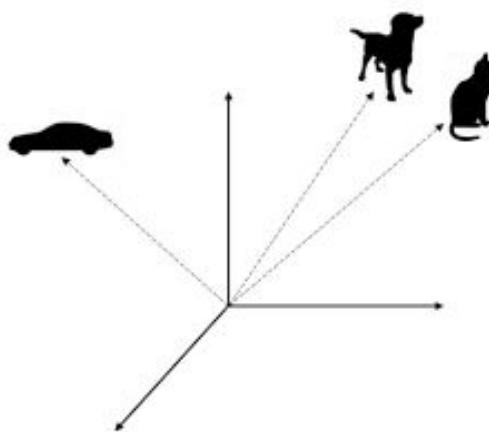
Data Cleaning

```
df=pd.read_csv('tweets2022.csv', parse_dates=['Date'], lineterminator='\n')
df=df.dropna()
timestamps = df['Date'].tolist()
#make a function to clean text from unwanted characters
file = open('stopwords.txt', 'r')
words = file.read()
file.close()
stopwords = list(words.split())
def remove_stopwords(text):
    text = [word for word in text.lower().split() if word not in stopwords]
    text = ' '.join(text[0:])
    return text
def clean_text(text):
    #Remove hyper links
    text = re.sub(r'https?:\/\/\S+', ' ', text)
    #Remove @mentions
    text = re.sub(r'@[A-Za-z0-9]+', ' ', text) #(if the below works, we can erase this)
    # Remove user @ references and '#' from tweet
    text = re.sub(r'@\w+|\#|d+', ' ', text)
    # Remove noise
    text = re.sub(r'[-_,\'+RT][a-z][\ud83c\udc00-\ud83c\udcbb][\ud83c\udc00-\ud83c\udcbb]\|\*\|\(|\)|\.\.\.+|[...]\|\.\.\.+', ' ', text)
    # Remove extra brakets
    text=text.strip()
    # Remove urls
    text = re.sub(r"http\S+|www\S+|https\S+", ' ', text, flags=re.MULTILINE)
    # Remove Stop words
    text=remove_stopwords(text)
    return text
# Apply the clean_text function to the 'Tweet' column
df['Tweets']=df['Raw_Tweet'].apply(clean_text)
df.head()
```

MeCab (2000) is a widely used tokenizer and morphological analyzer in the Korean language. It performs text segmentation and split Korean sentences into individual words, considering linguistic features and grammar.

```
class CustomTokenizer:
    def __init__(self, tagger):
        self.tagger = tagger
    def __call__(self, sent):
        sent = sent[:1000000]
        word_tokens = self.tagger.nouns(sent) #word_tokens = self.tagger.morphs(sent)
        result = [word for word in word_tokens if len(word) > 1]
        return result
custom_tokenizer = CustomTokenizer(Mecab())
```

Topic Modeling



Topic modeling is a technique used in natural language processing to uncover topics within a collection of documents. It aims to automatically identify and extract meaningful topics, providing insights into the main ideas in the text. One popular topic modeling approach is the BERTopic model.

The **BERTopic model** is unique compared to other models due to its utilization of BERT (**Bidirectional Encoder Representations from Transformers**), a language model developed by Google. BERT is **pre-trained** on a large amount of text data, enabling it to understand **contextual relationships**. We used a pre-trained BERTopic model that was **fine-tuned** with our cleaned Korean corpus

Instead of relying solely on traditional topic modeling algorithms like **Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA)**, the BERTopic model uses an **embedding-based clustering approach**. Traditional models like Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) treat documents as **bags of words**, losing contextual information. BERTopic however, starts by transforming documents into **numerical representations** using BERT's **contextual embeddings**. Then, it applies a **clustering algorithm**, to group similar documents together based on their embeddings. We further applied a **class-based TF-IDF** procedure to identify class-specific terms. It assigns importance scores to words in a document based on their **frequency in the document** and **rarity across documents of the same class**.

This clustering process allows the BERTopic model to generate coherent topics, as it captures **semantic similarities** and **preserves contextual information**.

Variations of BERTopic, such as dynamic and seeded models are used. **Dynamic modeling** incorporated the publishing dates of tweets for a **time-based analysis**, while **seeded modeling** guided the model using a **list of seed topics**, in order to frame the analysis within a sociopolitical context.

-> custom tokenizer class that allows us to define our own tokenizer, here `Mecab()`, for Korean text

-> CountVectorizer is responsible for converting text data into numerical vectors. Here, it sets the maximum number of features to 3000: only the top 3000 most frequent words will be considered as features for vectorization

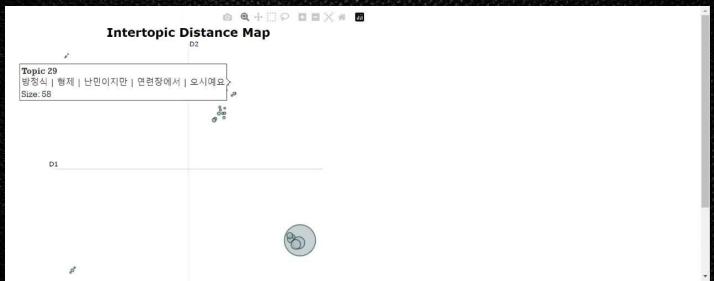
> UMAP (Uniform Manifold Approximation and Projection) model is a data dimensionality reduction technique, here configured with 15 nearest neighbors, 5 output dimensions, and a minimum distance of 0.0

`> embedding_model` parameter specifies the pre-trained language model used for generating contextual embeddings , here "sentence-transformers/xlm-r-100langs-bert-base-nli-stsb-mean-tokens" model is used, as it is a multilingual model which includes Korean.

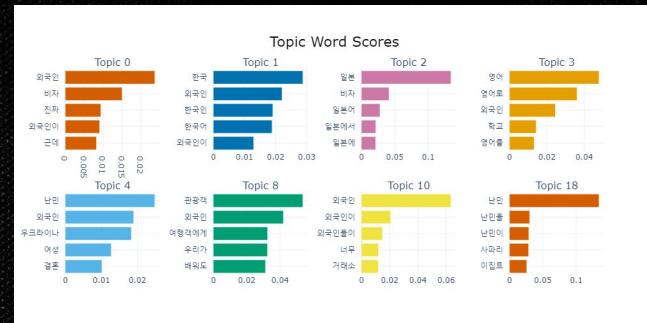
->The list incorporates a class struggle perspective, highlighting the exploitation of the working class through negative media coverage of foreign workers. The list is fed to the model to guide it towards these topics, and ensure a theoretically contextualized text analysis. This list only pushes the model in this direction, it does not create those topics if they are not there.

Topic Visualization

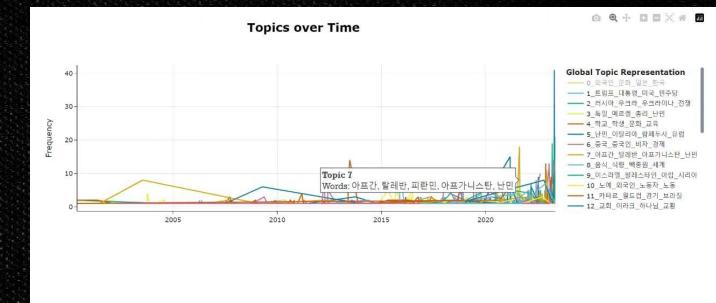
```
topic_model.visualize_topics()
```



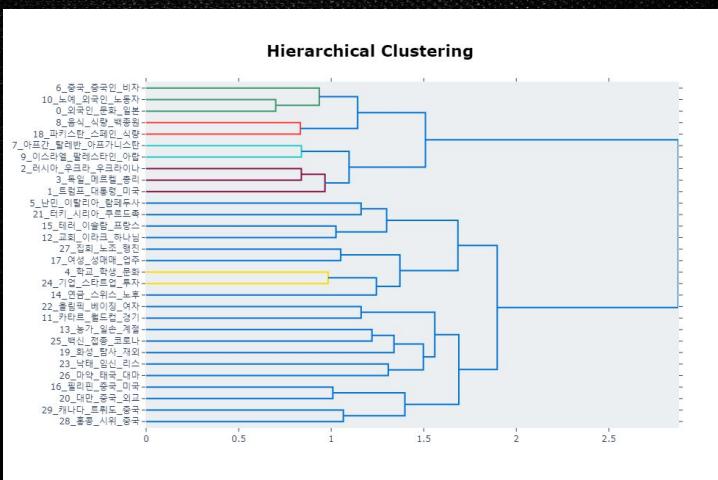
```
topic_model.visualize_barchart()
```



```
topics_over_time = model.topics_over_time(tweets, timestamps)
```



```
hierarchical_topics = topic_model.hierarchical_topics(docs)
```



To explore the potential hierarchical structure of the topics from the matrix created, we can perform hierarchical clustering.

The similarity between two c-TF-IDF topics is determined by their distance, where a smaller distance indicates a higher level of similarity. In BERTopic, the merging of topics is achieved through the common linkage method "ward" (Ward J H., 1963), or "Ward's minimum variance method". The formula calculates the increase in variance that would occur if two clusters were combined and compares it to the increase in variance for other potential merges. It selects the pair of clusters with the smallest increase in variance as the most similar. The ward function is provided by SciPy's `scipy.cluster.hierarchy` module .

Once merged in this hierarchy, the topic representations change. It is possible to see the new topic representation at this new, broader merge topic, to understand the effect of merging topics together. For example, on the left, merging topic 3 and 1 (american government and german government) might make sense, but merging topics 23 (abortion) and 26 (drugs), would not.

Here, the topics were kept to 30. Some topics were overlapping: merging toppings according to this hierarchy would allow us to choose an appropriate number of topics for reduction.

Results

01

**Mass Media
Topics**

02

**New Media
Topics**

03

Trends

04

**Public Opinion
Topics**

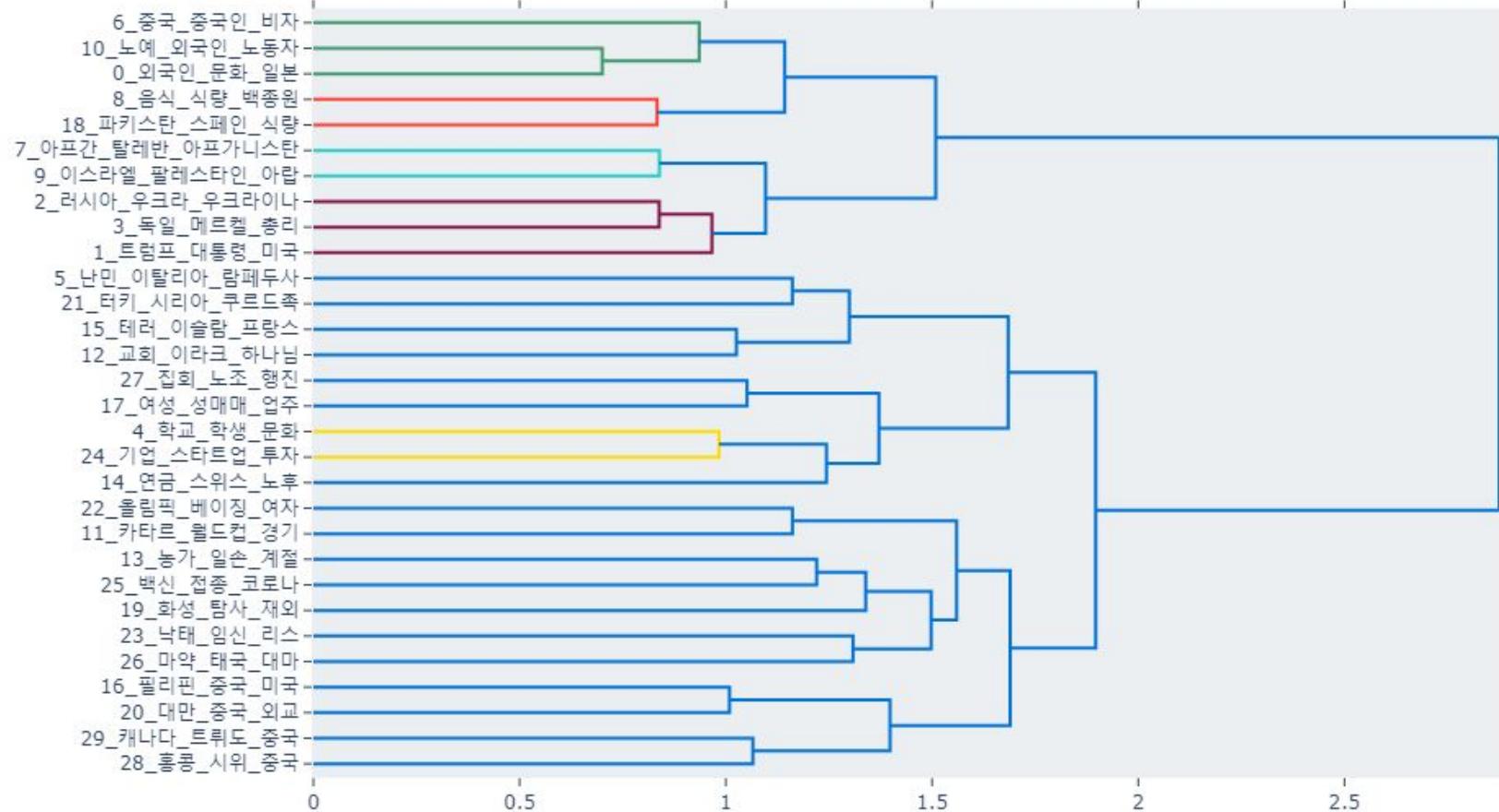
Results Mass Media

Chosun Ilbo, Joongang Ilbo and Donga Ilbo

Media framing - Chosun Ilbo, Joongang Ilbo, and Donga Ilbo:

- Theme 1: Focus on American migration and Western conservative views.
- Theme 2: Coverage of the war in Ukraine, emphasizing military attacks.
- Theme 3: Coverage of refugees migrating across the Mediterranean as illegal.
- Theme 4: Portrayal of foreign culture and values as backwards to justify military interventions and repressive migration policies.
- Other themes: Focus on terrorism, criminalization of foreign workers, violence against women as depoliticized victims

Hierarchical Clustering



Results Mass Media

Chosun Ilbo, Joongang Ilbo and Donga Ilbo



A first theme (n = 355 articles) shows a focus on American migration, especially on Western conservative views on migration.
Keywords: Trump, President, America, Democratic Party, Republican Candidate, House of Representatives, Presidential Election, Biden, Senate, Congressman, Immigration, Mexico, Illegal, Secretary, Obama, Government, Border, Administration.

The second topic (n = 341 articles) focuses on the war in Ukraine, but significantly highlights military attacks, with the following keywords: Russia, Ukraine, War, Refugees, Putin, Invasion, Poland, Finland, Nato, President, Attack, Border, USA, Missile, Sea, Greece, illegal USSR.

The second topic focusing on refugees (topic 5, n = 196 articles) presents a different narrative. Here, refugees from Africa migrating across the Mediterranean are associated with “illegal”.
Keywords: Refugees, Italy, Lampedusa, Europe, Mediterranean, , Tunisia, Africa, Boat, Sink, Ship, Sea, Greece, illegal

Another topic (topic 7, n = 138 articles), is an illustration of the government portraying foreign culture and values as backwards. Keywords: Afghanistan, Taliban, Afghanistan, refugees, Pakistan, Kabul, Islam, humanitarianism, women. The heavy coverage of women's persecution by the government in Iran is a heavily used trope by the media to promote islamophobia and hate on migrants.

Other topics promotes islamophobia. With topic 9 (n = 119). Keywords (Israel Palestine Arab Syria USA Taliban Russia Terrorism Afghanistan Islam Country Sudan Poland Jewish President Assad Attack Civil War Middle East Hamas), and the topic 15 (n = 44 articles).
Keywords: Terrorism Islam France Force Paris Muslim People World Al Qaeda Middle East Bomb Syria Western War Country Kurds Incident Saudi religion self

Topic 13 (n = 70 articles) also shows a criminalization of foreign workers.
Keywords: Farmhouse, Labor, Seasons, Farming, Workers, Foreigners, farm, Vietnam, rural, cultivation, cabbage, illegal stay.

The focus on violence against women, with topic 17 (n = 37 articles).
Keywords: Women Prostitution Business owners Violence Police Victims sexual assault husband male person assault report murder business establishment stay crime incident damage thought France

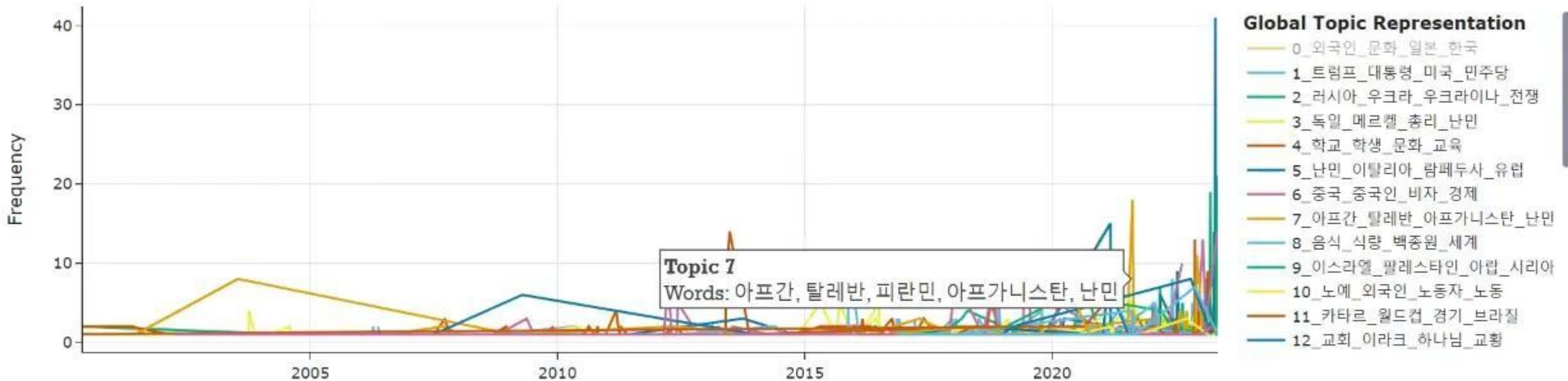
A prejudiced association with drugs is also found in top 26 (m = 13 articles).
Keywords: Drugs, Thailand, Cannabis, Possession, Firearms, Suspicion, Crime, Production, Myanmar, Distribution, Southeast Asia, Criminal.

Results Mass Media

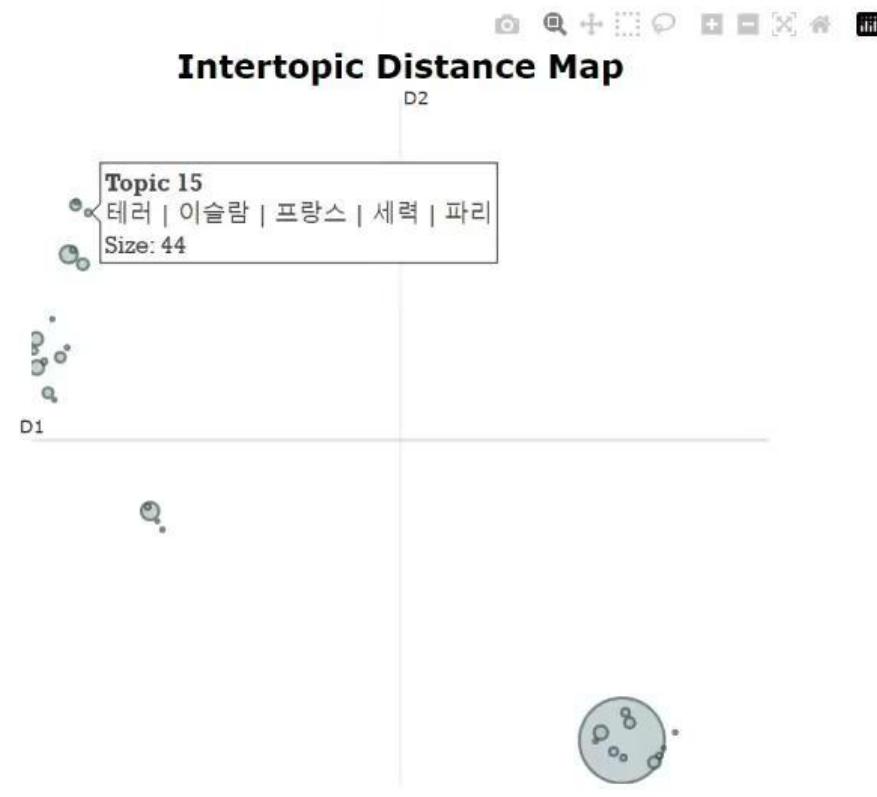
Media framing - Chosun Ilbo, Joongang Ilbo and Donga Ilbo



Topics over Time



Results Mass Media



- .On the **left**, migrant topics are highly related to **refugees, and politics**. Subtopics are **dispersed**. Each subgroups of migrants (defined here by their refugees status or nationality) are separated, isolated from each other and from the overall group of migrants described on the right.
- .On the **right**, migrant topics are **clustered** together: they are **overlapping**, and contains similar semantic content.
- .Theory 1: the topic on the right mentions migrants in **South Korea**, rather than **offshore** migrants on the left side topics.
- .Theory 2: The **topic granularity** here is very fine (too specific). We are trying to divide a concept of "Migrant" into subgroups, so overlapping topics are to be expected.
- .Theory 3: The distance between the group "Migrant in Korea" on the right, and "Migrant abroad" on the left show how it is specifically **refugees and the muslim community**, who are politicized to stir controversy. The **government viewpoint** is put forward ("Merkel, "Trump") , and the conservatives Western migration **policies** are thus justified and propagated.

Intertopic Distance Map

Chosun Ilbo, Joongang Ilbo and Donga Ilbo

Topic 15
테러 | 이슬람 | 프랑스 | 세력 | 파리
Size: 44 

Topic 9
이스라엘 | 팔레스타인 | 아랍 | 시리아 | 미국
Size: 119 

Topic 3
독일 | 메르켈 | 총리 | 난민 | 동독
Size: 226 

Topic 7
아프간 | 탈레반 | 아프가니스탄 | 난민 | 파키스탄
Size: 138 

Topic 27
집회 | 노조 | 행진 | 현장 | 경찰
Size: 13 

Topic 5
난민 | 이탈리아 | 람페두사 | 유럽 | 지중해
Size: 196 

Topic 2
러시아 | 우크라 | 우크라이나 | 전쟁 | 난민
Size: 341

Topic 1
트럼프 | 대통령 | 미국 | 민주당 | 공화
Size: 355 



Same words, different meaning

Topic 4
학교 | 학생 | 문화 | 교육 | 대학
Size: 215

Topic 26
마약 | 태국 | 대마 | 대마초 | 합법화
Size: 13

Topic 24
기업 | 스타트업 | 투자 | 게임 | 서비스
Size: 16



Topic 17
여성 | 성매매 | 업주 | 폭력 | 경찰
Size: 37 

Results New Media

Media framing - New Media - Naver News:

Strong association between migrants and illegal status. The criminalization of migrants through the keyword "illegal" shows a strong association of specific subgroups of migrants with illegal status. In topic 4 (n = 482 descriptions of articles), "Syria" is associated with illegal, in topic 5 (n = 511), violent police intervention is justified with the following keywords: "illegal alien", "suspected", "illegal", "violation", "foreigner", "stay", "police", "nationality", "male". Specifically, male migrants are covered as illegal.

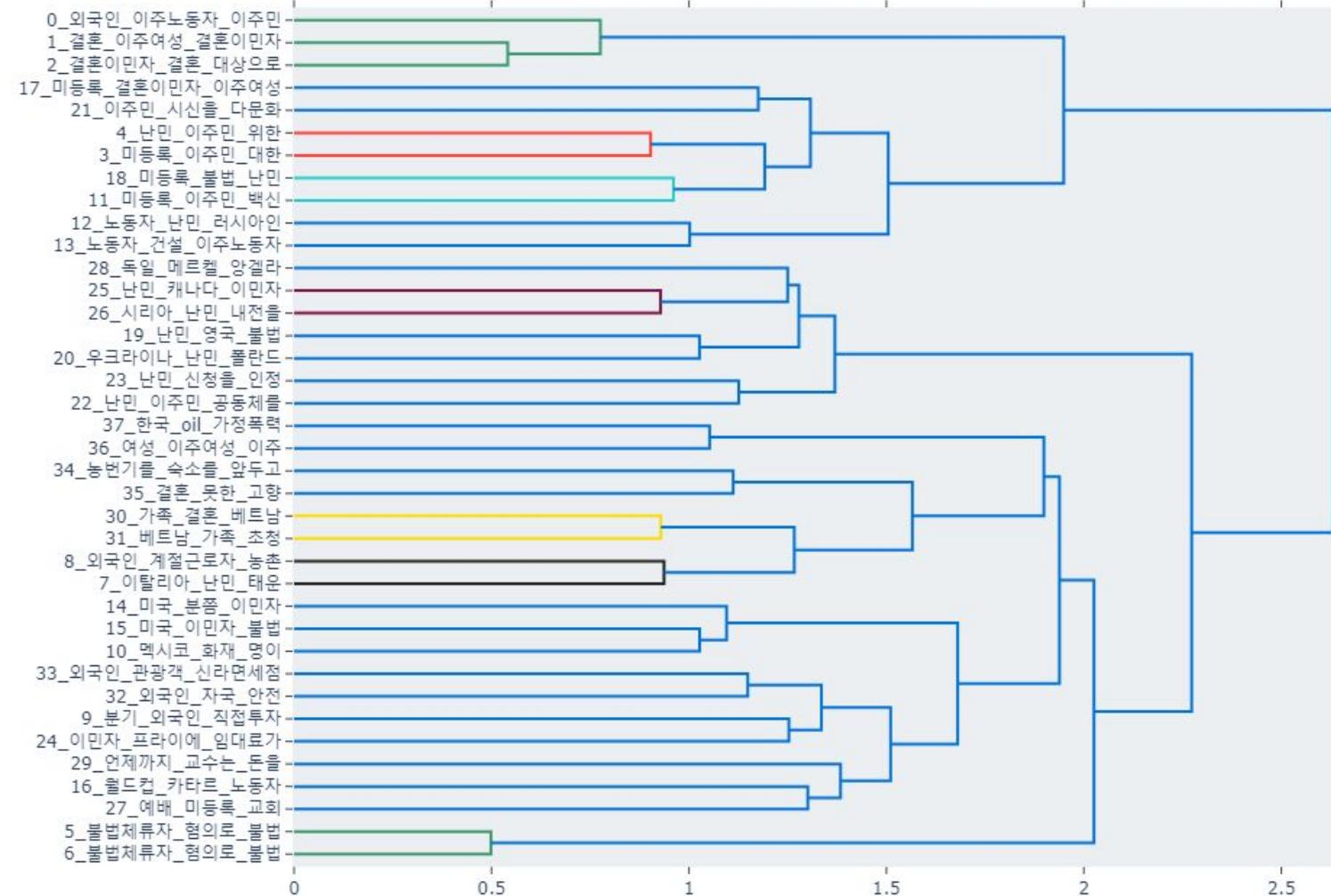
Differentiation between male migrants (covered as illegal) and women migrants (covered as irregular and victims). In contrast, women migrants are associated with "irregular", in topic 2 (n = 1207), with the following keywords: Marriage immigrants Marriage Target Korean migrant women immigrants immigrants revealed unregistered . This shows how both the criminalization frame and victimization frame restricts the rights to citizenship for both groups of migrants.

Racial prejudice through the criminalization frame. Topic 6 (n = 340) shows a strong racial prejudice through the criminalization frame, associating "illegal aliens" with "suspected illegal", "Chinese", "police", "stolen", "drugs", "violation".

Association with health insurance usage. In topic 11 (n = 173), the association with health insurance usage is visible with keywords such as: Unregistered Immigrants Vaccine Corona Refugee Health Insurance Inoculation Hospital Examination Medical.

Less salient topics focusing on social justice and human rights, including the situation of refugees, exploitative work conditions, and repressive refugee application process.

Hierarchical Clustering



Results New Media

Less salient topics however, do offer a coverage focusing on social justice and human rights.



Topic 12 (n = 442) shows a high coverage of the situation of refugees waiting at the Incheon airport (keywords = Workers Refugees Russians Examination Foreigners Victims Receive Incheon Airport Immigration Russia Examination).



Topic 13 (n = 196) shows a coverage of migrant workers in exploitative work conditions (keywords = Workers Construction Migrant Workers Unpaid Wages Foreigners Foreigners Foreigners survivors Construction Workers Act dead working).



Topic 21 (n = 242) also mentions the fatal consequences of the exploitation of migrant workers (keywords = Emigrants Deaths Multicultural Abandoned Fear Deathed Would it be discovered True Hired On a pig farm).



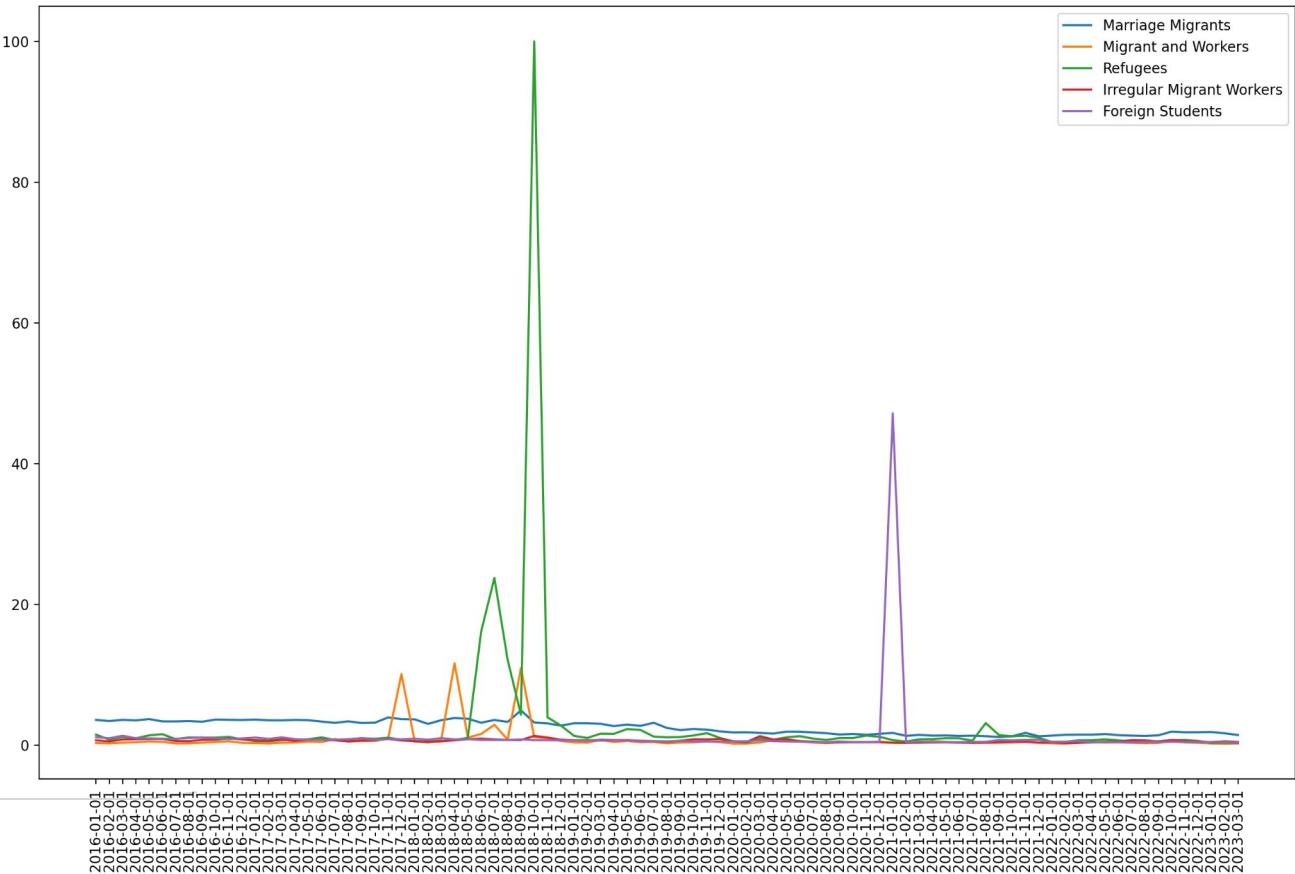
Topic 23 (n = 122) focusing on the repressive refugee application process (keywords = Refugees Application Recognition Resentment Holding Though Old couple Not recognized Should leave the country To the government),



Topic 22 (n = 127) even shows compassion and union, not pity, with the refugees undergoing this administrative process (keywords = Refugees Application Recognition Resentment Holding Though Old couple Not recognized Should leave the country To the government).

Trends

Results Search Trends



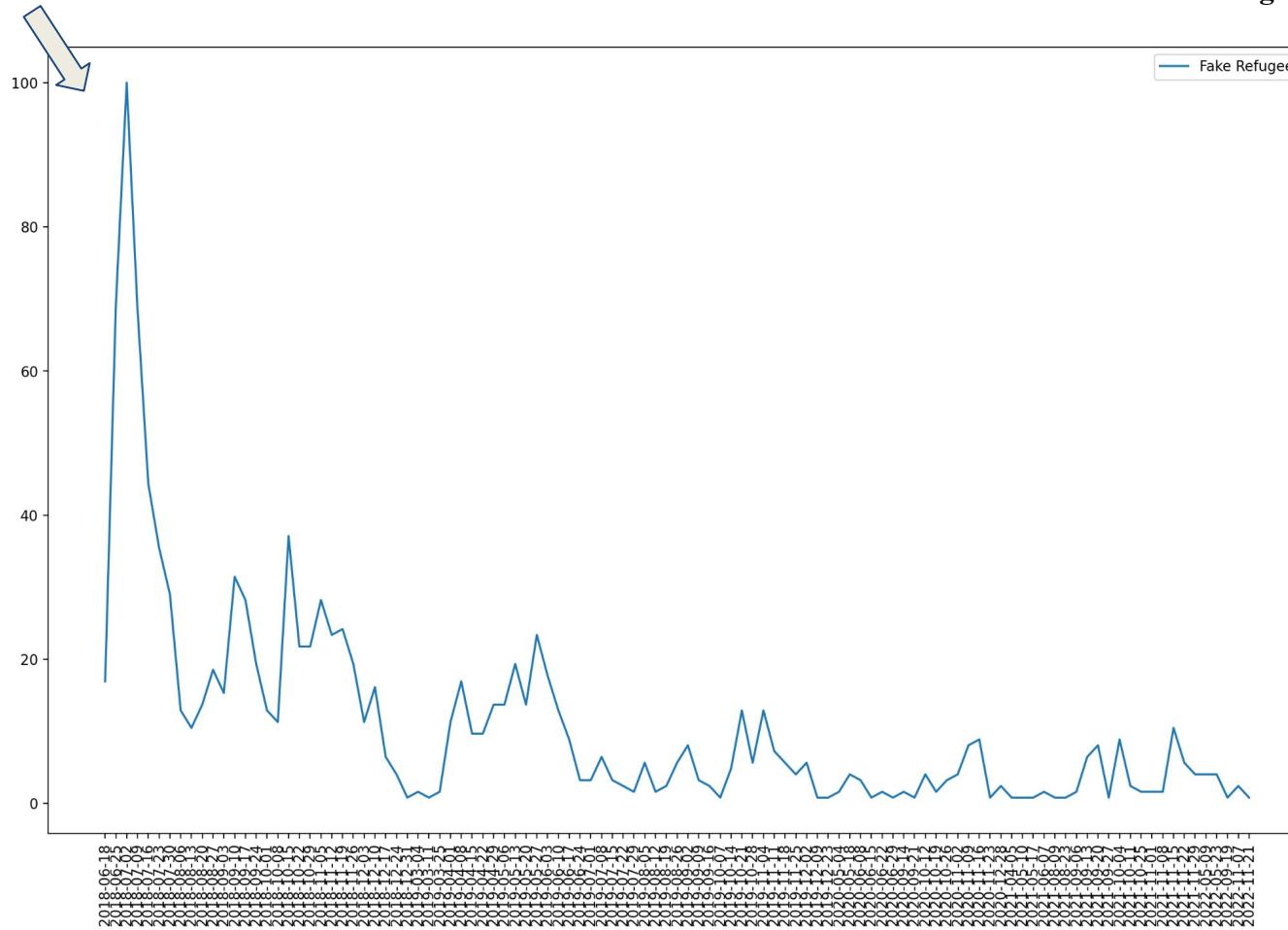
Naver searches for “Marriage migrants”, “Migrants and workers”, “Refugees”, “Irregular Migrants”, and “Foreign Students” of users (2016/01/01 to 2023/03/01)

Interest in migrant related issues is versatile and momentary. Migrant related opinions, values, are not fixed in time. A peak in relative interest in refugees in 2018 , which was heavily covered in the media. The public opinion of refugees worsened to the point of the organization of protests to oppose the acceptance of the asylum seekers. The peaks in salience shows a strong impact of the salience of media coverage to the formation of public opinion.

To complement the topic modeling analysis, we also explored the **salience** of search trends on Naver. We used **Naver's search trends** feature to study the frequency of migrant-related queries over time, examining the **correlation** between events and spikes in national interest in migrant-related topics. This helps understand how immigration topics are highlighted or downplayed in mass media to shift public focus from government policies.

Results Search Trends

Appearance of a new term, “fake refugee”, in June 2018.



.In **2014**, the ongoing Yemeni civil war started.

Yemen was part of the list of countries who does not need a visa to enter Jejudo.

.Between **2016 and 2018**, around 552 Yemeni refugees arrived on Jeju Island in South Korea .

.In **June 2018**, South Korea excluded Yemen from the list of visa waiver countries. Immigration also restricted Yemeni refugees from migrating to other regions of South Korea.

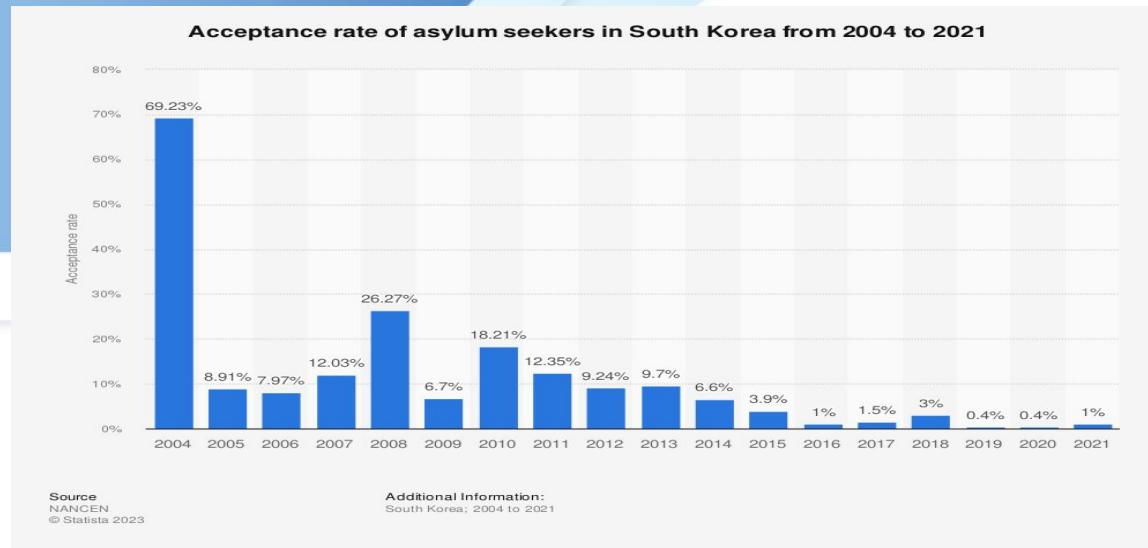
.In **July 2018**, protests opposing the acceptance of Yemeni refugees took place. Refugees were denounced as “fake”, migrating to compete in the job market rather than to escape the civil war. A new divisive concept of refugee, migrating with either “humanitarian” reasons, or “economic” reasons, is created.

.In **2019**, refugee recognition rate drops under 1%.



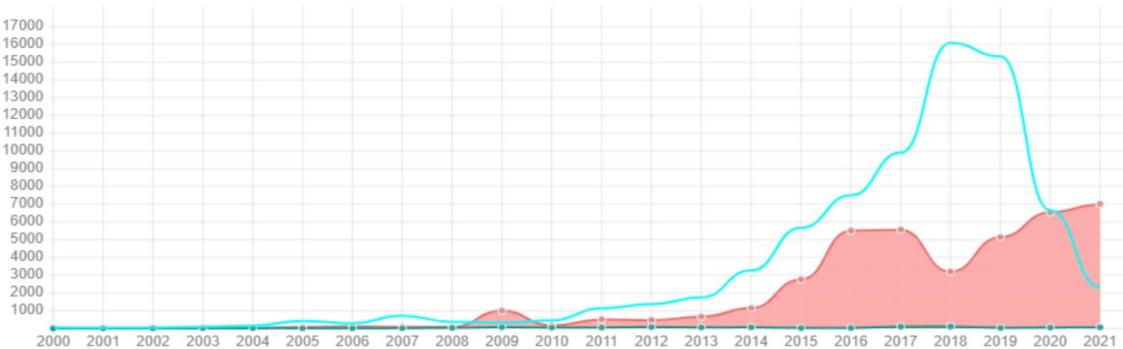
Image source: South Korea’s “Yemeni Refugee Problem”, April 23, 2019, Jeeyun Kwon, MEI@75

Refugees - Acceptance rate



Incoming asylum applications in South Korea 2000 to 2021

The top line represents the total number of asylum applications (first applications + reviews). Below are the number of recognized refugees (green) and rejected applications (red).



Source: Worddata.info

.2009 Refugee Applications: 324 Status Recognition: 74 (then 70, as 4 people had their status recognition canceled in 2011) Family Reunification: 15

.2010 Refugee Applications: 423 Status Recognition: 47 (2 had status canceled in 2016) Family Reunification: 10

.2011 Refugee Applications: 1 011 Status Recognition: 42 Family Reunification: 13

.2012 Refugee Applications: 1 143 Status Recognition: 60 Family Reunification: 20

.2013 Refugee Applications: 1 574 Status Recognition: 57 Family Reunification: 33

.2014 Refugee Applications: 2 896 Status Recognition: 94 Family Reunification: 20

.2015 Refugee Applications: 5 711 Status Recognition: 105 Family Reunification: 43

.2016 Refugee Applications: 7 541 Status Recognition: 98 Family Reunification: 34

.2017 Refugee Applications: 9 942 Status Recognition: 121 Family Reunification: 35

.2018 Refugee Applications: 16 173 Status Recognition: 144 Family Reunification: 60

.2019 Refugee Applications: 15 452 Status Recognition: 79 Family Reunification: (not disclosed) by 2019: 64,358 applicants, 1,015 recognized total (source: NANCEN)

Results Public opinion - Tweets from 2022

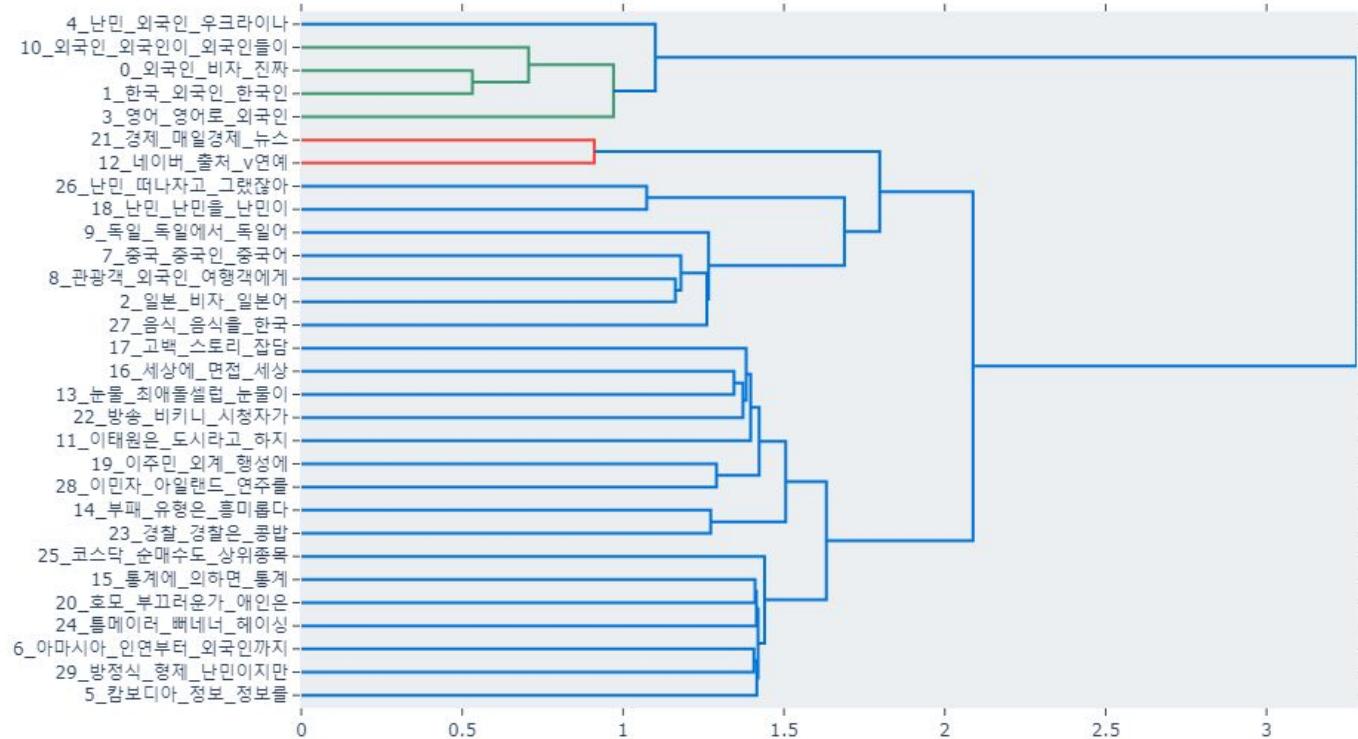
Topic 1: Focuses on locals' experiences as immigrants, visa troubles, and integration in Japan. The first remarkable topic (n = 7641 tweets) in the public debate on migration focuses on South Korean locals migrating to Japan (keywords = Japan Visa Japanese In Japan To Japan Japan is Tourist Visa Japanese Travel Immigration). Locals are describing their own experiences as immigrants, troubles with visa processing, administration, integration in the country. This reveals a common experience as migrants between locals and immigrants. This is a primordial source of understanding.

Topic 2: Desire for communication with foreigners as friends and classmates. Indicates a positive attitude towards building friendships and communication with foreigners. The second topic (n= 8069) shows a desire for communication with foreigners, as friends and class friends, not competitive workers (keywords = English In English Foreigner School Speak English I Today Foreigner Class Friend) .

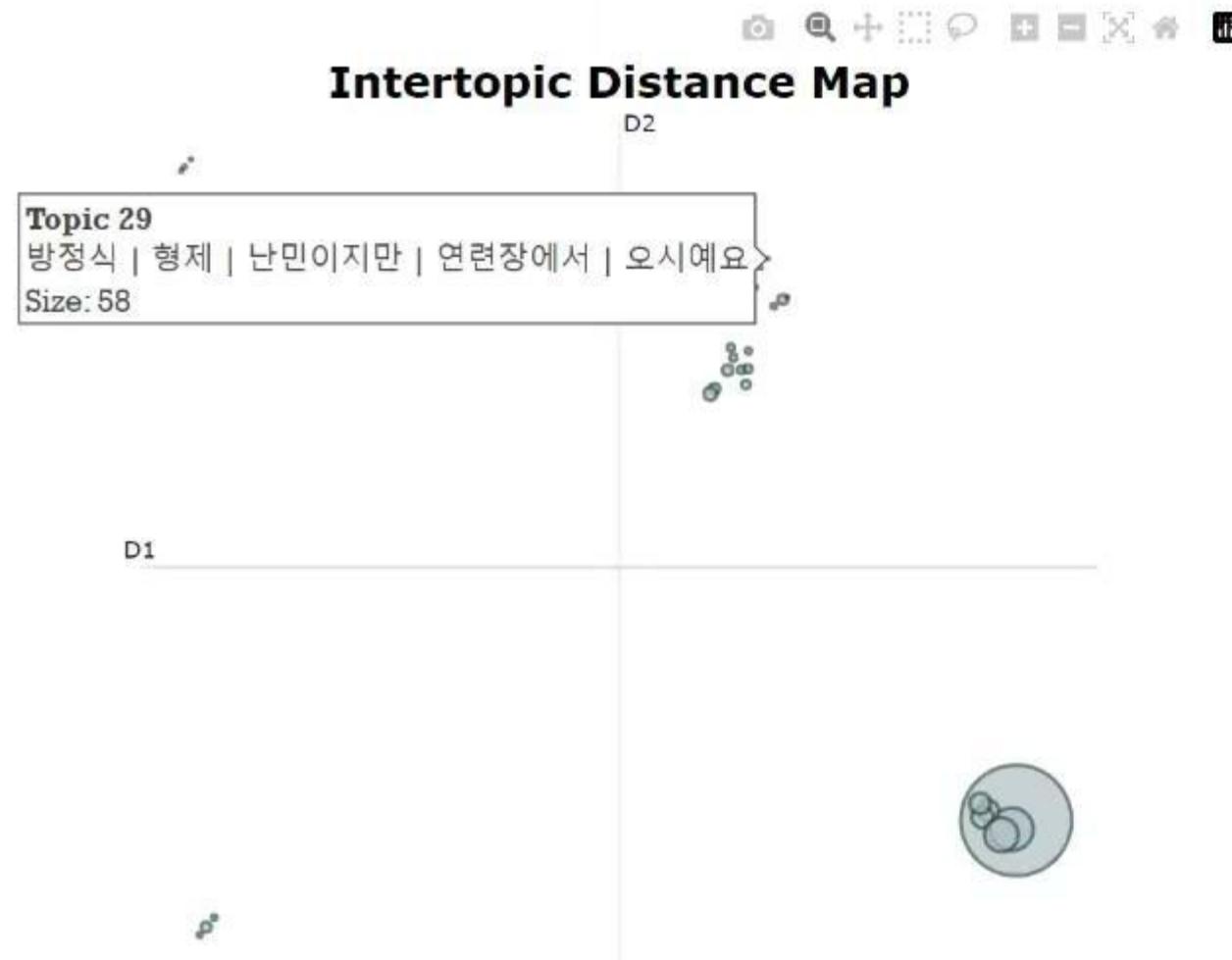
Topic 3: Compassion for migrants in vulnerable situations. Highlights empathy and concern for migrants facing challenges, particularly refugees. The third topic (n = 7622), shows compassion with migrants in vulnerable situations (keywords = Refugees Foreigners Ukraine Women Marriage Immigrants Ukraine For refugees) .

Topic 26: Victimization and charity towards refugees and children . Portrays a focus on children, emphasizing charity and individual responsibility to donate to NGOs rather than political activism. However, the topic 26 (n = 615), with victimization keywords (keywords = Refugees Syria Ukraine United Nations Children UNICEF), presenting a focus on children, shows how this compassion is not turned into political activism, but distracted towards pity, charity, and an individual responsibility to donate to NGOs.

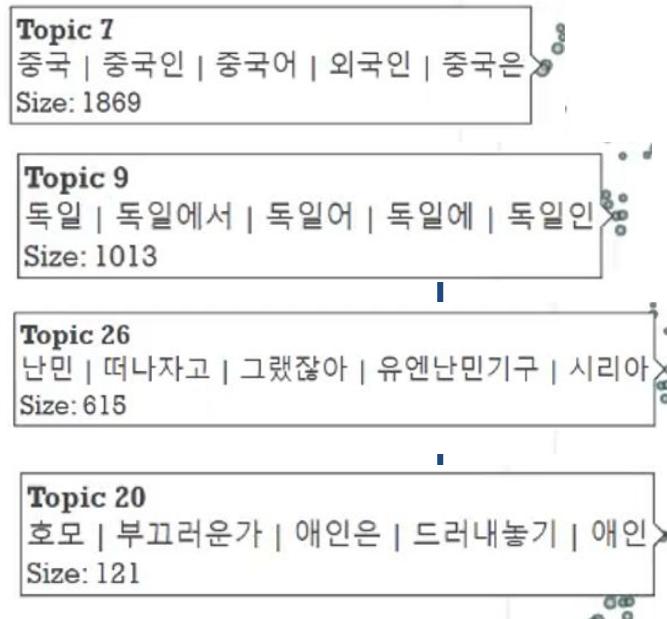
Hierarchical Clustering



Results Public opinion - Tweets from 2022

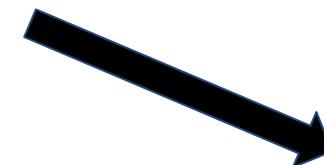


Results Public opinion - Tweets from 2022



Intertopic Distance Map

D2



(left) separated topics based on nationality and sexual orientation: discrimination (here racism and homophobia) created by capitalists to separate workers based on social identities worked. Sentiment analysis would provide information on the presence of hate in this topic, but the important point is the divide, the separation based on identities.

Topic 1

한국 | 외국인 | 한국인 | 한국어 | 외국인이
Size: 31813



(right) Big cluster with overlapping topics: Twitter users talk about their shared experiences (with visa, and as learners of english, korean, japanese) : source of union through shared experiences in the same country.

.topic 4 (compassion for refugees, women) may be here due to positive sentiment. Sentiment analysis would bring more information for analysis.

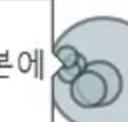
Topic 4

난민 | 외국인 | 우크라이나 | 여성 | 결혼
Size: 7622



Topic 2

일본 | 비자 | 일본어 | 일본에서 | 일본에
Size: 7641



Topic 3

영어 | 영어로 | 외국인 | 학교 | 영어를
Size: 8069



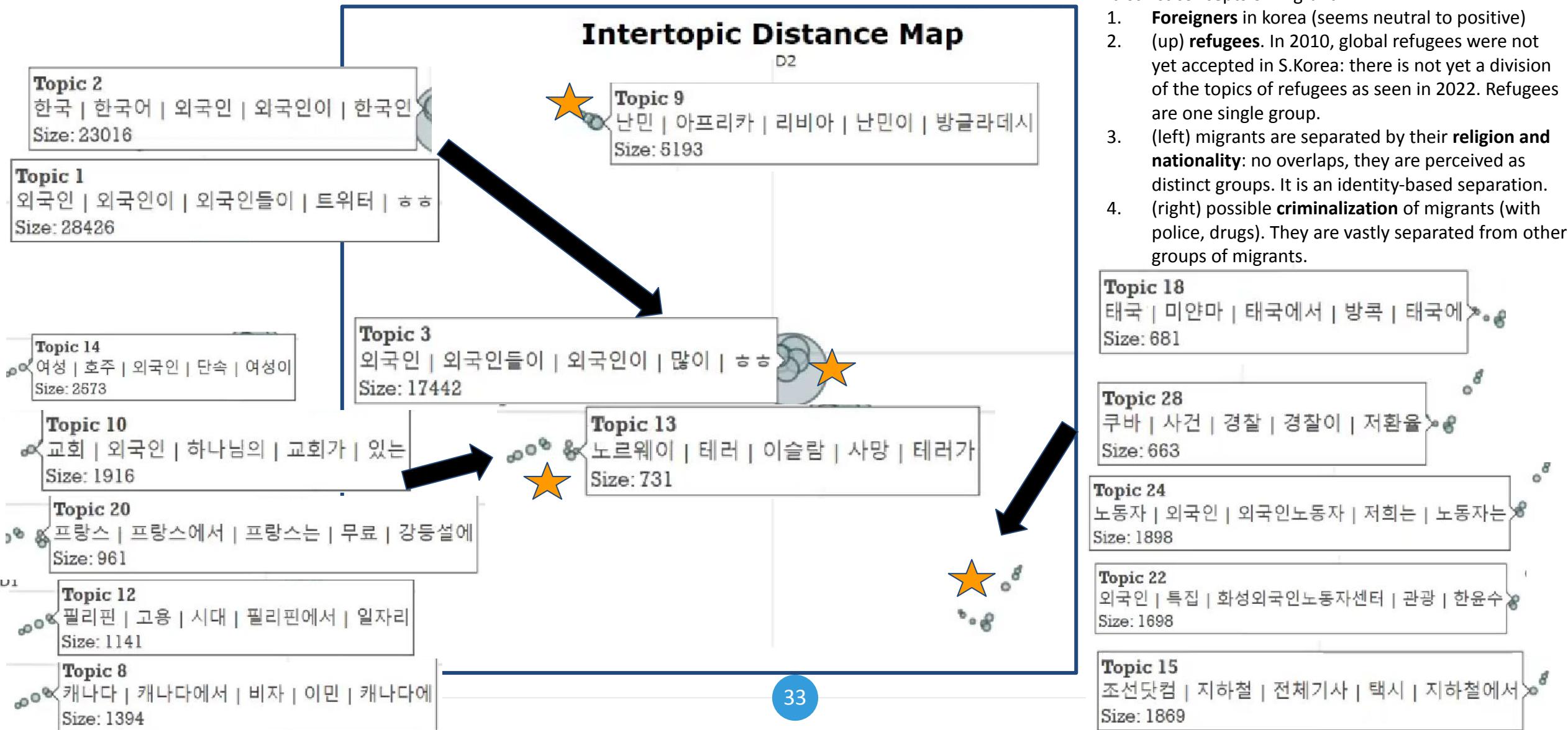
Topic 10

외국인 | 외국인이 | 외국인들이 | 너무 | 거래소
Size: 20030

Results Public opinion - Tweets from 2010



Results Public opinion - Tweets from 2010



Discussion

01

Criminalization

By framing migrants as criminals or threats to social order, the media perpetuates a narrative that justifies oppressive immigration policies and reinforces divisions within the working class. This criminalization not only stigmatizes and dehumanizes migrants but also serves to distract from the structural inequalities. This violence serves to instill fear and maintain social control. The targeted detention of migrants, the criminalization and apprehension of foreign individuals reinforce divisions within the working class along lines of nationality, perpetuating a system of exploitation that benefits capitalists.

02

Victims and Charity

With the charitable framework, media framing women migrants only as victims, reduces them to passive, non politic, recipients of aid. Migrant women's victimization in the media is a strategy employed to undermine the significance of their reproductive labor. Instead, their experiences are reduced to instances of personnel, individual suffering, diverting attention from the systemic factors that contribute to their exploitation. Similarly, the mass media's appeal for charity and individual donations to aid refugees abroad, while neglecting to address the issue of visa recognition, is an approach aiming to individualize and depoliticize the refugee crisis, shifting the responsibility from the structural causes to individual acts of compassion. By emphasizing charity and donations, the media perpetuates the illusion that addressing the refugee crisis is solely a matter of personal benevolence, rather than acknowledging the systemic economic and political factors that create displacement.

03

Division and Union

The mass media's strategy of categorizing migrants into separate groups, dividing them into simplistic and stereotypical roles such as women as victims, or men as violent criminals, is a deliberate tactic that perpetuates a distorted narrative. By focusing on certain subgroups of migrants, the media obscures the systemic causes of migration, such as economic exploitation, political instability, and imperialist policies. This selective portrayal creates a false dichotomy of "good" versus "bad" migrants, perpetuating divisions among the working class. It is necessary to challenge these categorizations.

Conclusion

01

Pejorative Framing by Mass Media:
The mass media is found to play an active role in framing migrant-related issues in a pejorative manner. Immigrants and refugees are portrayed as threats to the economy, illegals, criminals, victims, or burdens in need of charity. This framing creates a division of subgroups of migrants, oscillating between criminalized and victimized categories.

02

Hierarchical Division Based on Social Identities: The arbitrary division of migrants into subgroups is based on their social identities, which are linked to their work status and citizenship definition. Different categories include regular migrant workers, reproductive laborers (with a focus on marriage migrants), irregular migrant workers, and asylum seekers. This division shifts responsibility for integration and well-being from exploitative migration policies to the immigrants themselves.

03

Union Potential and Shared Experiences: The study finds that the public does not passively accept the divisive portrayal of foreigners by the mass media. There is potential for union and shared experiences with immigrants. While opportunities for union exist, the low levels of class consciousness in the public discourse on Twitter limit the emergence of a social movement for social justice. Calls for empathy with immigrants are often distracted by charity and identity politics, hindering the development of a unified movement against the alienating framing by mass media.

Known Problems and Limitations

Problems

News Data reliability and representativeness : The scraping of migrant related News articles was less effective due to "news bombing", when a high volume of identical articles within a short span of time are published. Identical articles were scraped dozens times, saturating the dataset, then duplicates were erased from the final corpus. Because the data collection was based on selected queries, this means that some queries subject to news bombing (violent news generating more clicks, "illegal" for example) were scraped and eliminated, resulting in a smaller dataset. Rarer queries (irregular migrants, migrant workers), not subject to news bombing, were scraped only once: the scraper could harvest more unique articles and result in a bigger dataset. This means that some queries were over represented in the dataset.

-> Combine multiple data sources

Limitations

Measurement of Public Sentiment: The space between semantic definitions of migrants showed clear distinctions. Adding a Sentiment analysis would provide useful information, but is not yet possible with BERTopic.

Interpretability of topics: the analysis of the topics is aligned with literature, but the obtention of topics is only slightly guided by a seeded list of topics. LDA's seed topic list provides more control over the generation of topics than BERTopic's.

-> Combine with qualitative approaches

Future Research, Acknowledgements and Questions

01

Analysis over time

The experiment provided topics over time, but the analysis was focused on the space between topics. The time information is not exploited here. Further time analysis of these same results could provide additional points of discussion.

02

New Media - Positive Coverage

Predominant topics in New Media were found to be similar to Mass Media. However, rarer topics indicated alternative, non mainstream coverage. This coverage could be further investigated to show strategy of a positive campaign.

03

Tweet - Public Opinion

Tweets were treated as indicator of public opinion, rather than New Media. They contain both. To only include Tweets from individual users (excluding public personalities, politicians, news channels), scraping could be performed with the official Tweeter API and its user information.

04

Government Policies

The role of media in the shifting of public opinion was studied. This opinion is to accept government policies that align with the interests of the ruling class. Government policies would be the next crucial phase of this study.

05

Space between Topics

The space between topics was interpreted as the creation of distinct concepts of immigrants by the media. This space is found by a model with very limited control (a seed topic list). Experimenting with different vector space models would confirm/refute this hypothesis of divisive framing.

06

Creation of new concepts

The creation of the term “Fake Refugees” in 2018 was found through repeated search trends experiences. Training a model to specifically look for the emergence of new concepts could provide additional insights into the linguistic roots of oppositional concepts, such as the binaries of gender, disability, race, etc.