CHANGING PATTERNS OF CULTURAL IMPERIALISM,
FROM SIMPLE TO DIVERSE: A KOREAN CASE

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Like all other academic works, this is not exclusively my own work. Rather, it is a collective product of cooperative efforts.

I am deeply grateful to my parents who have financed and encouraged me for more than thirty years since I started my education. I am sure that they are happier than myself for this moment.

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INTRODUCTION

During the last three decades, we have witnessed a large quantity of research and literature on cultural imperialism or cultural transfer between countries. The main concern has centred on how foreign culture from core countries in particular penetrates the Third World and the effects it has on local people. In spite of growing concern about the process of cultural transfer and its effects on local people, the studies of cultural imperialism still remain an abstract and fragmented domain.

Marxist cultural imperialism theorists such as Herbert Schiller, Cees Hamelink and Armand Mattelart have been praised for their contribution to an elucidation of the nature of imperialistic forces, by looking at cultural control and domination in terms of the economic and ideological dimensions. On the other hand, they were criticized for being too simplistic and deterministic. They tend to be obsessed with the underlying mechanisms of exploitation and domination by imperialistic powers on the global level. Accordingly, their analysis has been heavily centred on the political economy of the industrial societies and omnipotent power of transnational corporations.

While their great contribution to the elucidation of the underlying rules of cultural dominance has been appreciated, we have to accept the crude fact that their analysis is inadequate for explaining the complex process of cultural imperialism. This is not to say that the political economy of the imperialistic societies become less important as an object and tool of enquiry. Rather, it should be understood that the complex process of cultural imperialism cannot be properly explained without looking at the various forces involved. The process of cultural synchronization involves
not only the political economy of imperialistic forces and the operation of transnational media but also the political economy of incipient societies, the meaning systems of foreign and domestic programmes and more importantly the consumers themselves who are not a homogenous group.

To validate the arguments, the South Korean (the Republic of Korea) case was taken as a case study. Although South Korea does not necessarily facilitate the evaluation of the complex process of cultural imperialism in the Third World as a whole, it does at least contribute to giving the empirical evidence in the generalization of the process of cultural imperialism on so-called Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs). South Korea is an important case for detailed analysis because the country is classified as a self-reliant country in terms of television programmes (less than 15 percent of programmes are imported), with rapid economic development but dependence on the U.S.A. and Japan for capital and new technology. South Korea so far remains a relatively homogenous society, a culture with one language, one ethnic group, a largely Confucian-dominant value system despite the fact that these features are being eroded. But since the decolonization from Japan with the assistance of American soldiers, South Korean culture began to experience a dramatic transformation. What has been the major force behind this drastic change? Why has it been changed? What is the role of the mass media in this process? How do people react to this transformation? These are the basic questions I shall address throughout the thesis. By doing so, it could contribute to the understanding of the complex and diverse process of cultural imperialism. It sets out to implement the cultural imperialism thesis in particular and communication theory in general.

Specifically, it has two main purposes. Firstly, it seeks to look for a convergence of communication theory. That political economic theory has helped to elucidate the underlying mechanism of capitalism by looking at economic
principles of the media organizations does not necessarily mean that it can explain the whole complex process of cultural imperialism. Political economy has its strength in its uncovering of the dynamics of the cultural industries whose aim is to maximize profits. It presupposes, according to the theory, that the contents and meanings presented by media are primarily determined by the economic base of the organizations. In this sense, it will be useful for us to look at the constraints and underlying mechanisms under which ownership and control of the organizations are playing a considerable part. But it cannot explain how the content and meanings of the media are affected by those constraints, if it does, it only does so in a vague and abstract manner. The treatment of consumers by political economists and theorists of textual analysis is similar. They point to the omnipotent power of the text without interlinking the organizational constraints and consumer's responses. Thus, if we are to capture the concrete picture of communication theory, we have to link three levels: production (political economy), representation (meaning and text), the consumer (audience) sector which have so far operated independent of each other.

Secondly, there has been a crying need for a concretization of the theory of cultural imperialism. It aims to elucidate the complex process of cultural imperialism. In a simplistic and deterministic manner, Marxist cultural imperialists attempt to seek the main cause of cultural homogenization in the Third World only from external forces manifested in industrial imperialists. Accordingly, the incipient countries, in their analysis, are seen as passive and helpless victims. It excludes the internal dynamics of the local country where various factors such as mode of production, politics, ideology and various social classes are involved with the process of cultural imperialism. On the other hand, they are criticized for lacking concrete empirical evidence and of overlooking the consumer side. As the title suggests, the process of
cultural imperialism is not a simple and crude one, but rather it takes a complex and diverse form. For this reason, traditional political economy theory or text theory alone cannot explain the complex process of cultural imperialism. These are the basic issues that we have to explore.

Chapter one begins with the outline of the thesis. The outline is a starting point to account for the aim, methods and general prospectus of the thesis. A critical examination of development theory will follow. We then move on to various perspectives of cultural imperialism approaches from a critical point of view. It will be followed by the suggestion of alternative theoretical and analytical frameworks.

Chapter two examines the social context of mass media, communication (and cultural) policy and its implications for cultural imperialism thesis, and various spectra of cultural imperialism experienced in South Korea by looking at them both theoretically and practically.

Chapter three discusses the concept of culture, the Korean culture in a narrower sense, and the 'minjoong' culture as a form of resistance or struggle to the so-called synchronization of culture.

Chapter four reviews western soap operas in terms of historical evolution, the patterns, formulas, values and ideology inherent in them. It is done by looking at literature on western soap operas, mainly from America.

Chapter five outlines the design of the content analysis of Korean soap operas which were conducted during the spring of 1987. It seeks to identify the characteristics of Korean culture which can be distinguished from western culture. The brief history of the development of South Korean soap operas will be analysed in order to make a comparison with western culture and western soap operas.
Chapter six discusses the findings of the content analysis of Korean soap operas. It seeks to examine how Korean soap operas present and portray Korean and western cultures.

Chapter seven outlines the design of the audience study. It begins with a review of the ongoing debate about the effects of foreign culture on indigenous people in the Third World, followed by the methods and aims of the research.

Chapter eight explores the audience's dynamic responses. The notion that television merely imposes certain meanings on viewers will be questioned. Our concern is thus to observe the complex relationships between the content and its audience. It will be examined in terms of their social classes and age.

Through this process, it is hoped that the study could contribute to an unveiling of the complex and diverse process of cultural imperialism, leading to a holistic and convergent approach for a concrete communication theory.
CHAPTER 1

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM, RECONSIDERED

This chapter is an attempt to build up an alternative theoretical and analytical framework for cultural imperialism thesis specifically and communication theory in general. It begins with the criticism of development theory. Until the beginning of the 1970s, development theory had gained wide popularity among communication researchers and policy makers. The notion that media could help in facilitating national development by introducing western systems, ideas and values was challenged as irrelevant as a model for the Third World in that these factors could only achieve the goal at the cost of a breakdown of traditional values and the loss of authentic local cultures. This gives impetus for building up cultural imperialism thesis.

After critically reviewing the various approaches to cultural imperialism, we shall suggest an alternative theoretical framework. Traditional approaches to cultural imperialism tend to focus on one domain of this phenomenon. They are concerned with revealing underlying mechanisms of cultural hegemony on the global level by the dominant capitalist powers by looking at the political economy of the media organizations and the ideological dimension of the industrial societies. We would not say that the approach is unnecessary and hence less important in the analysis of cultural imperialism. However, if we are to capture the complex and sophisticated process of cultural imperialism, we have to employ a more holistic and wider approach and the appropriate tools.
1.1. The Outline of the Thesis

1.1.1. Cultural imperialism v. media imperialism

There are various terms which explain the current unbalanced relationship between countries in the sphere of culture and media. Several popular candidates have won adherents: cultural imperialism, media imperialism, cultural synchronization (Hamelink 1983), communication imperialism (Galtung 1971), television imperialism or picture-tube imperialism (Wells 1972), and electronic colonialism (McPhail 1981). Although it has differences in denotation, cultural and media imperialism have won most popularity among communication scholars.

Cultural imperialism has been used most generally and comprehensively, but the term which we currently use is confined to explaining specific cultural phenomena. At this stage, the term cultural imperialism fails to account for the complex process of cultural imperialism. Culture is the complex whole which not only includes knowledge, belief, social norms and ideology but also includes all aspects of material life. In this sense, the term cultural imperialism should embrace wider aspects of cultural activities such as education, language, professionalism, transfer of systems and structures, and material artifacts. As Peter Golding (1977:291) notes, 'cultural imperialism includes the results of international media, education and cultural system and is a more inclusive term than media imperialism.' It is however paradoxical that although it is widely used among communication scholars, its connotation is almost the same as media imperialism.

On the other hand, media imperialism is clearer and more confined than cultural imperialism, and is only restricted to the sphere of mass media. It contributes to elucidating the unbalanced flow of information by looking at the
proportion and hours of imported programmes. However, for an understanding of the complexity of cultural flow, such a term is inadequate. As the title suggests, if the process of international flow is not as simple and as crude, a more widely recognized term would be needed. The complexity of cultural flow has established an urgent need for an adequate understanding of the nature of culture and its relation not only to mass media, but also other channels. Contrary to the narrow meaning of culture which is only confined to belief, values, norms and ideology, in this sense, I shall use a wider meaning of culture which includes material artifacts. For the same reason, I prefer to use the more inclusive term of cultural imperialism to media imperialism throughout this thesis.

1.1.2. Starting Points

Various approaches to cultural imperialism assume the great power of the medium in securing western ideology or values over other societies in the Third World. The premise is that certain ideologies and value systems have been imposed on local people particularly through television. The two approaches of political economy and textual analysis have won popularity among students of cultural imperialism.

Political economy approach concerns the practices of production which shape creativity of producers and the content of text. For Murdock and Golding (1974:223), 'the balance between commodity production and creativity is a precarious one, and one which is ultimately framed and determined by the general economic context within which production takes place.' Analogous to this approach with regard to cultural imperialism thesis are the works of Herbert Schiller and Armand Mattelart. Schiller (1969), in his 'Mass Communication and American Empire', claims that television exports are an attempt to exercise world hegemony and domination by the American military-industrial complex. They inevitably focus on the activities and strategies of
transnational corporations of imperialist countries, in this case the U.S.A. At the core of the approach is the stress placed upon the economic underpinnings of the significance of market principles and economic practices of the media organizations. Political economists emphasize the role of transnationals as a vanguard for selling commodities and western ideology.

On the other side of the approach are structuralists or culturalists emphasizing the relative autonomy of the cultural sphere (e.g. Stuart Hall, Ian Connell, CCCS (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies) and Screen's position). They place stress on the ideological dimensions of media. According to them, there are limits to the capacity of economic principles to shape and determine the practices of media presentation. The approach locates a number of practices of the media in ideological dimensions. It examines the text and context of television in order to articulate how its practice secures an ideological function. With regard to cultural imperialism, the approach was applied to the way and manner that media are ideological agencies which play a crucial role in securing and maintaining imperialist hegemony and ideology on the global level. Although the notion that television is seen as a messenger for carrying western imagery and ideology has pervaded the thinking of students of cultural imperialism, it is quite striking that seldom has work been done at the empirical level in this area. An exception is Mattelart's study of 'How to Read Donald Duck' and Katz and his associates' study of Dallas.

But it should be noted that as Real (1986:463) notes, 'these two levels of discourse, one institutional and the other ideological, are perfectly complementary.' They, in

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1 A detailed account of their analysis will be discussed in Chapter 2.
this sense, should be treated as two sides of the same coin. If we indulge in only one side of the coin, we cannot see the other side of it. An equally important but neglected area by critical studies is the procedures of consumers. This importance was already recognized by political economists Peter Golding and Graham Murdock (1978:350). They read:

To say that the mass media are saturated with bourgeois ideology is simply to pose a series of questions for investigation. To begin to answer them, however, it is necessary to go on to show how this hegemony is actually reproduced through the concrete activities of the media personnel and the interpreting procedures of consumers. This requires detailed and direct analysis of the social contexts of production and reception and their relations to the central institutions and processes of class societies.

Thus here is noticeable 'the social contexts of production and reception and their relations to the central institutions and processes of class societies.' With regard to this process of communications, it requires the 'detailed' and 'concrete' analysis of the social context of production and its relationship to the text and audience. As we have seen, studies on the social context of production, to some degree, have shown its popularity and relative fruitfulness. Negligence of audience and procedures of consumers by critical researchers has been a rather serious blow to communication study as well as specifically cultural imperialism study. Recent awareness and rediscovery of audience by critical researchers (Fejes 1984; Murdock forthcoming) can be understood as such as an attempt to fill the gap which has been long overlooked. My work, I hope, could contribute to this neglected area by looking at the relationships between the text and audience with regard to cultural imperialism thesis.

The issue of whether foreign media or foreign culture as a whole affect the life or culture of local people in recipient countries has been subjected to popular discourse
among communication scholars. But as will be further discussed in Chapter 6.1., few efforts have been made in this area. Exception is the research on transnational corporations and their cultural influence in the Third World (e.g. Sinclair 1987; Mattelart 1983; Janus 1981). In this case, only the role of advertising in selling consumer commodities and changing life styles and habits of local people has been emphasized. But how western culture and ideology have been imposed on local people through specific programme or without them has been neglected. Communication researchers in this sense should look closely at the relationship between the text and its audience in the recipient countries. This is not to say that the social context of production and its relationship with text is less important. It should be a starting point for analysis, but it should not be an end itself. I must tell the reader that because of my limitations on budget and time and also of denial of access by broadcasting authorities, I was bound to limit myself to only one of the areas - text and its relationships with audience.

1.1.3. Why Korean soap operas were chosen as a research object?

Current researches on the international flow of television programmes reveal that the proportion and hours of imported programmes in the Third World, particularly in the semi-periphery countries has declined. This supports the notion that the pattern of cultural imperialism is changing from a crude and simple form to a complex and diverse process. In other words, in the television sphere, the pattern is moving forward to adopt the western formula and typology rather than direct imports of foreign programmes. But in the sphere of new communication technologies, there is ample capacity for filling the vacuum.

In contrast to other Third World countries where direct imports of foreign programmes are still prevalent, on less
than 15% of South Korean’s programmes are foreign imports (see Table 7 in Chapter 2). In this case, at least in South Korea, foreign programmes do not play an important role in disseminating foreign ideology and value systems. Rather western ideology is incorporated into locally produced programmes along with the adaptation of the pattern, formula and typology of certain western genres.

Having said that South Korean programmes incorporate certain western ideologies and value systems and western material artifacts, it is necessary to observe how local viewers in South Korea respond to these foreign ideologies and material artifacts along with Korean ideology and material artifacts. This is the reason why I have chosen local programmes from South Korea rather than American programmes as a research object. As I indicated earlier, this relationship between text and audience particularly with regard to the cultural imperialism process needs close examination in order to provide concrete evidence about the procedures of consumers.

The question of why the soap opera among other genres should be a research object still remains unexplained. Many reasons can be offered. Firstly, soap opera is the most popular genre among others in South Korea as well as America and Britain. At the time of recording of the soap opera sample, they occupied a high rank in the viewing ratings. Love and Ambition ranked first, followed by Face of the City in 8th place, Condition of Love in 15th place, and Time in 32nd place (see details in Chapter 5.2.) This is one of reasons why the soap opera has invited severe criticism as well as popularity among audience and media critics, leading to it being a popular topic of research and popular discussion about television contents.

Another factor is that soap opera is seen as more realistic and complex narrative than other genres. Soap opera studies show that audiences regard soap opera as more
realistic than any other genre (Hobson 1982; Ang 1985; Buckingham 1987). Also, the soap opera has its most distinctive narrative features. In contrast to other genres such as news, documentary, situation comedy, Westerns, the police and detective show and the variety show, soap opera takes the most complex narrative structure in which up to forty characters are running, at times appearing as important figures, other times as potential characters to emerge. By doing so, soap opera enables the capturing of the complexity of people’s life in which certain values, ideology, ideal types, social norms and material artifacts are presented as more realistic than other genres. These are the main reasons why I chose soap opera as my research object among other genres. This does not mean that other genres are less important tools for research objectives.
1.2. A Critical Examination of Development Theory

During the 1950s and 1960s, development theory gained wide popularity among the newly-emerging countries. They realized that the development or modernization of a nation would help the process of decolonisation. On the other hand, the western countries, particularly the U.S.A., attempting to incorporate the newly-emerging nations into their World Economic Order, were deeply involved in the process of modernization in the Third World. It was historic irony that the illusion of the Third World and the ambition of the western countries provided the common ground for the creation of development theory. Similarly, communication researchers echoed the same voice. Daniel Lerner (1958), Wilber Schramm (1964) and Everett M. Rogers (1962; 1969) have been chiefly responsible for conceptualizing the role of mass media in national development.

Probably the most influential theory of this approach has been proposed by Daniel Lerner (1957; 1958). At the core, the theory describes the process of modernization in terms of four variables: urbanization, literacy, mass media exposure, and participation. He insists that increasing urbanization has tended to increase media exposure; increasing media exposure has gone with wider participation (per capita income) and political participation (voting) (Lerner 1958). Lerner employs the 'traditional-transitional-modern' continuum, regarding modernization as 'the transition to a participation society.' For him, traditional society is nonparticipant and underdevelopment of the society could be solved by media exposure. Thus, in their arguments, media would help to widen the people's horizons, leading to the participation in political events.

Schramm echoed the same view. In his earlier book, 'mass media and national development', Wilbur Schramm elaborated the role of mass media in national development in developing
countries. "The mass media can contribute substantially to the amount and kinds of information available to the people of a developing country. They can widen horizons and thus help to build empathy." (1964).

Everett M. Rogers developed the theory of diffusion regarding it as an important process toward development and modernization of a society. For Rogers (1962; 1969), development is a type of social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system in order to produce higher per capita income and levels of living through modern production methods and improved social change.

It was not until the late 1960s that development theories came under criticism. Some critics challenged the basic validity of the tradition-modernity and the supposed ethnocentrism. Others attacked some of the basic assumptions of the model, especially its psychological emphasis on 'empathy' (Elliot and Golding 1974; Golding 1974).

In the first place, the initial model of modernization was based on a dichotomous conception of 'traditional' v. 'modernization'. In the orthodox theories of development, modern societies must be different from traditional ones anyway. But in reality one cannot easily distinguish one society without full understanding of it. The dichotomous concept of 'traditional' and 'modern' societies has been evolved without the substantial analysis of specific history and characteristics of locality. What the proponents of development studies have called 'traditional' or 'backward' societies were almost all the victims of what they have called 'modern' or 'advanced' societies - in other words imperialistic countries. As Bernstein (1971) states, "it is significant that a first step in the operationalisation of concepts in anthropological fieldwork is the clearing away of stereotypes of traditional society imposed by ethnocentric bias."
The second problem in most development theories lies in their ethnocentric bias. The methodological approaches of the orthodox development studies assume that developing countries are infant or deviant cases when compared with western societies. While there is merit to their view, their formulation of variables and typology is strongly western-oriented. To become westernized is to achieve the goal of development which developing nations wish to pursue. The theory neglects the different economic, social and cultural base of the Third World which has evolved from the specific historic context. For instance, the strategies of national development of Asia where an Asiatic mode of production has been dominant should be different from those of western countries. Oshima (1976) and Inayatullah (1976) criticize the western-oriented aspects of development emphasizing the different models of national development in Asia. Historically western development took place under the conditions of labour shortage so that western production tended to be highly capital intensive and labour-saving. The great population of Asia in the fertile river valleys is the historical product of the large labour requirements of monsoon paddy-rice agriculture. The destruction of handicrafts by the emergence of western industrialization transformed this concentration of population into a labour surplus. Since the old paradigm of development strategy proved unsuitable in developing countries, there has been a growing consensus in favour of a shift to the rural-based and labour-intensive development to create more jobs and produce more food. Contrary to Lerner's anticipation, urbanization in developing countries gave rise to unemployment and urban poor.

Finally, all of the approaches of orthodox development are grounded in psychological theories of change. The key concept is Lerner's 'empathy' or McClelland's 'n-achievement' which is identified as an impetus to evolve the process of individual enlightenment. McClelland (1953) regards "'n-achievement' as the mental virus which is
identified in a sample of a person's thoughts by whether the thoughts have to do with 'doing something well' or 'doing something better' than it had been done before." Golding (1974) criticizes the methods of measuring 'empathy' Lerner used and argues that "lack of empathy is the result of frustrated experience, not the cause of fatalism." He attacks Lerner's idea, quoting Smith's argument, "'empathy' theories omit the particular context of beliefs and interpretations and interests within which the mass media operate."

By the mid-1970s, it seemed safe to conclude that the dominant paradigm had passed, at least as the main model for development in Latin America, Africa and Asia. However, it would still be pursued in some nations, with certain important modifications. Reacting to the old paradigm of development communication, some communication researchers were seeking a new dimension of thinking. At issue was the realization of the continuation of neocolonialism in a modified form. More particularly, the awareness that economic and political autonomy cannot be secured without the balanced flow of information at an international level gave impetus to the initiation of self-reliant development strategies and communication research. At the same time, the Third World came to realize that the development models which have been initiated and developed in the hands of western scholars no longer suited their development strategies. Thus, a new dimension of international communication based on national sovereignty, self-reliance and equality has emerged. Under these circumstances, it seemed inevitable that Marxist models of development and the notion of cultural imperialism evolved.

1.3. Studies of Cultural Imperialism: The Missing Dimensions

The literature on the issues of global cultural (or
media) flow falls into three major approaches. The first approach, the cultural diffusionist approach, as reflected in the work of Ithel de Sola Pool and William Read, takes the view that cultural flow should be free and unrestricted. Their ideas are based on the laissez-faire ethos. Thus, the existing pattern of unequal cultural flow can be explained in terms of market forces. The purely economic expansion of seeking maximum profits by the U.S.A. is the main cause of cultural domination at an international level. Read (1976) insists that the global flow of commercial mass media is simply a result of the abilities and inclinations of American merchants to sell their media commodities in foreign markets. He explicitly accepts the global cultural domination by the U.S.A. in the sense that only the economic giant of the U.S.A. and the transnational corporations are capable of dominating a global market, ignoring the resultant cultural devastation in the Third World.

At the core, the approach is based on 'the free flow of information' doctrine. The free flow of information and culture is seen as an integral component in the process of national development and modernization. The acceptance of cultural flow from the western societies strengthening and enriching the indigenous culture rather than encroaching upon and weakening them. For cultural strength "culture does not need protection, culture is what people are already attached to. If culture is satisfactory, if it is not itself already in the process of decomposition, the audience will not look primarily abroad. ... In culture, even more than in trade, protectionism is usually self-defeating." (Pool 1977).

Seminal to this position is the concept of 'freedom of the press', originated from classical liberalism. The concept of 'freedom of press' was expanded to the comprehensive concept of freedom of information which not only includes the press but also includes all means of communications. This was again applied to the doctrine of
free flow of information and free access to information. Efforts have been made towards the enhancement of the free flow of information and culture within and between countries. All obstacles to and restrictions on the free flow of information were regarded as detrimental to 'free society'. Initiated by the U.S.A., the free flow of information doctrine reflected the U.S. democratic ideals and pluralism - in other words, free market value and American involvement on a global level. In this process, the big four news agencies, A.P., U.P.I., A.F.P. and Reuters have played a considerable role.

After all, the free flow of information doctrine resulted in the unbalanced and one-way flow of culture and information at an international level. Many studies show that the source of foreign news in the Third World is totally controlled by 4 big major news agencies (Boyd-Barrett 1980; Matta 1977; Sobhan 1981). Consequently, more powerful and bigger organizations for the provision of information are the only sector benefiting. It is well demonstrated in the MacBride Report that the "'free flow' doctrine has been used as an economic and/or ideological tool by the communication rich to the detriment of those less well endowed." (MacBride 1980:141). For the advocates of cultural diffusion, the free flow of culture and information within countries and across frontiers is considered to be of greater importance than the right of those involved nations to bar the information or culture across their borders. This position is well documented in Pool's statement, "if a country tries to do everything for itself, it squanders resources, assuring only that it does nothing well. Great cultures are always cosmopolitan" (Pool 1977, italics mine). In this sense, in the approach of cultural diffusion, a concept such as 'domination' or 'imperialism' does not exist.

The Neo-marxist approach, as reflected in the works of Herbert Schiller, Tapio Varis, Cees Hamelink, Dallas Smythe
and Fred Fejes, takes the view that the existing unbalanced flow of culture and media is an another sophisticated form of imperialism under the world capitalist system. While the traditional imperialism or dependency theorists attempt to explore the main causes of underdevelopment of the 'periphery' by analysing the economic relationships between the metropolitan and the periphery, Neo-Marxist cultural imperialism theorists focus on the articulation of the cultural sphere to economic relations. They argue that the economic and political emancipation in the periphery might be hampered unless actual sociocultural emancipation from the metropolitan is met.

The neo-Marxist approach to cultural imperialism has several basic theoretical hypotheses. In the first place, communication industries, like other international industries and corporations, are operating on an international level. There is no borderline or frontier in the activities of communication industries. Multinational corporations or transnational corporations (TNCs) are the vanguard of these global-level activities. The studies of cultural imperialism adopt the 'world capitalist system' advanced by Immanuel Wallerstein. Herbert Schiller (1979) insists that "domestic and international economic activities, outside the state-planned societies, are organized according to explicit and implicit rules of what Wallerstein calls the 'modern world system'." He sees the international activities of the transnational as the basis for their market expansion. Schiller argues that the strength of capitalism arises from being an international system.

Cultural imperialism or media imperialism develops in a world system where there is a single market. The studies of cultural imperialism try to account for the international mechanism in a world system that brings developing countries within the common cultural hegemony of western imperialism. The logic of cultural imperialism thesis is deeply rooted in
dependency theory. In this view, the unit of analysis in explaining current unequal exchange should be a world system. Capitalism is not only characterized by the mode of production within nation (intrasocial class conflict within a nation), but also by unequal relations within a world system of exchange (intersocial contradiction between countries). Sunkel proposes that the unit of analysis should be a world system.

"It became clear that the unit of analysis of development could not be nation-state. Even if we obviously must concentrate on the particular country we are interested in, its historically peculiar national development process must be put into the context of the evolution of capitalism globally, and its local, internal manifestations."

(Sunkel, quoted from Nordenstreng and Schiller, 1979:6)

Thus, juxtaposing the concepts 'metropolitan', 'centre', or 'core' versus 'periphery' or 'satellite' plays a significant part in their analysis. The 'metropolitan' refer to countries that exploit or absorb profits by unequal exchange. The 'satellite' are the nations that have suffered from chronic underdevelopment at the hand of the metropolitan countries. For them it seems impossible to consider one country without international relations or dominant-dominated relations within a capitalist system. They explicitly concluded that the international systems of communication reflect the antagonistic contradiction characterized by the cultural hegemony of western imperialism.

In the second place, the activities of communication industries under the world capitalist system should be understood in terms of economic relations. Based on Marx's classic idea that man's mental production such as culture, knowledge and ideology have their basis in social and material life, the approach is focusing on analysing the historically determinate 'laws and tendencies' governing the
global capitalist expansion of the communication industry. Thus, efforts have been made to shed light on the economic activities and profit-making nature of the transnationals. Schiller (1986b:12) states, "for the last thirty-five years, an increasing share of the production and distribution worldwide of goods and services has been accounted for by, at best, a few thousand trans-national corporations (TNCs). These firms, two thirds of which are United States-owned and based, have plants and facilities all around the world. Their investment, production, pricing and labour policies are affected by many factors, but central and generally determining are the profitability and security of the capital investment." The efforts to demonstrate the economic activities and profit-seeking nature of the transnationals have been made by many scholars. Mattelart's study (1979) on the operation and activities of communication and related industries, and Tapio Varis's study (1976) on the impact of transnational corporations on communication were such attempts.

New tendencies towards privatisation and commercialization of communication industries - particularly television in western Europe and the rest of world are also related to the principles of the capitalist expansion and the maximization of profits. These tendencies have affected the structure and outputs of television. Illustrating Italian television, Richeri (1986) demonstrated that these new developments were involved with; 1. appealing to the mass audience, 2. minimizing production costs by importing foreign programmes, 3. internationalization and homogenization of programming. What lies behind these tendencies is that the communication industries in Europe and the rest of world are pursuing the unchangeable logic which turns toward the maximization of profits and the consolidation of monopoly capital controlling cultural market.

The third basic hypothesis is that media organizations
must also be regarded as an ideological apparatus. Based on the assumption that the media system is the means of supplementing the ideology of the ruling classes, proponents of cultural imperialism consider the dominant countries—mainly the U.S.A. as the ideological apparatuses of imperialism. Although they admit that economic conditions and market structure are seen as primary factors, they argue, that there is certainly room for ideological factors within this complex of relationships (Nordenstreng and Varis 1974: 55). Schiller also admits that, "though profitability is their main concern, they comprise, at the same time, the ideologically supportive informational infrastructure of modern world system's core—the multinational corporations (MNCs)" (Schiller 1979: 21)

At first sight, this hypothesis seems a contradiction to the second hypothesis in which emphasis is focused on economic relations. But, if we accept the dialectic of material base and superstructure which is based upon the interrelationships between two levels, we could understand their approaches. Indebted to the Althusserian perspective, cultural imperialism theorists attempt to identify the mass media as the ideological apparatuses, and their specific nature in the context of dependency in Latin America. The multinational corporations and transnational media as an ideological state apparatus play a central role in maintaining and consolidating the status quo of the world capitalist system. Mattelart, recognizing the multinational corporations as the ideological apparatuses of western imperialism, traces the process of how multinational corporations have built up their control and domination over the world, and explores the ways in which cultural production and the media institutions are being subordinated to capital (Mattelart 1983). In a study of Walt Disney comics, Dorfman and Mattelart (1975) also explore the ways in which Donald Duck is being used as a sophisticated tool of imperialist ideology. They claim that:
Disney's ideas are thus truly material productions of a society which has reached a certain stage of national development. They represent a superstructure of values, ideas and criteria, which make up of the self-image of advanced capitalist society, and facilitate innocent consumption of its own traumatic past.

The neo-Marxist approach to cultural imperialism as a whole is an attempt to account for the mechanism lying behind the global domination by the 'centre'. For this end, priority is given to the elucidation of the material base of economic relations and the ideological aspects of communications system. It thus seems inevitable in their approach that antagonistic juxtaposition of the 'centre' vs. 'periphery' concept plays an important role. The 'centre' - the U.S.A. and some western countries always benefit from the international relationships, whereas the 'periphery' is exploited and suffers from the global activities by the 'centre'. The major thrust of these approaches has been the exposition of a globally unbalanced flow and the transnational's activities. Nordenstreng and Varis (1974; 1984), Herbert Schiller (1969; 1976), Armand Mattelart (1979; 1984) and Hamelink (1983) fall into this line of works. The approach as a whole focuses on the main causes of the existing cultural hegemony on the global level, in other words, the enemy in external forces, imperialism.

The liberalist cultural domination approach, as reflected in the works of Tunstall (1977), Katz and Wedell (1977) and Lee (1979) takes the middle position between the cultural diffusionist approach and the neo-Marxist cultural imperialism approach. They reject the cultural diffusionist approach as being ignorant of the consequences of existing imbalanced flow of culture and information on the global level. They also refute the Neo-Marxist version of cultural imperialism as being too attached to Marxist rhetoric and as being oversimplified by emphasizing external exploitation.

Accordingly a different perspective on the cause of the
pervasion of American programmes has emerged in terms of the receiving country-ascribed point of view. This contrasts with the Neo-Marxist approach in which priority is given to the international relationships based on the world system.

The approach as a whole tends to lay stress on the causes of the infusions of American programmes in the developing countries. According to their view, the European or American models were copied in the introduction of broadcasting systems in the developing countries, either because of colonial experience or because of no alternatives. This initial transfer of institutions and working practices led the developing countries to receive the standards of American and European (mostly British and French) programming. The already established broadcasting institutions, whether introduced as a colonial auspices or as autonomous developmental vehicles, however forced the Third World to fill up the air time. But economic and technological conditions of most developing nations are not sufficient for producing indigenous programmes. Consequently they are bound to look for cheap sources for filling up air time.

Katz and Wedell (1977:163) claim that the reliance on imported programmes "derives from the frame of reference that was imported with the hardware and that conceives of television as a nonstop supply of programs during operating hours." Tunstall (1977) and Lee (1979) also attempt to seek the main causes of imbalanced flow of programmes from the logic of "the economies of scales". In their analysis, the economies of scale put the U.S.A. and European countries in an advantageous position in programming, production and distribution. Also the other factors such as lack of talent, manpower - writers, producers, performers and technicians - and fragmented culture - tribal or regional, according to the arguments, contribute to the pervasion of American programmes in the developing countries.
It should be noted that they, as a whole, try to play down the bad effects of foreign materials on indigenous culture in the developing countries. The approach implicitly tends to lay stress on positive sides or cultural benefits generated from the foreign imports. Relying on the determinate belief that the media, particularly broadcasting might be used as important vehicles for the promotion of indigenous culture and developmental objectives, they propose evolutionary remedies to solve the unbalanced flow of culture (Lee 1979; Katz and Wedell 1979).

Unlike the Neo-Marxist cultural imperialism thesis which resorts to the external constraints exerted by the centre under the world capitalist system and international activities of the transnationals, the non-Marxist cultural domination paradigm places a greater emphasis on the process of cultural flow into recipient countries and on the causes of infusions generated by the American programmes. While Neo-marxists view the consequences of cultural flow in the Third World as negative, proponents of the non-Marxist cultural domination approach emphasize the positive aspects of cultural flows.

In addition to the above mentioned Neo-Marxist version of cultural imperialism, another contribution to a critical perspective of cultural imperialism thesis within Marxist thought which is concerned about the various forces of class structure, power dynamics and economic market forces has evolved in recent years (Dagnino 1973; O'Brien 1979; Salinas and Paldan 1979; Fejes 1981; Sarti 1981).

While proponents of this approach appreciate the core of

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2 It contrasts with the cultural diffusionist position in which the explicit insistence on cultural benefits is implied.
the Neo-Marxist cultural imperialism approach which focuses on external forces, they attempt to overcome the theoretical constraints of the mainstream Neo-Marxists who implicitly or explicitly ascribed the main causes of imbalanced cultural flow in the Third World to the external enemy - the metropolitan. In other words, the mainstream Neo-Marxist approach, as a whole, tends to overemphasize the external factors of dependency and to overlook the internal dynamics in which various sectors of classes, power groups and economic forces are interactive at national level.

In a sense, the approach shares the similarities with the non-Marxist cultural domination approach in that both approaches are concerned with the internal dynamics on a national level. But it quite differs from the cultural domination approach because their approach is focused on concrete analysis of particular class sectors and the interactive relationship between external and internal dynamics, focusing on the process of cultural flow in terms of class relation and the forms of cultural expression by different class sectors. In an attempt to refute the simple and reductionist explanation, they extend their analysis to the interrelationship between internal and external forces. As Fejes (1981) points out, the approach "involves the dynamic relationship between internal factors such as a nation's class structure and history and external forces and factors."

Returning to traditional Marxist's concern over class structure and mode of production under the capitalist system that Neo-Marxist cultural imperialism theorists have failed to answer, students of critical Neo-Marxist cultural imperialism place emphasis on the dynamic relationships between internal and external factors in dependent societies. Some important issues they have questioned over the last few years can be summarized as.

* wider context of dependence and incorporation in a
dependent societies under the capitalist system.
* the process of dependence, focusing on the concrete analysis of class relations and mode of production. (In cultural sectors the examination of the process of cultural penetration tracing the decision making process in cultural policy.)
* structure of cultural organisation and transfer of professional ideology.
* patterns and forms of cultural production incorporated from the metropolitan.
* content of cultural products with regard to the capitalist idea and class relations.
* the forms of cultural expression and consumption with regard to the interests of different class sectors.
* the consequences of alien culture on local people in terms of class structure.

It is safe to say that the approach, as a whole, is in the early stage and lacks a theoretical framework and analytical tools.

1.4. Cultural Imperialism; Looking For An Alternative Theoretical and Analytical Framework

So far, various approaches on the issues of global flow of culture and information have been reviewed. In analysing the various approaches, fundamental issues still remain unquestioned: (1) the relationships between external and internal dynamics, (2) changing perspectives on cultural imperialism, (3) cultural meanings of those flows, (4) disappearing audience response.

1.4.1. External and Internal Dynamics

Proponents of Neo-Marxist cultural imperialism whose emphasis is centred on the external exploitation by the centre have not paid considerable attention to an analysis
of internal dynamics on national level in the Third World. The works of cultural imperialism theorists have been heavily devoted to the analysis of a globally imbalanced flow of culture and the investigation of activities of the TNCs. The analysis, as a whole, focuses on the external forces - imperialism. As Sarti (1981) rightly points out, "thus, anti-imperialism becomes the main theme, having aside the various form of class struggle and their manifestations in the different societies. Most cultural dependency literature does not refer to the articulation among classes and class fractions in Latin America." For their analysis causes of the present cultural penetration in the recipients is ascribed to an external enemy. In this process, the recipients are the mere or passive receivers, ignoring the complex internal dynamics operating in the dependent societies.

It is important to be clear that without internal things the external things can not exist, and vice versa. The fundamental causes of the current imbalance in cultural flow in the periphery are not only from external but from internal factors. Thus, it is a necessary and urgent task to address the complex relationships between external and internal problems. The nature of external and internal relationships is interactive under the specific historical contexts. As Mao Tse-Tung (1965) states, the nature of internal-external relationship "holds that external causes are the condition of change and internal changes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes. In a suitable temperature an egg changes into a chicken. But no temperature can change a stone into a chicken, because each has a different basis."

The interpretation of cultural imperialism literature, thus, misses the crucial point - the role of local ruling classes in a dependent society. The transformation of culture in the periphery is always involved with various class sectors. In order to pioneer the local market,
transnational media need assistance from local people. In this case, who is directly involved with this process? The local bourgeoisie or political elites. Furthermore, as Sarti (1981) states, "the local ruling classes are capable of dominating their own societies without the aid of instruction from abroad." Thus the role of the ruling classes in the process of cultural transformation in a dependent society should be understood under the specific historical contexts and the class relations. At one time, the ruling classes are mainly responsible for transformation, leaving aside the role of the centre subordinate. At another time, the centre appears to be the major force, limiting the role of the local ruling class as a subordinate. At the same time it should be reiterated here that cultural absorption of foreign culture is variant in terms of various classes. Heavy consumers of foreign culture are the ruling classes which are directly involved with the process of foreign cultural imports. The mass or the people, who are alienated from the process, are the light consumers of alien culture.

In this sense, the various approaches to global flow of culture which seek the main causes of cultural dependency in the Third World only from the external (Neo-Marxist approach) or internal forces (non-Marxist approach) cannot be sufficient unless they are implemented through a concrete analysis of external-internal relationships.

Accordingly, the analysis should be put in a wider context in which national communication structure has shaped and functioned under external and internal constraints. The underlying question one has to explore is how does the communications industry relate to the larger structure and dynamics of dependency. To explore this process, it is necessary to trace the metropolitan heritage incorporating in the context of dependency under the capitalist system. For instance, to examine how the operation of the transnational media, international financial institutions,
transnational advertising agencies, the stationing of the foreign military base and formation of the 'anti-Communism' ideology are closely related to the internal structure and dynamics of dependency in dependent societies.

Tracing the metropolitan heritage incorporated in the cultural institutions, for instance, investigation of institutional transfer, the process of technological introduction and the transfer of professional ideology is such an attempt. These questions need to be linked to the analysis of the internal operation involved by various class sectors, power dynamics, economic dynamics and economic relations. Thus attention is now moving towards considering how cultural industries work, who controls mass media, and what is the relationship between various sectors involved—owners, managerial staff, producers and the audience. Specifically, the economic infrastructure of cultural institutions, the relationship between the state and mass media and the role of mass media in maintaining or changing the status quo with reference to cultural transformation in dependent societies should be addressed in order to overcome theoretical and conceptual weakness in the cultural imperialism thesis.

The transformation of communications industries in both advanced capitalist countries and developing countries leads to the new pattern of cultural and technological flow and new forms of cultural production. In some European countries, the trends towards the privatisation of the television sector and the expansion of new communications — cable TV, satellites and VCRs are involved with the

3 Among such attempts, O'Brian's work (1979) on the process of technological transfer with regard to the dependent context in the Third World and Golding's article (1977) on the transfer of professional ideology in the Nigerian case are exemplary.
internalization and homogenization of programming (Recheri 1986). In developing countries, rapid expansion of new media is also transforming the existing patterns of cultural and technological flow. Thus, it is necessary to take account of the new perspectives on how these trends are involved with cultural transformation in developing countries, considering the interactive relationship between internal and external dynamics.

1.4.2. Changing Perspectives on Cultural Imperialism

Although many concepts such as cultural imperialism, media imperialism, cultural domination, cultural or information flow, picture tube imperialism (Wells 1972), electronic colonialism (McPhail 1981) and cultural synchronization (Hamelink 1983) have been employed to explore the dominant or imbalanced relationship at the international level, it is noticeable that priority is given to the anatomy of the powerful electronic medium - television. It is undeniable that to date television has been the most influential instrument in the expanding consumer market, providing the entertainment and disseminating information and ideology. Hence, it is no wonder that television has attracted enormous popularity among communication scholars. Here, we are not arguing that television is not an important tool for the analysis of cultural imperialism. Rather, we are suggesting that the existing perspectives on the global cultural domination which are heavily concerned with television should be implemented on the verge of the influx of new communications technologies.

The advent of new communications technologies creates changing perspectives in terms of national sovereignty, dependent or developmental context. Schiller (1984; 1986a) claims that new communications technologies provide the U.S.A. with new bases for the transformation of economy as well as for the extension of global hegemony. The phase of
development in the new communications sector has prompted the new dimensional prospects on the issues of cultural and information flow at the international level.

Rapid Installation of New Communications in the Third World

The spreading of new communications - VCRs, satellite broadcasts and cable TV in the Third World is quite enormous. Even among lower socioeconomic groups in Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and Africa, VCRs are becoming increasingly popular. (See Table 1).

It is worth noting that the importance of the impact of VCRs on local populations in the Third World has been overlooked. Recent trends in the studies on VCRs tend to focus on the 'pirate' debate so that its impact on indigenous consumers and local culture in the Third World is deliberately missing. The video programmes available in the Third World are smuggled or locally copied from foreign sources - mainly the U.S.A. Most Western scholars' concern is converging on 'copy right' which guarantees the American interest on a global level. Thus, it is necessary to take account of its impact on indigenous culture in terms of national sovereignty and the dependency context in order not to divert from the issues concerned.

The launching of satellites has some implications for the Third World. Let alone the technological dependency on the core, satellite broadcast has brought problems concerning programming in the Third World. In the case of Indonesia, the launching of satellite, Palpa B enables Indonesia to initiate extra channels. New channels means more air time. This inevitably leads to more foreign imports. (Chu and Alfiian 1980). The Indonesian experience reminds us that the introduction of new communications technology should be considered in the context of the nation's economic, technological and cultural capacity. Table 2 shows the already operating satellites or launching plan by the Third
Table 1

Fastest Growing National Video Populations, 20 Largest during 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>1986 Sales (000s)</th>
<th>Annual Growth (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>117.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>58.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>1450</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>45.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>12600</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Neth Antilles</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Bermuda</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source, Screen Digest, June 1986)

World.

As James Halloran (1986) indicates, the adoption of the new communication technology requires more concern with the social needs rather than media requirements. The initiation of new communication technologies in the Third World thus
should be understood in the wider context in which internal forces of the state, economic sector and various class sectors and external dynamics of transnational media, financial institutions and military forces are interactively involved.

Table 2

Satellites in the Third World.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nation/ System</th>
<th>Launch Date</th>
<th>Launch Vehicle</th>
<th>Contractor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arab states</td>
<td>Nov. 84</td>
<td>Ariane/Shuttle</td>
<td>Aerospatiale/Ford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabsat(2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia &amp; Venezuela</td>
<td>Not Contracted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andean system</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hughes HS-376</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Feb. 85</td>
<td>Ariane</td>
<td>Hughes HS-376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>Aug. 83</td>
<td>Shuttle</td>
<td>Ford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Delta</td>
<td>Hughes HS-333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1983</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hughes HS-376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>(1) May 85</td>
<td>Shuttle 51-B</td>
<td>Hughes HS-376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Sep 85</td>
<td>Shuttle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The role of the semi-periphery countries

The last two decades have witnessed the advent of the Third World multinationals which resulted from the integration of the Third World into world capitalist system. The emergence of the Third World multinationals is directly involved with the monopoly stage either through economic competition or political consideration. These Third World multinationals act "as a peripheral zone for core countries and in part they act as a core country for some peripheral areas." (Wallerstein 1976).

Antola and Rogers’s (1984) study on the television flows in Latin America shows that Mexico acts as a main gatekeeper for the television dubbing in that area. They demonstrate that Brazil and Mexico, to some extent Argentina and Venezuela are the major exporters of TV programmes to other Latin American nations. Hence, Mexico and Brazil function in a semi-periphery role in the region. In the television sector, they act as core countries for other Latin American countries. But insofar as the new communications sector is concerned, they act in a peripheral role for core countries.

The emergence of media conglomerates in the Third World, particularly in the semi-periphery or NICs, has brought important shifts in television programming. Recent studies on the international flow of television programmes show that imports from the United States in the Third World tend to decline gradually (Varis 1984; Antola and Rogers 1984; Schment et al. 1984; Straubhaar 1984). (See Table 3).

In a sense, there seems no crude and manifest cultural

4 Mattelart (1984:51) suggests that the emergence of the Third World multinationals can be understood by looking at the relationship in each country between culture, the state and industry.
Table 3

Percentage of Imported Programmes in Selected Third World Nations in 1973 and 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1972(%)</th>
<th>1982(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1973(%)</th>
<th>1983(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s Rep. of Yemen</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Imperialism in television programming in the semi-periphery, rather it takes the sophisticated and immanent forms; the trends towards the adoption of new media, growing tendency towards decline of imported programmes leading to the adoption of patterns and forms incorporated from the core and emergence of the semi-periphery.
1.4.3. Cultural Meanings of Those Flows

Most works with regard to the international flow of culture or information, whether the approach falls into Neo-Marxist or non-Marxist, are confined to one specific aspect. That aspect is to show quantitative evidence of imbalanced flow. The major goal has been the revealing of imbalanced flows by accounting for the number or hours of imported programmes to vindicate their arguments. Some have used it in order to show the U.S. global domination in television programmes flow (Nordenstreng and Varis 1974; Varis 1984). Others have used it as a counterattack on the cultural imperialism thesis (Schment et al. 1984; Straubhaar 1984).

If their approach is confined to one specific area, the need for employing new analytical tools to detect the complex and sophisticated form of cultural imperialism seems to be necessary. As Tracey (1985:52) points out, "the problem one faces is how to capture a cultural experience, employing widely recognized methods and conceptual frameworks, without producing evidence that is so abstract as to be devoid of any real engagement with given experience."

If we are to understand the complex cultural meaning of those programmes in the context of dependence, consideration should be given to the uncovering of both manifest and immanent messages through which a certain shared culture and value are reflected. For White (1983), "meanings do not originate with some abstract sender, but are derived from a historical-cultural tradition and a concrete political-economic context." For most of the Third World which had the colonial experience and still are under the dependent situation in economic, political, military and technological sectors, the imported programmes are habituated with the domestically-produced programmes in which indigenous expressions are intermingled with a wide
range of alien ideology, values and ideas. The fundamental issue we have so far missed in the studies of mass media in the Third World has been the blindness in identifying the alien elements incorporated in the domestically-produced programmes. Among some communications scholars (Williams 1975; Katz and Wedell 1977; Wells 1972), it has been argued that certain alien forms, patterns, formulas and furthermore a set of western ideology are incorporated in the domestically-produced programmes in the Third World. If a programme, though produced by local producers, contains alien elements, it should be reconsidered by its cultural meaning. Hence, it is necessary to consider the forms, patterns, formulas and ideology inherent in the domestically-produced programmes in the Third World in order to identify the foreign elements and relate that to the wider context of dependence. In doing so we may be able to detect both the manifest and immanent messages through which certain forms of alien elements are reflected.

In terms of techniques, the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods would be helpful. On the quantitative side is the traditional content analysis of messages.

Content analysis involves specialized procedures for processing scientific data. Its aim is to uncover the systemic and qualitative description of the manifest content of communication. It produces data by counting and measuring variables. The variables measured and counted can be individual persons, groups, whole societies, words, sentences, activities, shots, scenes, colours and so on. In content analysis, the task is to make inferences from data to certain aspects of their context and to justify these inferences in terms of the knowledge about the stable factors in the systems of interest. The method produces a statistical summary of a much larger field and it has been used for extracting data from content frequency distributions of references. The analysis as a whole stresses the manifest content of the message.
Content analysis clearly has advantages for the systematic investigation of a wide range of material. A further advantage of content analysis is that statistical methods provide a powerful set of tools not only for precise and quantitative summary of findings but also for improving the quality of interpretation and inference. At the same time, it also has its own flaws. As Berger (1982) points out, the problem of content analysis is to find or identify the rare or absent items. In content analysis, the meaning of frequency-recurring is only revealed by opposition to what is rare. In other words, the meaning of a message can be detected by counting the present or absent items. While content analysis is widely used in research by different researchers, it proves to be inadequate to describe the immanent and complex meaning of messages. Structural or semiological analysis provides a way of overcoming this problem, which traditional content analysis does not.

On the qualitative side is the structural or semiological method which enables implementation of the content analysis by which uncovering of immanent messages is difficult. Semiotic analysis has strength in its capacity to uncovering the immanent or latent message. Unlike the conventional content analysis where emphasis is given to quantitative and manifest meaning, it deals with the systemic meaning systems. Semiotic or structuralist approach is concerned with the articulation of separate segments of the meaning to the overall structure of the meaning system. As McQuail (1987:185) states it, "it is thus concerned with the elucidation of cultural as well as linguistic meaning, an activity for which a knowledge of the sign-system is instrumental but insufficient."

As we argued elsewhere, the process of cultural imperialism is not a simple and crude one but a complex and diverse one. The accounting of foreign programmes imported can only explain part of cultural meaning. The qualitative approach, in this sense, helps us to unveil the cultural
meaning of the programmes in which certain immanent values and ideologies are incorporated. Thus, if we are to understand the whole picture of cultural imperialism, it is necessary to employ both quantitative and qualitative methods. The applicant of qualitative approach invites us to capture the complex and latent meaning of a text. Each method, in this sense, should be understood as a supporting tool for supplementing what each other lacks.

1.4.4. The Missing of Audience

Studies of cultural imperialism have been criticized for the lack of appreciation of audience. Cultural imperialism theory has concerned itself with the production, control and the ideological aspects of media messages rather than the audience. What has been missed in cultural imperialism thesis is the relationship between the cultural meanings of the programmes and the audience reception. There are some reasons why the audience has been deserted in cultural imperialism research. Historically studies of media audience have been dominated by the behaviourist interpretations of human nature. Relying upon the stimulus-response model of human behaviour, behaviourist school of communications scholars set out to question 'what the media do to people?'

Consequently, the priority is given to psychological effects on the individual. Implicit here is a 'hypodermic' or 'magic bullet' model of the media which is seen as being directly injecting a powerful message into an atomized mass of individuals. The audience was viewed as being acted upon by the media in one-way process. Media messages act as strong stimuli on the individual's emotions and sentiments, causing them to respond in a determined way, i.e. altering the ideas and behaviors of the audience.

The realisation by communications researchers that the 'hypodermic' or 'magic bullet' theory is too deterministic and simplistic, assuming that the audience passively absorbs
media messages led to the development of the 'uses and gratifications' model. The emphasis shifted from reaction to interaction questioning 'what people do with mass media?' However, this 'uses and gratifications' model also suffers from serious flaws. By suggesting that individuals have certain 'needs' the model comes very close to a kind of 'psychological functionalism', i.e. the media acts to meet those universal needs.

Having taken together, a concern with audience in both the 'hypodermic' and the 'uses and gratifications' model has very high priority on their theoretical and research agenda. Reacting to this obsession caught by the notion of effects, a counter-tendency within critical perspective has developed, based upon a reversal of the traditionally-pursued orientation of the audience. The attention of research within this trend shifted from the effects of the media to control, production and the content of the media. Concentrating on the way in which the media are structured in terms of economic relations and messages are created and shaped in the given social setting, researchers within this framework shelved 'effects' study. Another possible explanation for the lack of attention to audience in cultural imperialism research is, as Fejes (1984:221) puts it, that the concepts such as control, ideology and hegemony which are seminal to their analysis cannot be easily translated into analytical notions.

However, there appeared to be several attempts within the critical perspective recognising the audience not as an atomized or isolated mass of individuals but as socially constructed formations or groupings of members (Hartmann 1979; Morley 1980). As Hartmann (1979:257) stated, 'the research was therefore not conceived primarily as an 'effects' study or an examination of individual opinion formations (though it bear upon these questions), but as a means of elucidating class-based interpretative frameworks available in our society and their relationship to media
interpretations.' Noticeable here is the notion of linking 'audience reception of news empirically to its content.'

If we are to implement and overcome the lack of analytical tools which have been constantly the 'Achilles heel' of cultural imperialism thesis, the crying need for employing widely-recognisable analytical tools and conceptual frameworks seems inevitable (see, for instance, Tracey 1985, and Pool 1977's arguments). As is apparent in Morley's Nationwide Audience study, "what is needed here is an approach which links differential interpretations back to the socioeconomic structure of society, showing how members of different groups and classes, sharing different 'culture codes', will interpret a given message differently, not just at the personal, idiosyncratic level, but in a way 'systemically related' to their socio-economic position" (Morley 1980:14-15). Implicit here is the notion of meaning system and its relation to the audience which are shaped in the social setting and framed by 'shared cultural formations' or 'shared orientations'.

The purpose of this chapter has been to outline the alternative theoretical and analytical frameworks for cultural imperialism thesis. It has been suggested that cultural imperialism thesis has to employ more concrete conceptual and analytical tools so as to capture the complex process of cultural imperialism. These are the dynamics of internal and external relationships in the process of cultural synchronization, changing perspectives on cultural imperialism with regard to the emergence of new communications technology in the Third World, the cultural meaning of those flows, and the importance of consumers themselves. The next chapter deals with the various spectrums of cultural imperialism undergone in South Korea.
CHAPTER 2

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM IN SOUTH KOREA

South Korea is in transition from a culturally homogenous society to a culturally western-oriented society. In many ways, Korea had kept culturally distinctive artifacts - one ethnic group, one language, a largely Confucian-dominant value system, and so on. But since independence extracted from Japan by American soldiers in 1945 in the short term, and the forced opening of the society by western imperialistic forces in the 19th century, South Korea has experienced dramatic changes in material life-styles and value systems. Nowadays coffee, hamburgers, whisky and western pop songs are no more alien to Korean people. In particular, the emergence of new communication technologies has sped up the pace of cultural transformation. This chapter outlines the social context of the mass media, the communication and cultural policy and their implications for the cultural imperialism thesis, the major cultural changes undergone in South Korea and the underlying mechanisms of these transformations and the role of new communication technologies.

2.1. The Social Context of the Mass Media in South Korea

The propagation of the ideology of anti-Communism is one of the most characteristic features of the development of the mass media in South Korea. It has been mediated through the patronage of the external forces and the ideological struggle between the right and left forces. After the liberation from Japan in 1945, the regulations and guidelines imposed on the press and magazines during the colonial days were lifted by the U.S. Army Military
Government in Korea (USAMGIK). All kinds of newspapers, magazines and publications sprang up in Korea. Among them predominant were the newspapers of the left. The first daily newspaper, Chosun Inminbo was launched by the leftists on 8 September 1945. Several other leftist papers followed it. In December 1945 the rightist papers - Chosun Ilbo and Dong-A Ilbo, which were suspended by the Japanese local government in Korea, resumed their publication.

After the decision on the trusteeship of the Korean peninsular was made by the Allied nations of the U.S.A., the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China on 27 December 1945, the ideological struggle between the leftists and rightists deepened and this brought about a significant increase in the number of terrorist attacks on the press and journalists (Chung 1983:179; Suh 1979). Under these circumstances, alarmed by the increase of the leftists influence, the USAMGIK began to exercise state censorship over the press, particularly over the leftist newspapers and leftist political factions. The USAMGIK issued the decree, USAMGIK Ordinance No. 88, which provided the legal base for regulating, licensing and suspending the press. The Ordinance was designed to curb political activities detrimental to the military government. In so doing, the USAMGIK was able to exercise manipulative control over the press, particularly over the leftist newspapers. This was followed by the arrest of journalists and Communist leaders. As a result, the Leftists were forced to change their political strategies from legal to underground struggle (Song 1984).

On 15 August 1948, the Republic of Korea (South Korea) was formally inaugurated by a nationwide election. The new South Korean government then established the National Security Law in 1948 in an attempt to root out the leftist elements. The leftist newspapers gradually lost their influence and disappeared because of the government's strong anti-communism policy (Suh 1979). The establishment of the
capitalist system was ensured under the patronage of the U.S. military government in collaboration with the rightists and pro-Japanese sympathizers and former collaborators. Thus, anti-Communist ideology was mediated into the mass media frame through the elimination of leftist elements and the consolidation of the capitalist system. To date, anti-Communist ideology in the media sector has become a sanctuary which cannot be challenged and violated.

2.1.1. Capitalist Development and Television.

Broadcasting came to Korea under colonial auspices. The Seoul Broadcasting Station, as a legal corporation, was established in 1927, with the call letters J.O.D.K. and with 1 kw of power. Because of an exorbitant licensing fee, the majority of the radio sets were owned by the Japanese occupiers (6,881 out of 8,204 in 1929) who basked in the sudden-found prosperity in their colony (Nam 1978).

After the liberation, broadcasting came under the control of the American military government. They used radio broadcasting as a means of disseminating the official ideology corresponding to the U.S. interests in Korea (Kim, H.C. 1984; Choi 1985). Later, just before the establishment of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) in 1948, the American military government handed it over to the Chosun Broadcasting Institution which was established by the Japanese in the colonial days. During the Korean War, the American Forces Korean Network (AFKN), initially an extension of the Far East Network in Japan, started radio broadcasts in September 1950. By 1958, the AFKN had also developed a television system.

The first television system in South Korea did not originate from domestic demand but from the foreign demand of the U.S.A. The KORCAD (HLKZ-TV, later DBC) commenced operation in 1956 by the demand of the R.C.A. whose purpose was to sell hardware and software in the Korean market. All
the broadcasting facilities and television sets were U.S.A.-made (Kim, H.C. 1984). It was not surprising that the commercial system was introduced. It was thus the economic intention of the U.S.A. rather than a domestic demand that played the most important part in the birth of the television system in South Korea. At that time, 30% of television programmes were provided by advertisers, 50% by self-production and 20% by the U.S.I.S.

Broadcasting plays a dual role in capitalist society. Broadcasting can be regarded as a principal medium to expand the consumer market by delivering advertisements. On the other hand, broadcasting is established to support and augment the official ideology and moral framework generated from capitalist society. After the military coup in 1961, the military junta initiated the establishment of the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS). The KBS as a state-run institution started broadcasting on 31 December, with 2 kw of power and one channel. Economically the KBS furnished an institutional means by which the consumer market could be expanded. It was not coincidental that the initiation of KBS was paralleled by the 1st Economic Development Plan.

Politically, the military government needed strong propaganda machinery to propagate the official ideology and moral framework that could legitimate the rise of military power and could cater to the basis of transforming the society for capitalist expansion. With the capitalist development of the 1960s and 1970s, South Korea had experienced a radical expansion of the mass media. The development of broadcasting, particularly television, paved the way for the extension of consumer capitalism. As Robins and Webster (1983:36) put it, the most fundamental contribution of television has been 'its proven ability as an advertising medium, its incomparable achievement in delivering advertising into the homes of potential customers.' As Table 4 shows, the increase of advertising revenue is paralleled by the economic growth.
Table 4
Economic Development and the Advertising Revenue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>GNP (m$)</th>
<th>GNP Growth</th>
<th>Advertisement Rate</th>
<th>Advertisement Revenue (m$)</th>
<th>Adver./GNP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>3246</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>0.49%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>3940</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>0.48%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>4825</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>0.49%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>6161</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>0.47%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>8474</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>0.53%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>11350</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>0.48%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>15000</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>0.63%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>19250</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>0.50%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>23125</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>0.68%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Won 1984:172)

The establishment of commercial television stations - the TBC TV in 1964 and MBC TV in 1969 provided a springboard for the extension of advertising. After the commencement of MBC, the so called 'triple networks period' started, and the number of television sets sharply increased. (See Table 5).

The history of broadcasting shows that television was designed as a means of further controlling markets by both advertising goods and services and generally extolling the virtues of an extending consumer market (Robins and Webster 1986). Television is regarded as a means of extending consumer markets and maintenance of capital system. Before the introduction of television in South Korea, newspapers and radio were the principal media for advertising. But soon television surpassed the advertising expenditure of radio and newspapers. (See figure 1).
Table 5

The Number of Television Sets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Sets</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Sets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>118,262</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>2,089,131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>223,695</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>3,804,535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>379,564</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>5,135,496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>616,392</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>5,967,952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>905,363</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>6,267,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>1,282,122</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>6,269,347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>1,618,617</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>7,119,252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>2,061,072</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>7,784,214</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The restructuring of the broadcasting sector in November 1980, allowing the KBS to merge with the TBC, was a radical change in reshaping the structure of the mass media. As far as advertising was concerned, it rather resulted in expanding the advertising market, enabling the KBS to carry the advertisements. Consequently, the KBS was able to deliver the advertisements both on the KBS (previously no advertisements) and KBS 2 (former TBC). After all, although the role and function of broadcasting in South Korea has been constrained by the political forces, television still remains as a principal medium to expand the consumer market.

2.1.2. Broadcasting and the Government

From the beginning, the inception and operation of broadcasting was involved with the government. Theoretically broadcasting is supposed to be a 'public service' or 'public
servant'. In advanced countries, the notion of 'public service broadcasting' is mediated through the concept of 'civil society'. But in developing countries which have mostly experienced colonial rule and have inadequate economic infrastructure, the reality is quite different. For developing countries, broadcasting is, ideally, regarded as a state machinery by which the goals of socioeconomic modernization and the national integrity can be obtained. But in reality broadcasting in most developing
countries is used as a principal state apparatus through which the intended ideology and information can be disseminated in order to maintain the regime and oppress the opposition. Accordingly, it is no wonder that broadcasting services are directly controlled by the government.

South Korea is not an exception to this formula. In South Korea the media are under tight government control. Broadcasting has been used as a vehicle for disseminating official ideology and a 'guideline' for national consensus. Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that broadcasting has played a major part in supporting the export-led policy and in disseminating the notorious anti-Communist ideology. Although the KBS was reconstructed in to a public corporation, it is still viewed as a strong government umbrella. Furthermore, the restructuring of the mass media sector empowered by the Journalism Law in 1980 enabled the government effectively to control the broadcasting institutions more than ever before. Until 1973 when the government decided to reconstruct the KBS, the KBS had been a state-run institution. With the legislation of the Broadcasting Law in 1973, the KBS was reconstructed to a public corporation. Although the reconstruction was the response to persistent public pressure that direct control of the institution by the government should be ended, the KBS still remained a strong government agent. The evidence can be found in the Broadcasting Law in 1973 on which the establishment of the corporation was based. In the revised Broadcasting Law, the Ministry of Culture and Information has the authority to observe the decision made by the corporation and the power to suspend the re-licensing of the corporation when it proved to be disobedient. And it also stipulates that the corporation needs permission from the Ministry of Culture and Information in the event of revision of the Broadcasting Codes of Ethics, and that the chairman of the corporation should submit the monthly-report to the Minister. It is widely recognized that the power of the Ministry of Culture and Information is so strong that the
introduction of the public corporation is just a nominal one.

Table 6

Restructuring of Broadcasting Sector in 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>Changes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MBC (TV and Radio)</td>
<td>Seoul MBC holds 51% of 21 Network's Share (KBS holds 65% of MBC share)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TBC (TV and Radio)</td>
<td>Incorporated into KBS (KBS 2 TV, KBS Radio 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DBS (Radio)</td>
<td>Incorporated into KBS (KBS Radio Seoul)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS (Radio)</td>
<td>Concentrating only on Evangelical Broadcasting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chun-Il (Radio in Kwangjoo)</td>
<td>Incorporated into KBS (KBS Kwangjoo Radio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su-Hae (Radio in Kunsan)</td>
<td>Incorporated into KBS (KBS Kunsan Radio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han-Guk FM (FM Radio in Taegu)</td>
<td>Incorporated into KBS (KBS Taegu FM)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source, Park 1985:431)

Another feature of South Korean broadcasting lies in the frequent legislation of emergency law. With the emergency law, the president was empowered to restrict the media as he saw fit, all in the name of national security. In line with 'government directives emphasizing national security,' the broadcasting institutions reconstituted their programmes, dropping news coverage and sociocultural programmes. Furthermore, at the behest of the Ministry of Culture and Information, entertainment programmes, such as the daily serials, series and comedy programmes, began to serve with 'national security materials' - anti-Communism and
propaganda items emphasizing the importance of emergency measures in the name of national security (Nam 1978).

On the heels of the national emergency period, President Park in October 1972 declared martial law. Subsequent events changed the entire political system and to a lesser extent, economic policy. They were followed by severe control and censorship over the press, broadcasting and the other media.

Another justification offered for these extraordinary measures is highlighted by the Journalism Law in November 1980, following the military coup by general Chun in 1979. Based on the Journalism Law, South Korean newspapers and broadcasting were to undergo a radical change in ownership and structure. (See Table 6).

The result has been that there are only 2 major broadcasting networks - KBS and MBC. But considering that KBS holds 65% of the MBC shares, the KBS is the only network that can exercise ultimate power over the networks. The restructuring of the broadcasting sector, after all, enabled the government to wield effective power over the KBS.

2.2. Communication (Cultural) Policy and Cultural Imperialism

As Sommerlad (1975:7) suggests, "policies are the principles, rules and guidelines on which the system is built and may be specifically formulated or remain largely implicit." Also according to UNESCO, "communication policies are sets of principles and norms established to guide the behaviour of communication systems." Thus, cultural or communication polices involve decisions on the structures of the cultural and communication system, and its function, the regulatory framework for the system, and the decisions of people who operate it (Sommerlad 1975:7).

The idea of South Korea's cultural and communication
policy is firmly founded on a solid need, namely 'the social stability', - in other words, the assertion of a national unity leading to the sacrifice of individual expression and freedom. These are manifest in the ideology of national security and anti-Communism. The late President, Chunghee Park, stressed the importance of an anti-Communism consensus.

"What should be emphasized at this point, however, is the fact that the Communists, while pretending to be forerunners of peace, freedom and justice advocating a free, equal classless society, actually are striving to establish a new world dictatorship of the Communist Party by aggravating social disunity under the cloak of justice and freedom." (Park 1970:208)

2.2.1. Communication Policy

The Ministry of Culture and Information (MOCI) is mainly responsible for dissemination of official ideology, assessment of national and international consensus and opinion, control (including licence and closure) of broadcasting, newspapers, publications, motion pictures, supervision of cultural and artistic activities, and handling of public relation activities. In South Korea, the government perceives mass media as powerful instruments that can guide the people. The mass media are considered to be principal agencies in creating and fostering a broad national consensus and integration.

The Constitution of South Korea of course, like most countries throughout the world, guarantees that every citizen has the right to freedom of speech and expression. But such freedom, in South Korea, as in any other country, is never absolute. The late president Chunghee Park made this point clear. "There should be no infringement of such fundamental rights as freedom of press, religion, academic pursuits, and the arts, and freedom of assembly guaranteed
by the state. Individuals must not abuse these rights, but must exercise them with a sense of national social responsibility." (Park 1970:211). As a Korean communication scholar points out, "In as much as the achievement of national integration is an overriding goal of the Republic of Korea, the concept of the freedom of the press has to be defined in the context of this national objective." (Hahn 1978:14). Having emphasized the priority of national coherence and fast economic growth, concepts such as human rights, individual expression and autonomy of mass media were considered to be a sort of 'white elephant'. The structure and practices of mass media were framed in this strictly limited boundary. The Ministry of Culture and Information was/is responsible for exercising these principles. "In general the government has constantly stressed the themes of national loyalty and pride, and the need for self-discipline and hard work in the interest of country's economic development efforts. One of the main function of MOCI has been to make sure that the public is correctly informed of the government's changing themes and goals." (Hahn 1978:32).

Since the military coup in 1961, these principles have dominated the sphere of mass media. These principles culminated in the revolutionary reconstruction of mass media in December, 1980 after another military coup. Based upon the so-called 'concept of public services', it forced the communication organizations to close, merge and reconstruct.

In the press section, Sin-A Ilbo (national daily) was merged into Kyung-Hyang Sinmun, Seoul Economic Daily into Han-Kook Ilbo, Nae-Woe Economic into Korean Herald. In the case of local newspapers, Young-Nam Ilbo was merged into Maeil Sinmun, Chunnam Ilbo into Chunnam Maeil, Kukje Sinmun into Pusan Ilbo, Kyungnam Ilbo into Kyungnam Maeil. In the case of news agencies, Habdong, Dongyang, Sisa, Kyoungjae (Economic), Sanup (Industrial) were all merged into Yunhap which is now the only news agency in South Korea.
In the broadcasting sector, national commercial radio and television network – Tongyang (TBC), a commercial radio in Seoul - Dong-A (DBS), local radio - Suhae, Chunil, Hankook FM were all merged into KBS. The KBS, a government corporation, also possessed 65% of shares of the MBC network. Just before that, Seoul MBC purchased the shares of local franchise. CBS (Christian Broadcasting System) was only allowed to broadcast missionary material, and forced to abandon news reporting and entertainment programmes (see more details of broadcasting sector in chapter 2.1.). In the process of this reconstruction, almost 700 journalists were sacked.

The legal base of this forced reconstruction was the Journalism Law which was made just before that. At first sight, the achievement appears to be 'public ownership'. But in essence, it rather resulted in easy control of the mass media. Particularly in the broadcasting sector, ownership was solely centered on KBS. It is evident from the fact that the KBS held 65% of MBC shares, Seoul MBC held a large portion of the local network’s shares, and the Minister of Culture and Information appoints the chairman and directors of KBS. In fact, all power and control were concentrated in the government.

Another important organ for control along with the reconstruction of the mass media was the creation of Korean Broadcasting Advertising Corporation (KBAC). According to the corporation’s law it was established to develop sound broadcasting culture and assist journalists’ welfare (KBAC Law, Article 1). The Minister of Culture and Information explains: "What is most needed from the new system of broadcasting and the press is the backing of sound management which guarantees welfare and training of journalists, reasonable profits and public services. Without these, undergoing reconstruction of journalism cannot succeed." (Park 1989:292). Under the KBAC Law, it was empowered to sell advertisements made by advertising
agencies, to advertisers. A certain proportion of commissions would then be taken from advertising agencies. Also they have the power to judge the right to licences and the qualifications of advertising agencies.

But in practice, its operation was directly involved with the principle that aimed to turn journalists' 'propensity to resistance' into 'adaptability'. During the last 7 years, it has made up 258 billion Won (1300 Won = 1 Pound) as 'public funds' out of broadcasting advertising expenditure. Among 202.3 billion Won of 'public funds' which was made from the beginning of 1981 to the end of 1986, 180.5 billion Won was spent. In detail, it spent 86.2 billion Won on 'public business in journalism' (33.3 Won billion on construction of building and facilities of media organizations, 29.6 billion Won on funding to journalism institutions, 14.7 billion Won on journalists' welfare, 7 billion Won on training of journalists and 1.6 billion Won on public campaign advertising) and 94.3 billion Won on promotion for cultural and artistic activities (92.8 billion Won on arrears donation for cultural and artistic promotion funds, 0.5 billion Won on 88 cultural foundation, 1 billion Won on construction of a golf course) (Park 1989:301). The funds were used to provide journalists and artists with the 'maximum working environment and welfare system'. But in reality, the government has used the organization as a means of control over mass media and cultural institutions by providing 'official bonus or bounty'. It is apparent from the facts that almost 700 journalists who were classified as 'resistant journalists' were sacked and those who remain silent in the job have been treated very well, financed from the 'public funds' of KBAC (Park 1988:346). Nowadays, whether the KBAC has to be abolished or not is the basis of heated debate among politicians, journalists and communication scholars.

The legal constraints on the operation of the mass media are obvious. The Journalism Law was designed to control and
regulate the operation of media. According to the Law, communication media are put under the government’s direct control. It stipulates that MOCI has power to issue or withdraw the licence of media organizations when practices of the organizations are proved to be problematic (Journalism Law Article 3, Clause 4; Article 24, Clause 1). It even mentions the internal matter of the broadcasting organizations by saying that the owner has to provide journalists with a proper welfare system (Journalism Law Enforcement Ordinance, Article 19). It is founded on the principle that media organizations should be properly controlled or supervised so that it will not be abused against ‘the national interest’, rather than leaving it to the organizations’ autonomy.

When television (KORCAD) was first introduced with the assistance of American RCA, direct foreign influence seemed inevitable. But in 1963 when the Tongyang Broadcasting Company (TBC, later merged into KBS in 1980) tried to introduce foreign capital from the American ABC after the military coup in 1961, the government blocked the bid. Since then, foreign investment in the sector of broadcasting and press has not been allowed. Currently the government has allowed foreign companies to invest in the film and advertising industries. Ironically, while the government was eager to lure foreign capital and technology for fast economic development, it did not allow foreign capital to invest in the mass media sector. The idea that the mass media should firmly remain in the hands of the government ruled out this possibility. For the government it is unthinkable that it should lose absolute power or control over the mass media which are perceived as powerful instruments for guiding people and assisting in nation-building and economic growth. These principles are also reflected in the fact that South Korea remains as a self-reliant country in terms of the number and hours of imported foreign television programmes (see the more detailed account in chapter 2.3.).
How then are these policies and principles reflected in the programming and content of television programmes? What has emerged from these principles with regard to television programming and content of programmes is that of: 1) sharp increase in sports programmes, 2) introduction of purposive dramas, 3) dramas which emphasize the values and ideology of loyalty, particularly as exhibited in historic dramas.

Although sports as a subject has already emerged as an important television genre, the news that Seoul was going to stage the 1988 Olympic Games set off an explosion of sports programmes. According to one survey conducted by the Broadcasting Commission, sports programmes broadcasted on 3 television networks during 1983 shared 19% (2,989 hours) out of total 15,760 broadcasting hours (Won 1984:145). It sharply contrasts with the proportion of 1970. At that time, sports only shared 3.1 % on TBC TV and 4.2 % on MBC TV (Nam 1978:51). Based upon the notion that 'physical strength is national strength', television has played a patronising role in boosting 'sports fever'.

As Goldlust (1987) states, television, in its relentless drive to accumulate audiences, has already colonized modern sports by offering economic enticements. What is implicit in this sharp increase of sports programmes is to bring people into contact with a dramatic and exciting form of entertainment. People are talking about predicting game results, tales of sports stars, indulging in social reorganization of entertainment. Television has attempted to maximize the social mood not only through sports programmes but also through news, talk shows, quiz programmes, variety shows and dramas. What television invented among other things is the insertion of a variety show into half-time periods or breaks during sports events. (In fact it was an imitation of North American Super Bowl). By successfully blending entertainment of songs and dance, and sports events, South Korean television has become the centre of people's leisure time. What television intends is to attach
sports to people's daily life in a naturalized way. Under the circumstances that television is the only means of entertainment, particularly for those who cannot afford to enjoy other social events, watching sports games is the best solution to pass the time and to be entertained. By doing so, television has been able to divert people's concerns away from politics.

The introduction of purposive drama reflects the principles and explicit intention of the government. Purposive drama is one which aims to produce certain effects or change by direct appeal. There are two types of purposive dramas. One is the anti-Communist drama. It began with Silhwa Gukjang (Real Theatre) which evolved around the story about detecting communist or North Korean espionage on KBS television in 1960. It dramatizes the themes of anti-communism or government official ideology. It portrays North Koreans as a destitute and hostile people, and it also dramatizes the saga of detectives or undercover cops or agents who are operating to uncover anti-Communist espionage or activities. It aims to infuse anti-Communism into the hearts of audiences by employing dramatized narrative rather than direct appeal.

The other type is the drama which aims to advertise economic and social development of the country. Flowering Eight Province and Street Arising with Rainbow were on the KBS television in 1974. Its purpose is to disseminate official government ideology and to advertise government economic and social achievement. Unlike other dramas which give viewers the impression that some part (or a large part) of the story is similar to our life, purposive dramas bring about the thinking that the story is totally made up and it is not a part of our lives. The problem of the purposive dramas is that while they, to some extent, succeed in disseminating official ideology they also bring about direct resistance from audiences.
Another element generated from government policy is the stress on loyalty and national unity particularly in historical dramas. There are two types of historical dramas. One is historical dramas which arouse the audience's historic consciousness by dramatizing certain historic events or persons who became national legends or heroes. Glory Hero Lee Sun-sin, King Sejong and Kang Gam-chan are examples. These dramas stressed national unity and loyalty by arousing the viewer's historic consciousness. They dramatize the historic events or national heroes that overcome national difficulties. The others are dramas which evolve around the tales of the royal family or ordinary people. One survey shows that in Korean dramas, the theme of loyalty and filial duty ranked second (30.7%) behind love and romance (40%) (Kang and Lee 1980:222). 1

2.2.2. Cultural Policy

The concrete cultural policy in South Korea began with the long-term planning for cultural promotion in 1974. In the budget message following his inauguration as president for a third term in 1971, President Park Chung-hee outlined the plan. The objective of the plan would be, he stated, "to create a new national culture based on the indigenous national philosophy and the consciousness of identity, a new national culture that would contribute and further develop the cultural and artistic inheritance" (Kim 1976:18).

This was followed by the announcement of the First Five Year Cultural Promotion Plan. In an effort to exercise this plan, a series of measures were taken. Firstly, in order to

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1 These are a proportion of themes among 2,995 cases.
1. Love and romance 39.7% (1189 cases), 2. Filial duty 20.5% (615), 3. loyalty 10.2% (305), 4. power 7.1% (212), 5. respect 5.9% (177), 6. wealth 5.7% (170), 7. others 10.9% (327).
provide a legal base, the Culture and Arts Promotion Law was passed in August 1972. It was aimed at contributing to the restoration of national culture through traditional culture and arts, and by the creation of new culture. Secondly, the Council for the Promotion of Culture and Art was set up. It was a consultive body that consisted of the Prime Minister as chairman, the Minister of Culture and Information and the Chairman of Arts Academy as vice-chairmen, and 4 Ministers and 4 Heads of culture, arts and sciences institutions as members. It was set up to support and coordinate the plan at the governmental level. Thirdly, the Korean Culture and Arts Promotion Foundation - an executive agency with authority to raise funds was created. Fourthly, it designated an annual 'Culture Day' (20 October) and a 'Culture Month' (October) to attract people's interest in culture (Chung, J.W. 1986; Kim 1976).

Thus, as far as the quantity (and to some extent quality) is concerned, it gave considerable impetus to promote cultural activities. Large sums of money were invested in rehabilitating traditional culture and in developing cultural operations. But as will be discussed later, it raises a problem that the plan is operating under the guidance of the government rather than on willingness of cultural institutions and personnel. In essence, it could not escape the basic principles in which national integrity and economic growth were exclusively emphasised.

The tone of the symposium under the banner of 'national development and culture' held in 1977 summarized the theme of cultural policy. "The renovation of national consensus which derives from the reformation of individual consciousness should be seen as a precondition for national development and improvement of welfare. Therefore, the policy for cultural promotion can be interpreted as a strategic part of comprehensive economic development. Cultural policy has the significance in exercising it" (Kim 1977:35). From the tone of the symposium, it is apparent
that culture and cultural policy should be understood within the national context in which integrity and fast economic growth are the primary target. For the government and its sympathizers, culture is a 'psychic mobility' that leads people to understand national targets and government policy. It is not a coincidence that it is analogous to the theme of 'development theory' in which the role of the mass media and individual empathy in national development are emphasized.

Cultural policy in South Korea and Third World countries, in this sense, should be understood within the wider and complex context of dependency. It does mean that dependency does not occur at the micro-level in which certain practices are operating within the specific national context. As will be discussed in later chapters, while some basic patterns and structures are imported from centre countries, some operational practices are conducted within the local context. On the other hand, at the macro-level, the themes and tones of doctrine, structure and system are copied from centre countries.

The criteria for selecting Award for Best Films in Production and Import offer concrete examples of the principles of the government. The entries, according to the guidelines, should contain the following content:

1) it should reflect the spirit of the October Restoration (a political event that allowed for an unlimited presidential term in October 1972),
2) it should reflect the consensus of nation-love and race-love, and to erect national identity,
3) it should present the New Village Movement (a social drive for improving people's standard guided by the government),
4) it should portray the industrial man who makes an effort for national development,
5) it should dramatize the historic event that overcomes national difficulties,
6) it should reflect the theme of national integrity as a
way of overcoming national difficulties,
7) it should promote the whole nation's drive towards
science and technology, and present the theme of increased

These guidelines show the intention of the government. The role of movies is for the government to educate and enlighten people. What the government attempts through media and cultural policy is to put them in to the national context in which social security and integrity are required. Thus, in this context, culture appears to be a conveyor of government's official ideology.

It is undeniable that the plan contributed to the promotion of cultural activities and operation in terms of quantity and to some extent quality as well. But given the fact that priority was given to the fulfillment of the criteria that cultural policy should comply with national integrity and development, its practice could not escape the fixed framework imposed by the government. The so-called three major cultural events - the Korean Music Festival, the Korean Play Festival and the Korean Dance Festival - were/are all conducted under the patronage of the government. It is hard to find any autonomous operation or events in the sphere of established culture and arts.  

Among other events, 'Kookpoong 81' should be mentioned because it represents the essence of the current government's cultural policy. 'Kookpoong 81' was a national festival at which a total of 14,000 performers of 244 cultural groups from 194 colleges and from other domestic and foreign cultural, arts, musicians and dancers' groups took part at the Yoido Plaza from 28th May to 1st June of

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2 I use this term in order to contrast it with counter culture or 'minjoong' culture (see the discussion of 'minjoong' culture in chapter 3.3.).
1981. Everyday they attracted an estimated 600,000 - 1,000,000 audience. Plays, masked plays, a tug-of-war, the throwing of the discus, building homes, pop song contests, pop concerts were performed during five days. The Kyung-hang Sinmun (a daily national newspaper) put forward its significance in its editorial. "We hope that through 'kookpoong 81' we could inherit our traditional culture with creativity. Through this, we wish to cultivate national consensus of unity that could consolidate people's integration." As is explicit from the newspaper headline - "The Plaza for Harmony", its aim was to recover national harmony which has been shattered by political oppression, reconstruction of mass media and the so-called 'social purification movement', through the event.

But unlike the government's claim that the event aimed to promote traditional culture, it resulted in chaotic 'government-manufactured culture' and 'vulgarization of traditional culture' (Chung, J.W. 1986:301). Without any concrete direction, it provided the audiences with extravagant tumult by pursuing thorough entertainment and amusement. What the government intended was to incorporate the concern for seeking indigenous culture which has already gained considerable popularity among college students and some workers within and outside the establishment. (See detail account of this movement, chapter 3.3.). The irony was that while the government had an iron grip on 'minjoong culture', it also tried to incorporate these elements within the government's patronage. Originally the government planned to stage it annually. But faced with heavy criticism, it has taken place only once.

Contrary to the government's intention of promoting national culture by drawing on indigenous culture and by creating new culture, what the government produced through cultural policy was the 'government-manufactured culture', commercialized mass culture, pseudo high culture and vulgar traditional culture. However, it is paradoxical that this
government’s forced and patronized policy has led to a surge of counter culture or ‘minjoong’ culture. Alarmed by growing concern for ‘minjoong’ culture and by the failure of the government-manufactured culture, the government intensified the suppression of ‘minjoong’ culture by using the oppressive state apparatus. Then the Minister of Culture and Information, Won-Hong Lee signalled the oppression on 20 July 1985 by labelling ‘minjoong culture’ as an instrument of the anti-society movement. On that day, the operation was already under way. Police stormed into the Aram Cultural Centre where "1985 Korean Art - 20 Generation’s Power Exhibition" was held. The government authority suspended the exhibition and confiscated 30 of 120 works. This incident marked a turning point both for the government’s severe oppression on ‘minjoong’ culture and for minjoong’s intensification of the struggle. Thereafter oppression of ‘minjoong’ art such as woodcuts and wall paintings was intensified. Reacting to this oppression, the groups and institutions of ‘minjoong’ art as well as some established art groups began to build up intensive struggle. Art groups which were considered as a relatively weak organization in the struggle compared with literature and dance began to realize the importance of struggle (Hong 1987:486).

In conclusion, communication and cultural policy in South Korea appear to be a strong means of educating and enlightening people by disseminating government’s guidelines. In positive terms, policy must be so designed as to foster the social development and an egalitarian thrust which would contribute to the maximization of national potential. In negative terms, these elements in cultural and communication activities which tend to undermine effective marshalling of national potential need to be weeded out (Hahn 1978:16). As far as cultural and communication policy in South Korea is concerned, cultural and communication practices which were framed and patronized by the government turned out to be negative and unproductive in the sense that it brought about enormous challenge and opposition.
In terms of national sovereignty and cultural identity, communication policy appears to be positive in ownership in the sense that it blocked direct capital investment at least in the sectors of press and broadcasting. But as will be discussed in the case of other areas and at a practical level of representation, the outlook is not as positive as in the case of ownership. As far as cultural policy is concerned, it explicitly and implicitly allows free flow of foreign culture. Commercialized mass culture was the vanguard of bringing western culture into South Korea. Western films, advertising, pop songs and above all other western commodities have poured into Korean society. The policy of a dependent society, in this sense, should be examined under the wider context of economic, political and cultural relationships with centre countries. The Americans, Western Europeans, and Japanese have intensified their pressure for opening telecommunication, tobacco, alcohol, insurance, copy right businesses and many others. In particular, the pressure by Americans for privatising telecommunication casts doubts on a dependent society's relative autonomy.

2.3. Theoretical Perspectives and Public Debate About the Flows of Culture and TV Programmes

Culture can be seen as a social product, a historically created relation of individuals to nature and to one other, which is handed down to each generation. In this sense, the studies of culture are involved with the wider and complex analysis of relationships between nature and the labour process. It is specifically involved with the economic, political and mental activities of human beings.

However, as the means of production and means of transportation and communication have considerably developed, geographical gaps between societies and nations have been narrowed. Accordingly, cultural activities between societies have increasingly grown whether they are one way
or unbalanced flow. Having considered the mounting increase of cultural flow between societies and countries, it is obvious that the analysis of culture also requires the wider context of modern imperialism and neocolonialism. As we indicated elsewhere, the advocates of cultural imperialism thesis, thus, are concerned with the working mechanism behind these cultural activities on the global level under the capitalist system. Contrary to this neo-Marxist line of thinking, cultural diffusionists take the different view that diffusion always had a catalytic function in sociocultural development. Thus, culture can be seen as a purely catalytic process which is nothing to do with capitalist expansion and imperialism. To some extent this is right. Culture itself cannot develop without the contact of foreign culture. It contains a set of elements adopted from outside. But it seems ahistoric and ethnocentric in the sense that this line of thought overlooks the nature of capitalist expansion and imperialism. Until the maturing of capitalist economy, the pace of cultural flow was so slow that the recipient countries could have the time to adopt and filter alien culture, consequently enriching their indigenous culture. In the process of imperialistic capitalist expansion, the speed and pace of development in new technology and means of communication was so fast that the receiving nations could not digest the exogenous culture. It must also be noted that the flow of culture, in general, was always facilitated by the military and economic power, although there were some variations in specific regions and periods.

There are a number of contributing factors that can be identified to account for the transformation of Korean culture. From the viewpoint of the externally-contributed explanation, the flow of foreign culture in Korea was directly involved with the expansion policy of the imperialistic forces. Western imperialistic powers forced to open China in 1842 and Japan in 1854. Again western countries forcibly attempted to open Korea which was then
maintaining a protection policy. A British merchant ship requested Korea to trade in 1816 and 1831. French fleets appeared in 1846, 1854 and 1865, and Russian ones in 1866. Inevitably two conflicts occurred — one with the French in 1866 and the other with the Americans in 1871. After all in 1876, Korea was forced open by the Japanese which had become another imperialist power through the Meiji Restoration. This forced transformation of culture was followed by the Japanese colonization in 1910 and the military involvement by the Americans and Russians in 1945. In the light of this line of thought, the flow of foreign culture was viewed as a response to imperialistic pressure.

In the light of the internally-constituted position, the failure of the foreign policy implemented by the ruling political power groups and the disintegration of social and economic structure were the main contributing factors accounting for the degeneration of Korean culture. Politically, dominant groups which faced both the resistance from the populace and the imperialistic threat failed to reform the social and economic structure based on autonomous open policy. The ruling groups exclusively used the isolation policy in order to maintain their dominance. Thus, as a historian's account states, they lost the autonomous chance to transform Korean society (Kang, M.G. 1984). Socially and economically Korea was in crisis. There was a mounting antagonistic contradiction between 'Yangban' (the noble aristocrats) class and the dominated class. The dominated class — mainly peasants — which had been alienated

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3 The Meiji Restoration in 1886 marked the shift of power from the Tokugawa shogun to the emperor Mutsuhito who adopted the reign title of Meiji, "enlightened rule." It ended ascendancy of the warrior class and replaced the decentralized structure of late feudalism with a centralized modern structure, which enabled Japan to compete in the international order.
from the means of production and exploited by the tax system expressed their anger through constant struggles. The dominant groups supported by the King's absolute power, the possession of the means of production and dominant ideology were threatened by the constant popular struggles. There were more than 50 peasant uprisings in the second half of the 19th century. But these could not lead the social revolution because of lack of effective organization and ideological consensus. The school of 'Silhak' - a school of liberal aristocrats who emphasized the idea of reform through the positivism and the selective introduction of foreign culture tried to generate the political consensus inclusive of the popular support, but it also failed.

As Mao(1965) states, a phenomenon or thing cannot be explained without a concrete analysis of the relationship between external and internal forces. The relationship should be understood in the context of distinct and historically specific stages or epochs in which different kinds of material processes and social relationships are embodied. The transformation of Korean culture was, in this sense, the result of the contradiction between external and internal forces. It is noteworthy that the flow of foreign culture in the 19th century was not a voluntary process, but a forced transformation accompanying military power. At the same time it should be also reiterated that the forced opening of Korean society was due to the failure in catering to the people's demand for social reforms and changes. It is a generally accepted consensus among communication scholars that the external factors played a crucial part in transforming Korean culture compared with the internal conditions (Lee, K.S. 1982; Choi 1979). They insist that the threat by western imperialism and the colonization by the Japanese were the main causes for degeneration of Korean traditional culture.

This contradictory feature is embodied in the duality of Korean culture. At first sight Korean (South) culture seems
to be one-sided western influenced-culture. It is characterized as epicurean, consumerist and commercialized. The process of westernization takes the dualistic process. On the one hand, western culture was introduced through the missionary works of Christianity in the name of modernization. Later westernization was accelerated by the U.S.A. military involvement after the liberation in 1945 and participation in the world capitalist system initiated by the Americans. On the other hand, western culture came into Korea mediated through Japan. This westernized Japanese (or Japanised western) culture was expressed in two forms. Firstly, Japanese pop songs, language, and life styles have been transformed. These are mediated through the various media such as television (only available along the South coast line), magazines, advertising, cartoons and newspapers (This will be discussed in the later chapter 2.4.). Secondly, forms, patterns and formulas of television, newspapers, magazines, advertising, films, cartoons, pop songs are imitated by media professionals. The dual process of cultural flow into South Korea makes the analysis of (South) Korean culture more complicated.

2.3.1. Theoretical Perspectives on the Flow of Television Programmes

During the 1960s and 1970s, South Korea experienced a rapid expansion in the mass communication industry. Expansion of communication infrastructure was generally involved with the monopoly stage either through severe competition or through political consideration as a means of controlling the mass media. This led to the changing perspectives of the television industry - the decline of imported programmes, the adoption of western patterns, formulas, western values, ideas and ideology, and above all rapid expansion of new media industries - cable television, satellite, video tape recorders (VCRs).

As far as the proportion of the television programming is
concerned, South Korea seems to be a self-reliant country. South Korean television imports around 15% of foreign programmes. (See Table 7).

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<td>KBS 1</td>
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<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBS 2</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>MBC</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
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1984: 2nd and 4th week of December
1985: 3rd and 4th week of March
1986: 1st and 2nd week of May

There are four contributing factors that can be identified to account for self-sufficiency in television programmes.

(1) Economic infrastructure
As we discussed in sub-chapter 2.1., South Korea has experienced rapid economic growth over the last decades. South Korea produces television sets, VCRs, computers and other new electronic goods. Also she exports much electronic equipment to the rest of the world. The number of television sets has continuously increased since the inception of television. Above all, the expansion of television infrastructure contributed to the decline in the number of imported-programmes.

(2) Political considerations
Television has been used as a means of control by the political power groups and the government. In order to maintain their dominance and the status quo, they needed a driving machine to guide the official ideology and moral framework as they saw fit. From the introduction of television, the ownership and control of broadcasting by foreigners was excluded, though foreign companies such as RCA were allowed to sell hardware and software. After the military coup in 1961, the military junta rushed to set up the new television network. The KBS was the product of the military government's efforts to meet these requirements. Not surprisingly, some programmes such as so-called purposive programmes which contain anti-Communist items and government economic achievements were produced. As Mattelart (1980:74) observes, the fact that the military states import fewer foreign cultural products and manufacture more cultural products within their own country shows the extent to which the cultural message must be coherent within the state apparatus. It is a general tendency in so-called Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs) in Asia and Latin America.

(3) Cultural tradition
South Korea still maintains its cultural heritage although the flow of foreign culture has constantly degenerated the Korean tradition. Koreans have their own language and are one ethnic group. In South Korea, the English-speaking group is a minority, although many educated people have learnt English as a first foreign language.

(4) Psychological element
Having experienced the colonial experience through the Japanese, South Koreans in general are reluctant to be directly controlled by foreigners. They are however less concerned about indirect control and influence. It has been well expressed in the form of foreign debt rather than allowing direct investment. And it also materialised in the form of imitation of foreign patterns and formulas rather than direct imports of foreign cultural products.
There is no crude and manifest cultural imperialism in the sector of television. It rather takes sophisticated and immanent forms, the adoption of patterns and formulas, and the signification of western values, ideas and norms. Thus, cultural imperialism in South Korea, NICs in general, are in transition from crude to sophisticated imperialism in the television sector, and from the television industry to new communications. Crudely speaking, there is no more room for television imperialism in programming. On the other hand, there is enormous space for new communication technologies and culture as a whole.

2.4. Cultural Synchronization in South Korea.

Distinctive features of cultural heritage in South Korea are gradually disappearing because of the process of what Hamelink called 'cultural synchronization' or the 'global village'. On radio Michael Jackson's or Madonna's pop songs attract the young generation's pro-westernization. Tens of thousands of Japanese women's magazines appeal to young women. On the southern coastline of the peninsula, local people enjoy Japanese television programmes. For well educated people, college students and the business elite, watching AFKN (American soldier's TV and radio network) is regarded as decent and elegant behaviour. In medium-sized pubs, so-called 'Karaoke' (Japanese style small band) is becoming the favourite of the middle class who in a sense still have nostalgia for Japanese culture.

2.4.1. Hatred or Nostalgia ? Japanese Segments in S. Korea

Cultural penetration by the Japanese is manifest in terms of three stages, 1. economic penetration, 2, cultural penetration, 3. military penetration (Shin 1984a). Economic penetration started in 1965 when diplomatic relations with Japan were established. From 1966 to 1984, the trade deficit with Japan had been $ 30 billion which represented three
quarters of the total deficit derived from international trade. Since then South Korea has been dependent on Japanese capital and technology.

Cultural penetration was accompanied by economic penetration. Some Japanese cultural products such as books and magazines were allowed in by the Korean government while there was a strict ban on imports of Japanese films, television programmes and records. Despite policy considerations on Japanese cultural imports, Japanese culture has constantly flowed into South Korea. Dissatisfied by the limited cultural exchange between the two countries, former Japanese Prime Minister Yashiro Nakasone requested a full-scale cultural exchange when he visited South Korea in 1983. At last, more increased cultural exchange schemes were agreed by two governments. In a press conference, he disclosed that both governments agreed to continue cooperating with each other in cultural and economic spheres, but there was no discussion with regard to tri-partite military cooperation by the United States, Japan and Korea (Kim, B. 1984). For some Korean scholars, cultural exchange (in fact unequal exchange) is considered to be a basis for establishing military cooperation - the tri-partite defence system of the United States, Japan and Korea in the Pacific area. Thus, cultural exchange is regarded as a prior plan to create the environment for expanding neo-militarism (Kim, B. 1984; Lee, H.C. 1984; Shin 1984a; Lee, Y.H. 1984).

The Problems of the D.B.S.

The first Japanese regular BS-2a satellite broadcasting began in May 1984 amid concern among some Koreans. They were concerned about spillover of Japanese programmes that were regarded as epicurean, commercialized and violent by Korean standards. In Pusan, the second largest city in South Korea and the southern coast line, it has been reported that local people were already able to watch Japanese programmes even
before satellite launch.

The issues over direct satellite broadcasting have already created a sense of urgency concerning the question of cultural sovereignty of small countries. As reflected in the debate in UNESCO, small countries confronted with cultural infiltration from big countries overwhelmingly backed the declaration on the use of satellite broadcasting by a vote of 55 to 7 with 22 abstentions on 15 November 1972. It states that "... it is necessary that states, taking into account the principle of freedom of information, reach or promote prior agreements concerning direct satellite broadcasting to the population of countries other than the country of origin of the transmission." The UN General Assembly supported this view in November 1972, by a vote of 102 to 1 - the United States casting the single dissenting vote (Schiller 1976:40; Pool 1979:130).

The fear of cultural intrusion by direct television broadcasts will increase as Japan planned the launch of BS-3, which was scheduled for February 1989. Figure 2 shows the spillover area which tested in 1979 when NHK transmitted an experimental signal using the BS-1a experimental satellite.

According to Figure 2, the centre of Japanese’s main island is able to receive the signal by using a 1-meter parabola antenna. At Okinawa and Hokaido in Japan, Ulsan and Masan in South Korea, it is possible to receive signals by using a 1.6-meter antenna, and Taegu (the third largest city) with a 3-meter antenna, Daejon with a 4-meter antenna, and Seoul with a 4.5-meter antenna. Accordingly, in Pusan (second largest city with a 3.5 million population) and Ulsan (industrial city), reception of Japanese signals is possible by using a 1.6-meter parabola antenna which costs around $1800 (300,000 yen). In the case of Seoul, it is possible to install a 4.5-meter parabola antenna which costs more than $15,000 (Lee 1984). But if the cost of a parabola
antenna decreases by mass production, fear of cultural intrusion through Japanese satellites might become a big problem. At the moment, the problem of Japanese direct broadcasting is only limited to the southern area.

Figure 2

The Spillover Area By BS-2

(Source, Lee, C.W. 1984:27)

The Japanese Segments in South Korea

By and large, the Japanese fashion and way of life have been imported from Japanese magazines. There are many bookshops that deal in Japanese magazines in the city centre, near colleges and apartments. Teenagers at high
schools and colleges imitate the hair styles and clothing through Japanese fashion magazines such as Screen, Music Life, Nonno, Sangsang and kangkang. Children’s rooms are decorated, and foods are made from Japanese children’s magazine, Kinder Garden. Housewives imitate the interior, gardening, clothing, and beauty care from More, Wod, Angang, Beebee, J J, The Best One, Fashion Correspondence and Mode et Mode. These Japanese magazines were circulated by import agents. According to them, more than 10,000 copies of Nonno are circulated in South Korea and several thousands copies of Angang were imported (Bae 1985). These are striking by Korean standards in the sense that the circulation of the most popular Korean magazines range between 10,000 and 20,000. In addition to these Japanese magazines, Japanese books dealing with interiors, gardening, beauty care and clothing appeal to the Korean customer’s taste. Japanese government statistics in 1984 showed that Japan imported 111,310,000 Yen worth of Korean books and Magazines whereas Japan exported 2,368,970,000 Yen worth of Japanese books and magazines to South Korea (Bae 1985).

The content of Japanese books is wide. Most books imported into South Korea deal with sex and violence, particularly in the case of the Samurai saga. Noticeable are the books dealing with the secrets of success of Japanese enterprises and tycoons. They are concerned only with the success-only-life, materialism and consumerism stimulating cruelty, coldheartedness and competition, and justifying the logic of the strong regardless of their means and ways. As soon as they were published in Japan, the Japanese and Korean editions became the best sellers in South Korea.

Another serious problem is that Japanese titles, patterns and formulas of television, newspapers and magazines, books, cartoons and advertising are transferred to Korean media. It was said that some Japanese television programmes which were on the air on Japanese network recently were presented on Korean television networks. In this case, some stories and
structures were slightly modified in order to disguise the original programmes. It is true that some television producers watch and review Japanese programmes before shooting in the Southern area where reception of Japanese television signals is possible. A veteran television producer admits that the patterns of Korean television were almost all affected by Japanese television, and television production in South Korea begins with imitation from America or Japanese television (Hwang 1980). He further made a comment that imitation of Japanese programmes by Korean producers has been taking place for so long that it might take some time to create and develop their own creative works. It is the same case in the press, magazines, books and advertising in that patterns of editing were transformed from Japan. The titles of some magazines were copied from Japanese magazines. Editing and composition jargons in the Press, magazines, and books are still those of the Japanese.

The perception of American culture and Japanese culture by Koreans was exercised in different ways. Koreans are highly receptive to the economic, political and cultural ideas that Americans brought with them after the Second World War. The dissemination of American ideas and culture is considerable because Americans are thought to be a welcome liberator and big brother. Generally speaking, Americans have been called friends by most Koreans. Most Koreans have never called Americans imperialist or Yankees, except some radical students and intellectuals. A study showed that American culture in general was perceived as positive and favourable despite some negative elements by cited Koreans (Yim 1984a: 1982). Positive elements were derived from military and economic aids before and during the Korean War. Accordingly, American culture appears to be manifest, positive and less-resistant in comparison to Japanese culture.

Koreans are also receptive to the Japanese economic, political and cultural ideas which were incorporated during
colonial rule. But it is different from the American case. For Koreans, Japanese culture is responsive in two different ways. On the one hand, Japanese culture is considered to be the remaining vestiges of colonial rule - the resistant one. This is manifest in the policy of embargo on Japanese films, records and television programmes. On the other hand, Japanese culture is thought to be homogeneous and similar to Korean culture - a receptive one. This is exercised in the form of permitting import of Japanese books and magazines. Although the level of imports is limited, its influence is enormous, reflecting the latter element of receptive position. That is the reason why the Korean government is afraid of lifting the embargo on Japanese cultural products. Contrary to American culture, Japanese culture is conceived as being latent and potential. In South Korea, anti-Americanism is understood to be intolerable whereas showing of anti-Japanese consensus is considered to be patriotic and tolerable at least at a superficial level. Japanese culture in South Korea has a Janus face.

2.4.2. The Uncounted Channel: the Presence of the AFKN

A crucial issue that dates back more than 30 years still remains as an increasing source of social and cultural concern among some Koreans. At issue is the American Forces Korean Network (AFKN), the US military's locally based TV and radio service. During the Korean War, the AFKN, initially an extension of the Far East Network in Japan, started radio service in September 1950. Wartime operations were mainly based in mobile vans due to the frequently moving battlefield (Kang, H.D. 1984). In 1954 the Seoul radio studio was reopened. This was followed by the launch of TV broadcasts in 1957 and FM radio service in 1964. A colour television system was introduced in 1977 and by 1983 a global AFRTS (American Forces Radio and Television Service) satellite was established. The crucial fact is that the AFKN extended television service time from 14 hours to 19 hours daily. Consequently the AFKN's TV service time
exceeded the Korean television networks. Korean television networks operate 11 hours on weekdays, 16 hours on Saturdays, and 18 hours on Sundays.

The purpose of the AFKN in principle is to provide information and entertainment programming to some 62,000 US military personnel including 20,000 dependents based in South Korea. However, anyone living near one of its string of transmitters can pick up the broadcast signals. Considering the West German case in which the audience cannot receive the broadcast signals without special antennas, South Korea needs some policy consideration concerning national sovereignty. The operation of the AFKN in South Korea is based on the ROK-US Administrative Agreement made in 1966. It stipulates that all the electronic and communication problems including allocation of frequency must be promptly solved with a spirit of coordination and cooperation according to the stipulations arranged by the government's communication authorities. According to this agreement, the Korean government is placed in a cooperation position rather than a sovereign regulative authority (Kang, H.D. 1984). In 1984 when the AFKN issue was becoming a source of social concern and controversy among South Koreans, the South Korean government attempted to include the clause that AFKN should not broadcast the programmes that might cause disadvantages to Korea and ought to observe Korean laws and customs. But it ended in only including the clause that (the AFKN) observes the sensitivities of the recipient country. Under these circumstances, the Korean government does not have any legal basis to regulate the AFKN programmes which might infringe and encroach upon Korean traditions and sovereignty. There is no doubt that the agreement is unequal. It is worth noting that in West Germany the US military broadcast is directly governed and regulated by the West German broadcasting authority. It is no wonder that the presence and operation of the AFKN in South Korea should be understood in the wider context of dependence on the United
States in terms of economic, political, technological and military relations.

Since the primary target of the AKKN is military personnel and their dependents, it is no wonder that entertainment programmes are a major component of the AFKN programming. As some American scholars point out, violence and sex have been the major subjects of the American television programmes (Comstock 1980; Cantor and Pingree 1983). Given the primary target group, we could understand that the AFKN programmes are more violent and sex-oriented than Korean programmes. Among Korean communication scientists, it has been argued that the AFKN programmes are characterised as violent and sex-oriented (Kang, H.D. 1984; Lee, K.S. 1983; Won 1984).

South Korean complaints have mainly focused on the television service which has been thought to have a wider impact than radio despite a more limited broadcasting range. No concrete studies have sought to assess the probable size of the shadow South Korean audience. The South Korean segment is thought to be small. However, it should be noted that although the Korean segment is considered to be small, they are composed of college and high school students, intellectuals, business elites and those who seek to improve language skills. According to Lee (1983) it was revealed that 69.5% of interviewees which were composed of high school and college students watched the AFKN television 'everyday', 16.5% of interviewees watched the AFKN television 'everyday'. In answering questions about the motive for watching AFKN-TV, 45.2 per cent of interviewees said they watched the programmes in order to improve English-speaking and listening comprehension skills, 20.5 per cent watched because the programmes were enjoyable, 18.6 per cent watched because the programmes provide the audience with the chance to "meet" the famous movie and pop stars. One study also showed that while the exposure to the AFKN by Korean college students had an impact on the attitudes towards American
culture and Korean culture, it did not influence the fundamental Korean value system and Korean traditional culture. But it concluded that excessive exposure to the AFKN programmes in the long run might have an impact on Korean culture and traditions because the AFKN transmitted the specific values and ideology symbolizing the American culture and tradition (Kang 1985).

2.4.3. Film and the Western Involvement

The flows of films around the globe is guided by economic imperatives. This means that the films which are available at any moment on screens are there as a result of commercial decisions rather than of considerations on aesthetic quality or more detached concerns about where a society ought to be going and how it can get there (Guback 1974). The introduction of films into Korea did not escape this rule. As Lee (1973) demonstrates, the first Korean film was introduced not as a means of aesthetic considerations but as a result of being an advertising tool for economic invasion by western imperialist powers. By 1903 after the first electric tram was built by the Hansung Electric Company – the joint company of American Colbran and Bostwick, and the Korean royal family, the company presented a film as a means of attracting tram users. By the same year of 1903, the Anglo-American Tobacco Company also showed a film in order to attract the consumers (Lee 1973; Kim 1976). It should not be dismissed that the films in Korea were introduced not because of aesthetic quality but as advertising tools for promoting foreign commodities. From the beginning, films were involved with foreign influence. Thus, the history of development of films in Korea began with the distribution of foreign films for selling foreign goods.

During the second decade of the 20th century, almost all the movie theatres except Chosun Theater, Umigwan and Dansungsa were owned by the Japanese. Most films were imported from America, France and Japan, and domestic films
were produced by the Japanese. In 1924 the first movie produced by Koreans was presented. The following movies were shown during the 1920s (Lee 1973:17).

1920: Hearts of the World (Produced in 1918 by U.S.A.)
1921: Romeo and Juliet (1916, U.S.A.)
1922: J'accuse (1919, France)
1923: The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (1921, U.S.A.)
    Quo Vadis (1912, Italy)
    Der Spieler (1922, Germany)
1924: Three Musketeers (1921, U.S.A.)
    La Reine Elizabeth (1912, France)
    Les Contes des mille et une Nuits (1920, France)

The penetration of Japanese capital made the Korean film industry vulnerable to foreign influence. The Korean film industry had been developed not by producing films but by distributing foreign films. After the liberation in 1945, the Korean film market was protected by the quota and ceiling system. The government gave local film makers the right to import foreign films in relation to the number produced. As a consequence, local film makers produced movies in order to obtain the right to import foreign films. Thus, the block-booking system which sells a block of films including the unprofitable ones (generally domestically produced films) as well as lucrative ones (imported ones) became the dominant distribution system. Table 8 demonstrates that foreign films are more popular than domestically produced films.

Pressured by the Motion Picture Export Association (MPEAA) of the United States, the Korean government agreed a settlement which could bring about softening of the ceiling system and the flow of foreign capital in 1986. In the settlement, foreign markets were allowed to establish a local branch in South Korea. It was also agreed that the quota system which limited the foreign imports up to $ 5 million would be revised. Cho(1987a) expressed concerns
Table 8

The Number of Movie-goers in 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Killing Fields</td>
<td>925.994</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Indiana Jones</td>
<td>808,492</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rambo 2</td>
<td>639,098</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Deep and Blue Night</td>
<td>639,098</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Oudong</td>
<td>392,674</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ghost Busters</td>
<td>344,422</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Boksunggojo</td>
<td>337,006</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Terminator</td>
<td>318,828</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Koechacha</td>
<td>307,761</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Matahari</td>
<td>274,132</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source, Korean Film Yearbook, 1986)

about the possible impact on the Korean film industry. Firstly, the flow of foreign capital could be increased and the market would be shared by the MPEAA participating in the Korean distribution market. Secondly, the present profit ratio between distributor and exhibitor of 60 v. 40 would increase up to 65 v. 35 or 70 v. 30 making it more lucrative for the distributors. Thirdly, American film capital was expected in making films, particularly in co-production. Fourthly, the production system which was filming abroad by exploiting cheap labour, was expected.

2.4.4. New Era for the Transnational Advertising Agencies

By 25 January 1886, the first advertising was carried out by the German trading company in the Hansung Weekly Newspaper. As all media were introduced by foreigners seeking a economic base in the Korean market, the
advertising market was not an exception. All advertising which appeared in the newspaper was taken by foreigners. It was not until 1896 that the first advertising financed by Koreans was seen in newspapers. It is ironical that most advertising in The Independent newspaper which was published to promote people's consciousness of independence and to resist imperialistic penetration was taken by American, English, German and Western advertisers (Shin 1986).

The arrival of Coca cola in 1968 followed by Pepsi in 1969 marked a turning point for internationalization of Korean advertising. Their arrival increased the cooling beverage consumer market by up to 20 per cent. The participation of Coca Cola and Pepsi Cola in the Korean drinking market created new patterns in terms of marketing and advertising.

In 1986 the advertising revenue spent by foreign companies was $132 million which represented 16.3% of total Korean advertising revenue. In detail, Californian Raisin Association spent $1.3 million, IBM spent $1,279,700, Eastman Kodak spent $1,148,000, and United Airline spent $964,000 (Mail Economics 1987).

By April 1987, the Korean government decided to open the advertising market to foreigners. This was a response to cope with the American government's pressure that demanded Won (Korean currency) revaluation and an open market for foreigners. By that time, transnational advertising agencies - Leo Burnett and J. Walter Thompson demanded that the Korean government open the Korean advertising market. However, it is expected that it will be materialised in either a form of affiliation or technical cooperation rather than establishment of branches due to severe opposition from local advertising agencies. Table 9 shows the affiliation plan by transnational advertising agencies.
Table 9

The Affiliation Plan By the TNAA
(Transnational Advertising Agencies)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Korean Advertising Agencies</th>
<th>TNAA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jaeil</td>
<td>Ted Bated Worldwide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hakuhodo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oricom</td>
<td>MoCann-Erikson Worldwide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leo Burnett Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dentsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bentsu-Young Rubican DFS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daehong</td>
<td>DDB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DIK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SSCW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunhap</td>
<td>FCB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daiko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korad</td>
<td>Ogilvy &amp; Mather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tokyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L G Ad</td>
<td>BBDO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seoul Agency</td>
<td>Mannensja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nara</td>
<td>J.W.Thomson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guson</td>
<td>FCB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samhi</td>
<td>Lintas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumkang</td>
<td>Asatus-BBDO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asahi Communication</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source, Kim and Kim 1986:57)
2.5. Information Technology, New Basis for Cultural Imperialism

In December 1980, the South Korean government decided to transmit colour broadcasting. As soon as the broadcast of colour television started, the electronic industry which had suffered from lack of demand began to recover from economic recession. It signalled the opening of the information society in South Korea. Revitalization of the television industry then led to the expansion of new media and information technologies as a whole. The Minister of Telecommunication and Post recalled those days, saying that broadcasting by colour television provided our electronic industry with a crucial momentum for leapfrog (New Media 1987). At the beginning of 1981, the South Korean government, responding to the initiation of colour television, announced a vast research and development programme of semiconductors, aimed at linking the efforts of the state and private industry. From then, South Korea has been caught up with the so called 'information society' fever. Information technology has been treated as unparalleled and as a magic tool for launching South Korea into the advanced society. The assumption is that South Korea could be shifted from an industrial society to an information society. The most important aspect of the notion is that South Korea is entering a radically different stage of development that can be distinguished from other developing countries by introducing and developing new information technology.

As well as asserting in the information society thesis, it suggests that the revolution in the organisation and processing of information and knowledge, in which the computer plays a central role, is the most significant development of our times. Daniel Bell (1980) summarises three dimensions of the postindustrial society as:

(1) The change from a goods-producing to service society.
He argues that information and theoretical knowledge are the strategic resources of the postindustrial society, just as the combination of energy, resources and machine technology were the transforming agencies of industrial society. In the information society, according to him, a small magic box would solve all the problems we have faced so far, overcoming the energy crisis and population explosion, achieving the abolition of nuclear weapons and complete disarmament, conquering illiteracy, and creating a rich symbiosis of god and man. It expects that in the end the information revolution will create 'information civilization by the voluntary cooperation of the citizens, leading to the disappearance of social classes.' (Masuda 1985)

Fancied by the myth and dream associated with the notion of the information revolution or information society, the South Korean government gave the information industries a top priority in investment schemes. Tae-Sup Lee, the former Minister of Science and Technology, outlined the policy of new technology development. The major policy consideration he made was to restructure the industries from the industrial to information service. For the short-term policy, consideration was given to the substitution of imported machinery parts. For the long-term, the government would push ahead on development of computer, software, telecommunication and information service-related technologies in order to secure the basis of technological innovations (High Tech 1987). Paralleled with the recognition of the importance in information technology, the capital investment in the information industry was constantly increasing. (See Table 10). Since 1970, information-related industries have increased their share in
Table 10

The Growth of the Information-Related Industries
(Billion Won, Won 1300= 1 Pound)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1975</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1983</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. GNP</td>
<td>26,113.5</td>
<td>37,205.0</td>
<td>45,634.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Information-Related Industries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Telecommunication</td>
<td>234.0</td>
<td>530.2</td>
<td>670.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Electrical</td>
<td>673.0</td>
<td>1,673.4</td>
<td>2,244.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Publishing</td>
<td>110.8</td>
<td>196.8</td>
<td>219.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Ratio (B/A)</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source, Song 1986:27)

Gross National Product from 3.9% in 1975 to 6.9% in 1983.

As we have noted so far, South Korea has moved into the initial stage of the so-called information society. It has been argued that new information technology has become the most important 'strategic resource' and is transforming Korean society. It may be correct that information technology will bring about increasing productivity in office and factory management, education, health and communications. But the danger attendant upon the notion of the information society is that it overlooks the nature of information technology which has been developed under the context of the capitalist mode of production. As Locksley has adequately pointed out, information technology must be seen as a capitalist machine in capitalism. He puts forward that 'the IT environment (machine, software, institutions) reflects the structure of that society, underpinned by the dominance of men, the dominance of North over South, and most fundamentally, by the logic of production for profit.'
Thus, questions have to be addressed as to how the new communication technologies are being used to ease the current economic crisis, the crisis of profitability and how developments in new communications technologies impact on patterns of social inequality (Golding and Murdock 1986:71). The former question is addressed by Herbert Schiller who regards the NCTs as the springboard for easing the current economic crisis. He insists that as a response to systemic crisis in the world business system, new information technologies are being introduced into most of the developed market economies (Schiller 1986a:2).

Having considered the role of NCTs which can be seen as a means of capitalist expansion and of easing the crisis economy, it is necessary to take into account the role of NCTs in South Korea. After the oil shock caused from the Iranian Crisis at the end of 1978, the capitalist economy on the global level has suffered serious economic crisis. In line with the world economic crisis, South Korea also plunged into serious economic recession. In 1977, the trade balance was $12.3 million in the red, the following year, 1978 witnessed a $1085.2 million deficit, in 1979 it plummeted to $4151.1 million, and in 1980 to $5230.7 million. The decline in the so-called strategic industries for South Korea such as clothing, shoes, shipping and general heavy and chemical industry, and the fall of the construction boom in the Middle East were the main causes for the economic crisis. It is not coincidental that radical changes in the superstructure (political arena and cultural industry including journalism) followed the assassination of President Park in 1980.

To respond to it, the South Korean government needed a reconstruction of the economy. In this respect, the policy and plans now underway to expand information and the communication structure and industry should be understood as
an ongoing process for expansion of the capitalist economy within and among nations. NCTs provided South Korea and the advanced countries with a new basis for easing economic crisis and expanding markets.

To assess the 'patterns of social inequality' it is necessary to look at the inequalities in the distribution of scientific and technological capabilities, in the industrial capability and in the information infrastructure within and among nations (Rada 1982:36). The developing trend concerning the expansion of the information industry in South Korea is directly involved with operations of the transnationals. In 1982, direct investment by 137 foreign companies took place in the information industry. These companies employed 28,524 workers, representing 18.1% of the workforce in the information industry. They shared 20.1% of total output, and accounted for 34.6% of exports.

There are three types of transnational involvement in the information industry: 1, direct ownership, 2, technological transfer and cooperation, 3, joint venture or technical joint venture. (See Table 11).

The presence of foreign computer corporations directs, to a larger or lesser extent, research, production and marketing structures of the domestic computer market. The Korean IBM - direct ownership of the IBM - has held 68.8% (88 among 128) of total super-macro computer sales ($ 1.5 million worth) from 1967 to the end of 1985. In the macro computer market, the Korean IBM has also shared 53.7% (88) of the total sales. The IBM 16-bit personal computer, IBM 5550, which was sold through Korean dealers, also held 28.4% (3700) of the total sales in 1985. As we noted elsewhere, the pattern of cultural imperialism is shifting from traditional media such as television to new media. In this perspective, the computer market became a fierce battlefield for transnational domination. The expanded market in South Korea guaranteed the lion's share to the transnationals. By
Table 11
Types of Transnational Involvement in Information Industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Transnationals</th>
<th>Types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Korean IBM</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>IBM</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean Philips</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Philips</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daehan Macro</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Macro System</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean Syknetics</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Philips</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Control Data</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean Doranco</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Doranco Inc.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sperry-Rand Korea</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Sperry-Rand Co.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorola Korea</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Motorola Inc.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orion Electric Korea</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Dakeshida Trading</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facon Korea</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Fujis</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanguk</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Toei</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean Dong-A</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Fujis</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean Sow A</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sow A</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean Sammi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean T.T.</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean T.C.</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>T.C.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samsung Semicon</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Exel, DITTI, Sharp</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Micron Technology</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Intel</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>National Semicon</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>IXYS</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Star Semicon</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>AT&amp;T</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>AT&amp;T</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Zilog</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>LSI Logic, AMD</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>LSI Logic, Fair Child</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>United Microtex</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean Electronic</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Toshiba</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Toshiba</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyundai Electronic</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Inmos</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Texas Instruments</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>International CMOS</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Technologies</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Mas Electric</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Alto Electric</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dae-Woo Telecom</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Zymos</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Direct ownership
2. Technical transfer and cooperation
3. Joint venture or technical joint venture
1984, the total sale of Korean IBM was $155.3 million, guaranteeing $33.1 million net profits. The following year, the total sales of Korean IBM increased to $179.3 million, making net profits jump to $52.2 million. In contrast, by 1985 the net profits of IBM in the United States fell. (See Table 12). The market share of macro computers is followed by VAX, Wang and Prime - all U.S. based transnationals.

Table 12

The Total Sale and Net Profits of IBM and Korean IBM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Sale ($m)</th>
<th>Net Profits ($m)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IBM</td>
<td>Korean IBM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>29,100</td>
<td>59.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>34,000</td>
<td>96.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>40,200</td>
<td>125.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>46,000</td>
<td>155.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>179.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source, High Tech 1987:79)

Encouraged by this profitable market, the IBM embarked on a new enterprise. The IBM set up a new firm, KSC (Korean System Corp.) in order to take part directly in the PC market on January 1985. It was established; 1. to produce and sell PC IBM 5550 and PC AT, 2. to extend its business to South Asia by installing RDC (distribution centre). The KSC signed a contract with Hyun-Dae Electronic to produce CPU, Gold Star Telecom to produce printers, Gold Star Alps to produce keyboards, and Gold Star Corp. to produce monitors. The IBM selected Hyun-Dae Electronic, Dae-Woo Electronic, Ssang-Yong Software, Dae-Gyung Computer, Questa Computer as agents for selling goods. Also IBM gave Gyung-Han System a right to sell special goods and to service them.
At the opening ceremony of 1986, J.H. Bishop, the president of Korean IBM, confidently predicted that the Korean IBM will expand two times within 5 years (High Tech 1987:79). For the IBM, a leading supplier of computer in the world, the notion of the so-called information revolution in South Korea guarantees the most stable and profitable market at the global level. It reminds us of the remark expressed by Armand Mattelart and Hector Schmucler (1985:136): Is it a mere exaggeration that "culture's name is IBM"?

New communication technologies have also brought about inequalities and social conflicts within society. What the information society predicts is, as Sivanadan (1979:121) noted, the centralized ownership of the means of production, a culture of reified leisure to mediate discontent and a political system incorporating the state, the transnationals, the trade unions, bureaucracy and the media. In South Korea where they have not yet solved the class conflicts (i.e. workers' unionism, peasant's and urban poor's uprising and student's movement) which resulted from the rapid development of the productive forces generated during the last twenty years, further development of productive forces by new communication technologies will create and deepen the class conflict furthermore. In classic Marxist term, the development of productive forces should be matched with the relations of production.

Transnationals' control over workers engaged in the information industry is one of the contradictions that South Korea faces. IBM's labour control is notorious on the global level. IBM, openly or deliberately, blocks the organisation of trade unions. (See Table 13).

While local governments in the Third World want permanent investment from the transnationals, transnationals think investment in the Third World as a "hit and run" business in that, once profits are not guaranteed, they pull out the
Table 13

Transnationals and the Labour Control

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trans.</th>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Total no. Employees (1,000s)</th>
<th>Overseas Employees % of total</th>
<th>Membership* of T.U. (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G.M.</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>811</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBM</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ford</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siemens</td>
<td>W.Germany</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philips</td>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.E.</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unilever</td>
<td>U.K.</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>57**</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITT</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>19***</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Estimates ** Except Europe *** Europe
(Source, The Economist, 24/1/1987, p.60)

investment immediately. Labour disputes which took place at Korean Data Control by 1982 show how one of the transnationals dealt with labour movement. Data Control was established with capital of $32 million by 1967. At that time, net profit was only $7,000. Later in 1979 it was increased to $6.5 million.

By 1982, Data Control Korea suddenly announced its closure, saying that Data Control could not operate anymore because of labour disputes. Labour conflicts were emerging when the corporation sacked 6 trade union leaders. Some members of the trade union requested an interview with the Minister of Labour, demanding reinstatement of sacked members. The result was the arrest of 47 members. Recognising the importance of the conflicts, Data Control Korea attempted to get the 6 sacked leaders back on the job.
But this time the South Korean government opposed the idea. Responding to the government's decision, Data Control in the United States notified the government of its closure. Data Control, in the end, clamped down on the rights of 340 workers, arguing that the closure of Data Control was due to labour conflicts instigated by radical labour activities. But it is worth noting that Data Control had already prepared the closure by reducing the workforce and transferring the factory to a more profitable site elsewhere since 1980. Its closure was based on their view that a labour-intensive computer factory in South Korea had been a little profitable business. Labour disputes only provided Data Control with the momentum for withdrawal (C.I.F.S.O.J.A.D. 1982: 68-87).

In other words, information transnationals in South Korea are more interested in service-related businesses such as selling software and technology than labour-intensive assembling. In this perspective, their strategy is shifting, at least in South Korea, from simple manufacturing of chips or computers to service-related business - such as ISDN, teletext, or data base etc. New communication technologies, after all, provide and will provide the advanced countries with new bases for easing the crisis economy and expanding the capitalist economy by guaranteeing a new lucrative market. Of course, in this process, the role of the local government needs to be closely examined.

In sum, South Korea has experienced dramatic cultural changes. The direct satellite broadcasts by Japan, the presence of AFKN (The American Forces Korean Network), the opening of the film market to transnational film makers and distributors, the advance of transnational advertising agencies are likely to transform Korean culture further. Furthermore, the adaptation of new communication technologies and a fascination with the myth of the information revolution might generate more radical changes in people's lives and culture. However, we do not know how
this cultural transformation is portrayed in the media, and how people themselves respond to this transformation portrayed on television and is taking place in their lives.

The next chapter outlines the concept of culture, three approaches to the study of culture and their relevance to the study of cultural imperialism in order to clarify the concept and to subject them to empirical research. A narrow sense of Korean culture which can be distinguished from the American culture will then be examined. Lastly, 'minjoong' culture which is understood to be a popular resistant movement against the so-called homogenization of culture will be discussed.
CHAPTER 3

CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY

This chapter outlines the concept of culture, and engages in a brief discussion about the various studies of culture and their relevance to the study of cultural imperialism. We shall also discuss Korean culture in a narrow sense with particular reference to the characteristics of Korean culture which can be distinguished from western culture. Then, the 'minjoong' culture, as a form of popular resistance to the homogenization of culture, will be discussed.

3.1. The Study of Culture

3.1.1. The Concept of Culture

At the heart of concern and debate is a concept of culture. A concept is crucial because how we define a meaning of culture decides the scope and range of a study. Culture, of course, as Williams (1976:87) admits, is one of the most complicated and delicate words in the English language. He explains the reason: "This is so partly because of its intricate historical development, in several European languages, but mainly because it has now come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought" (Williams 1976:87). Nevertheless, it should be useful to outline the basic concept.

There are two categories in the conception of culture. The first is concerned with the broader meaning of culture as a whole way of life. It comprises material as well as intellectual and spiritual life of human beings. It's...
meaning is widely accepted in archaeology and anthropology. In this concept, culture means 'the relations between general human development and a particular way of life, and between both and the works and practices of art and intelligence' (Williams 1976:91). Its usage is related to material and spiritual development of human beings - in other words, civilization of men and women. Within this comprehensive usage, it includes all learned behaviour of human beings, social legacy of groups, institutions and systems, and the total way of life. For Tylor (1969:1): "Culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." For Kroeber and Kluckhohn (quoted from Sills 1968): "Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action." For Marx: culture is "the objectivated design to human existence when definite conditions appropriate nature's productions in a form adapted to his own wants and stamps that labour as exclusively human" (Hall 1977:318).

Culture, in this concept, is interpreted as a social whole of human development. Culture, in this sense, is the progressive establishment of material, intellectual and spiritual activities of men. However this complexity, particularly in Marxist theory, is a source of great difficulty in the sense that it is hard to distinguish social organizations or institutions from a general concept of spiritual and intellectual work.
The second concept has clearer and a more confined meaning than the first. Culture, in this concept, refers to intellectual, spiritual and artistic activity. This usage is widely accepted in sociology and cultural studies. The community of sociology puts culture in one of the branches among other sciences. It classifies science into politics, economics, sociology and culture, and so on. This definition takes up the stress on ideas and the body of intellectual and imaginative work. The former concerns the ideal or spirit - 'a state or process of human perfection, in terms of certain absolute or universal values' (Williams 1961). The latter relates culture to the sum of artistic activity. Culture, in this sense, is literature, music, dance, painting and sculpture, theatre and film. This usage is relatively recent but more widely accepted than the first concept.

I shall use culture in a broad sense, which comprises not only intellectual, spiritual and artistic activities but also a whole way of life including material artifacts.

3.1.2. The Study of Culture; A Critical Assessment

Given the complexity of the concept of culture, it is not an easy task to outline the study of culture under a few categories. There emerge, however, three approaches of culture within the Marxist terrain in terms of their priority, position and interpretation.

The first approach to the study of culture is political economy. The political economy approach sees culture in the context of economic structures and the consequent social relations. Culture, in this sense, cannot be properly understood unless the underlying force of the economic element is recognized. What the approach stresses in the study of culture is the production process rather than presentation or consumption process. Peter Golding, Graham Murdock, Nicholas Garnham and Herbert Schiller fall into
this approach. For them, the study of culture and communication should start with 'a concrete analysis of economic relations and the ways in which they structure both the processes and results of cultural production', prior to 'the form and content of cultural artifacts' (Murdock and Golding 1977:17). By emphasizing the economic role of culture, they, as a consequence, down-play the ideological dimension of cultural products. As Nicholas Granham (1983:321) clearly states, "my position does not imply, obviously, a wholesale rejection of the often valuable insights of ideological analysis. It does, however, entail a major shift in perspective and emphasis, in order, I would argue, properly to understand the social conditions for the ideological formations so analyzed and thereby to explain how producers and consumers of ideology are positioned, not by ideology itself, which makes for a circular argument and, more important, a circular politics, but by their material conditions of existence." Ideology, in this sense, is subordinated to the economic base. Based upon the classic notion of base and structure, they try to formulate how economic base determines^ the spiritual, intellectual, artistic and political and legal domain known as the superstructure.

The result is, contrary to their constant insistence upon the connection between economic and ideological levels, the disappearance of ideological dimensions of content and the effect of the cultural commodity. This is not to say that the starting point should be reversed (as in the case of the cultural and structural approaches) or 'material conditions of existence' are not significant in the study of culture. The problem rather lies in the fact that the starting point

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1 They use the term 'determination' in a loose sense. In their interpretation, 'determination' refers to 'setting limits, exerting pressures and closing off options'. (See Murdock and Golding 1977, P. 16)
never ends and exclusive stress on material conditions of production excludes the ideological dimensions of content and material conditions of consumption.

The second approach to study of culture is 'cultural studies', associated with Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart, E.P. Thompson, Stuart Hall and C.C.C.S. (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham). Its basic inquiry originally began with literary criticism. Since then its coverage has been widened as they adopted and incorporated various philosophical and sociological trends particularly from structuralists - Althusser and Sassurean semiotics, Lukacs and Gramsci. As the banner of 'cultural studies' indicates, the approach puts culture in a very central position. In an attempt to see culture as social practices, they attach culture to social formations of political, ideological and economic instances. As Hall (1981:25) puts forward, "it conceptualizes culture as interwoven with all social practices; and these practices, in turn, as a common form of human activity: serious human praxis, the activity through which men and women make history."

Thus, unlike the political economy approach which sees culture in the context of economic structures, cultural studies take up the stress on cultural practices in definite social formations. It defines culture as the meanings and values which arise amongst distinctive social groups and classes, on the base of their given historical conditions and relationships (Hall 1981:26). In an attempt to give culture its own specificity and place, cultural studies question the base-superstructure way of dealing with ideal and material forces, where the intellectual, spiritual, artistic, political and legal domain of superstructure are reduced to the economic base. Instead of projecting the binary poles of the base and superstructure, they point to complexity of the relationship between social beings and social consciousness which cannot be seen as separable
entities (Williams 1977:81-82). In doing so, in their analysis, the concept of ideology is upgraded, and the autonomy of ideology and discourses are recovered. Whereas structuralists had stressed the specificity and irreducibility of ideology and culture, cultural studies seek to place culture and other practices within the complexity of society.

The third approach is structuralism. Although cultural studies regard ideology as main axis in their analysis, it is actually structuralists that give the ideology full autonomy and power. For Althusser, ideology is conceived as a level which, together with the economic and political levels, comprises a social formation. In Althusser, more than in the writings of other Marxist theorists, ideology is placed at the top of the agenda. Each level or practice has its own specificity, which are not mere reflections or expressions of the contradictions of the economic level. In parallel with culturalist approach, it vehemently denies the base-superstructure metaphor. Each practice, for Althusser, is relatively autonomous, both determined and determining within the whole of which it is a part. Terry Lovell (1980:31) states: "In his substitution of this ensemble of practices, under the delegatory guidance of the economic, for the base/superstructure hierarchy, Althusser breaks with the dualism of ideas/material forces. What distinguishes one level from another is not its materiality. All levels are constituted by practices, and all practices are material, just as all are informed by ideas." Thus, in this interpretation, ideology is treated as the same level as material base. The result is the full recovery of ideology and the upgrading of ideology as the same practice as economic level. Althusser argues that the domain of ideology and culture has become a central position in the relations of production under the contemporary capitalism. He emphasized the relative autonomy of ideology, its distinctive role and influence.
Although Althusser wants to avoid the reductionist understanding of ideas as mere reflections of economic process, he also falls into another kind of reductionism by simply insisting that ideology is material because ideology exists within an apparatus and its practices. What is needed here is not the mechanistic understanding of ideology and its material existence in the ideological apparatus, but more concrete and complex understanding that ideology is a social product and it originates and exists in networks of relations, it arises from the necessity of intercourse (Larrain 1983:101-102). In fact, what Althusser understands as the relations of productions is a narrow sense of 'economic' rather than the wider sense of materiality (McDonnel and Robins 1980:222). Even though we consider it, its formulation is confined to the role of state as ideological apparatus. The result is, as Golding and Murdock (1979) point out, the exclusive emphasis on the relationships between culture (media) and the state, instead of economic dynamics. As we argued elsewhere, the analysis must start with the conditions of social beings, but also it should not end with economism. In cultural and structuralist analysis, starting points are reversed and economic relations are missed. When mentioned, it is superficial and insufficient. The study of culture in this sense should be placed in dynamic relationships between social conditions and social consciousness at the concrete empirical level.

Having considered the brief discussion about culture, we would like to outline their relevance to the study of cultural imperialism. As we noted in chapter 1, the study of cultural imperialism as a whole has emphasized the economic role of mass media from centre countries (i.e. Schiller 1969; 1976; 1986a; Wells 1972; Varis 1976). Although the ideological role of mass media has been emphasized at the theoretical level (Dagnino 1973; Sarti 1981), little research has been done at the empirical level. An exception is the Mattelart and Dorfman work on Disney Comics.
While we appreciate both approaches' contribution to the study of cultural imperialism, it should be restated that they failed to grasp the whole process of cultural imperialism. As we argued elsewhere, the process of cultural imperialism is not so simple and crude. Rather, it takes complex and diverse forms. Thus, if one tries to explain the process of cultural imperialism either only by political economy or by ideological approaches, it could end up with the simple description of one side of a coin.

Another blind spot to both approaches of cultural imperialism was the missing of the consumer's dynamic process. The complexity of cultural transformation between countries involves not only the political economy of the mass media organisations and ideological dimension of the representation process but also the consumer's dynamic process. Although few attempts which seek to explain the causes of changes in the way of life in the Third World (Mattelart 1983; Janus 1981; Hamelink 1983) have been made, they still fail to answer why such transformation has taken place, how people in terms of various social classes and other factors react to this transformation and what medium has played a crucial role in bringing about that transformation. By looking at these issues together, not as a part, we might be able to capture the complex whole of the process of cultural imperialism.

3.2. Korean Culture and Ideology

When different cultures in the whole world are concerned, each culture has similarities and diversities with others. Although the basic types of cultural behaviour are

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2 Here I use the term in a narrow sense. See appendix 1 about the introductory indicators of Korean culture in a wide sense.
universal, in most cases, they have over the centuries kept
the nature of homogenous development, unique entities,
separate identity and intrinsic value. Each culture has
changed over time, some more than others in particular
areas, and some as a response to certain pressures that
others did not. Each nation has a stream of identifiable
cultural traditions with traits, characteristics and styles
of their own.

Korea is not an exception. Korea has over thousands of
years kept the distinctive nature of her homogeneous culture
and unique traits. Though influenced in varying degrees by
the culture of the people with whom they have come in
contact mainly from China, the Korean people have preserved
their own distinctiveness and essential characteristics.

The framework of traditional Korean culture is based
firmly on Confucian thought and Buddhist philosophy.
Although the original date for the introduction of
Confucianism into Korea is often given as the second century
B.C., it did not become influential until the fourth century
A.D. In the beginning, it was introduced as an educational
system. In 373, 'Taehak' - a higher educational system was
established in Koguryo Kingdom and by 682 'Gukrip Daehak'
was established in Shilla Kingdom. But it was not until the
fourteenth century that Confucianism was established as a
national religion by the Yi dynasty.

The characteristic of Korean Confucianism is that it has
developed more into an ethical system rather than a
religion. According to Confucian ethics, the society must be
based upon the natural hierarchic order, and on proper
conduct, varying according to the sex, age, and social
position of the individual. These elements were the
foundation of the harmonious social order which
Confucianists sternly advocated. Basic principles of
Confucianism are founded in 'Three Principles and Five Moral
Rules'. The three principles are: relationships between
sovereign and subject, father and son, and husband and wife. Society, according to the Five Moral Rules of Confucianism, is based upon social relationships; between lord and subject, between father and son, between husband and wife, between older and younger brothers, and between friends. The corresponding standards of conduct for these pairs are: benevolence in rulers, loyalty in subjects; love in father, filial piety in son; righteous behaviour in husband, obedience in wife; humane considerations in elders, deference in juniors; faithfulness between friends.

These Confucian moral standards had influenced the formation of the political, economic and social values and family structure of Korean society. Confucianism, which stresses a hierarchic social order and loyalty to the sovereign, has been the dominant influence on political culture and values. In Confucian teachings, the relationship between ruler and subjects requires subjects' absolute loyalty and obedience to the sovereign. In this manner, the government and subjects are strictly separated. The government is viewed as a superior institution designed to maintain the proper relationship in a hierarchic social order. Government is not regarded as an artificial creature based upon law, but as an institution of 'wise men'. The primary role of the government is to rule people by the relevant guidance of wise men. The government, in this principle, must maintain order by preventing the subjects from deviance. A survey of political culture of South Korea summarized the findings as: 1) ideological simplicity and formality, 2) the gap between rulers and people, 3) priority on personalism rather than policy of a party in voters' decision making, 4) lack of fair competition among political institutions (Hahn 1984:69). Although these results are not a direct reflection of Confucian thought, they reveal that Confucian teachings have strongly influenced the political culture of Koreans.

Confucianism has also influenced the economic values of
Korea. In Confucian teaching, agricultural modes of production were emphasized rather than trade and industry. It is based upon the idea that while merchants cannot be trusted because of their nature in selfishness and cunning, peasants are naive, altruistic and obedient. Thus, trade was treated as a vulgar and humble activity. While academicism was treated as respectable, trade and military arts were treated as inferior to literature and the arts. Exclusive emphasis on education by Korean people are the results of these trends. A person spiritually strong and having academic achievement is considered to be more respectable than the person of low spirit and wealth. Harmony and success of sons rather than accumulating wealth was stressed. When choosing an occupation or job, people give more priority to dignity and status rather than money.

A traditional typical family was a large, extended patriarchal unit, economically self-sufficient and integrally related to the Confucian system of ethics. The basic unit of the society has been the family which was structured around the kinship or clan system and not the individual. In Korean family structure, the married couple is a necessary but not a sufficient condition. The married couple learns the family tradition and rules under the guidance of parents. In the case of second and third sons, they later separate from their parents' home. The already mentioned five moral principles were strictly applied to the life of family. Particularly, respect and loyalty to father, husband and older brother were emphasized. At the heart of the family relationship was the role of a patriarch. He represents the family at community conference. He also takes responsibility for the family. For example, if one member of the family was blamed for immoral behaviour, he is also blamed as a patriarch on behalf of that person. Thus he has the right to supervise and rule the family. Also he has power to control and distribute economic means including land, house, furniture and tools (Lee 1984:137-38). But as will be discussed later, introduction of Western culture
marked the beginning of subtle changes that weakened certain aspects of the traditional family system as well as broader traditional systems and values.

The values governing family and social relationships are predominantly Confucian but to some extent shamanism, Buddhism and later Western values and Christianity also contributed the moulding of Korean value systems. Shamanism is a kind of religion which resorts to disorganized beliefs about the supernatural world or animism. Shamanism is characterized by the supernatural power or miraculous skills conducted by shaman. Korean shaman called 'mudang' are almost all professional shamans. Shamanism in Korea is a sort of dual religion that integrates the two elements of the positive sense of magic and the negative sense of taboo. It either seeks the protection of a divine spirit or the soothing of an evil spirit through supernatural 'mudang' (Cho 1987b:79-80). Shamanism is still given some deferential recognition by some Koreans, particularly by peasants and uneducated people. In spite of discouragement by the government as unscientific and pre-modern behaviour and thought, it still remains an influential part of Korean life. Particularly in time of trouble or illness the mudang is called upon.

The influence of Buddhism upon the lives of Korean people is not as obvious and strong as that of Confucianism, but it too is pervasive. Buddhism, which was introduced to Korea by the Chinese during the latter half of the fourth century (372 A.D.) in Kogyuro Kingdom, had spread throughout three kingdoms in the Korean peninsular by the first half of the sixth century. It continued as a powerful force during the Koryo dynasty (A.D. 935-1392) as a national religion. Later its influence diminished as the Yi Dynasty adopted Confucianism as a national religion. However, in many ways, it influenced the lives of Korean people. Particularly it contributed to the creation and development of Korean Buddhist culture. Many remaining historic buildings,
Buddhist temples, pagodas and bells, wall paintings are the products of Buddhist culture. The social values influenced by Buddhism comprise the karma. Korean people consider it as a karma even when one touches one's sleeve. Even the relationship with the enemy are accepted as a karmic relationship (a predestined relation). The idea of karma pervaded exhibited in the social relationships of Koreans originated from the idea of Buddhist samsara. These karmic relationships are characterised in familism which sees it as an extention of Karmic family bonds. Korean people are apt to call the relationship between friends as brotherhood and the relationship between neighbour countries as a relationship of brotherhood derived from a karmic family relationship (Yim 1987:22).

Having been put together, as a Korean scholar (Yim 1987:22) put it, Korean culture was characterized as 'the culture of affection' which is based upon the family or clan bonds from Confucianism and the karma from Buddhism. Korean culture can be also called the 'yes and/or no culture'. For Kang (1987:136), Korean culture is the yes and/or no culture whereas Western culture is labelled the 'yes or no culture'. In Western culture, according to him, a contract should be firmly kept. But in Korean culture, a contract also should be kept but might not be kept. It can be yes and/or no. Contract itself is a westernized idea. For Koreans, promise is the right word which has a looser meaning than contract. That promise might not be kept and Korean culture accepts it in a naturalized way. Whether it is right or wrong is not the problem. It has become a naturalized part of Korean culture, thinking and rules.

Since the introduction of Western culture as early as the late nineteenth century, traditional social values and ways of life have been gradually shaken. But it was after independence in 1945 and particularly the Korean War in 1950 that fundamental changes in the patriarchal family system, the Confucian system of ethics, village life and the culture
of affinity took place. The introduction of Western culture has altered and weakened essential parts of the traditional Korean culture, giving rise to the new generated culture which is characterized as 'culture of power'. Contemporary Korean culture, thus, is characterized as a society with confusion and conflicting cultures of old and traditional culture of affection, and the new and Western culture of power. A new generated culture which is basically adopted from Western culture is characterized as the culture of power since it is based upon economic, technological and military power. Traditional Korean culture characterized by the culture of affection had experienced cultural shock caused by Western culture. For the people of what has been known as the 'hermit kingdom' or 'calm morning land', western culture which was accompanied by enormous economic, and industrial power, consumerism, new technology, military power and Christianity whose preaching was more positive and stronger than Buddhism or Confucianism was viewed as a culture of power (Yim 1987:24). Traditional culture which is based upon idealism, obedience, naturalism, village life, the peace-oriented mind and passive thinking and action is the culture of affection. By contrast, western culture which is based upon materialism, consumerism, aggressiveness, individualism and positive action and thinking is the culture of power.

Thus, contemporary Koreans may live in a situation where traditional Korean culture and western or modern culture are in conflict. This situation leads to the varied adoption of social values and culture in terms of class, age, residential area, education and religion. In terms of social classes, according to the surveys (Hong 1984: 84-85), lower class is apt to incline to traditional Korean culture rather than western culture. In terms of age, older generations are apt to prefer traditional culture to western culture. In terms of residential area, those who live in rural areas are more inclined to be attached to traditional culture when compared with those who live in urban areas. In terms of
education, uneducated people are apt to incline to traditional Korean culture. In terms of religion, Buddhists and those who believe Chundokyo (indigenous local religion) and shamanism tend to be attached to traditional Korean culture more when compared with Christians (Hong 1984:84-85; Chang 1982:44-45). It may be safe to conclude that Korean society is moving toward westernized modern culture while still maintaining strong elements of traditional culture.

The function of traditional Korean culture and westernized modern culture is dual. Traditional Korean culture has played both a positive and negative role in social and economic development. In positive terms, traditional culture provides Koreans with high achievement motivation. The idea that a family or clan has to flourish around a patriarch leads to the high achievement motivation for a family or clan (Yim 1984:51). The enormous emphasis on education provides the society and industry with sufficient (sometimes oversupplied) educated and skilled labour power. The Confucian teaching that the subject must follow the sovereign's line and decision and stress on a harmonious social order based upon hierarchic roles enable the government to carry out consistent and continuous economic and social development. This is one of the reasons which explain the economic success of Confucian societies such as Korea, Japan and Taiwan. In negative terms, it creates an idea of personal connection. Traditional familism or particularistic values based upon clan, local and faction orientation have functioned negatively on further social development (Yim 1984:53). The authoritarian values which derived from Confucian teachings of hierarchic order and moral principles have also hampered further social development. Still influential and pervasive social values that give priority to men rather than women, civil servants rather than public have resulted in bringing about social inequality and popular resistance.

The debate on different cultures in this sense should not
be centered on which culture is superior or inferior, but rather should be concerned with the duality of positive and negative side of culture. In this manner, when studying cultural flows between countries and societies we have to give more attention to the underlying mechanism of how this transformation has taken place and what kind of function and effect it has brought about rather than to the futile and endless 'superior/inferior debate'.

3.3. 'Minjoong'³ Culture: A Challenge to Commercialised and Westernised Culture

As we have discussed in the previous section, South Korea has experienced dramatic changes during recent decades. The traditional ways of life embracing clothing, housing, eating, and family structure, personal relationships, values, ideologies and artistic forms have undergone transformation, leading to what has been called 'homogenisation' of culture - westernisation of culture.

Responding to this westernisation of culture, a new movement for seeking traditional and minjoong-oriented culture has evolved. The characteristics of the minjoong culture lie in the pursuance of minjoong-oriented traditional culture and resistance to the domination by the domestic ruling class and foreign domination. It is not a simple return to old traditional culture in that it试试 to incorporate the elements of minjoong life and culture into modern expression. Minjoong culture is based upon the communal life of minjoong. It expresses the pain and

³ Minjoong refers to popular or mass in English, but it differs from popular or mass in that it denotes the people who are resisting or oppositional to the dominant systems. Thus Minjoong comprises workers, peasants, urban poor and minjoong-oriented intellectuals.
pleasure of the oppressed (or minjoong). It is a sort of effort by the minjoong based on resistance to westernised and commercialised culture.

Dominant culture in South Korea comprises the so-called high (or elite) culture and commercialized mass culture. Elite culture should be called pseudo-culture, especially when we refer to the typical culture of the ruling class. It tends to pursue so-called pureness and aesthetics, sometimes denouncing mass culture as vulgar. It is non-minjoong oriented and non-nationalistic in that it is western and imperialist-oriented and is consumed mainly by the bourgeoisie and intellectuals. Commercialized mass culture is the by-products of the mass media. The cheap and mass-circulated culture is produced by the cultural industry the aim of which is to maximize profits. Pop culture typifies it.

While high (elite) culture and consumer culture (mass culture) have dominated the pattern of cultural expression in South Korea, there has been a constant minjoong movement or struggle against them since the beginning of 1970s. What distinguishes the minjoong culture from high and mass culture is that of correspondence in the process of production, distribution and consumption. High culture and mass culture are produced and distributed by some elites or profit-seeking entrepreneurs, and consumed by some elites in the case of elite culture and by mass people mainly through mass media in the case of mass culture. Minjoong culture is produced, distributed and consumed by the minjoong themselves.

The minjoong makes its own culture by rejecting high (elite) culture and consumer culture (mass culture). Minjoong culture is that the minjoong produces, develops and consumes what the minjoong likes, 'sinmyoungnada' (is entranced) and makes vivid. It is a productive culture and a culture of liberation. It is a counterculture seeking new
forms and a new society. The cultural movement is a struggle to enhance productivity by unifying work and leisure and to upgrade the quality of life by freeing people from fetters of repression.

Although minjoong culture has not permeated all sectors of culture, its influence on the established culture is noticeable. 'Talchum' which, in particular, is thought to belong to college culture or radical groups, is now performed widely in theatre, on open stages, in churches, Buddhist temples and at the work place (Chai 1985). As has been discussed in the cultural policy of Korea (Chapter 2.2.), even the government attempted to incorporate the elements of minjoong culture into the establishment. But, realising that the nature of minjoong culture is basically that of resistance, and that it has rapidly undermined the established culture, the government changed the policy. Since then, the government has used all legal and coercive means to suppress the minjoong culture.

What then is the background or material base of these movements? It has been a reaction to the continuation of repression and exploitation generated both by the domestic ruling class and foreign imperialism. Japanese colonial rule in the peninsula ended in the hands of the super powers – the United States and the Soviet Union. The two super powers divided the peninsula into South and North Korea. Then, the by-product of cold war – the Korean War – followed in 1950. South Korea which was incorporated into the world capitalist economy has gone through the dependency road, repressive rule, the cold war and anti-communist ideology. These economic and political situations led to the April Student Revolution in 1960. A short period of democratic government was shattered by the military coup d'état in 1961. The pattern of dependency was changed from American-centred to a American-Japanese axis by the military government which signed a treaty with Japan. Under military rule, the 1960s witnessed the sprouting of national culture based upon the
student movement against the dominant culture which was influenced by commercialized American and Japanese culture. Minjoong culture, thus, has developed against the foreign domination incorporated through domestic ruling class.

'Sasanggae' (a literary critique journal) and 'Changjak gwa Bipyoung' (Writing and Critique) provided intellectuals and students with the base for movements. In this sense, the 1960s provided the momentum for the recognition of recovery of national culture, trying to get out of a blind reception of western culture. But the recognition did not penetrate the whole cultural sphere, and there were deficiencies in quality and quantity in the movements as a whole. Even the literary area which was considered to have advanced most did not reach an adequate level.

In the 1970s, reacting to the intensification of contradictions within the dominant system, minjoong movements were diversified. These were the reactions to the Amendment of a Constitution which intended to extend the term of the presidency and the October Restoration which guaranteed the permanent dictatorship of President Park. Among other things, two accidents are noticeable. 'Five Enemy' written by Ji-Ha Kim marked a signal to promote minjoong literature, paving the way for reconstruction of traditional minjoong art. It showed that a poem as an expression of minjoong culture could hit the core of the ruling system. A worker burning himself to death played a significant role in linking intellectual and religious movements to labour movements. His diary and memories enhanced the flourishing of documentary literature which reflected the minjoong life and was produced by the populace. It also led to the advent of realism in art, music and literature. Enhancement of minjoong consciousness brought about the blooming of participant literature such as labour literature and Third World literature.

The flourishing of 'talchum' (a masked play and dance)
and 'nongak' (farming music), above all, in the cultural movement of the 1970s, should be mentioned. Talchum is a unity play which is jointly staged by entertainer and onlookers. In other words, it is a group play in which player and audience jointly participate. In talchum, the player is talking to the audience or directly demands involvement. Also, the audience intervenes in the actions or dialogue of the player and becomes actively involved. When excited, audience members can throw themselves on to the stage, making the crowd dance. The talchum players, in this sense, are in the same position as the audience. Talchum is a play, dramatizing an event or happening which is occurring in part of minjoong life. Talchum originates in the life of minjoong. The life of minjoong means a part of labour or the continuation of labour. When peasants or fishermen needed a rest or break, they started a talchum. Talchum starts from 'gilnoli' (road play), leading to 'pannoli' (stage play), and ends up with 'duipuli' (afterward play). The talchum playground, therefore, is not confined to a circle stage on the ground, but rather extends to every place of the village as the playground of 'gilnoli' and to the village as a whole as a playground of 'duipuli' (Chai 1985:78-79).

Talchum as a village festival originates in the communal life of minjoong. The materialised form of communal life can be found in 'doole'. 'Doole' is a system of communal labour. 'Doole' is a system which all members of a village are working together on the farm land of a village by cooperative effort, generating communal bonds. In this process, 'nongak' is developed in order to facilitate work. 'Doole', in this sense, links the work with nongak, producing peasant culture. It is worth noting that 'doole' is more effective in the efficiency of labour rather than in individual labour, and when working with 'doole', painful work or drudgery can be transformed to enjoyable work. One of characteristics of 'doole', as Shin (1984:29) points out, is what 'works with singing.' During the work, when a 'solsoli' who is appointed as a singing leader among
'doolekun' (members of doole) is singing first 'mukimun' (feeding), then other doolekun are responding, singing together 'batasu' (receiving). In the communal work of 'doole', therefore, peasants are working together, simultaneously singing until work finishes. The form of 'working with singing', in this sense, functions as a converter in that tedious work can be transformed to pleasant work by cheerful singing and music.

The social significance of talchum and nongak is that they have contributed to the popularization of minjoong culture. By watching and playing themselves, people have begun to realize the importance of traditional culture and social consciousness. The characteristics of talchum and nongak that are based on the communal life of minjoong have contributed to the awareness of class and national consciousness. People, through the participation of talchum and nongak, have rediscovered traditional culture which has been hindered by modernization policy. It must be noted that players of talchum and to some extent nongak are not professional but amateur.

Talchum and nongak contributed to the popularization of cultural movement. From the beginning of 1970s, groups of talchum were gradually beginning to sprout on the university campus. It continued until the end of 1970s, being spread out to almost all universities and colleges. Talchum, thus, was erected as a part of college culture. Later these tendencies were called restoration movements of talchum. In November 1969, a talchum group, the Traditional Folklore Research Group, was formed at the Pusan University. That was followed by the Korean Masked Play Research Group at Seoul National University in March 1971. The formation of such groups was viewed as breaking the dominant thinking that talchum only belongs to humble people. Members of talchum who were interested in the life of minjoong and their culture have used talchum as a means of reaching out and understanding the life of minjoong and have attempted to
guide the direction of contemporary festival, leading to the inheritance of minjoong tradition. In 1972, the Folklore Research Group at Ehwa Women’s University was organised. In 1973, the Research Group of Talchum at Yoiense University and the Research Group of Masked Play at Seogang University were also formed. The second half of the 1970s saw a surge in the number of talchum groups.

The following is the list of principal plays and dances performed by folklore groups in the 1970s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>Populace Missionary</td>
<td>Madangguk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Sinogi</td>
<td>Peasant’s Cooperation</td>
<td>Talchum, Madang, Pansoli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Donghak</td>
<td>Donghak Revolution</td>
<td>Singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Esuni</td>
<td>Populace Theology</td>
<td>Talchum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Beer March</td>
<td>Future of University</td>
<td>Pangood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Jindonganood</td>
<td>Role of Journalism</td>
<td>Madanggood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Miyal</td>
<td>Leaving Farm</td>
<td>Talcum, Nongak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Pig Dream</td>
<td>Life of the Poor</td>
<td>Madangguk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Ssingimgood</td>
<td>Social Problems</td>
<td>Talchum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Sweet Potato</td>
<td>Peasant’s Resistance</td>
<td>Talchum, Nongak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Dongilmadang</td>
<td>Labour Relations</td>
<td>Madangguk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Light of a Vain Dream</td>
<td>Labour Relations</td>
<td>Noregood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>A Dwarf</td>
<td>Life of the Poor</td>
<td>Madanggood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source, N/A (Cultural Movement and its Ideology of Korean Contemporary) 1985:63-64)

The 1970s ended with the assassination of President Park on October 1979, followed by a military coup d’état led by general Chun in December 1979. While the cultural movement of the 1970s which was characterized by the creation of new college culture and construction of minjoong culture as counterculture against westernised and commercialized culture and the dominant culture aimed to link the specific
function of cultural groups to the popularization of student movements, it is an undeniable fact that they were confined to the campus, some intellectuals, some peasants and some workers. It is, thus, safe to conclude that while the cultural movement of the 1970s was centered on the college folklore groups, the cultural movement of 1980s has spread to workers and peasants groups, intellectual groups, and to some extent, to the established dominant cultural groups that have been hostile to the movement (Choi 1986:25). The 1980s, in this sense, provides a turning point for gaining popular support. In particular, the popularity of talchum and nongak has spread to the public, including professional players as well as laymen.

Cultural movements on campuses in the 1970s, to some extent, were apt to isolate themselves, being group-centred. The result was the absence of connection between the cultural groups and other student groups, intellectual groups, worker's groups and peasant groups. But since the beginning of 1980s when student groups and minjoong were oppressed by the military government, cultural groups as an organised system have functioned as an arena for student struggle, for providing an open space for cultural activities and as training centres for artistic skills. Responding to the appeasement policy adopted by the government in 1984, cultural groups on campuses were sharply increased. In addition to the increasing number of cultural groups, there has been a qualitative change in the cultural movement.

'Daedongnoli' led by talchum and madanggood groups secured the utmost popularization through which an open and legal space for the movement was ensured. Daedongnoli is a group play. Whatever the size of the group, it is divided firstly into several sections or divisions. Each division has its own short play. Although each short play or dance has its own theme, structure and mode, each division is united by a certain theme and ideology which is reflected
the life of the minjoong. After the short play, all members comment or criticize the content, providing a chance of reconsideration for future efforts. Then 'giraljanchi' follows. Giraljanchi is a kind of space or stage consoling one's grudge or anger generated from one's life. Through this process, each member satisfies a grudge or anger, leading to the homogenous consciousness of the minjoong. It is a dialectical feast in which contradictions can be overcome by expressing their anger and desire. The giraljanchi, then, leads all members of a group to the traditional crowd dance. In the end, daedongnoli ends with a torch or candlelight ceremony. The torch ceremony gives an opportunity to reflect or reconsider today's life. Daedongnoli originates from the communal life of the peasants in which labour and leisure cannot be separated (Yoo 1985:153). Daedongnoli, in this sense, can be understood as an effort or struggle to revitalise or restore the cooperative life and spirit of minjoong.

The 'Norae-undong' (singing movement) which started from the end of 1970s was also beginning to settle down as a firm foundation of the cultural movement since the beginning of 1980s. Also, the art movement in poster, cartoon, woodcut print and visual movement in video and film got on the right track.

The organised labour movement and the initiation of the cultural movement in the labour field can be said to have started from the second half of 1970s. The Christian Academy planned a programme for training of labour leaders. Along with general education, the programme included a short play and talchum which was planned as a set of training exercises to develop workers' self-expression. Sing along which was viewed as a typical model for today's singing movement was also initiated. The Christian Academy published a song book - 'Song for Future'. By 1977 Inchon Industrial Missionary trained a group of workers at Dongil Textile talchum. Then, a talchum group was established at Bando Industrial Company
in 1978. By the end of 1979, the Trade Union of the Control Data Corp. formed a talchum circle. Since 1980, talchum groups were organised in the trade union of Samsung Medicine Manufacture Co., Donggwang Industrial, Namsung Electronic and Daewoo Apparel. The Chunggae Clothing’s Trade Union also formed a folk song group. Above all, the Worker’s Cultural College which was established by the Youngdungpo Industrial Missionary in 1983 should be mentioned. It was established to create worker’s culture and to assist organised activities through the labour movement (Kim 1986:161). The movement has evolved as a struggle to secure worker’s rights. It is noticeable that talchum and nongak nowadays have been incorporated into the labour movement. When workers are going on strike, they play talchum and nongak. Playing and watching of talchum and nongak, in this sense, not only provides the workers with class consciousness but also contributes to easing tension generated during the strike by providing entertainment. Entertainment, in this case, is not simple entertainment in that it has content that dramatizes the workers’ struggle or social problems. As Gramsci(1971) states, the proletariat can produce their own culture that counters the dominant culture. They produce counter-hegemony which can be arrived at through constant struggle and conquering the ideological constraints imposed by the ruling class. In this sense, workers of South Korea established a foundation that can secure the rights of workers.

The cultural movement of the peasants has more openness than that of workers. The movement has been mainly led by the Christian Association for Peasants and the Catholic Association for Peasants. By 1977, Sweet Potato which reflected the peasant’s resistance to government policy was played by Hampyoung peasants. Since then the peasant movement has spread to regional cultural groups such as Nokdookot at Chunjoo, Tu at Daegeon, Sinmyung at Masan, Gaetdol at Mokpo and Mulnori at Jinjoo. While the cultural movement of the 1970s in rural areas was confined to
organisation-centred activities and backed up by cultural
groups of the small city, the peasant movement in the 1980s
has tended to form autonomous peasant cultural groups.
Reflecting this trend, cultural movements in the farming
regions have been diverted to 'doolepae' activity for the
purpose of bringing up autonomous peasant organisations.
Compared with the workers' cultural movements which have
many constraints such as severe state repression, the
potential of the peasants' cultural movement is noticeable
(Choi 1986:27-28). On the other hand, the peasants' movement
has, contrary to the workers', its strength in community
life and communal consciousness. In this sense, the cultural
movement in the farming regions could contribute to
developing peasant-oriented activity and creating peasant
consciousness. But the nature of peasants' life which is not
amenable to the formation of an organisation and lacking in
class consciousness, should be considered.

Cultural movements in South Korea, as Chung (Chung, I.D.
1986:92-97) outlines, can be characterized as follows.
Firstly, the cultural movement has evolved as a part of the
student movement led by nonprofessional artists. Secondly,
restoration of nationalist culture such as talchum and
nongak was emphasised. Lastly, it addressed the issue of the
material and ideological base of traditional culture. The
cultural movement, in this sense, cannot be defined only in
relation to the art movement. Rather, it expanded the
concept of cultural movement which cannot be separated from
the material base of working class life. It emphasised the
communal or cooperative life in which work and leisure are
unified. Restoration of talchum, nongak, daedongnoli and
good was such an attempt.

Minjoong culture in South Korea can be understood as a
part of minjoong's struggle against ruling domination and
westernised culture. It has evolved in order to liberate the
minjoong themselves from the bonds of repression. As Cabral
(1979:206) observes, minjoong is able to create and develop
a liberation movement and keep it alive despite permanent and organised repression.

As we will see in chapter 8, the readings and expression of the working class is quite different from those of the middle class. In particular, they maintain distance or are very critical about the western life styles and values portrayed in the soap operas. They are more attached to traditional material life styles and value systems. The readings and expression of the working classes are framed and contextualized in their social positions. In this sense, the minjoong culture has a potential, particularly among working classes.

Although minjoong culture in Korea does not reach all sectors of culture, it has social significance in that it is a part of people's resistance against westernised and the dominant culture. Nevertheless, in some areas, such as literature and dance, minjoong culture has threatened the established culture. A nation-wide organisation, the Korean National Artists Federation which was formed in 1988 against the existing Korean Arts Federation reflects the growing popularity of minjoong culture. Minjoong culture, in this sense, can be seen as a part of the class struggle that seeks a new form of alternative culture.

This chapter has examined the concept of culture, various approaches to the study of culture, and in a narrower sense, Korean culture and 'minjoong' culture. Having examined the various phenomena of cultural synchronization and an alternative culture until this chapter, it is now possible to turn to a more detailed analysis of presentation of Korean and Western culture portrayed in the Korean soap operas and viewing context. It has been pointed that some patterns, formats and formulas, and western material artifacts and values are incorporated into the local programmes. Accordingly, in the next chapters, we will discuss the extent to which Korean soap operas incorporate
these elements and how the viewers respond to these presentations. It begins with the historical development of American soap opera, its basic patterns, formulas and various values and ideologies portrayed therein in order to pave the way for further comparison with the Korean soap opera. This is a part of my effort to examine the wider context of cultural imperialism where various practices are operating within the macro and micro levels.
CHAPTER 4

THE WESTERN SOAP OPERA

Western soap opera is assumed to have its own distinctive patterns, formulas and western ideas, values and ideology. This chapter looks at what western soap opera, particularly American soap opera, is in order to compare it with Korean soap opera. It has been argued that the pattern, forms and formulas of western soap opera are copied in the local programmes of the Third World. Thus it is necessary to look at the pattern and formulas of western soap operas. The kinds of ideas, values and ideology incorporated into western soap opera are also my concern as by examining these one will be able to distinguish them from Korean ideas, values and ideology incorporated in Korean soap opera.

4.1. Historical Development of Western Soap Opera

In a broad sense, soap opera includes daytime serials and prime-time serials. Although some scholars such as Cantor and Pingree have distinguished between daytime serials and prime-time serials. By their definition, these prime-time serials are not true soap operas, although their debt to daytime drama is recognized. They make a number of distinctions between the daytime and prime-time serials in many ways. The fundamental difference is that daytime serials mostly deal with personal and family problems while prime-time serials are more concerned with power, business and sex than with personal and family problems, as shown in the serials 'Dallas', 'Dynasty' and 'Falcon Crest'. Another major

\footnote{For Cantor and Pingree(1983), soap operas only refer to the daytime serials while evening dramas are seen as prime time serials. By their definition, these prime time serials are not true soap operas, although their debt to daytime drama is recognized. They make a number of distinctions between the daytime and prime time serials in many ways. The fundamental difference is that daytime serials mostly deal with personal and family problems while prime-time serials are more concerned with power, business and sex than with personal and family problems, as shown in the serials 'Dallas', 'Dynasty' and 'Falcon Crest'. Another major}
prime time serials, presently there is a tendency for soap opera to attract a comprehensive meaning comprising both daytime and prime time serials. In the United States in particular where many daytime serials are still on the air and are popular, a distinction between daytime and prime time serials appears to be useful. But in the case of South Korea where daytime broadcasting is not available, there is no point in making the distinction. For these reasons, I shall use soap opera as a comprehensive term which comprises both daytime and prime time serials.

4.1.1. Soap Operas on Radio

The soap opera and serial drama had their origins in national network radio drama. The first nationally broadcast drama on a daily basis was Amos 'n' Andy in Chicago in 1926. NBC broadcast it six days a week for fifteen minutes. Andy and Amos were rustic blacks although written and performed by two white men, Freeman Fisher Gorden (Amos) and Charles J. Corell (Andy). It dealt with the 'Fresh-Air Taxicab Company Incorporated.' In addition to the Fresh-Air Taxicab Company, the action revolved around a South Side rooming house and brotherhood called the Mystic Knights of the sea, presided over by a character called the Kingfish (Barnouw 1966:227). Word-distortion humour was a prominent element in the series. Sponsored by Pepsodent, the programme became a legendary success. As Stedman(1977:230) stated: "At its peak in 1930 and 1931 the series was heard regularly in more than half the homes in America with radios. --- During the quarter-hour the programme was on the air, telephone usage dropped by 50 per cent."

The importance of Amos 'n' Andy should be recognised

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(continued)

difference is, according to Cantor (1980) and Cantor and Pingree(1983), that primetime serials contain more action than daytime dramas.
because it offered many basic patterns and formulas of soap opera for network broadcasting. It created the patterns of network broadcasting, the fifteen-minute daily format, the musical signature and the opening and closing commercial in one successful package (Stedman 1977:232). Its success was based upon audience interest in character and narrative rather than stars (Allen 1985:104). By employing the successive narrative format, it enabled the audience to keep in a constant mode. In doing so, Andy 'n' Amos was also able to give network broadcasting and advertisers the confidence that such a pattern and formula would work. Also Amos and Andy broke new ground in several ways. It established syndication as a mechanism. By 1929 their fame and success had given birth to a daily Amos and Andy strip syndicated by the Chicago Daily News and to Amos and Andy photograph records marketed by Victor (Barnouw 1966:228-229). Amos and Andy, in this sense, provided network broadcasting with the secure programming strategy of serial format, musical signal and opening and closing commercial in one programme that could hold advertisers as well as audience. Encouraged by the phenomenal success of Amos and Andy, national networks initiated several programmes. Two years after Amos and Andy's arrival the national networks offered eight serials in the evening hours and Little Orphan in the afternoon. 1930 brought Uncle Abe and David', Raising Junior, Moonshine and Honeysuckle, and Sherlock Holmes all on NBC. CBS entered the competition in 1931 with Daddy and Rollo and Myrt and Marge.

The birth and flourish of soap operas on network radio were the by-products of the Depression in 1930s. At the beginning of the 1930s American housewives had to stay at home, engaging in domestic duties. Few jobs were open to a woman in that period of economic depression. Daytime radio drama offered hope for people who had nothing to do. As Robert Metz observed it: "During the Depression CBS and NBC provided housewives with daytime serials that featured families under stress who survived through grit and high
moral purpose" (cited from Primeau 1979:190). If circumstances prevented the American housewife from getting away from her domestic chores, nothing prevented her from listening to the radio. For the soap opera, the Depression in 1930s in the United States, in this sense, provided the broadcasting institutions with the momentum for the flourishing of serial dramas which targeted female and male audiences who had to stay at home.

The importance of industrial imperatives in the development of soap opera should be recognized. The development and growth of soap opera went hand in hand with advertising. In order to secure a safe and stable market, the advertising industries needed to be assured that would-be consumers were regularly listening to particular programmes at particular times with habitual frequency. The serial form which was broadcast six days a week at fixed times to a particular audience - mainly housewives was an ideal device to satisfy advertisers' expectation. But it didn’t work as smoothly as they expected. Early in the 1930s, advertisers were reluctant to sponsor daytime programmes targeting mainly women. Hence, generous discounts were offered to those advertisers who would purchase an hour of time rather than single 15-minute periods. This system appealed to large advertisers, such as Proctor and Gamble which had several brands of products (Willey 1961:100). After all, by the end of 1930s, soap operas on radio were generating more profit for the networks than any other programme type (Cantor and Pingree 1983:36).

Network radio, seeking a means of easing the economic and production strain of morning variety shows, began experimenting with serial drama in 1930-1931. In 1930 NBC obtained a sponsor, Pepsodent, for the Rise of the Goldbergs, a feature began on WJZ, New York, in late 1929 and added Clara, Lu ’n’ Em which was originally introduced on WGN, Chicago, in June 1930. In 1932 Just Plain Bill was added as a weekly evening feature on NBC and Vice and Sade
was introduced as a cooperative venture. In 1933 three evening serial dramas were on the air, while the number of daytime serials increased from two to nine. Most prominent among the new serials were *The Romance of Helen Trent*, *Ma Perkins* and *Today's Children*. It was also in 1933 that the concept of block programming was introduced by CBS. The techniques of 'lumping several serials together' was an attempt to ease the economic and production strain. By putting serials together in a block, network radio was able to capture the serial audience over a long period. This practice could also convince the advertisers who aimed to appeal to the target audience. This strategy has persisted until today and must be recognised for its role in sustaining the record of success achieved by this particular genre (Cassata 1985:133). By 1935 the number of the serials had grown to nineteen.

After the success of a series of soap operas due to successful soap opera patterns and formulas, secure economic guarantees from advertisers and the depression in 1930s, the 1936-1937 season saw a surging number of serial dramas, reaching a total of thirty one. Hence, no longer was any form of programme dominant. The comedy, variety and light-music shows of early years were present, but they were sharing the broadcast times with an increasing number of serial dramas, crime and mystery shows and quiz programmes (Stedman 1977:292). The 1937-1938 season was marked by continued growth of daytime drama, bringing the total number to thirty eight. Among the newcomers were *The Guiding Light*, *Lorenzo Jones*, *Our Gal Sunday*, *Road of Life*, *Woman in White* and *Stella Dallas*. The season also witnessed the prevailing trend of a system of duplication. No less than ten serials were repeated at a different hour on a different network, often with different products being advertised. For instance, *Pepper Young's Family* was carried at different hours of the day on three networks: NBC Red, NBC Blue and Mutual. This practice was largely discontinued after a single season; in 1938-39, only four of the serials were
being repeated and none was heard more than twice (Willey 1961:99). This idea can be seen as an attempt to maximize profits. By repeating same products at different hours and on different channels, network radio could minimize the costs while maintaining audiences. In particular, this practice could be the best solution during the daytime where viewing time was lower than prime time.

The year 1940 was marked as one of the best years for serials. The total sponsored time for daytime programmes other than serials on the four networks amounted to four and a half hours per week, as compared with fifty-nine and half sponsored hours of serial drama each day (ibid.). The ten highest-rated daytime programmes in 1940 were all soap operas and between 1939 and 1943 only Kate Smith was able to break the serial’s hold on the top-ten list (Allen 1985:120). This was the period in which radio enjoyed its hay day as regards soap opera before the television soap opera advanced.

After 1940, the number of serials on radio declined. In 1941 the total number had dropped to thirty-three. It was obvious that only the veteran serials were attracting audiences while a few titles were added. By 1950 when the soap opera was introduced on television, the number of soap operas on radio had decreased to twenty-seven. None of the popular favorites were discontinued while only one new programme, Women in My House, lasted beyond a single season (Cantor and Pingree 1983:39).

In 1955 a major drop-off began when only nineteen serials were renewed for the Fall season. The total number of serials dropped to sixteen in 1965. In 1959-1960, ABC discontinued all of its soap operas, NBC all but True Story, and CBS all but seven. Faced with constant challenge from television, the radio soap opera was helpless. Audience and advertiser were turning away from radio in order to seek the new medium. At the end of the season, NBC discontinued its
only serial and CBS dropped *Helen Trent*. The 1960–61 season was the soap opera’s last on radio. It began with six remaining serials all on CBS. In the end, in mid-August of 1960, CBS announced that the last Friday in November would be the final broadcast date for the remaining serials (Willey 1961). After all, while soap operas on radio had had great influence on the birth and development of soap operas on television, they were forced from radio by the rising television challenge.

4.1.2. Soap Operas on Television

Television soap operas are the concoction of radio serial dramas, movie-house serials and the story segments of the cinema (Primeau 1979:190). Most influential among them are of course radio dramas. While 1960 signalled the demise of the soap operas on radio, it should not be dismissed that radio soap operas had directly contributed to the introduction and development of soap operas on television.

The entry of soap operas into television began in 1951 with *Search for Tomorrow* which is still on the air as television’s oldest soap opera. However, in the early days of television soap operas, many observers cast doubt on the success of television soap operas on the grounds that listening to radio soap operas could be integrated into the performance of household chores in a way that watching television could not. But when CBS introduced three television serials in the fall of 1951: *Search for Tomorrow*, *Love of Life* and *The Egg and I*, they proved to be very popular among daytime viewers except *The Egg and I*. This helped quickly to establish CBS’s lead in the soap opera field. By 1952 *The Guiding Light* became the first radio soap opera to make the transition to television, and the first to be broadcast over both radio and television (Allen 1985:125).

By 1955 the number of television soap operas increased to
seventeen. In the 1955-64 season there was a relatively constant number of programmes. However, the 1963-64 season was noticeable for two reasons: the air time of many serials on television expanded from the 15 minutes to 30 minutes and during the period a core of eight soap operas were introduced, signalling them as a mainstay through the seventies and eighties. These include General Hospital, Love of Life, Search for Tomorrow, The Guiding Light, As the World Turns, The Doctors, Edge of Night and Secret Storm. During the sixties, a significant change occurred. The 30-minute format particularly for daily serial has remained until today and must be recognised for its role in forming the 30-minute format for daily soap opera.

From the early days on radio, the soap operas had always been concerned with the problems of family life and personal issues. But for the new watchers of the sixties, most of the conventional characters seemed to be a bit old and issues in the soaps tended to be unfitted. Faced with new environment, network television began to change its strategy. The result was that television writers began to turn to these issues for new material, actors and actresses got younger and roles became more diversified. In other words, a new mould was created to reach a new type of housewife and even an audience beyond the housewife - males and young women (Primeau 1979:190). These changes in the composition of characters and diversified issues and themes must be recognised in that these practices were able to sustain the constant popularity of soap opera among diversified audiences ranging from old to young and from female to male. These practices also enabled advertisers to remain in television as they were before as regards radio soap opera.

The decade of the seventies proved to be one of the most important in the history of soap operas. Programme length expanded from a halfhour format to 45 minutes, to one hour, even attempting a 90-minute episode. But perhaps the most significant change was in audience composition. The
traditional audience, which has been described as 'homogeneous' was beginning to look more 'heterogeneous'. Not only was the audience undergoing a shift in gender, but the audience was becoming younger, better educated and more diversified in terms of occupations and interests. There were also emerging changes in viewing patterns: group viewing was taking place in college houses, bars, social clubs, senior citizen centers, and so on (Cassata 1985:138-39). As Cassata and Skill (1983:163) pointed out in their analysis of television soap operas in the period of 1970-80: "It would appear that in the last 10 years, serial viewing has begun to equalize itself in a demographic sense. Across regions, locales, and income levels, the serial household is beginning to reflect general households across the U.S." Three of the most successful serials - All My Children, The Young and Restless and Ryan's Hope were introduced during the decade.

The 1970s was also the period that prime time and late night serials such as Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman, All That Glitters and Dallas were launched. The essence of the daytime serials was in the emotional frankness that was related to the fact that their audience was mainly female. However, prime time serials were different in that they dealt with power, sex and money. It was partly due to the changes in the composition of audiences that they aimed to target not only female audiences but also male audiences. Primetime serials also have different characteristics from daytime serials. While daytime serials are shown daily (five days a week), primetime serials are shown once or twice a week.

Dallas was the ultimate soap opera which was a different creature from daytime serials. It began quietly in 1978, as the story of a feud between two wealthy Texan families, the Ewings and the Barnes, who were connected by marriage. By 1980, however, its popularity had soared. In November 1980 it was watched by an estimated 83 million Americans,
accounting for a record 76 per cent of the television audience (Wheen 1985: 149-50). The success of Dallas should be noted in many points. Not only was Dallas attracting a broader and more divergent audience throughout the world, but it was also attracting attention and debate from media researchers and critics. Firstly, Dallas created a format which dealt with power, money and sex. It particularly placed stress on economic conglomerates. This format led to a series of imitations such as Dynasty, Colby, Knots Landing and Falcon Crest. Secondly, it has succeeded in consolidating prime time serials as a popular and lucrative genre along with other genres. Thirdly, it succeeded in penetrating the world market including the Third World. Dallas gave Lorima which produced the programme an international reputation for production and marketing. Fourthly, Dallas evoked a wide range of debate and discussion not only among media critics and researchers but also among audiences themselves.

A series of imitations such as Knots Landing and Dynasty appeared. But None has achieved the successful international marketing throughout the world including the Third World as well as western Europe (Wheen 1985:149-50). Encouraged by the success of Dallas, CBS launched a new soap, Capitol, a story of power and politics set in Washington D.C. In 1983 ABC introduced a new serial with Loving. The network’s soaps, Santa Barbara which evolved around a story about two powerful feuding families was introduced in 1984 by NBC.

The success of soap opera on television was the result of the conjunction of advertisers’ desire to reach a diversified audience, although importance of the target audience towards female audience was being recognised particularly for daytime serials, and broadcaster’s need to fill the daytime hours with revenue-generating programming. As we have seen in the above section, the changes in character types, running time, themes and issues were a corporate effort to comply with economic imperatives.
4.2. The Patterns and Formulas

The soap operas are produced and constructed according to certain rules and formulas which belong to a specific genre. The soap opera's content is shaped by the interaction of format and formula, the structural aesthetic constraints within which television programming is created (Swidler et al. 1986:324). It has been argued among some communication scholars (Williams 1975; Katz and Wedell 1977; Wells 1972) that certain patterns, formulas and typology of television in the Third World are adopted and transformed from Western models. Thus, it is necessary and urgent to look at the ways in which the format, formula and rules of the western soap operas are constructed and organized. The most significant and important distinguishing characteristics of soap operas such as serials, domestic setting, popular themes, and cliffhanger formats make soap operas unique as compared with other genres such as situation comedies, western adventures, police and detective shows.

4.2.1. Serials

Soap opera takes the form of continuous serials which last over a long period. Serials offer continuity for audience, attempting to hook them into watching the same programme at a particular time every weekdays (daytime serials) or once a week (primetime serials). Because time is continuous and seemingly infinite in a soap opera it does mean that there is no need for any storyline to have a final resolution. The evolution of narrative in the soap opera is very slow. In this case distinction between day time and prime time can be made. In day time serials the introduction of a plot or an action takes more time whereas in prime time serials action or plot is speeded up to collapse the dull moments of everyday life. As Lopate(1977:47) points out, time in the soap opera has several functions. Firstly, it enables the audience to catch the missing sequences for a day or even a week at a time and still keep in touch with
the storyline. Secondly, time in soap opera is expanded to let loose its potential richness. Everyday life, which often induces boredom and restlessness when taken in its own time, becomes filled with poignancy when the moment can be languished upon. The drawing out of time when characters are talking to each other allows the audience to grasp fully the meaning and nuances of what is being said and not said.

Serials develop continuous and infinite plot complications that many characters revolve around. Thus at one time some characters play a central role while others are simmering up to emerge as future figures. The characters who appear in current episodes will be faded out. Then they will appear next week or next month. Exploring the world of Coronation Street which is still on the air on ITV, Geraghty (1981) explains how the complex and continuous plot has developed in the programme. "The characters in a serial, when abandoned at the end of an episode have still to be resolved." Soap opera creates the complex plot through a shifting variety of situations. Towards the end of an episode, as usual, unexpected and surprising happenings occur. This dramatic nature of happening is underlined by the spinning out of time. One or two weeks or more weeks of episodes are dealing with introducing, developing and resolving the crisis. Tension is emphasised and time passes in this way.

4.2.2. Domestic Setting

Most of actions in soap opera take place in the character's home or office. Newcomb observes that the soap opera world is a world of interiors. He maintains: "As in the situation and domestic comedy much of the daytime shows takes place in the homes of the characters. Most of these are solidly upper-middle class. Taste in furniture and design is traditional to modern." He continues: "Things are soft and comfortable. There is usually a fireplace. Over it hangs a painting or a mirror, and around the room are small
pieces reflecting the personality of the inhabitants" (Newcomb 1974: 165). The domestic world of soap opera, although there have been some changes in terms of historic development in the early 1930s to 1980s and the emergence of primetime serials, and their basic structure, however hardly changed. Whether it falls into daytime or primetime serials, the world of the soap opera, however, represents the domestic life-style. Domestic and other interior space depicted by soap opera is characterized by the intimacy and coziness of home sweet home. Soap opera locates interpersonal problems raised in the episode in the context of family and home. Soap opera provides the viewer with situations which are analogous to those commonly experienced in family and personal life. But it is worth noting that most problems, exclusively personal rather than social issue, are resolved or fade away on the interpersonal level rather than the family as a whole. Soap opera appeals to various audiences because it offers the audience with traditional values that home is the axis of social relations.

Most of the daytime serials take place in small towns or suburban areas, involved with two or three families whereas most of primetime serials take place in the big city. As Hobson (1982:27) observes it, the daytime serials are set in small towns with the exception of Ryan's Hope, which takes place in a big city and involve two or three families intimately connected with each other. She adds that "families are often composed of several generations and the proliferation of generation is accelerated by the propensity of soap characters to mature at an incredibly rapid rate."

4.2.3. Popular Theme

The essence of soap operas always resides in the matter of human relationships. Within this framework, however, romance, marital affairs, sex, crime and medical developments have been the most popular themes in the soap
opera world. The bulk of serial time is, as Mildred Downing (1974:135) observed, devoted to romantic love, interpersonal relationships and personal problems. Among 300 episodes which she monitored, 253 (84 percent) dealt with romantic love, 294 (98 percent) with interpersonal relationships and 295 (98 percent) with personal problems. In contrast, social problems and community (including world affairs) received less consideration, only 44 (15 percent) with social problems, and 19 (6 percent) with community problems. She concluded that the world of the daytime serial is one in which romantic love, intense interpersonal relationships, and preoccupation with personal problems dominate – in fact, dictate – the action.

Katzman (1972) found that among the 85 problems monitored during a week of soap operas romantic and marital affairs, medical developments, criminal activity and social problems were the major themes of the content. These included:

31 Romantic and marital affairs
22 Social problems
20 Medical developments
12 Criminal and undesirable activity

In the soap opera world it is romance and marital affairs along with health and the hospital world that form a principal interest. Soap operas are primarily fantasies of romance. As Mannuela Soares (1978:16) points out, "soap characters don't simply have romances; they live romances." Soars goes on to say that "unrealistically they shove aside the common details of life. Doctors spend more time operating on their love lives than operating child care in no trouble at all. Successfully and presumably hardworking business men and women have unlimited time to discuss interpersonal relationships. It seems that romance-related activities overwhelm everyone except a few wise old patriarchs and matriarchs."
The treatment of sex meets specific fantasy needs as well. Sexual acts are, as Cantor and Pingree (1983:73) observe it, never shown on television and could only be imagined on radio. Instead, sexual acts on television are intimated and romanticized in dramatic forms. Most of what has been called sex on television actually concerns only intimations of sexual acts or their outcome, such as crimes of passion, adultery, pregnancy and abortion. Also love and sex on television are involved with verbal expression. Comparing the content of daytime and primetime serials, Greenberg and his associates found that the content of the sexual intimacies is quite different in the daytime programmes than in those at primetime. "In the afternoon, the most common sexual activity is physically explicit petting; at night, there is much reference to intercourse, a good deal of it comically suggestive in tone." They concluded that daytime serials are characterized for their minimization of sexual deviance; homosexuality, prostitution, and rape are rare. What daytime and primetime serials do have in common is, as Cantor (1979:71) noted, not seen on the screen because most of the action is reported through dialogue, plots revolve around violent acts such as murder, child abuse, and poisonings. Cantor and Pingree (1983) demonstrated that while primetime serials rely more on physical violence (59 percent) daytime serials rely more on verbal violence (77 percent).

4.2.4. Cliffhanger Format

The cliffhanger format is an important device in the sense that the serials keep the audience in constant tension. The unfolding of the action is cut off at a crucial point so that the audience is left with a curious mind. Once the viewers are familiar with the narrative, then they learn to track the character's every mode and situation. At times, they share their thoughts, dream their dreams and weep their disappointments, as if they are part of the soap opera world. Other times, they keep distance in a critical manner
if they think the world of soap opera does not tally with their lines or is far from their lives even though they enjoy the story. In order to maintain audiences, the cliffhanger format is presented at a crucial point particularly towards the end of an episode, so that the viewers anxiously wait for the next episode. The following episode then solves the tension erupted in the previous episode. As Geraghty (1981) states, 'the cliffhanger is often seen as the traditional hallmark of the serial.' Ian Ang (1985:53) explains how the cliffhanger format was used in Dallas.

Just think of the episodes that ended with an attempt on J.R.'s life or with the moment when Southfork is going up in flames. But in by far the majority of cases in 'Dallas' a psychological cliffhanger is used: an episode ends most often at the moment when one of the characters lands in a new, psychologically conflictive situation. The last shot of an episode is then nearly always a close-up of the face of the character concerned, which emphasizes the psychological conflict she or he is in. In one of the following episodes - it does not necessarily need to be the very next one - we are then shown how she or he handles the conflict, but meanwhile time proceeds and life goes on as normal. The very next episode usually begins with a new day. Such a construction offers viewers the possibility of having the feeling that time in 'Dallas' more or less keeps pace with the time in which the viewers themselves are living. This fact in itself takes care of a specific dimension of 'everyday realism' - the life of the Ewings in 'Dallas' flows in just like our own life.

4.3. Values, Norms and Ideology

The Soap opera creates a picture of the world. On the one hand, Western soap opera conveys a certain ideology that reflects western society. It contains a set of symbolic imaginary events based upon traditional western society. On the other hand, television plays an important role as an instrument of creating social reality. For Hartmann and Husband (1972), "the media not only reflect reality, but for
good or bad, they even make culture and they help create social reality." As Todd Gitlin (1982:430) states, television relays, reproduces, processes, packages and focuses ideology that is constantly arising both from social elites and from active social groups and moments. Whether television reflects or creates social reality, television can’t escape from dominant or hegemonic ideology which originates in the material conditions of life. Western soap opera, in this sense, produces or reproduces western ideology which can be distinguished from Korean ideology or culture or in a broad sense, from oriental ideology or culture.

Western soap opera contains western ideology, ideas and values developed in the process of western civilization during the past centuries. The theme of the western soap opera, as Esslin (1982) points out, is the spread of European and American civilization to a new part of the world, and in a second phase, the gradual establishment of law and order after the conquest. These are materialised in the form of individualism, materialism, aggressiveness and adventurism.

4.3.1. Individualism in western soap opera

The term refers to a collection of doctrines which stress the importance or supremacy of individualism in relation to other entities. Family saga seems to be a dominant theme for western soap opera, but is fundamentally based on individual and personal problems. Mildred Downing (cited from Cantor and Pingree 1983) found that among 300 American soap operas monitored in 1973, 98 percent dealt with personal problems, 84 percent with romance love. At first sight, it seems that soap opera deals with the family saga or story. In Dallas, the Ewing family is a community within the wider community of Dallas, and in Dynasty the Carrington family is a community in Denver. But the community or family as whole, as Ian Ang (1985) observes, is by no means a harmonious one.
- on the contrary, conflict and strife are the order of the day. The story of western soap opera takes place within the family circle. But the way and manner in which each family member is put into a family community in western soap opera is noticeable. As Chuck Kleinhans (1978:48) points out, home is shaped out by the ideology of individualism, especially as shaped by the Puritan-Protestant heritages of U.S. life. The family is supposed to achieve the personal fulfillment denied in the workplace for adults and denied in school for children.

Each individual within a family or community in western soap opera contends with other members of the family for one’s fortune, love and power - personal fulfillment. On the surface, a family or community seems to be a integral entity, which needs cooperation, compromise or toleration among members of the family. On the contrary, the world of western soap opera in reality shows the fragmented, fragile and superficial family and community ties in which individual achievement is more important than family and community as a whole. Soap opera traces the individual life of the character within the framework of a family or community. When a member of the family faces difficulties or personal problems (though most of them never release these problems), at first he or she discusses (or never discusses) the problem with the rest of the family, but in the end it is not the family but the individual concerned that solves and suggests a solution. It is the individual member rather than family as a whole who is responsible.

As I explained earlier (chapter 3), traditional Korean culture² has been described as a family or community. (Footnote continued)
community-oriented society rather than individual-centred society. In traditional Korean culture, collective decision by the family rather than the individual member or family is considered to be given much weight when each member of the family faces difficulties or personal problems. But as will be discussed in detail in chapter 6, the two values of individualism and collectivism are conflicting in South Korean soap opera. Korean soap opera portrays two different values in terms of different historic setting and social class. It is obvious from Korean soap opera that Korea has undergone changes in social values. Whereas the setting of 1960s portrays more family and collective oriented-decisions than individualism, the setting of 1980s presents more individualism than collectivism. In terms of social class, the lower class is portrayed as collective-oriented whereas upper class is portrayed as material-oriented.

It has been proved that most western soap operas are more concerned with personal matters of marriage, romance and medical problems than family and social problems. The ideological problematic of soap opera is that of personal life. As Charlotte Brunsdon (1981:34) observes, personal life in western soap opera can be understood to be constituted primarily through the representations of romances, families and attendant rituals - births, engagements, marriages, divorces and deaths. Among other things, divorce is a manifest expression of individual-centred life. In western soap opera, divorce is portrayed as an easy going matter. In Dallas, J.R. and Sue Ellen were divorced and united again, Bobby and Cliff were both divorced. In Dynasty, Blake Carrington and Krystle had an experience of divorce, so do Adam, Steven, Fallon, Dex and so on. Divorce is a crystallized form of individualism in western society and soap opera.

2(continued)
chapter 3.2. about detail Korean culture.)
Individualism as an ideology is also closely linked with the doctrine of hedonism, self-interest and free competition. It is materialised through consumerism and free market values.

4.3.2. Materialism

The term refers to the belief or doctrine that the main goals of human beings are the acquisition of wealth, the accumulation of goods, the enjoyment of services, and the achievement of general well-being.

Dallas, Dynasty and Falcon Crest deal with the economics of the multinational corporation. Since development of the soap opera directly involves economic imperatives, it appears to contain the ideology and doctrine favourable to the economic imperatives of broadcasting institutions and advertisers - materialism and consumerism. In the world of the western soap opera the expression of love, favour and reward are embodied in the form of material or economic trait. Affection, love and goodwill must entail the material reward. In one episode of Dynasty, Blake Carrington buys his wife, Krystle, a new Rolls Royce, telling her that he is giving her the Rolls Royce because she is giving him a child (Feuer 1984). Soap opera depicts the family in economic terms, thus apparently demystifying the middle-class notion of marriage based upon romantic love. Marriage for the heroes or heroines of western soap opera is considered to be a spring board for better economic relations. In Dallas, J.R. decided to remarry Sue Ellen in order to regain control of his son and heir. Cliff also decided to marry Jenny after he discovers that she shares the property of the Ewing family. Western soap opera, in this sense, offers the interpretation that economic relations based upon the exchange value are the basic principle. The promise of reward is the exchange value that something is given based upon the return. In the case of Blake Carrington, he gave Krystle a Rolls Royce on the return of a baby. The promise
of material reward must entail something that has use value - in this case, a baby or pleasure, love and goodwill. In this sense, pleasure, love and goodwill have the use-value which has to be exchanged. Capitalism generalizes and saturates itself through the system of use value. Then, use value appears as the completion and fulfillment of exchange value.

Soap opera reflects the bourgeois morality in which consumerism is considered to be the most determinant factor in human life. It demystifies the working class notion of life style which is based upon frugality and abstinence. In the western soap opera world, particularly in Dallas, Dynasty and Falcon Crest, luxury and extravagant life style of characters crystallize the consumptive nature of soap opera. An imposing mansion of the Ewing family and Carrington family, fancy interior and furniture, swimming pool, expensive jewellery, fashionable clothes, hair styles, shoes, expensive commodities such as caviar, vintage wine, Rolls Royces, Mercedes Benzs and so on are material forms of consumerism. In addition, Dallas, Dynasty and Falcon Crest show that economic power among other things is the most powerful and idealized means to solve individual and family problems. It is no wonder that heroes or heroines of western soap opera are the economically better-off - business tycoons, businessmen, lawyers and doctors. On the contrary there are few poor or working class characters portrayed as heroes or heroines in western soap opera. They are portrayed as the romance of the underworld or the typology of defeatism or fatal looser. Soap opera in capitalist society should be seen as one of highlighted expression of bourgeois ideologies and values - materialism and consumerism.

Until the first half of this century, traditional Korean society remained as an idealist or spirit-oriented society which viewed the spirit or mind as the ultimate reality or the basis of life. For a long time, a 'good-minded' or
highly spirited person with little fortune rather than a wealthy person having low level of spirit or mind was regarded as a respectable person. In Korean soap opera, the two values of idealism and materialism are conflicting. Korean soap operas present two different values in terms of different historic setting and social class composition. The setting of the 1960s portrays more idealistic values than materialism, whereas the setting of the 1980s portrays more materialism than idealism. In terms of social class, lower class is portrayed as more idealistic or spirit-oriented whereas upper class is portrayed as more material-oriented.

4.3.3. Aggressiveness and adventurism

Aggressiveness implies any act that inflicts pain or suffering on another individual and some notion of intent to do harm. Aggression can be categorised into physical aggression such as physical violence and non-physical aggression such as verbal abuse, calumny, insulting and a plot to entrap in interpersonal and social relationship.

Unlike other genres such as police and detective shows, the TV western and children's cartoon, the soap opera seems to be less violent, relying more on non-physical aggression. The research demonstrates that daytime dramas are less violent than prime-time serials and that they use violence in different ways (Cantor and Pingree 1983). Although verbal abuse and slander dominate the story of Dallas and Dynasty, the serials reflect some conventions of crime drama. Like other crime stories, the basis of the serial is the lives of the characters during and after crimes have been committed, for example, the shooting of J.R., the murder of Kristine, the sinking of the oil tanker, an attempt to overthrow of foreign government (Mander 1983:44). Conspiracy is another form of non-physical violence which then might lead to real physical violence. J.R. and Cliff Barnes in Dallas, Alexis Colby and Adam Carrington in Dynasty in particular and to some extent all other characters are portrayed as masters of
Economic ruthlessness and power is another way of expressing aggressiveness and adventurism. The conglomerate is the centre of this economic ruthlessness and power. The story revolves around the Ewing Oil and Denver Carrington in which struggle and the power game to control the company and to expand the business emanate. J.R. Ewing, Bobby Ewing, Cliff Barnes in Dallas and Blake Carrington, Adam Carrington, and Alexis Colby are contending for control and economic power. Contrary to the personal image of Bobby Ewing who is portrayed as a good person in the serial, the show presents a different characteristic when he was thrust into a position of power, as the head of the corporation. During his brief tenure in the seat legitimately held by J.R., Bobby came to understand and enjoy the secrets of power and ruthlessness. What is implicit in the show is the legitimacy and inevitability of economic ruthlessness and aggressiveness. Dallas and Dynasty, as Mary S. Mander observes, represent a new element in criminal mythology: the fascination of America with the organisation and its power. Conspiracy, ruthlessness, aggressiveness and adventurism to expand and conquer new markets or corporations are the major themes or issues of the serials. In the world of the soap opera, wealthy persons such as J.R. Ewing and Cliff Barnes in Dallas, Blake Carrington and Alexis Colby in Dynasty who employ all means in order to win victory over other corporations or persons are all depicted as heroes or heroines.

In traditional Korean society where the principle of loyalty and obedience to the elderly, society and nation has been predominant under the lineage and community-oriented social structure, the idea of aggression has been less dominant than the western society. In Korean soap opera, the two values of loyalty or aggression are conflicting. Korean soap opera also shows that changes of values in terms of historic setting are taking place. The setting of the 1960s
portrays more loyal and obedience-oriented social values whereas the setting of the 1980s presents more aggression-oriented social values. It is also shown in Korean soap opera that the lower class is portrayed as more loyal and obedient whereas the upper class is portrayed as aggression-oriented.

This chapter has outlined the brief historical development of Western soap opera, basic patterns, formulas and social values in order to contrast them with Korean historical development, basic patterns and social values. The next chapter deals with how the South Korean soap opera presents and portrays Korean and Western culture, and how Korean culture in terms of the historical settings of the 1960s and 1980s is portrayed.
CHAPTER 5

THE RESEARCH DESIGN OF THE CONTENT ANALYSIS

This chapter begins with the historical development of Korean soap operas. The research design of content analysis of four Korean soap operas will also be discussed. This includes the aim, research procedures, sampling and methodology.

5.1. Historical Development of Korean Soap Opera:
Similarities and Differences Compared with Western Soap Opera

Korean soap opera has factors in common with, as well as differences with Western (American) soap opera. By looking at the origins and development of Korean soap opera, we will be able to see the similarities and diversities between South Korean soap opera and particularly with American soap opera. As we have seen in chapter 4, the development of American soap opera was indebted to theatre, radio and film. It is the same in the development of Korean soap opera. While some basic patterns such as serial forms and domestic setting are similar to American soap opera,¹ Korean soap opera also has different aspects, i.e. different locales and different character types. On the other hand, South Korean soap opera has developed in different modes and contexts, i.e. running period of serials, flourish of historical dramas, the creation of purposive dramas and production systems. This section, thus, looks at the origins and development of Korean soap opera in order to compare it with

¹ See chapter 6 about detail comparison of Korean and American soap operas in terms of basic patterns, formulas and various cultural artifacts and values.
the development of American soap opera. In other words, it is an attempt to see what similarities and differences the Korean soap opera has as compared with American soap opera by looking at the development of South Korean soap opera.

The first nationally broadcast drama was Lim Gukjung. The KBS radio network began to broadcast it as a weekly drama in 1947. It was a historical drama and lasted only 20 episodes. Other weekly serials were added to the network's scheduling. Noticeable among these early serials was Chungsil Hongsil, introduced in 1956. It was on the air every Sunday for thirty minutes. A weekly broadcast, it was regarded by communication scholars, broadcasting researchers and producers as the first serial drama analogous to the present soap operas (KBS Broadcasting History 1977). While most serials were historical dramas or children's dramas, and were adapted from novels, it was the first contemporary broadcasting drama. It was off the air on 28 April, 1957. Other radio networks' broadcasts included weekly serial drama. It was not until 1957 that the first daily serial drama, Across the Mountain and Cross Sea was introduced on KBS. It continued until 15 March 1958 as a twenty-minute production. Thus, 1957 was recorded as the first year for daily serial soap opera and a booming year for weekly drama. By 1958 audience ratings for weekly serial drama stood in second, and daily serial programmes in the third spot (KBS Broadcasting History 1977).

The decade of the sixties proved to be significant in the history of soap operas. While radio soap opera is still on the air to date, its popularity and advertising revenues have dropped following the introduction of television soap opera. It can be said that radio was the most popular medium in the 1960s. While the number of television sets in 1969 was 220,000, the number of radio sets was 400,000. During the 1960s, thus, radio did not recognize the television as a rival medium in audience ratings and advertising revenues. While the initiation of MBC-TV in 1969 signalled the decline
of radio soap opera, it should not be assumed that the popularity of radio soap operas has drastically faded away. In 1962 there were 21 serials on KBS radio. In rural areas where the spread of television sets is low, soap operas on radio still attract large audiences.

One of the characteristic features of Korean serial drama is that there are two kinds of serials - one is melodrama which takes the form of the soap opera, the other is a historical serial or series which takes the soap opera patterns but is about the saga and secrets of the ancient royal family and aristocrats. Women are the main target audience for both types of serials.

The birth of television serials was in debt to three media - radio, movie and theatre. Serial drama as a broadcasting genre has its origin in radio. In developing the soap opera, television poached a couple of writers and performers from radio. In the early 1960s, many radio drama writers were transferred to television. Un-Sa Han, Heun-Pa Cho, Seo-Ku Lee, Ki-Pal Kim, Nam-Sa Cho contributed to the initiation and development of television episodic drama and serial programmes. As a broadcasting researcher (Oh 1985) states, while radio drama writers who were used to the radio techniques had difficulties in visual skills, television drama proved to be the extension of radio drama. Radio performers such as Sung-Won Kim, Mi-Ja Sa, Bu-Ja Kang, Bung-Ho Park, Mu-Saeng Kim, Un Chun, and Sung-Ung Lee also contributed to the development of television drama.

The film industry also contributed to the development of television drama. It was due to the fact that both television and film were bound to depend on the camera medium. Scenario writers, Hi-Jae Yim, Yun-sung Suh, Bong-Seung Shin, Yeun-Sung Lee were welcomed by television networks and film actors and actresses such as Hae Hwang, Un-Ha Ko, Hyun-Sil Tae, Yang-Ja Chun, Jung-Kang Huh, Kuem-Bong Do, Un Chun participated in the television
Above all, theatre played a significant part in the birth of television drama. Floor skills, lighting, proscenium, rehearsal, acting, monologue, dialogue, and make up were all involved with the works of television. The work cycle of play performers whose stage was replaced by the television studio was analogous to the television performance. Accordingly it is no wonder that theatre staff were welcomed by major television networks. In 1961 when KBS television was established, a group of staff of the National Theatre moved their workplace to the KBS. By 1964, the year of the initiation of TBC-TV, a group of the Experimental Theatre also took part in the production of television drama. In 1969 when the MBC-TV signalled the first transmission, a couple of staff from the Theatre Sanha played an important role in producing serial drama. The present prominent television directors and producers such as Jae-Soon Pyo, Kil-Chon Yoo, Hueng-Yul Yoo, Kyu Huh, Sang-Hyun Choi, and Sae-Kwon Chun came from theatre. Sun-Jae Lee, Nak-Hoon Lee, Hyun-Kyung Oh, Sun-Chul Kim, Un-Kae Yeo, Bul-Am Chio, Keun-Hyung Park, Hyo-Jung Ban, Il-Ung Lee, and Oh-Jang Moon are still on the television screen. Scenario writers such as Bum-Suk Cha, Kuen-Sam Lee, Myung-Soon Shin, Ja-Lim Kim and Hak-Young Oh also participated in the production of television drama.

The first television drama came on the air as a form of episodic series in 1961 when the KBS-TV was launched. The entry of daily serial into television began in 1964 when the TBC-TV was established with Snowing which only lasted 28 episodes. I Am Doing It My Way which lasted 15 episodes and Love Tumult which lasted 35 episodes were followed on TBC-TV in 1965. Thereafter, the daily serials were off the air on TBC-TV from 1966 to 1968. Then, the daily soap opera reappeared on MBC-TV in 1968 when MBC-TV was launched. The following year saw the daily soap opera as a fixed television genre on major television networks. It was in
1969 that KBS launched its first daily serial - The First Day of A Bride. While the 1960s signalled the entry of soap opera on network television, it should be noted that the decade was characterized by the flourishing of episodic series and weekly serial dramas. Also, it should not be overlooked that most of the daily soap operas in the 1960s only lasted 20 to 40 episodes. In this sense 1970 was an important year in the history of daily soap operas on television. From 1970, daily serials began to survive more than 100 episodes. Daughter on TBC-TV lasted 329 episodes, Madam on TBC survived 253 episodes and Water Mill on MBC lasted 155 episodes. Father and Son on KBS survived more than 100 episodes. The year 1970 also witnessed an increase in the total number of daily serials on network television. By 1970 15 daily serials were on the air through three networks. From 1970, the number of daily soap operas began to increase. (See Table 14).

Table 14

The Number of daily serials on 3 networks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source, TV Drama Directory, MBC, 1985)

Daily soap operas in the 1970s were noteworthy for their instant popularity with the audience. Among the various television programmes, Madam on TBC ranked first in audience ratings. Sunday serial - Dolsoi on KBS followed in third,
and fourth by Father and Son on KBS (KBS Broadcasting History 1977). Among the many programmes introduced in the 1970s, Madam should be noted. It was a typical melodrama whose primary target was women. It reflected the traditional Korean woman’s life in which her tragedies were mingled with weeping, endurance and obedience. Above all, it was noteworthy in that Madam triggered the explosion of daily serials on major television networks (Oh 1985). The popularity of Madam led to the initiation of Journey on KBS and New Mother on MBC. Both programmes also achieved instant popularity by appealing to women.

As reflected in Table 14, 1974 and 1975 were the heyday of daily serials. Each television network regularly broadcasted 5 programmes. In the case of TBC, by 1975 prime time was filled with daily serials – 7:00, 8:00, 8:20, and 9:35. This period saw severe competition among three major networks. They competed not in production levels but in programming schedules. Not only was network television creating so-called ‘concurrent scheduling’ or ‘five-minutes-ahead scheduling’, but also were inventing 5-minutes mini-programmes between two daily serials. This was also the period that the potential of television advertising was recognized. By 1974 television revenues exceeded newspaper advertising revenues. Guaranteed by explosive audience popularity, the daily serials emerged as the most important genre for both major television networks and advertisers. The increase in the number of soap operas around early 1970 was due to popularity with audiences and network broadcast’s policy. For audiences, continuous narrative and cliffhanger formats were the main attraction for keeping them in front of television. For broadcasters, producing daily serials rather than making series or other programmes allowed for saving on costs. They could film 5 – 6 episodes during the same period of time in the studio. Most scenes in those days were taken in a domestic setting. Few scenes were filmed on location. Setting was different from current serials’ where more action was taken outside.
Furthermore, for network television, daily serials were thought to be an ideal form which could compensate for the lack of writers, producers, facilities and studio.

When the second half of the seventies began, daily serials were beginning to decline in total number. Lee, S.H. (1979) categorised the history of Korean television drama into three stages as follows.

(1) 1962 - 1969; the period of weekly serials.
(2) 1970 - 1980; the period of cohabitation of daily serials and weekly serials, development of situation drama, purposive drama and saga drama.
(3) 1981 - to date; the period of weekly serials.

But it should be stressed again that while the absolute number of daily serials was in decline from 1976, the serials are still alive only on KBS 1 and 2. The period 1970-1980 was noteworthy because the importance of investigating daily serials was recognized and daily serials had been the subject of controversy for media critics, communication scholars and audiences. The press which had suffered from loss of advertising to television was in fact united in criticizing the daily and weekly serials (Oh 1985). Faced with severe criticism from media critics, and pressured by the regulatory body, television networks changed their tactics from daily to weekly serials. While reducing the number of daily serials, they expanded programme length from 20 minutes to 25 minutes and increased the number of broadcasting days from 5 days to 6 days a week. It was after 1981 that programme length went from 25-minute to 30-minute format. In addition, from 1976 to date the format of television serials has shifted from daily to 2-times weekly serials.

By 1981, the number of daily serials on each channel was again reduced by the regulatory body’s policy - '1 daily programme for 1 channel'. The MBC's decision that the
network would drop all the daily serials in 1984 proved to be an important stage in the history of the development of daily serials on television. But it is noteworthy that the MBC's weekly serials still have high levels of audience popularity. Today only 3 daily serials – one on KBS 1, and two on KBS 2 – are on the air, while five 2-times weekly serials are on the air.

Table 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serials on the Air (March, 1987)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samogok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love and Ambition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nodagi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition of Love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry to Desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face of City</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Western serials such as General Hospital, Guiding Light, Search for Tomorrow, Another World, Days of Our Lives and Our Life to Live in the United States and Coronation Street and Crossroads in the United Kingdom have run for more than 10 years. In contrast, Korean serials have generally run for less than two years. The longest serial in Korea was Ordinary People which began on the 20th September, 1982 and ended in June 1984 (490 episodes). In terms of number of
episodes this was followed by *New Mother* (411 episodes) and *Daughter* (329 episodes). The average broadcasting period of daily serials is 3 - 6 months. As far as the length is concerned, they are quite different from the western serials. There is no concrete explanation. One guess is that while most western soap opera broadcast during the daytime, Korean serials are on the air during primetime. Korean broadcasting runs from 6 a.m. to 10 a.m. and resumes again from 5:30 P.M. until 12:30 or 1:00 a.m.

Contrary to western serials whose setting is based on contemporary life, there have been many historical dramas whose setting is based on ancient times. Historical drama has materialized in various formats - daily serials, weekly serials and series. Historical dramas are important in terms of their popularity and contribution to the development of Korean dramas.

The first purposive drama was the anti-Communism oriented *Silhwa Kukjang* (Real Theatre) which was introduced in 1964 on KBS-TV. Initially, it began with a 30 minute per episode series. Later in 1965 it was changed to the weekly serial, and programme length expanded to 45 minutes. By 1977, format was changed from weekly serials to daily serials. *Investigation Headquarters* on MBC in 1974 and *Chase* on TBC in 1975 were launched with episodic series. In addition to these anti-Communism dramas, various kinds of purposive dramas whose aim was to propagate the government’s official ideology and to advertise government policy such as the export-drive were introduced.

The production of daytime serials in the United States is more directly involved with the networks, whereas most primetime serials are produced by programme suppliers who are independent of the networks. And power and control over the daytime serials have remained in the hands of network, whereas control of primetime television is relatively dependent on the creative people in Hollywood (Cantor and
In South Korea, all the daily and weekly serials are produced in the networks' studios in Seoul. They are either taped two days a week in networks' studios or taped on location. Control over all types of dramas firmly remains in the hands of the networks. It is noticeable that presently the production of some television feature films is done by

### Table 16

The Number of Korean dramas  
(1 Jan. – 30 June 1980)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Daily Serial</th>
<th>Weekly Serial</th>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Special Drama</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contemporary</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Communism</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police and Detective</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legendary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source, The Press and Broadcasting, Sep. 1980, 86-87)
independent producers.

In summary, South Korean soap opera has similarities and differences compared with American soap opera. On the other hand, basic patterns and formulas such as serial format, running time of an episode, domestic setting, popular themes about love and romance, cliffhanger format are similar to the American soap operas. Indebtedness to radio, theatre and film in the development of television soap opera also parallels the American development of soap opera. The development, and decline of the radio soap opera that was directly involved with the upsurge of television soap opera are reminiscent of the American case. On the other hand, unavailability of daytime serials, creation of purposive dramas, the flourishing of historical dramas, different locales, different character types, short lives of serials and production systems have distinguished Korean from the American soap opera. (Detailed comparison of the Korean and American soap opera in terms of basic patterns, cultural artifacts and values will be discussed in chapter 6).

5.2. The Design of the Content Analysis

5.2.1. The aims

The aim of this study is to obtain a detailed picture of the extent and images of Korean and western culture portrayed on Korean soap operas. While much of the debate about cultural flows between countries has centered on the counting of the imported programmes in the Third World, there has been less concern about the cultural meaning of the programmes produced locally and the imported programmes. Whether the approach falls into Neo-Marxist approach of cultural imperialism or non-Marxist approach of cultural diffusion, their approaches are confined to one aspect - that of attempts to demonstrate the number of, or number of hours of the imported programmes. The major goal has been the revealing of unbalanced flows of programmes by counting
the number or hours of the imported programmes. While I appreciate their efforts to demonstrate the arguments, I suggest a shift of our attention from the mere counting of the imported programmes to the uncovering of complex meanings of the domestic programmes in which certain meanings and images are inherent. Therefore, my concern here is to explore the changing patterns of cultural imperialism – from crude to sophisticated, or from mere counting of the imported programmes to the complex meanings of domestic programmes and their relationship with the audience. The analysis of the domestic programmes of Korean soap operas which bear complex meaning systems is an attempt to implement the cultural imperialism thesis. Specifically, the study aims to answer the following questions:

1. How much and to what extent do Korean soap operas bear the obvious cultural artifacts and value systems of Korean and Western?
2. Who are the main consumers of Korean and Western culture?
3. What are the images of Korean and Western culture?
4. To what extent are the patterns or formulas of Korean soap operas similar to or different from those of Western (American) soap operas?

5.2.2. The rationale behind choosing soap opera

Since the earliest days of radio, the soap opera has drawn uninterrupted and continued attraction from audience and advertisers. Only major news events, such as John Kennedy’s assassination and the assassination attempts on Ronald Reagan and Pope John Paul, have taken precedence over the soaps (Cantor and Pingree 1983). Their audience size and the fact they repeat a limited number of themes reveal that the soap opera are potentially a major force in the transmission of values and life styles (Katzman 1972). That feature of soap opera makes them unique in comparison to other forms of television.
In the case of South Korea, the audience surveys show that soap operas rank highly in terms of viewing figures (See Table 17). Since the soap operas have arisen as the most popular genre on television, they have been the centre of controversy and criticism from media critics, communication researchers and audiences. Some have appraised the soap operas as the most popular means of entertainment through which Korean housewives who have no particular means of entertainment at night could be furnished with the feeling of relaxation or fantasy, or could escape from domestic chores (Lee, S.H. 1984).

Table 17

Soap Operas on Korean Television

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>TVR(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Love and Ambition</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>MBC</td>
<td>55.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Samogok</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>KBS 2</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Face of the City</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>MBC</td>
<td>38.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Condition of Love</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>KBS 2</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>KBS 1</td>
<td>14.8*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entrance to Ambition</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>KBS 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample period 29/May - 11/June/1987
*Sample period 2/Jan. - 14/Jan./1987

This attraction appeals to large advertisers, ranging from the areas of cosmetics, health remedy, beverage, alcohol, electronics to cars. This fact does support the notion that need for thorough investigation of the soap opera's production process, distribution, content and audience response is necessary and urgent.
Not only does the soap opera continue to enjoy undiminished popularity among audiences, but the soap opera has its distinctive narrative features — 'paradigmatic complexity — a complexity that makes the soap opera unique among visual narratives and unmatched in literary narrative except for the most elaborate of epic novels.' (Allen 1985). Unlike the other television genres such as the situation comedy, police and detective shows, news and variety shows, the soap opera takes the most complex narrative structure in which up to forty regularly-appearing characters are running parallel to each other. In so doing soap opera is able to capture endless continuation and variation of story line in which various values, social norms, ideal types and cultural artifacts are circulating over a long period. This is why the soap operas have been subject to inquiries from students of popular culture and mass communication.

5.2.3. The sample design

The sample comprises four Korean soap operas — Face of the City, Condition of Love, Love and Ambition and Time. Sample criteria was based on; 1. channel consideration; 2. daily and weekly programmes; 3. historical setting of 1960s and 1980s. (See Table 18). First concerns with channel consideration. Thus media sample comprises three television channels, KBS 1 (Time), KBS 2 (Condition of Love), and MBC (Face of the City and Love and Ambition). The second consideration is given to the coverage of both two-times-weekly serials (Condition of Love, Face of the City and Love and Ambition) and daily serial (Time). The study design calls for a sample of 45 episodes of two-times-weekly serials from Face of the City, Condition of Love and Love and Ambition (2250 minutes - 45 multiple 50 minutes), starting from the first week of March to the third week of April, and a sample of 30 episodes of daily serial of Time (750 minutes - 30 multiple 25 minutes) from the first week of March to the second week of April (not broadcast on Saturday and Sunday). The third consideration involves
identifying the historical settings of 1960s and 1980s in which different cultural traits, ideas, beliefs and ideology are portrayed and incorporated. Love and Ambition and Time whose settings are based on the 1950s and 1960s are assumed to contain more traditional Korean cultural artifacts, ideas and beliefs, whereas Face of the City and Condition of Love whose historical setting is based on contemporary Korean society are assumed to contain more western cultural artifacts, values and ideology.

Table 18

Sample Details of Content Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Period/Daily/Weekly</th>
<th>Recording Time</th>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>Setting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Face of the City</td>
<td>4/3/ - 23/4/87 Weekly</td>
<td>750 min.</td>
<td>MBC</td>
<td>1980s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition of Love</td>
<td>7/3/ - 26/4/87 Weekly</td>
<td>750 min.</td>
<td>KBS 2</td>
<td>1980s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love and Ambition</td>
<td>8/3/ - 27/4/87 Weekly</td>
<td>750 min.</td>
<td>MBC</td>
<td>1960s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>2/3/ - 13/4/87 Daily</td>
<td>750 min.</td>
<td>KBS 1</td>
<td>1960s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.4. Analytical Procedures

The coding schedules comprise two sections, the programme and the character. Two coding schedules were employed for

---

2 See Appendix 3 about the general instructions, terms and definitions.
the analysis of the extent and nature of the two different cultures portrayed in the programmes, specifically, one for the patterns and formulas of the programmes, the other for the demographics, obvious cultural artifacts and various value systems of the characters in terms of Korean v. western cultures, and 1960s v. 1980s' cultures. Significant and long verbal references to various value systems were transcribed in full on the separate record sheet. The use of foreign languages by the characters was also transcribed on to the separate record sheet.

The main unit of analysis were the programme, the scene, the verbal reference and the character. A programme was defined by their discrete time slots as listed in TV guide. A scene was defined in terms of continuity of time and space in the action involved in the shots. A verbal reference was defined as any uninterrupted sequence of speech about various value systems. A character was defined as any speaking character involved in the actual or implied speech related to various value systems in any one scene.

The programme was coded in terms of number of scenes of setting, locale that main action had taken place, number of families involved in one episode, social class of families involved in one episode, type of family structure involved in one episode, and information about programme title, channel and time of transmission. The characters were coded in terms of their demographics and their type of clothing, types of houses in which they lived, types of restaurants, coffeeshops, pubs and discotheques attended, types of food, drinks and alcohols that the character consumed, number of instances foreign language was used by the characters, and theme or verbal references about various value systems spoken by characters.

5.2.5. Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis

The serious problem one faces is the difficulty of
detecting the alien elements in domestically-produced programmes in recipient countries. Among some communication scholars (Katz and Wedell 1977; Wells 1972; Williams 1975), it has been argued that certain alien forms, formulas and furthermore, western ideology, values and ideas are incorporated in domestically-produced programmes in the Third World. If a programme produced by local producers contains alien elements, it should be looked at as a different dimension. Then a question still remains unanswered: What elements are inherent in the locally-produced programmes? Instead of posing question of whether it is a locally-produced or imported programme, the question should be addressed to the elements inherent in the local programmes in terms of various cultural artifacts and value systems. In so doing, one may be able to capture the 'immanent' message in which sophisticated form of cultural imperialism and certain forms of alien elements are inherent.

In terms of techniques, the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods would be helpful. On the quantitative side is the traditional content analysis of messages.

Content analysis involves specialized procedures for processing scientific data. Its aim is to uncover the systemic and qualitative description of the manifest content of communication. It produces data by counting and measuring things. The method produces a statistical summary of a much larger field and it has been used for extracting data from content about frequency of distribution of references. The analysis as a whole stresses the manifest content of the message.

Content analysis clearly has advantages for the systemic

---

3 For the applicant of both quantitative and qualitative methods, see Hansen and Murdock (1985).
investigation of an wide range of material. A further advantage of content analysis is that statistical methods provide a powerful set of tools not only for precise and parsimonious summary of findings but also for improving the quality of interpretation and inference. At the same time, it also has flaws. In content analysis, the meaning of frequency-recurring is only revealed by opposition to what is rare. In other words, the meaning of a message can be detected by counting the present or absent items. While content analysis is widely used in research by different researchers, it proves to be inadequate for describing the immanent and complex meaning of messages. Structural or semiotic analysis provides a way of overcoming this problem, which traditional content analysis does not.

On the qualitative side is the structural or semiotic method which enables the implementation of content analysis by which uncovering of immanent messages is difficult. Semiology is concerned with the underlying meaning of texts which are composed on the basis of certain stylized conventions and codes. The application of semiological analysis opens up possibilities for revealing the complex and latent meaning of a text. The aim of semiology is to find 'the immanent universe of meaning in the corpus he is studying.' In this way one can hope to work one's way back to 'the cultural code governing the meaning of all individual elements' (Burgelin 1972:316). Thus, the semiology approach helps us to uncover the cultural meaning of media content and the latent ideology. As Anders Hansen (1984:157) states, 'the objective of the structural analysis is to identify how elements of the text are related to each and organised as a system of contrasts or oppositions.' In the structuralist analysis, thus, binary or polar oppositions are seminal in the sense that 'the meaning of the units we choose is determined largely by the meanings of the units we did not' (Fiske and Hartley 1978:62) or 'meaning is based upon establishing relationships' (Berger 1982:30).
As an example, 'traditional' is defined by the meaning of what is 'not traditional'; the contrasting pair 'traditional' versus 'western' concepts. It is these chains of contrasting elements which provide the basic meaning-structure of programmes. (See Chapter 6.4 and 6.5).

But semiology has its own deficiencies as well. Since it rejects the notion that all units of content should be treated equally, it is criticized of being lack of proper sample procedures. It does not give equal weight to sampling. This is the reason why the method is considered to be subjective rather than objective. It offers no way of telling whether or not its findings are representative.

In order to overcome these problems, the use of both quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis would be useful. The quantitative analysis has its strength in finding out systemic investigation of manifest content, whereas qualitative analysis has advantage for uncovering immanent and latent meanings of text. Thus, if one employs both methods of quantitative and qualitative analysis, each would supplement what the other lacks.

This chapter has presented a brief outline of the historical development of Korean soap operas in order to see the similarities and differences between the development of the American soap opera, and research design of content analysis. The next chapter discusses the findings of the content analysis of the Korean soap operas by looking at basic patterns, character types and various cultural artifacts, values and ideologies.
CHAPTER 6

THE KOREAN SOAP OPERAS: TWO CONFLICTING CULTURES

This chapter presents the findings of the content analysis conducted during the period of March 1988, to April 1988. It has three aims. Firstly, it attempts to detect any similarities or differences between western soap operas and Korean soap operas in terms of patterns, forms and formulas. Secondly, it aims to identify how Korean culture has been changed during the last decades presented in the programmes by comparing the two different historic setting of the 1960s and 1980s' programmes. Thirdly, it examines how Korean soap operas present and portray two different cultures of Korean and western. By doing so, we are able to assess the way and manner in which South Korean soap operas are dealing with the two different cultures - Korean and western. This allows for detection of the complex and sophisticated process of cultural imperialism in which various cultures are conflicting rather than presenting single culture.

6.1. Programmes Description

The sample comprises a total of 75 episodes of Korean soap operas. 45 episodes of 3 two-times-weekly programmes (Face of the City, Condition of Love and Love and Ambition) and 30 episodes of 1 daily programme (Time) were recorded. In order to identify the changes in Korean culture over the time, the historical settings of the 1960s and 1980s were classified. Face of the City and Condition of Love are set in contemporary society. Love and Ambition and Time are set in 1960s. (See Table 19).
Table 19

Programmes Description

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Setting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Face of the City</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>1980s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition of Love</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>1980s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love and Ambition</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>1960s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>1960s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20

Sample Period and Broadcasting Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Channel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Face of the City</td>
<td>4/3 - 23/4/1987</td>
<td>50 min.</td>
<td>MBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition of Love</td>
<td>7/3 - 26/4/1987</td>
<td>50 min.</td>
<td>KBS 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love and Ambition</td>
<td>8/3 - 27/4/1987</td>
<td>50 min.</td>
<td>MBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>2/3 - 13/4/1987</td>
<td>25 min.</td>
<td>KBS 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2. The Patterns, and formulas: Two Phases of Duplication and Adaptation

This section looks at whether Korean soap operas have some similarities or differences in basic patterns and formulas when compared with those of America. This will be done by looking at the setting, locale, and composition of families and social status of families. This was coded by a separate coding schedule - 'the Programmes.'
Among some communication scholars it has been argued that some patterns, formulas and typology of the western broadcasting have been transferred to the Third World. But as has been discussed elsewhere, there have been consistent counterattack suggesting that these studies are devoid of empirical evidences. Our aim is thus to address these questions by analysing the Korean soap operas as a case study at the empirical level. As is discussed in Chapter 4, American soap operas are the world of domestic and interior life. Most action in American soap operas takes place in the homes of characters. Katzman (1972:209) finds that of the 884 locations coded, only 9 are not indoors, while 690 are in homes, offices or hospitals. An overall picture of soap opera content is to reconcile the notion that characters sit 'indoors' and talk to each other with a number of themes and plots. Soap opera presents the audience with the world of domestic and interior space characterized by affluence and recognizability (Neumann et al. 1983). At the core of the soap opera is the notion that the interior life style of the home is the axis of social relations. Thus, domestic and other interior space developed by soap opera is characterized by the affluence and coziness of 'home sweet home'. Home in the soap opera world is the centre of social relationship and subjectivity.

In terms of setting, Korean soap operas have parallels with American soap operas. As Table 21 indicates, most of action in Korean soap operas takes place in the homes of characters (39%). In addition to home, much of action also takes place in the office (14%) and social meeting places such as restaurants, bars, tearooms or pubs (13%). If the house, office and social meeting place are taken together, 66% falls into interior setting, whereas 34% shows open or exterior settings.

These findings indicate that Korean soap operas are also the world of domestic and interior space. Considering that housewives are the dominant characters in Korean soap
Table 21

The Setting of Korean Soap Operas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>No of Scenes</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front Yard</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Meeting Place</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Shot/ Scenery</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Setting</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile Setting</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1539</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is shown in the studies by Katzman (1972), Hobson
(1982) and Newcomb (1974), the American soap operas are set in small towns and involve two or three families intimately connected with one another and most of these are solidly upper-middle class. In terms of locale of set, Korean soap operas differ considerably from the American soap operas. Most Korean soap operas are set in the metropolitan city (Seoul). Even if they are set in a rural area, they function as a secondary setting. To give an example, while the main actions take place in Seoul, subsequent scenes move to rural areas. Then after a few scenes, action returns to Seoul. No small town setting is found in Korean soap operas. In terms of the composition of families, Korean soap operas show the same type of pictures as American soap operas. The plots and themes revolve around two, three or four families. Among 75 episodes, 51 episodes involve three families. (See Table 22).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Status of Characters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No of Characters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper-Middle Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower-Middle Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast to American soap operas in which the upper-middle class is the main class, Korean soap operas present the upper class as the main social class. The implication of this exclusive presentation of upper class families is, as far as the introduction of western culture
is concerned, that upper class family life-style with western food, drinks, western style restaurants, pubs and western-style houses are portrayed as an ideal model. The world of Korean soap operas also sharply contrasts the life of upper class and lower class, leading to the deepening of class antagonism.

In conclusion, the patterns and formulas of the Korean soap operas have some commonalities in the domestic setting and the composition of families, and some differences in locale and social status of families. It should be here mentioned that transformation of western patterns and format is not a simple and uniform process; rather it is a complex and sophisticated process.

The fact that Korean and American soap opera have some similarities has to be more closely scrutinized. Does it mean that the pattern of Korean soap opera was merely imported or copied from the western model? Or does the pattern of Korean soap opera originate from or is it rooted in traditional Korean elements? Soap opera as a genre has been imported from the western model, because television itself is a western-invented technology. Like the American television soap opera whose initial development was indebted to earlier radio soap opera, the theatre and the cinema, the Korean soap opera also was essentially a combination and development of earlier forms of radio, the theatre and the cinema. In basic composition, there are many similarities, such as the serial form, cliffhanger format, the domestic world and family composition, but in the local development of soap opera, indigenous elements are incorporated into the imported genre.

Thus, two kinds of different phases are implied in this account, the initial stage of import passing through a genre as a technological and an indigenous development incorporating local varieties. These two phases are not exclusive, but one phase is being overlaid on the other
phase. It is a dialectical evolution of things. Thus, it seems safe to conclude that soap opera as a genre has been transformed from the American model in its initial stage, but it has been later modified and adapted to the locally specific cultural milieu. As Fiske (1987:109) states, 'genre is a cultural practice that attempts to structure some order into the wide range of texts and meanings that circulate in our culture for the convenience of both producers and audiences.' Thus, for the convenience of producers in its initial stage certain forms and formulas of American soap operas have been transformed for Korean television. It is suggested from this analysis that future study should look at specific culture and programmes both under the general common features and specific contexts in order to understand the cultural transformation of one society and nation.

6.3. Demographic Characteristics of the Characters: Similarities and Differences Compared with Western Soap Opera

Main characters, including the extras who played the actual role in the episodes, were analysed by a separate coding schedule - the Characters (1060 cases). The schedule was designed to monitor three sets of variables: the demographic, the material artifacts of Korean and western culture, and the verbal references of ideology and value system.

How do Korean soap operas differ from western soap operas in terms of their demographics? Studies conducted by Katzman (1972), Downing (1974), and Rondina et al.(1983), for instance, are attempts to identify the demographic attributes of American soap operas such as sex, age, occupation, marital status and social status. Katzman (1972) summarises these findings as follows:

The world of soap opera is populated by male and
female adults - mainly male professionals, their wives and lovers and their assistants and secretaries. The male tend to be the same age as the woman or older, and they are less likely to have been married. (1972:211).

Korean soap operas, in terms of demographics, paint a different picture of the world than do American soap operas. As far as sex is concerned, Korean soap operas are more akin to American daytime serials than to prime time television. (See Table 23). The world of American prime time dramas is the domain of the male, outnumbering females by a 3:1 margin. Daytime serials, on the other hand, tend to present a much more balanced sex ratio - 51% male and 49% female. In Korean soap operas, 56.8% of the characters are female, compared with 43.2% male characters. It is due to the prevalence of housewives in Korean soap operas.

In American soap opera characters, the age groups of 20-34 and 35-49 years old represent more than two thirds of the television population. In Korean soap opera characters, 25-44 and 45-64 age groups comprise almost two thirds (65.7%) of the population. No characters are found to be under 16 or over 65. It appears from the analysis that young people under 16 and ageing people prove to be insignificant members of television serial dramas. In other words, the Korean soap operas appear to be the world of adult excluding extremely young and older people.

In the world of American soap operas, the professionals such as doctors, lawyers and nurses are the largest population as regards occupational category (49% of the daytime characters and 29% of the prime time characters). In contrast to American soap operas, housewives are the most common occupations in Korean soap opera, sharing 21% of the characters. In Korean soap operas professionals comprise a relatively low portion of 8.3% in the category. The difference between Korean and American soap operas can be
### Table 24
Demographic Characteristics of TV Characters of U.S. Soap Operas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Daytime (n=252)</th>
<th>Prime Time (n=1217)</th>
<th>U.S. Population Estimates 1980</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>49.2%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50.8%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - 12</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 - 19</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 34</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 49</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 64</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 +</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor/operative</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student(college)</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Worker</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawbreakers</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source, Rondina et al. 1983:9)
Table 25

Demographic Characteristics of Korean Soap Opera Characters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>43.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>56.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - 15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - 24</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 44</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 64</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>34.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Middle</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Middle</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Class</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Executives and Landlord</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopkeeper</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiter/waitress</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musician/artist</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
explained in terms of the composition of the work force. In the U.S.A. more women are employed, whereas in Korea most women are still engaged in domestic duties. Another interesting difference lies in the presence of students. Compared with the American soap operas (6% in the daytime serials and none in the prime time serials), students attracted more attention (8.5%) from the Korean soap opera. It seems to reflect the enthusiastic educational aspiration or achievement of Korean people, which originated from the Confucianist idea that emphasis is more centred on academic achievement rather than pragmatic matters.

In terms of the social status of families, Korean soap operas differ considerably from the American soap operas in which the upper-middle has been the dominant class. Korean soap operas, in contrast, are the world of upper class followed by lower-middle class families. The indication here is that Korean soap operas present the upper class as the main axis of the soap opera world. It is worth noting that American soap opera projects a composition of social class much closer to real composition of social class than does Korean soap opera. The Korean soap opera world excludes the lower-middle and upper-middle and lower classes, although they are the main social classes in Korea. In this sense the Korean soap opera creates the myth that members of the lower middle and lower class might become members of the upper class in the future and frustration that they are

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1 From the class structure of South Korea in 1983 (Suh 1986: 48), the bourgeoisie comprises 1.2%, peti-bourgeois comprises 47.4%, and workers comprise 51.4%. In addition, another survey done in 1980 indicates that the bourgeoisie comprises 3.7%, the middle class 53.1%, and workers 43.3% of the workforce in S. Korea (Kim, quoted from Suh 1986:35). Combining the two classes of peti bourgeois (middle class) and workers, more than 95% of the workforce in South Korea falls into either the middle class or lower class.
totally excluded from the soap opera world, thus leading to fatalism or resignation.

There has been an ongoing debate about the effects of television in which certain cultural artifacts and value systems are presented. From the analysis of Korean soap operas, it can be seen that portrayal of upper class life inclined to western life-style is predominant compared to that of middle and lower class. The concern is whether this portrayal of upper class life could affect the attitude or perception of the audience which then might lead to real consumption. As far as transformation and degeneration of Korean culture are concerned, this exclusive portrayal of upper class - mainly western life-style such as western style house, food, drinks, attending western style restaurants, bars and pubs - may promote the consumption of western culture. It has been argued that television provides the audience with a cultural forum or artifacts for life-style and value systems. Our concern is whether this presentation could lead to real consumption or acceptance of particular life-styles and value systems. (This will be discussed in a later Chapter).

In summary, the characters of the Korean soap operas have a different composition from the American soap operas, although there are some commonalities, emphasizing mainly women and upper class characters. It is worth noting that while the basic patterns of soap operas are from the U.S.A., South Korean soap operas also have their own distinctive features.

6.4. Reproducing the 1960s and 1980s’ Culture: Between Traditional and Westernised Culture

This section deals with how Korean soap operas present the 1960s and 1980s’ culture portrayed in contemporary Korean television soap operas. If we consider that the
programmes of the 1960s' settings are made in the contemporary period of 1987, we come to realise that they are not the real culture of 1960s, nor are they the mere reflection of 1960s. Rather the culture of 1960s is produced and represented in the imagination and definition of the 1980s' cultural milieu. Having considered these implications, it is assumed that the programmes of 1960s' setting contain more contemporary and modern elements than of the 1960s' reality. Nevertheless, the comparison of 1960s and 1980s culture could cater in answering two important issues: 1. the degree and extent of cultural changes between the 1960s and 1980s portrayed in the programmes, 2. the portrayal of 1960s and 1980s culture, in other words, to know how 1980s culture defines and interprets the 1980s and 1960s culture.

The unit of the analysis is the characters. In the case of type of house and clothing (Table 26 and 27), 1060 cases are coded because all characters are involved in housing and clothing. In the case of attending restaurant and pubs (Table 28), and consuming food, drinks and alcohol (Table 29), using foreign language (Table 30), characters are coded only when they are involved in real participation.

The most striking finding generated from the types of house where the characters reside is that in the 1980s traditional Korean houses vanished at least on the television screen. In contrast to the 1980s, almost a quarter of the houses (23%) in the 1960s are presented as the traditional Korean house. An interesting fact here is that most traditional houses belong to the upper class. The interpretation is that small and shabby (in the eyes of modernization) traditional houses belonging to ordinary people have vanished under the beautification policy (improving or refurbishing house forced by the government) adopted from the western model. Accordingly, nowadays it is hard to find small traditional Korean houses except in certain towns. In contrast relatively big and spacious
Table 26

Types of Houses, By Characters
(Coded Once for Each Episode)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of House</th>
<th>1980s</th>
<th>1960s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Korean House</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western-Influenced Korean House</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean-Adopted Western House</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western House</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Present</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>448</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Traditional houses mostly belonging to the upper class have survived. The relatively high portion of western style houses in the 1980s is due to the prevalence of upper class families including the owners of big corporations. The fact that western-influenced Korean houses account for 50% in the 1980s and 40% in the 1960s shows that traditional Korean houses have gone and have been more or less influenced by western life-style and models.

Table 27 indicates that 182 traditional Korean clothing forms are shown on the 1960s’ settings whereas in the 1980s only 3 occasional traditional clothing forms are shown. From this analysis it is safe to conclude that as far as clothing on television is concerned, traditional Korean clothes are all gone, replaced by western style clothes. Of the 30% of traditional clothes in the 1960s and 1% of traditional clothes in the 1980s, most are worn by women. Thus, the traditional Korean suit, nowadays, simply remains as a symbol of Korean heritage and a display for foreign
Table 27

Types of Clothing, By Characters
(Coded Once for Each Episode)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Western Style</th>
<th>Korean Clothing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequent</td>
<td>445 (99%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present But Not</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Present</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>445 (99%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>448 (100%)</td>
<td>448 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequent</td>
<td>416 (68%)</td>
<td>182 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present But Not</td>
<td>14 (2%)</td>
<td>14 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Present</td>
<td>182 (30%)</td>
<td>416 (68%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>612 (100%)</td>
<td>612 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

attraction, or as a sign of showing nationalism.

It is obvious in the portrayal of the 1960s and 1980s that attendance at western-style restaurants and pubs has increased and attendance at Korean-style restaurants has decreased. (See Table 28). In terms of the consumption of western food, there is no significant change. But as far as consuming drinks and alcohol is concerned, considerable change has occurred. In particular, portrayal of drinking coffee, beers, milk and scotch whisky are noticeable.

In general consuming western drinks and alcohol is
Table 28

Number of Scenes Showing Characters Attending Restaurants and Pubs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Western Restaurants</th>
<th>Westernised Korean Tearoom</th>
<th>Korean Restaurants</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>175(59)</td>
<td>103(34)</td>
<td>20(7)</td>
<td>298(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>73(35)</td>
<td>40(19)</td>
<td>98(46)</td>
<td>211(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 29

Number of Scenes Showing Characters Consuming Food, Drinks and Alcohols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Western Food</th>
<th>Western Drinks And Alcohols</th>
<th>Korean Food</th>
<th>Korean Drinks And Alcohols</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>19(6)</td>
<td>205(61)</td>
<td>90(27)</td>
<td>24(7)</td>
<td>338(101)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>2(1)</td>
<td>114(38)</td>
<td>146(48)</td>
<td>40(13)</td>
<td>302(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

portrayed as an elegant part of social relationships. Western restaurants and pubs are portrayed as a social meeting place for celebration, party, business discussion, love and romance and general appointments, whereas Korean restaurants and pubs are portrayed as a place of solace and escape from complaints, anger or burdens caused from personal relationships or business problems, and for general meetings. The westernised Korean tearoom is portrayed as a
social meeting place for general appointments and business discussion. Customers of western restaurants are mostly upper class persons who are dressed smartly. Western restaurants and pubs are frequently used for celebration and pleasant parties, although they also function as general meeting places. In contrast, no Korean restaurants and pubs are used for celebration or pleasant parties. Most users are portrayed as middle or lower class people. No scene shows Korean restaurants and pubs attended by upper class people. Western restaurants and pubs are portrayed as clean, comfortable and elegant places equipped with western music, soft lighting, elegant interior and soft and easy chairs whereas Korean restaurants and pubs are portrayed as shabby and cold places with no soft lighting, no music, no design and hard and simple wooden chairs.

Table 30

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of Times Using Foreign Language</th>
<th>By Characters (Separate Instances)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No of Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paralleled with the increase in western houses, clothes, drinks and alcohol, the number using foreign language by characters has considerably increased. In the 1960s, 93 instances of foreign languages, mainly English are found, whereas in the 1980s, 304 instances of foreign language are observed. As will be discussed in a later section, most foreign languages are used by the upper class and professionals. Most cases involve the use of fragmented
words rather than long sentences. Predominant words used by the characters are coffee, miss, Mr., Madam, party, date, schedule, coffee shop, shopping centre, and partner etc. Using foreign language in Korea as a general rule is regarded as a way of expressing professional knowledge and points to a person being a member of the cultivated and learned elite.

I have argued elsewhere that not only do imported programmes contain the foreign elements but also, locally-produced programmes contain alien elements of material artifacts and value systems. Having analyzed the obvious cultural artifacts of housing, clothing, eating, foreign language, it is necessary to observe the ideologies, ideas and value systems expressed by characters. These verbal references are coded in terms of 4 categories: 1. not present, 2. incidental reference, 3. minor theme, 4. major theme. (See more detailed account of general instructions in Appendix 3.)

In terms of verbal references to collectivism and individualism, there is no clear distinction between the 1960s and 1980s. In terms of verbal references to materialism, in the 1980s five occurrences of minor themes appear and 49 of incidental reference. While the verbal references to collectivism, individualism and idealism do not show a clear distinction between the 1980s and 1960s' programmes, the verbal references to materialism do show differences. It appears from the analysis that contemporary programmes (Face of the City and Condition of Love) present more verbal references to materialism and individualism. Whereas Face of the City contrastively portrays the two values and ideologies of collectivism vs. individualism, idealism vs. materialism, docility vs. aggressiveness and femininity or male superiority vs. feminism (see later section on the case study of Face of the City), Condition of Love presents more one-sided verbal references to individualism and materialism. Most verbal references to
Table 31

Verbal References By Characters
(Collectivism, Individualism, Idealism and Materialism)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Incidental Reference</th>
<th>Minor Theme</th>
<th>Major Theme</th>
<th>Not Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collectivism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individualism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idealism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materialism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>594</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Materialism are related to money and consumerism. In this sense money is portrayed as the omnipotent power.

Won-Ku (Won-Ju’s brother): "Nowadays everything is money. Don’t you know the price of the grave? This is the world that can’t be buried if money is not available."

*(Condition of Love, 8/3/1987)*

Won-Ju: "I am going to earn money. If I have the money every fatal disease and illness can be cured."
Neighbor 2: "It would be fine if everything goes like that. It is said that in the world everything will be achieved if money is available."

*(Condition of Love, 18/4/1987)*

Mrs. Jang: "All you have to do is to work. Money will be accumulated as you work, hope will be generated as the money is accumulated. That is what you want, isn’t it?"

*(Condition of Love, 19/4/1987)*

This analysis does show that over the past decades the idea of materialism has pervaded the mind of Korean people at least in the world of television.

Table 32 shows the changing perspectives between the 1960s and 1980s in terms of verbal references to docility and aggressiveness. Whereas the number of verbal references to docility has decreased from 38 to 12 over the period, the number of verbal references to aggressiveness has increased from 15 to 37. Most verbal references to aggressiveness are related to the ardent achievement of material fortunes or severe competition.

Jung-hwa: I am a woman who can do everything when a flame bursts my mind.

Hyun-chul: Although [you are] fastidious and aggressive, you are also a brave woman who could afford to make any sacrifice.

Jung-hwa: That is right. That’s me. You figure it out.

*(Face of the City, 15/4/1987)*

Hyun-chul: When I do not do my best, I am willing to leave my job. When you think that I am not a man of ability, you as the
Table 32

Verbal References By Characters
(Docility, Aggressiveness, Male Superiority, Femininity and Feminism)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Incidental References</th>
<th>Minor Theme</th>
<th>Major Theme</th>
<th>Not Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Docility</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aggressiveness</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male Superiority</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Femininity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feminism</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>607</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

chairman could sack me anytime, couldn’t you?

Do-jin: Yes, you fully understand my line.

Hyun-chul: Is that a mixture of passion and cruelty?

Do-jin: You quickly reach the core of my point. That is what I guess. Do you understand my position?

*(Face of the City, 9/4/1987)*
Da-hae: Do not suffer all by yourself, elder sister. You have to seek revenge. I feel choked up because of my strong anger. I don’t like the idea of endurance and forgiveness. You must revenge it completely.

*(Face of the City, 9/4/1987)*

The verbal references to male superiority, femininity and feminism show that there has been a persistent recognition of women’s right and role in the society. In the 1960s, 44 instances of incidental references to male superiority are observed whereas 5 of verbal references to feminism are found.

Byung-Chul (to his wife): "It is not good behaviour for man to chatter with his wife."

*(Time, 6/3/1987)*

Mrs Choi (to his brother): "It is not a good behaviour that takes your wife under your wing and stand up for wife. Why are you so concerned about your wife?"

*(Time, 9/3/1987)*

Chang-Hun’s Father (to his son): "You are such a determined man who survived from the almost-dead dangers. Please do not be a white-livered person who spoils one’s valuable future because of such an affection towards a girl. Do you understand?"

Chang-Hun: "Forgive me. Forgive such a foolish"

*(Time, 16/3/1987)*

Chang-Hun’s father: "Chang-Hun! Father wish you to be a more determined man. Do not stick
to the past. Have an ambition for the future. How can a willful man who have great ambition be affected by woman? Don't you think so?

(Time, 20/3/1987)

In the 1980s, 5 incidental references to male superiority occur, while 12 incidental, and 6 minor themes on feminism are presented.

Hyun-chul: I know that the presence of a woman must not take a large portion of man's life.
Jung-hwa: Since when have you thought like that? Was it before you met me?
Hyun-chul: Of course.
Jung-hwa: It must have a deep meaning too.

(Face of the City, 9/4/1987)

Women in the contemporary programmes not only attempt to escape from domestic chores but also challenge male domination. It is quite different from the images of the 1960s in which most women are portrayed as obedient to their husbands.

Won-mi: All the science and knowledge to date have been dominated by men and have been men-oriented.

(Condition of Love, 4/4/1987)

Jung-hwa: I have always thought that I am not a woman who was made only for marriage. I firmly believe that there is a wider world and future for me.
Hyun-chul: You always wish to go forward more than men.

(Face of the City, 15/4/1987)

Jung-hwa: I have experienced a lot through
mother’s married life as a same woman. Mother has been through a dull married life that has served her husband, has sacrificed to her children, has taken care of the garden and has made the shopping lists. Therefore she [mother] regrets her life now. It seems to me that she has been through a marginal life.

(Face of the City, 24/4/1987)

Table 33

Verbal References By Characters (Religion)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Incidental Reference</th>
<th>Minor Theme</th>
<th>Major Theme</th>
<th>Not Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confucianism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Religion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Super-Natural Belief</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A striking finding from the analysis of verbal references
to religion (table 33) is that while verbal references to Christianity, Buddhism and other religions do not show significant differences between the 1980s and 1960s, verbal references to Confucianism show considerable difference between the 1980s and 1960s. While in the 1980s only 3 incidental references are observed, 39 such references are made in the 1960s. This does mean that the influence of Confucian ideas and value systems portrayed in the programmes has diminished over the past decades.

Pa-Ju: "The new bride has nothing to do for her mother-in-law. Just have a son and show him to mother-in-law. Then there will be no hardship in your married life."

*(Love and Ambition, 14/3/1987)*

Pa-Ju: "You better serve your husband dinner even though you have a slight illness. I wonder how much you will be punished since you object to serve dinner for your husband and decided to send Hun-Hi[a boy] to your parent's home without mother-in-law's consent."

*(Love and Ambition, 4/4/1987)*

Kyung-Soon's mother: "You better marry. Woman does not live with money but with a husband. An Ill-fated woman talks about money and money."

*(Time, 2/3/1987)*

Han-Soo: "The important thing is that you really visited that house. Furthermore you visited that man who lived alone. Firstly, what does the owner of the house think about you? You are a married woman. Don't you think it is behaviour that only a woman losing a sense of
self-respect can do?"  
(Time, 10/4/1987)

Another interesting finding is that compared with the verbal references to Christianity, Buddhism and other religion, a relatively high proportion verbal references to supernatural belief including two minor themes is presented on contemporary soap opera. It indicates that many Korean people portrayed in the programmes still believe in the existence of supernatural power along with other religion.

Neighbour 2: (praying) "Our clever and thankful  
Three God Grandmother! Thank you and thank you again for giving an another birth. Pray and pray for the growth of the new baby and protection by you Three God Grandmother. Pray for the mother of the new baby without her father. Look after and keep an eye on the new baby who was born in a troubled world. Wish and wish for long life and fast growing."

(Condition of Love, 21/3/1987)

Whereas the programmes of the 1980s do not present any verbal references to anti-Communism, the programmes of the 1960s present 8 incidental references and 3 minor references. Most of them are presented in Time. They portray the sufferings during the Korean War by the North Korean soldiers, the North Korean espionage operation as an attempt to undermine South Korean society and North Korea as a horrible place.

Mrs. Han: (Talking to her husband) North[Korea], isn’t it a horrible place? Have you seen the suffering and have been suffered during the Korean War? I am frightened of seeing the North Korean Army in a
dream. Chang-Hun[her son] is a such a man who desperately ran away from the almost-dead-dangers, isn’t he? But how do we treat such Chang-Hun?"

(Time, 23/3/1987)

Chang-Hun(hero): "From that day, training started. By the way, the last moment was coming. As the training was almost finished, I was dragged to the field. I was told that the result of investigation that you intellectual reactionary should be executed by the gun arrived from the top office. I was at a loss about what to do. An army officer who dragged me shouted: 'Do you have any last words?’ The following moment I shouted the glory of DPRK[North Korea] in a loud voice. I broke down saying to myself of shouting the glory of South Korea. I burst into tears although I did not have a feeling of sadness and a false accusation. The following day, I was sent to the Espionage Branch Operating in South [Korea]."

(Time, 6/4/1987)

In summary, it is evident that Korean culture portrayed on television in terms of the historic setting has considerably changed over the last decades. On the visible side, the prevalence of western houses, clothes, drinks, alcohol, restaurants, pubs and foreign languages in the 1980s compared with the 1960s demonstrates the considerable transformation of Korean culture. The increasing number of verbal references to materialism, aggressiveness and feminism and the decrease in the number of verbal references to Confucianism and male superiority also indicate that the value system and moral framework have changed over the
times. How these different cultures – Western and Korean – are portrayed on television will be further discussed in the following section.

6.5. The Images of Korean and Western Cultures: Negative vs. Positive Portrayal

This section looks at how Korean culture and western culture are portrayed in Korean soap operas in terms of characters' social status, sex, age, and occupation. At issue is the question of who are the main consumers of western culture, and whether western culture is portrayed as positive or negative.

Table 34 shows the contrasting fact that western style houses are possessed by the upper class, whereas most of the upper-middle, lower-middle and lower class live in western-influenced Korean houses. It indicates from this analysis that western style houses are for the upper class and Korean houses are for other classes. Thus, living in western style houses furnished with western style sofas, beds, lighting, and interior is portrayed as better living condition and an ideal model for housing. In terms of age, there is no clear distinction.

Wearing western-style clothes does not illustrate any clear distinctions in terms of characters' sex, age and social status. It seems obvious from this analysis that Korean dress had already vanished by the 1960s. After the liberation from Japan by the Americans in 1945, drastic changes in clothing had already occurred. Nowadays the Korean traditional suit has faded away and it only remains as a symbol of Korean tradition, an attraction for foreign tourists and sometimes a sign of nationalism or resistance to western culture.

As Table 35 demonstrates, traditional Korean clothes,
Table 34

Types of Houses By Social Status and Age
(Coded Once for Each Episode)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Not Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No(%)</td>
<td>No(%)</td>
<td>No(%)</td>
<td>No(%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>150(79)</td>
<td>86(87)</td>
<td>58(12)</td>
<td>111(78)</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Middle</td>
<td>30(16)</td>
<td>13(13)</td>
<td>64(14)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Middle</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>284(61)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Class</td>
<td>10(5)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>62(13)</td>
<td>32(22)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>190(100)</td>
<td>99(100)</td>
<td>468(100)</td>
<td>143(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - 24</td>
<td>25(13)</td>
<td>15(15)</td>
<td>137(29)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 44</td>
<td>109(57)</td>
<td>62(63)</td>
<td>156(33)</td>
<td>58(41)</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 64</td>
<td>56(29)</td>
<td>22(22)</td>
<td>175(37)</td>
<td>85(59)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>190(100)</td>
<td>99(100)</td>
<td>468(100)</td>
<td>143(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1; Western Style House
2; Korean-Adopted Western Style House
3; Western-Influenced Korean House
4; Traditional Korean House

mostly shown in the 1960s, are worn by females, old people and the upper class. A total of 176 cases of wearing traditional clothes by females was shown on television whereas only 6 cases involving males were presented. In terms of age, no one in the 16 - 24 age group was shown wearing traditional clothes. In contrast the 45 - 64 age group is portrayed as the main consumer of traditional Korean clothes. Also, wearing traditional Korean clothes was
Table 35

Clothing By Sex, Age and Social Status
(Coded Once for Each Episode)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequent Wearing</th>
<th>Wearing But Not Frequent</th>
<th>Not Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Western Korean</td>
<td>Western Korean</td>
<td>Western Korean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 – 24</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 – 44</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 – 64</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Middle</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Middle</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Class</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

presented as an upper class tradition. These findings indicate that the traditional Korean suit is portrayed (or reflects real life) as a part of life for females, old people and the upper class. The implication from the findings is that traditional Korean clothes are marginal or minor part of Korean life, only consumed by the ageing, females and the upper class group. Accordingly, it is portrayed as a symbolic ritual rather than the popular culture of the people as a whole.
Table 36 shows contrasting patterns - that upper class culture differs considerably from lower class culture. Attending western style restaurants and pubs is part of upper class (52%) and upper middle class (29%) culture. In contrast Korean restaurants and pubs are appealing to the lower middle class (53%). It is obvious from this analysis that attending restaurants and pubs reflect the extent and degree of living standards. The number of lower class people attending restaurants and pubs is very low compared with the better-off. Lower class people simply cannot afford to go to restaurants or pubs. The relatively cheap places, the modified tearoom which only sells coffee and teas can be afforded by the lower middle (43%) and lower class (18%). The pattern of consuming food, drinks and alcohol also varies in terms of social class. Most western food, drinks and alcohol are consumed by the upper and upper middle class, whereas Korean food, drinks and alcohol are appealing to the lower middle and lower class. It is worth noting that the pattern of consuming food has not considerably changed compared with the consumption pattern of drinks and alcohol. Significant changes in drinking patterns can be found in the increasing numbers consuming coffee, whisky and beverages such as cola and milk.

Attending western restaurants and pubs, and consuming western food, drinks and alcohol, as a whole, is portrayed as an elegant, pleasant and expensive part of social life. In contrast, attending Korean restaurants and pubs, and consuming Korean food, drinks and alcohol is portrayed as a common, cheap and dull part of working class culture. Western restaurants and pubs equipped with elegant and expensive design, expensive furniture, soft lighting, western music, soft and easy chairs with high prices are expensive places to which lower class people have little access. The main menu in the western restaurants and pubs are western food, cola, juice, whisky, cocktails, beer - mostly western alcohol, foods and drinks. In contrast, Korean restaurants and pubs are furnished with simple
Table 36

Attending Restaurants, Pubs and Consuming Food, Drinks and Alcohol By Social Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Western Pubs</th>
<th>Korean-Modified Restaurants</th>
<th>Korean Pubs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No(%)</td>
<td>No(%)</td>
<td>No(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>128(52)</td>
<td>39(27)</td>
<td>16(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Middle</td>
<td>71(29)</td>
<td>17(12)</td>
<td>34(29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Middle</td>
<td>43(17)</td>
<td>61(43)</td>
<td>63(53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Class</td>
<td>6(2)</td>
<td>26(18)</td>
<td>5(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>248(100)</strong></td>
<td><strong>143(100)</strong></td>
<td><strong>118(100)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Western Food</th>
<th>Western Drinks</th>
<th>Korean Food</th>
<th>Korean Alcohols</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No(%)</td>
<td>No(%)</td>
<td>No(%)</td>
<td>No(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>8(38)</td>
<td>193(61)</td>
<td>84(36)</td>
<td>15(23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Middle</td>
<td>4(19)</td>
<td>59(18)</td>
<td>20(8)</td>
<td>8(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Middle</td>
<td>9(43)</td>
<td>62(19)</td>
<td>111(47)</td>
<td>33(52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Class</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>5(2)</td>
<td>21(9)</td>
<td>8(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>21(100)</strong></td>
<td><strong>319(100)</strong></td>
<td><strong>236(100)</strong></td>
<td><strong>64(100)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

designs, no furniture, no lighting (in day time), no music, cheap and hard chairs and tables. They deal with Sojoo, Makguli (Korean alcohol), Korean foods and sometimes beer and beverages (but these were not represented in the programmes).

In terms of social class, the upper class appears to use more foreign language than other classes. A total of 192
Table 37

Number of Times Using Foreign Language By Social Status and Occupation (Separate Instances)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Status</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Middle Class</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Middle Class</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Shopkeeper</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Class</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Waiter/Waitress</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Executive/</td>
<td></td>
<td>Musician/Artist</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landlord</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>125</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

instances of foreign words appear as the upper class, followed by the lower middle class (100 instances), upper middle class (87 instances) and lower class (21 instances). In terms of occupation, managers are the most frequent users of foreign language. The second largest group using foreign language are the workers. But their use of foreign language is mostly confined to the commonly used words such as coffee, Miss, Mr., Madam, the date and so on. The use of professional jargon by professionals including doctors and nurses, managers and musician/artist groups is noticeable. The words represented include; 'typewriter', 'copywriter', 'schedule', 'free talking', 'studio', 'seminar', 'host', 'microphone', 'camera angle', 'original', 'sale', 'pose', and so on. It is evident from these findings that use of foreign languages reflect social background. In other words, the use of foreign languages varies in terms of social
classes and groups. The use of foreign languages by the working class is limited, whereas the use of foreign language by the upper class, managers and professionals is more extensive. They use foreign languages not only extensively but also in varied forms. It is also worth noting that in Korean society the use of foreign languages is regarded as a sign of intelligence or of the users' membership of a cultivated group. Thus the use of foreign languages in Korean soap operas is portrayed as a positive, stylish and elegant part of social relationships.

A Case Study, Face of the City

Face of the City is an illustrative case for the analysis in the sense that it projects the contrasting and juxtaposing elements of two different cultures and value systems – Korean and Western (or upper vs. working class).

Hero Hyun-chul who was born within an urban poor class background is falling in love with Un-hae who has a similar class background and who lives nearby. Hyun-chul meets Jung-hwa by chance who later proves to be the daughter of the 'Jae-bol'( a family-tied conglomerate). Then Hyun-chul attracted by her family background and her aggressive character inclines toward Jung-hwa. As the story goes on, the long feuding story between Hyun-chul's father Hyung-sup Park and Jung-hwa's father Do-jin Lee is unfolded. Hyun-chul's father explains, in the episodes, that he was destroyed by Jung-hwa's father. According to him, he was robbed of his girl friend, now the wife of Do-Jin, who also took his wealth. Do-jin has a different version. He insists that all the stories made by Hyung-sup come from misunderstanding and unexpected conditions - the Korean war. Fascinated by Jung-hwa's social background and positive character and encouraged by her father's good favour, Hyun-chul decides to accept the Do-jin's offer of a key position in the company.
In the meantime, conflicts have emerged as Hyun-chul has moved towards Jung-hwa. Hyun-chul's family oppose his intention to throw away his girlfriend and the family's belief that one should go the right way although they are poor. The attitude of Jung-hwa's family concerning her love affair is divided. Jung-hwa's mother (a former girlfriend of Hyung-sup) and brother oppose Jung-hwa's idea. Do-jin supports and encourages her daughter, attracted by Hyun-chul's ambition and, in a sense, similarities in character with himself. In a newly-developed narrative, tension runs high as Hyun-chul's father knows that his son is working on the opposition's side. He declares that he will not recognize Hyun-chul as a son unless Hyun-chul stops to work and aborts the relationship with Jung-hwa.

From the beginning of the plot, the programme projects the contrasting elements of two different families - one with an upper class background, the other with a working class background. It contrasts two families by presenting different cultures and value systems. The contrasting value systems begin to emerge as Hyun-Chul is deeply involved with Jung-Hwa. Hyung-Sup's family opposes the idea of Hyun-Chul who intends to marry Jung-Hwa at the expense of a long-devoted girlfriend. Basically, their ideas are based on the idealistic and collectivist that they should take the correct path even though they are poor. They are attached to the moral framework that one should not throw out a long-devoted girlfriend although there is the guarantee of material prosperity. They share the value that winning morality is more important than gaining material fortune. For them, abandoning his long-devoted girl friend is regarded as a sort of moral corruption:

Hyun-Chul: "I take all the responsibility. I will look after all the family, you, Hyun-Woo [Younger brother], and father."

Hyun-Gyu: "Tell me the ways. We have never lived (Younger in such a dirty way as to throw one's
brother) life into this nasty matter."

Hyun-Chul "A man cannot live in order to suit a woman's taste. You go such a way."

Also they share the collective responsibility since they think his moral corruption is due to the lack of their attention to him. It is evident in Hyung-Sup's remarks:

Hyung-Sup: "I am the only one blamed. I never taught him like that."

In contrast, Do-Jin's ideas reside in materialism and aggressiveness. For him, winning in the competition by any means is the first priority. Achieving his goals and material fortune is more important than gaining moral victory. After Hyun-Chul is employed by Do-Jin, Do-Jin talks to Hyun-Chul about his management philosophy:

Do-Jin: "How do you feel about it?"

Hyun-Chul: "I'll do my best."

Do-Jin: "Best? Best is not enough. The goal of the Dong-Yang Company is always perfection. It is a Company pursuing perfection. Doing one's best cannot win in battle. Do you understand what I mean? I believe that management is the art of creating human beings. I expect more than that from you when I employ you. Plan the highest goal. It is better to believe that a lower goal is a sin. Throwing yourself into work because can not stimulate one's mind unless you yourself are burning. (Emphasis added).

Their different life styles also project the contrasting elements of upper class and working class cultures. Do-Jin's
family live in luxurious, spacious western-style living conditions. In contrast Hyung-Sup's family live in a shabby, poor, small Korean style environment. Hyung-Sup's family is shown at breakfast, only a fried egg is served to Hyun-Chul because of their poverty and frugality. Hyun-Chul gives it to his father. His father returns it to Hyunchul. Then Hyun-Chul becomes angry blaming his brother's for not preparing several eggs. Hyung-Sup says: "Why do you show anger? You know my family's situation. To date you never show anger over these things." Thus their life always suffers from material needs while they believe firmly that in the near future they could also enjoy material prosperity.

Face of the City also shows the contrasting culture of attending restaurants and pubs. Celebration and parties are part of the more pleasant side of Do-Jin's family. Coziness and pleasantness characterizes Do-Jin's life. Attending luxurious western-style restaurants for the celebration of Jung-Hwa's birthday is a such case. A large cake and a large bunch of flowers in pre-booked detached ballroom are awaiting them. The bottle of wine held with a white napkin by the waiter contributes to the style and elegance of the situation. Soft and vivid western classical music also adds to the atmosphere. The participants are smartly dressed. The scene shows the panoramic view of a night of splendour overlooking the streets of Seoul in which the roads and car lights are reflected. They talk to each other vividly and joyously.

A sharp contrast to the comfortable and pleasant life of western meals, good wines, smartly dressed people and classical music is provided by the images of Hyung-Sup's family. Hyung-Sup one day travels to his home town. He spends the day alone in a chilly Korean restaurant having Korean meals and drinking Makgulli (Korean traditional alcohol) served by an old lady (generally portrayed as a widow) without any music. In Korean restaurants there is no
Table 38

Contrasting Elements of Different Cultures in Face of the City

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do-Jin's Family</td>
<td>Hyung-Sup's Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class Culture</td>
<td>Working Class Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Style House</td>
<td>Western-Influenced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean House</td>
<td>Sparse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxurious</td>
<td>Attending Western Style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending Korean Restaurants</td>
<td>Attending Korean Restaurants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whisky, Wine</td>
<td>Soju, Makgulli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materialism</td>
<td>Idealism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressiveness</td>
<td>Docility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumerism</td>
<td>Frugality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individualism</td>
<td>Collectivism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of Professional</td>
<td>Use of Simple Foreign Words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Words</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

music. Then he hears about the development scheme for his home town planned by Do-Jin. One day he was the owner of that place. He is depressed and despondent about his hopeless and ruined life.

One scene shows the Korean restaurant with Hyun-Woo, and two other workers who are living together in the same house attendance. Hyun-Woo is lamenting about his life about, being a worker rather than a college student. He eats Korean meals (side meals, in Korean culture when they are drinking, side dishes are always brought) and drinks Soju (cheap Korean alcohol.) It is again brought by an old lady. Then Da-Hae (Un-Hae's younger sister) enters. Hyun-Woo shouts at
her, saying, go away. Da-Hae, angered by his shouting, demands Man-Bok (a worker) to pour the Soju in her glass. It should be noted here that, for women, drinking Soju and Makgulli (both are traditional Korean alcohols) is not regarded as feminine behaviour, whereas drinking wine is regarded as elegant behaviour. As a whole drinking whisky, beer and wine is seen as a stylish and elegant part of social life. In contrast, drinking Makgulli and Soju is viewed as characteristic of the populace and working class culture.

By contrasting and juxtaposing the different cultures, the programme exhibits two clearly distinguishable and opposite elements of their lives: luxurious, stylish, elegant, pleasant western environment, vs. destitute, shabby, dull, flat, unpleasant Korean condition. The programme also provides the illusion and myth by inserting in the plot that the rich family also has some problems of morality and that poor people are morally strong despite their poor material base. Therefore, Face of the City presents the myth that poor people might be rich in the future by moral uprightness.

In summary, the different social life styles reflect the different cultures of the upper class and working class. It appears from the analysis that as a whole upper class culture is more exposed to western culture as exhibited in the case of more foreign language, consuming western drinks and alcohol, attending western style restaurants and pubs, and attachment to individualism, materialism, consumerism and aggressiveness. In contrast, low class culture is portrayed as more Korean-oriented; infrequent use of foreign language, consuming Korean meals, drinks and alcohol, attending Korean-style restaurants and pubs, and residing in a collective, idealistic, frugal and docile value system. Korean soap operas as a whole sharply contrast the two different cultures of upper class and lower class by projecting them as positive and dynamic versus negative and
static. One very crucial issue remains unquestioned. Does
the portrayal of western culture lead to changes of viewers' perceptions or attitudes? Or does television function as an effective medium to bring about these changes and transformations? By looking at the relationship between the meaning of the text and viewers' interpretations, we are able to trace these processes. This will be discussed in the following chapter.

6.6. Verbal References to Value System and Ideology

The quantitative analysis shows that there is total of 512 verbal references to value systems, in detail - 477 incidental references, 29 minor themes and 6 major themes. The 477 incidental references are of simple and short remarks.

Face of the City presents two contrasting characters - Un-Hae and Jung-Hwa. They are portrayed as having different value systems - Un-Hae as embracing the collective, docile, idealistic, and feminine ideas, and Jung-Hwa as being individualistic, aggressive, materialistic and feminist. Jung-Hwa, since her chance meeting with Hyun-Chul, has been attracted to Hyun-Chul. Later she realizes that Hyun-Chul has another girl - Un-Hae. But she is determined to maintain a close relationship with Hyun-Chul. Tension runs high, projecting the contrasting ideas of the two heroines.

Un-Hae: "That is the selfishness which concerns only oneself regardless of what other people feel and are concerned about."
"Self-love which does not account for others' rights and happiness is a sort of sin."

Jung-Hwa: "A sin? I am only faithful and honest to my feeling. Is it being a sin?"
Un-Hae: "You cannot defy the morals, customs and rules that we must observe, or the happiness of other people in order to be honest and faithful to one's feeling. Can you?"

Jung-Hwa: "Do you think that I defy the morals, customs and rules?"

Un-Hae: "You must not think that you so faithfully express your feeling that you yourself are an honest woman."

"What have you got when you are obsessed with the self-contradiction that I have to have it because I like it and that I do not care about the means because the purpose is right? What you have is rotten glory and you will end up by destroying yourself and other people."

Jung-Hwa: "You are saying that I don't know true love. This is a sort of challenge that you want to be my permanent enemy. I will show you whatever price I pay. I will show you I know true love. From now on, it [race] starts."

Thus Jung-Hwa is portrayed as being aggressive and individualistic whereas Un-Hae is depicted as being docile and collective. Jung-Hwa's determined and individual view is constantly presented in the programme. Myung-Woo (Jung-Hwa's elder brother) who has some sympathy and affection for Un-Hae advises her sister to give up Hyun-Chul. But she is determined.

Jung-Hwa: "I cannot just give up Hyun-Chul simply because she [Un-Hae] is a good woman, can I?"

Myung-Woo: "That is the cause of failure because you do not give up what must be given up."
Jung-Hwa: "No, elder brother, it would be a better thing for Un-Hae. It will be good for everybody if Un-Hae meets a better man than Hyun-Chul."

Myung-Woo: "That's your selfishness."

Jung-Hwa: "Don't you have that kind of selfishness too? Are you really concerned about Un-Hae? Do you share [Un-Hae's] feelings of the pain I suffer?"

Myung-Woo: "Yes."

Jung-Hwa: "Do you really wish that I would give up Hyun-Chul?"

Myung-Woo: "Of course."

Jung-Hwa: "For Un-Hae?"

Myung-Woo: "Yes, and for you."

Jung-Hwa: "I don't know. It can't be selfish. I choose and I decide. That is important."

(Emphasis added.)

Jung-Hwa is also portrayed as a determined feminist. She rejects the traditional Korean thought that women must remain in the home, engaged in domestic duty and looking after children, husbands and husbands' parents. She is portrayed as the contemporary woman's image that women must also have equal opportunities with men and independence as men do in society.

Jung-Hwa: "I like an ambitious person. I am also an ambitious woman. I don't want to be a meek cook or servant. I have seen some friends who throw themselves into a pitfall named home when men who offer them opportunities to prove biological females appear before them although they have been highly educated."

Hyun-Chul: "I wonder if you are just pursuing freedom. Women who are brilliant and have intellectual ambition are not
popular among men in the school. What about Jung-Hwa?"

Jung-Hwa: "I did not make an effort to win recognition from men. Nobody could easily approach to me."

Hyun-Chul: "It seems that you have spent lonely school days."

Jung-Hwa: "Always, I wanted spiritual independence. I think such independence should be after marriage."

Hyun-Chul: "Why?"

Jung-Hwa: "There must be a new experience and independent future so that we could get into the state of ennui in married life."

Hyun-Chul: "You already have many hopes although you say that you are not going be deceived by the myth of marriage."

A sharply contrasting view of docility and femininity is provided by Un-Hae's ideas. She is portrayed in the traditional Korean woman's image in which femininity, docility and loyalty have been the virtues.

Un-Hae: "Love is not a complaint and anger but long suffering and endurance when we face a difficulty and a painful thing. But now I realise that is the most difficult thing."

Hyun-Chul: "Please give up the endurance and pain that face me."

Un-Hae: "Say it again. My mother told me. The farmer was lonely watching early and late rain wishing and enduring valuable fruit. I would also wait without crying until then. I can't throw away our truth so carelessly."
Da-Hae (Un-Hae's sister): "Will you so generously and endlessly watch and endure?"

Un-Hae: "Until he [Hyun-Chul] returns."

Da-Hae: "Do you believe that Hyun-Chul will come back to you as he was before?"

Un-Hae: "Of course."

Da-Hae: "Why does such a clever person like an elder sister behave like that? A good person may not see the reality as it is. I can see it easily. Why are you so foolish? Does love make people foolish? You might go to hell for the sake of Hyun-Chul."

Un-Hae: "Yes, I hope, if I can."

Da-Hae: "I know your idea is right. But I am angry."

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### Table 39

**Contrasting Elements of Two Heroines in *Face of the City***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Un-Hae</th>
<th>Jung-Hwa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working Class Background</td>
<td>Upper-Class Background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Individualistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Docile and Loyal</td>
<td>Agressiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idealistic</td>
<td>Materialistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>Feminist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Korean Women’s Image</td>
<td>Modern and Liberal Women’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean-Oriented</td>
<td>Western-Oriented</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The implication from these findings is that *Face of the City* projects the contrasting images of two heroines.
Jung-Hwa is portrayed as a modern and liberal female who is embracing individualistic, aggressive and feminist tendencies. On the contrary Un-Hae is portrayed as a traditional Korean woman who is attached to the ideas of the collective, docile and feminine. Whether their images are portrayed as positive and negative in the programme is not a simple and uniform situation. The images of value systems depend on how they are placed in the plot and story, and within story telling: their images and meanings may change in the course of a story. Various value systems are inserted into the ordered system of the plots which progress in the programme. In this sense, the images of various system are rather open to the viewer’s interpretation.

**Face of the City** employs the contrasting value system as the main theme by juxtaposing two heroines and two families. The main characteristic feature of this programme is that while the story revolves around the love affair between the hero (Hyun-Chul) and heroines (Un-Hae and Jung-Hwa), it places love and romance in the context of ideological and value systems. The contrasting value systems of the two families and two heroines make the plot more complicated, enhancing suspense and tension. As the story progresses, the conflicts between the two families and two heroines have emerged, employing the two conflicting value systems, ideologies and cultures. Throughout the whole story, the contrasting value systems play a consistent part in conjunction with love and romance.

In other programmes, value systems do not play a consistent part in the plot. In these cases value systems play a subordinate role, contributing to the progress of the story and plot. Thus it rather depends on how characters are inserted in the context of the plot. While they are sometimes portrayed as a constant character who is attached to certain values, their value system and moral frameworks do not appear to be as consistent and manifest as in the case of **Face of the City**. In this sense, their value systems
are determined by the story and plot in which they are placed in certain contexts. Therefore, the form of incidental references rather than the form of minor or major themes are dominant in the episode.

It has been argued among some communication theorists that some patterns, formats, values and ideologies have been transformed to the Third World countries. Our aim, therefore, was to address these issues by analysing the Korean soap operas. As has been argued elsewhere, the process of cultural imperialism is not simple and crude. But rather, it is a complex, diverse and sophisticated one. In terms of patterns and formulas, Korean soap operas have some similarities in domestic setting, serial format, running time of a episode, the size of the composition of families, and cliffhanger formats, and some differences in locale and social status of families. In terms of the historic settings of the 1960s and 1980s, Korean culture has considerably changed over the decades. On the one hand, material artifacts of Korean clothing, houses, drinks, alcohol, restaurants and pubs have decreased on the programmes. On the other hand, the increasing number of verbal references to materialism, aggressiveness and feminism and the decrease in the number of verbal references to Confucianism, idealism and male superiority were presented.

In terms of the presentation of Korean and Western culture, the two conflicting cultures of Korean and Western rather than a one-sided culture are presented. In terms of images of the two cultures, Western culture as a whole has been portrayed as positive and smart, whereas Korean culture has been portrayed as negative and dull. These images, of course, are not necessarily the same and unitary as the viewers' readings of the images, as will be discussed in Chapter 8.

In sum, the process of cultural imperialism is not that simple and unitary. Rather, it is a complex, sophisticated
and diverse process. Korean soap operas have some similarities and differences with American soap operas. While some basic patterns, formulas, typology and ideologies are transformed to the local programmes, they also have locally-adopted formats, formulas as well as local values and ideologies. How do the audiences themselves respond to these portrayals presented by television and read by researchers? The next chapter deals with the debate about the influences of foreign culture on local people and the research design of the audience analysis.
CHAPTER 7

THE RESEARCH DESIGN OF THE AUDIENCE ANALYSIS

This chapter discusses the ongoing debates about the influences and effects of foreign culture on local people in the Third World, and the research design of the audience analysis. It has been argued that foreign culture including material life, values and ideologies transforms the habits and patterns of life of local people. The first part of this chapter, accordingly, discusses whether foreign culture has real impact on local culture and its implications by reviewing two mainstream arguments from Marxist and non-Marxist scholars. The last section deals with the research design of the audience analysis which is a part of the viewers' real responses to local culture and foreign culture.

7.1. A Review of Research on Cultural Influences and Effects in the Third World

There has been serious discussion of whether foreign programmes, in a wide sense foreign culture, ideology and values as a whole, influence local people in the Third World. For convenience, we shall classify it into two groups although there remains a danger of simplifying and dichotomizing. There have emerged a series of concerns with regard to cultural imperialism thesis. (See Chapter 1). As far as influences and effects of the foreign culture are concerned, two contrasting views are dominant.

The first group known as cultural imperialism theorists are concerned with the likely infringement of western culture on indigenous culture and the way of life. The premise is that western culture might hinder the creative
diversities of local culture and tradition. More specifically it is concerned with three aspects; 1. encroachment on traditional value systems and ways of life, 2. infringement on indigenous culture and artistic forms, 3. promoting consumerism.

In the first place, the presence of foreign media products may transform the indigenous value systems, culture and artistic forms, leading to what is called homogenization of value systems and culture. Since western-created culture was introduced through the mass media along with other media in the Third World, traditional value systems including the ways of expression, aesthetic appreciation, tastes in food, clothing, housing, family structure and personal relationships have been experiencing transformation.

As is evident in my analysis of Korean culture (Chapter 3 and Appendix 1), Korean culture including clothing, housing, tastes in food, and value systems has undergone radical changes since 1960s. This internationally shared set of values and the way of life adopted from the 'centres' is then erected as a model for the 'peripheries' as a whole. In South Korea, drinking coffee is seen as a natural, and furthermore, elegant part of social life. The numbers of coffee shops, be they in the big city or small town, are countless. Coca Cola and Pepsi Cola on the global level have been vital drinks as substitutes for traditional tea. Rock 'n roll music has also replaced the traditional or folk music of the Third World. It is no wonder that New York, Paris and London have been the centre for providing models for hair styles, clothing and all kinds of fashion. The fast-food business in the Third World has rapidly grown. The description of a goblin by South Korean school children fits the western product - Draculair or robot version or Japanese style rather than the Korean version (Choi 1987:192-193).

Some cultural imperialism theorists who are more concerned with the internal dynamics of the dependent
societies are apt to distinguish ruling class culture from popular culture (see, for instance, the arguments of Dagnino 1973; and Mattelart 1984). For Dagnino (1973: 131) ruling class culture adopted from the capitalist culture and capitalist ideology of the 'centre' is being seen as a spearheading vehicle for maintaining and strengthening the national and international capitalist system, leading to cultural homogenization at the expense of traditional culture.

In addition to the encroachment on traditional values and ideology by western culture, the decline of indigenous culture and artistic form in the Third World has been, according to cultural imperialism theorists, another aftermath generated from cultural synchronization. The traditional cultural and artistic form in the Third World has experienced a serious blow since television programmes (mainly from America) were introduced. The introduction of television is blamed for the decline of folk art in the Third World. In Iran, the art of the storyteller in the Iranian teahouse has been on the decline because of the presence of broadcasting (Katz and Wedell 1977: 140).

The creation of consumerism at the expense of production in the Third World attracts considerable concern from cultural imperialism theorists. Seeing the transnationals as a vanguard for promoting consumerism in the Third World, Armand Mattelart (1983:84-114) demonstrates how the transnationals have changed the consumption patterns in the Third World. Some products such as infant foods, fast-foods and pharmaceutical products, according to him, have changed the consumption patterns of local people, replacing traditional ways of feeding, eating and curing. Noreene Z. Janus (1981), taking the Japanese case as an example, shows how transnational food manufacturers and advertising agencies have transformed Japanese consumption habits. After twenty years of constant efforts the transnationals have succeeded in changing Japan's food habits. It was revealed
according to a study conducted by the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry that more than 50% of the country’s teenagers now prefer western food (Janus 1981: 16). Wells takes a similar view, insisting that television networks in Latin America which are functionally linked to United States manufacturers through branches of major advertising agencies encourage the consumption of foreign-made or imitated products. The results are the changing patterns of consumption and promotion of consumerism in the region at the expense of production.

The second group which denies the idea of domination, hegemony, exploitation and imperialism is apt to focus on; 1. the inevitability or superior nature of the western (Anglo-American mainly) culture, 2. the lack of visible empirical evidence in cultural imperialism thesis (Pool 1980; Tracey 1985; Laing 1986). As is evident in Pool’s (1977: 144) remark, the culture of the Third World has been on the decline because it is 'already in the process of decomposition.' Pool goes beyond insisting that 'great cultures [Anglo-American] are always cosmopolitan.' Accordingly, for him, any measures to protect can be regarded as ‘self-defeating’. Michael Tracey (1985: 40) takes a similar view, arguing that the popularity of television programmes such as Dallas and Dynasty come from the real 'genius' of American popular culture which enables the audience to bind together into common humanity.

A more serious charge is centered on the lack of substantial data for cultural imperialism thesis. As Pool (1980: 61) points out:

There is, in fact, remarkably little research of any kind on international communication. There is a great deal of essay about it. But by research I mean studies in which data is collected to establish or refute some general proposition.
Michael Tracey (1985: 38) again challenges the idea put forward by cultural imperialism theorists. He criticizes cultural imperialism thesis for its lacking of empirical evidence:

Those who favor the idea of cultural dominance through television have tended to study company reports, rather than the realities of individual lives; to describe the flow of communication in the abstract, rather than the cultural meanings of those flows.

The former view that western programmes attract worldwide popularity because of the inherent genius in American culture is reminiscent of its adherents' ahistorical and ethnocentric bias. We do not deny the popularity of western programmes such as Dallas, Dynasty and Kojak on the global level, but also do not agree with the programmes' claimed genius. On a superficial level, it seems that the popularity of the imported programmes generates the real wants and desires of the local people in the Third World. Following the position put forward by Pool and Tracey, Mike Clarke (1987: 171) confidently claims that:

Unlike military conquest, both economic and cultural dominance require some form of consent. In the former this may be obtained by material pressures which are difficult to resist (for example, the prospect of short term alleviation of hardship); in the latter it is difficult to see how anyone will choose to watch something they do not enjoy.'

What has been missed in his view is the complexity of culture, that culture cannot think without concrete analysis of the material base upon which specific culture has been generated under a specific historical epoch. He has overlooked the historical development of mass media and
culture of the Third World. How can we think about the cultural transformation of the Third World without relating it to military and economic intentions of western imperialistic forces? If we look at the historical development of mass media in the Third World, we would find that in most cases the establishment of the mass media was initiated under the colonial intentions of western imperialistic powers apparently facilitated by military and broad coercive means.

Furthermore the fact that certain professional ideologies, values, patterns, organizational structure have been transformed from the former colonial countries (see Golding 1977; Boyd-Barrett 1977) strengthens our belief that culture in the Third World should be understood in terms of the concrete analysis of economic, military and social relations within and between countries. If we see the culture of the Third World in a social vacuum and historical discontinuity, we could easily be trapped into a simplistic and deductionist way of explanation. The presence of western culture in general and the American programmes in particular in the Third World are the by-products of the former colonialism and the results of consumerism mainly brought by the transnationals. If we only talk about the current presence of foreign programmes in the Third World, at first glance, their popularity seems to come from the genius which could see in the western programmes. But what tends to be overlooked are the intentions of the transnationals and the mechanism behind them, and the nature of capitalist expansion of imperialists, in the last instance, always reinforced by military and coercive means.

Although the latter arguments contribute to drawing attention to the importance of the real impact on local people in the Third World, these again paradoxically end up with evidence-lacking essays in that they fail to provide any concrete evidence of real impact on local people. The fact that concrete evidence is not available at the
empirical level does not necessarily mean that there are no effects or influences of foreign culture on local people. On the contrary, whether they acknowledge it or not, as is evident in many cases (see Janus and Mattelart's articles on the role of the transnationals in transforming local culture), western media have exercised great influence on local people and culture. What they have failed to answer is the direct or visible long-term impact (rather than short-term impact) generated by foreign programmes or foreign culture. Their focus has been rather centred on the process of how culture in the Third World has been transformed under the existence of western transnationals. As we have argued elsewhere, if we are to implement and overcome the theoretical weakness of cultural imperialism thesis, we have to pay more attention to the analysis of the programme itself and its relationship to the audience under the specific social settings and specific historical development.

However, recently, a small but growing number of communication theorists have begun to recognize the importance of empirical evidence about the influence of American programmes in the Third World (Kang and Morgan 1988; Tan and Suachavarat 1988; Tan et al. 1987; Tan et al. 1986). Based upon the cultivation approach which assumes the long-term nature of media influence, reciprocal relationships between television exposure and audience conceptions and television output as a whole rather than short-term effects, simple one-way and isolated casual processes, these studies have concerned how the foreign programmes (in particular American ones) have influenced the perceptions and attitudes of the local people. They have shown that American television is a major source of the stereotypes Americans have of local people. This, then, has contributed to the changing of traditional values. They have concluded that "American programmes may be contributing to the westernization of traditional values, but not in the manner 'intended'." (Kang and Morgan 1988:438) The point was
that whether American programmes intend to or not, the broadcasting of foreign programmes in the long run influences the perceptions and attitudes of local people in the Third World. Also, they have acknowledged that the influence of American programmes abroad may be more diverse and complex than they have expected. This point, as has been argued throughout the thesis, supports the notion that the process of cultural imperialism is not simple and crude, but rather it is more complex and diverse.

While cultivation approaches have some merits in uncovering the influences of foreign programmes on local people particularly as compared with conventional effects studies, they are still inadequate as a means of grasping the complex process of cultural imperialism in the sense that their approaches are confined to quantitative explanation.

7.1.1. The Active Audience

However, recently, there has been a growing awareness of the importance of the meaning system and its relationship with the reader (Morley 1980, 1981; Katz and Liebes 1985; Liebes and Katz 1986; Richardson and Corner 1986; Dahlgren 1985; Ang 1985; Lewis 1985; Fiske 1987, Hodge and Tripp 1986; Jensen 1986; Hansen 1988.) These studies have begun to ask how viewers select, accept, negotiate, maintain distance and make sense of the programmes they watch. As McQuail (1987:242) states, this line of research is concerned with the analysis of cultural products from the reader’s view and has a connection with the reception analysis.

The underlying assumption within this framework is that the audience plays an important role in the process of reading and that ‘reading of a programme is a process of negotiation between the story on the screen and the culture of the viewers.’ (Katz and Liebes 1985:187) It is more concerned with audience interpretations of media materials
than with their effects. It differs from a traditional strand of audience research in which the audiences are seen as passive, isolated and unitary without any close interest in the relationship between the cultural meanings of a programme and interpreted meanings by the reader. Thus, it is concerned with the reader's construction and making sense of text rather than one-way of communication. In this sense, as Liebes and Katz (1986:152) rightly put it, "it is not a study of effects but rather of the process that might lead to effects." It tries to account for the ways viewers negotiate media meanings. This way of conceiving the audience's role in an active process is an attempt to address questions about the process involved with the modes of viewing and the audience's involvement with decoding. Thus it asks, as Richardson and Corner (1986:485-86) state, "not only 'what does this mean?' in respect of particular readers or viewers but also 'how does it come to mean this', a question leading the inquiry into an ethnographic consideration of specific interpretative resources, competencies and activities."

It is also worth noting here that there remains a set of questions that traditional effect studies never asked and reader-oriented studies have raised but in an inadequate manner. These are the basic questions we have to consider. What is the extent of the determination of meaning exercised by the text itself? What is the relationship between the text and its audience? What forces condition the process of readings? To answer these questions, it is necessary to "deal more directly with the relevance/irrelevance and comprehension/incomprehension dimensions of interpretations and decoding, rather than being directly concerned with the acceptance or rejection of particular substantive ideological themes or propositions." (Morley 1986:45) This kind of attempt, as Ann Gray states, "opens up the interdiscursive space which encircles the viewing subject and her/his relation to both the deep social structures and to particular genres." What is needed here is the
relationship between the ways in which general decoding proceeds and the social contexts in which decoding procedures are conditioned. Anders Hansen (1988:36) states that "using the methods of observation and in-depth interviewing such studies offer an approach which is more sensitive to the social context in which television images are interpreted and used by viewers."

A contribution to the understanding of the process of cultural imperialism by using the active audience approach has been made by Katz and Liebes (1985; 1986; Liebes 1988; 1984) and Schroder (1988). Their work derives from group discussions of American soap operas, Dallas or Dynasty. By selecting a number of different groups in Israel and the United States, Katz and Liebes addressed the questions of why American programmes such as Dallas attract worldwide attention. They were concerned with the dynamic relationships between the content and viewers' responses. As they put it: "One cannot so simply explain the diffusion of a programme like Dallas by dismissing it as superficial or action-packed. In fact, at least as far as kinship is concerned, the story might be considered quite complex" (Katz and Liebes 1985: 187). Their comparison of five groups' readings reveals that each group differs in the extent of their use of the programmes, interpretation and perceptions of moral values. It is clear from the analysis that Dallas is not the same to all viewers, but rather it is used, decoded, conceived and accepted in a highly differentiated fashion. Schroder (1986) also makes a similar point from his group discussion of Dynasty.

This line of approach, to some extent, has contributed to the understanding of the complex process of cultural imperialism. The emphasis on the dynamic process of television viewing rather than the linear and unitary process of effects can be understood as a step forward to the understanding of the social context of television viewing. By looking at how viewers accept, reject, negotiate
and make sense of the television images under given social context, for example, their social class, demographic difference and residential area, it is capable of uncovering the complex process of cultural transformation between countries.

7.2. The Design of the Study

7.2.1. The Aims of the Project

The project is designed to explore the viewer’s reading of western culture and Korean culture inherent in Korean soap operas. Its aim is to substantiate the interpretations and evaluations made by the audience with reference to differentiated cultures portrayed in the programmes. In other words, although the viewing context will be explored in the general mode, it is not our aim to investigate the specific viewing mode; such as, how the plots serve to elucidate the viewer’s readings, or how the story and themes serve or constrain the general viewing context. Rather, our concern is centered on the elucidation of differentiated interpretations which will be drawn from the discussion with reference to cultural imperialism thesis. Accordingly our concern is to explore:

1. Whether the audiences recognise foreign elements in the text.

The content analysis showed that in the Korean soap opera world both western and Korean culture are presented and they are portrayed differently. Thus this question addresses whether the viewers recognise the different presentation and portrayal of Korean and western culture, and differences between the cultures of the 1960s and 1980s programmes.

2. Is the text relevant or irrelevant to their life-styles and value systems through which they might be led to real
consumption of Korean or western culture?

Based upon the understanding and interpretation of the programmes, the viewers were asked to discuss the relevance of Korean culture and western culture by asking what kinds of characters, life styles, value systems are liked in the programmes. This question was followed by asking what are the reasons behind particular preference of particular characters, life styles and value systems. The next question asked audience members how closely they think that the life styles, characters and value systems portrayed in the programmes resemble their own. By addressing these questions, we are able to explore the process that might lead to possible effects. If the viewers are impressed by the particular artifacts and value systems portrayed in the programmes, it could indicate that members are potential consumers of particular items which might lead to real consumption. Thus, the project aims to observe the process that is prerequisite to possible effect. In other words, this study is not to demonstrate effect. In this respect we cannot know whether their preferences or understandings could lead to the real effect. This is the area that future study has to explore and the limitation this project entails.

3. What forces condition the readings of viewers?

The question is designed to explore the social conditions in which certain factors influence, condition or determine the degree of interpretation and understanding of the text. It might be the text itself in which certain preferred and dominant meanings may be inscribed in the viewer's mind. The argument can be found in the orthodoxy of screen theory developed by MacCabe (1976) and others. In this theory, the audience are seen as relatively powerless, inactive and passive. Secondly, it might be the social class that conditions the readings of viewers. Hall's (1980) preferred reading theory was such an attempt to account for this
theoretically. He argued that viewers' social situation, particularly their class produced the differentiated readings of dominant, negotiated and oppositional ideology. Thirdly, it might be the other factors such as general viewing context and the characteristic of genre which in a sense already conditions and constrains the viewing mode. This line of argument has been put forward by Morley (1986) and others.

4. Does television serve as a powerful vehicle to disseminate foreign cultures and values?

One of the controversial issues in the study of cultural imperialism is about the effects of mass media by which certain cultural products and value systems are presented. The concern is centered on whether television serves as a powerful medium to promote the consumption of foreign goods or ideas. This question is concerned with the possible effect by looking at the audience's perception of mass media. The assumption is that although television could not be seen as a single effect one way or another on its own, at least it could be seen as a social and cultural forum for displaying various artifacts. As far as the introduction of western culture is concerned, television may function as a powerful medium for a showcase of various cultural items. The questions, of course, are related to the second question of the relevance or irrelevance of the programmes to their lives. If certain cultural artifacts presented in the programmes prove to be relevant to their life style and value system, it might be seen as a prerequisite of possible effect. If they prove to be irrelevant to their life style and value systems, it could be safe to say that real effects are minimal. Thus, the question is concerned with possible effect by looking at the process of viewers' understanding of the programmes. As we mentioned elsewhere, our aim is not to demonstrate effect, but to observe the process that is prerequisite to possible effect.
7.2.2. The Sample design

The importance of social class and its relationship with mass media has been the central issue among other things. From the various audience studies (Piepe et al. 1978; Hall 1967; Morley 1980), it has emerged that social class, defined by occupation, affects media use. The central issue, as Piepe and his associates point out, has been to relate social class and mass media use to a more inclusive cultural content in which meanings of class and their relationship to mass media consumption are presented.

A good deal of empirical research (Lasswell 1965; Kluckhohn and Kluckhohn 1964) showed that there were close links between the consumption of cultural commodities and social classes. Clothing and the way it is worn, housing, home furnishing and decorations, books and periodicals chosen have all been related to social classes. It was also found that there were behaviour characteristics of social classes in the areas of eating, drinking, and smoking habits, manners, social activities, leisure and recreational activities (Lasswell 1965).

The findings of my content analysis also showed that among other demographic variables, social class proves to be the most significant factor in shaping the consumption of cultural artifacts. It was found that the patterns of clothing, housing, eating, and the use of foreign language were differentiated in terms of social classes. Upper and middle classes were portrayed as heavy consumers of western culture, whereas the lower classes were presented as light consumers of it. In this respect, the choice of variables is based primarily upon the findings of the content analysis and the assumption that social status could be the most significant factor among other things. Therefore, the sample was chosen mainly in terms of social class, sex and age were included but the main criteria were related to social class. In this sense, sex and age will function as supplementary
items. Each group consisted of 8 to 10 members. The sample was chosen in terms of: 1. social class (8 groups from middle class and 8 from working class), 2. sex (5 groups from female, 7 from male and 2 from mixed sex groups), 3. age (2 from middle age groups, 2 from mixed age group and 10 from young age groups). I showed a 29-minutes reconstructed tape extracted from *Face of the City* and *Love and Ambition*.

Table 40.

The Groups Interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group No.</th>
<th>Profile of Group</th>
<th>Size of Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Class</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Housewife, Female (Middle-aged)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>College Students, Male (Young)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>College Students, Mixed (Young)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>College Students, Mixed (Young)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Salaried Businessmen, Male (Young)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Salaried Businessmen, Male (Young)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Salaried Businessmen, Male (Young)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Working Class</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Housewife, Female (Young)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Peasants, Female (Mixed)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Peasants, Male (Mixed)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Peasants, Female (Middle-aged)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Workers, Male (Young)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Workers, Female (Young)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Workers, Male (Young)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>111</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Size of the Group

The size of the group should be governed by two considerations. It should not be so large as to be unwieldy or to preclude adequate participation by most members nor should it be so small that it fails to provide substantially greater coverage than that of an interview with one individual. Under certain conditions, it is possible to increase this number up to fifteen to twenty. But experience suggests that these two purposes are best achieved in an interview group of some eight to twelve persons.

The responses are based on a series of small group discussions with a total of one hundred and eleven people, held in Seoul and Cholla Province from April to August of 1988. In all, fourteen groups were interviewed, with an average of eight participants in each. (see Table 40). The discussions lasted a minimum of thirty minutes, and a maximum of one hour, with an average length of around forty minutes. They took place in rooms (Groups 1, 5, 8, 9, 10 and 11), offices at the workplace (Groups 6, 7, 12, 13 and 14) and seminar rooms at colleges (Groups 2, 3 and 4). Group 1 consisted of 11 housewives of middle class background aged of 40-55. Group 2, 3 and 4 consisted of middle class university students aged 20-30. Group 5 (salaried businessmen from various companies), 6 (salary businessmen from various companies) and 7 (salaried businessmen from a trading company) comprised young (25-35) males. Group 8 was composed of 9 working class housewives aged 20-35. Group 9 was composed of female peasants of mixed age. Group 10 was composed of male peasants of mixed age. Group 11 was composed of female peasants with middle aged (40-55). Group 12 was composed of 6 young (15-35) male workers engaged in a furniture factory. Group 13 was composed of 7 young (15-25)female workers engaged in a clothing factory. And group 14 consisted of 8 young (15-30) male workers engaged in a toy factory.
7.2.3. The Focused Interview

In terms of techniques, the use of group interviews is helpful in order to capture the complex process of television viewing. As an alternative to the structured interview or survey methodology using open-ended questions, one can use a semi-structured interview. The most popular semi-structured interview is the focused interview. The focused interview uses topics and hypotheses selected in advance. The interviewer, then, decides which aspects can be probed. Since the focused interview allows for a more free and unrestricted discussion as compared with the survey interview, it can investigate more deeply the dynamic process in which meanings of content are interpreted, negotiated, accepted, rejected and reconstructed by the interviewees. This method, thus, has the merit of facilitating more natural and sensitive areas that can not be traced by the survey interview - respondents' reactions, perceptions, attitudes, feelings and motives. Therefore, in order to account for the complex process of cultural imperialism, the focused group interview rather than survey interview is useful.

7.2.4. The Constructed Tape

There are advantages and disadvantages in the use of a constructed tape consisting of a larger segment of continuous theme and a constructed tape consisting of relatively brief segments of various cultural artifacts. One of the main advantages of the continuous clip is that it secures the consistent themes or narratives of the programmes. Given the limited time of the constructed tape, the continuous clips help the viewers to gain a better understanding of the plot and narrative. It is difficult particularly for non-regular audience who are not familiar with the serials to understand the content. Having considered the complex nature of soap opera whose characteristic lies in its narrative structure and large
numbers of characters, showing a continuous-constructed tape which is clipped based upon consistent themes can be helpful in obtaining the active response from the viewers.

The disadvantage of the continuous-constructed clip is that it cannot cover the wider range of cultural artifacts and elements. Since it is constructed based upon the limited number of consistent themes, it is not likely to comprise various obvious cultural elements and varieties of the cultural artifacts and life styles. The advantage and disadvantage of the constructed tape consisting of brief segments from various cultural artifacts are in counter position.

The groups were shown a 29 minute-video tape reconstructed from *Love and Ambition* and *Face of the City* which I recorded during March to April of 1987. I attempted to incorporate the two methods of the continuous clips and the constructed tape containing various cultural elements, maintaining the consistent themes of the programmes in which certain values and ideology were inherent and various manifest cultural products of Korean v. western house and Korean v. western restaurants were evident.

**Description of the Constructed Tape In Terms of Theme**

**Love and Ambition**

Scene 2. The Dialogue among members of Tae-Soo (hero of a working class family) about the behaviour of Jung-ja (Tae-soo’s wife) who resists serving her husband’s dinner taking place in a Korean-style house.

**Face of the City**

Scene 2. The dialogue between Un-hae and Da-hae (Un-hae’s younger sister) about docility and resistance
Table 41.

Description of the Constructed Tape

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene No.</th>
<th>Characters Involved</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love and Ambition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tae-Soo and Tae-Joon</td>
<td>Korean House</td>
<td>2:50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Family of Tae-Soo</td>
<td>Korean House</td>
<td>3:20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tae-Soo and Tae-Joon</td>
<td>Korean Restaurant</td>
<td>1:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mi-Ja, Hong-Jo, Hae-Ju</td>
<td>Western Restaurant</td>
<td>2:35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Hae-Sun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mi-Ja and Hong-Jo</td>
<td>Western House</td>
<td>4:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face of the City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Da-Hae, Hyun-Woo, Man-Bok and Chil-Bok</td>
<td>Korean Restaurant</td>
<td>3:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Un-Hae and Da-Hae</td>
<td>Korean House</td>
<td>1:50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jung-Hwa and Hyun-Chul</td>
<td>Western Restaurant</td>
<td>2:20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Un-Hae and Jung-Hwa</td>
<td>Western Restaurant</td>
<td>5:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jung-Hwa and Myung-Woo</td>
<td>Western House</td>
<td>2:20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28:45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

taking place in a Korean house.

Scene 3. The dialogue between Jung-hwa and Hyun-chul about feminism taking place in a Western-type restaurant.

Scene 4. The dialogue between Un-hae and Jung-hwa about individualism and collectivism taking place in a Western-type restaurant.
Scene 5. The dialogue between Jung-hwa and Myung-woo (Jung-hwa’s elder brother) about individualism and collectivism taking place in a Western-style house.

7.2.5. Going into the Field

My intention was to make these discussions as open-ended as soon as possible, and to avoid directing the viewers towards limited discussions. I began each interview by asking some fairly basic questions about viewing habits: How often did they watch the programmes? With whom did they see and discuss the programmes? Why did they watch them? — and so on.

I would then ask each member of the group to identify the differences between the 1960s and 1980s’s culture portrayed in the programmes and how they evaluated and interpreted them. Then I moved on to ask the differences between Korean and western culture and their evaluation. The same questions were addressed to them in terms of the different culture of social classes and groups portrayed in the programmes.

I then turned to ask them to identify their favourite characters and way of life, and to give reasons for their choices.

During the discussions I experienced many unexpected difficulties. It was embarrassing that particularly members of the male peasants group (group 10) kept their distance and were hostile to me because they saw me as part a government bureaucracy. They were cynical about my questions and were suspicious of my intention. After I explained myself in detail, that I was only a private researcher who had no links with the government or any bureaucratic organisation, and particularly as I told them I was born in the province, they began to discuss the issues seriously, saying that I should have mentioned that earlier. I was also embarrassed by the tendency, particularly of the male
workers group (group 11 and 12), of reluctance to talk and avoidance of spontaneous discussion. In this case, I was bound to ask them directly what they thought about various things.

Another problem was that of the tendency to deviate from the issue and to recount the plot of past episodes at considerable length. In this case I attempted to let them talk as freely as possible as if that somehow related to the issue at hand. A noticeable factor was that some members of group issued a reminder to persons that they should not deviate from the issues or talk so much.

It was also noticeable that viewers oscillated between the reality and fictional world which were portrayed on the programmes. Sometimes they were discussing the factual life situation rather than portrayal in the serials. This, however, may be very useful in the sense that these comments can be used to identify the audience’s recognition of the reality and fictional world and their moral and ideological judgements and frameworks.

This chapter has presented the debate about the influences and effects of foreign culture on local people in the Third World and the research design of the audience analysis. The next chapter presents the findings of the viewers’ responses.
CHAPTER 8

EXPLORING THE AUDIENCE RESPONSES:
IN Volvement AND DISTANCE

In the preceding chapter, we looked at how Korean soap operas present and portray the Korean culture and western culture. In this chapter, we shall examine how the audience itself responded to the images and presentations portrayed by television. Our concern is thus to observe whether viewers are able to distinguish what television presents, how they react to the presentations, how different groups respond to the same content, how they differ and what factor is the most important force in determining the audience's readings. The notion that television merely imposes meanings on viewers will be questioned. Traditional studies of the text and its audience tended to emphasize the powerful aspects of the content. In that perspective, the audience is seen as passive and unitary, in other words, there is a one-way process, in which meaning is merely passed on to audience members, rather than constructed by them.

In contrast, this chapter explores the complex relationship between the content and its audience. In doing so, we can access the complex and sophisticated process of cultural imperialism which cannot be easily detected by traditional studies of text and effects. We begin by looking at general viewing patterns, then move on to the dynamics of readings made by the audience. The focal point of this chapter is therefore to examine the complex process of involvement and distance by viewers.
8.1. Viewing Patterns

Television viewing cannot be assumed to be a simple leisure activity. Although viewers watch television because it is enjoyable, viewing patterns are not simple. Why then do people watch soap opera? With whom do they watch and discuss the content? Are there any differences in viewing patterns between men and women, and between classes? These are the basic questions we shall address in this section.

There are two types of soap opera viewers. The first group are the enthusiastic viewers who are anxiously waiting for the programme at a certain time (in this case mostly female viewers). The second group are the less enthusiastic or forced audience who are passively watching because of other intervening forces (i.e. his wife or parent etc.) or simply because it is on the screen. One salary group (group 5) explains how they are forced to watch the programme.

"When my parents are watching the programme, then I simply watch it. Once involved I watch it because it is enjoyable. There is little intention to watch it by my own will."

"There must be two TV sets. I passively watch it because my wife is turning on the programme. Frequently I quarrel with my wife on that matter because (she) insists on soap opera while I want to watch the sports programmes." (Group 5)

For women, soap opera attracts more attention than other genres. For men, soap opera is less attractive than news, sports, talk shows and documentary programmes. One of the interesting aspects of the viewing context is that although some viewers are forced to watch the programme, they are able to give the detailed description of narrative or the portrayal of the programme during the discussion. The forced viewing, in this sense, does not affect the viewing mode,
generating the same consequence as volunteer viewers.

Why then do people watch soap operas? Whether they are enthusiastic viewers or a forced audience, they watch because soap opera offers something. Some people say that they watch the programmes simply because of entertainment value, killing time or because it is on the screen. For most people, watching the serial drama is associated with entertainment. Entertainment, as Ian Ang (1985:21) outlines, "belongs to the domain of leisure, and leisure is regarded in the everyday experimental world as 'time for yourself', as liberation from the chafing bonds of the official world of factory, school or office, or from the worries of running the home." Soap opera offers the viewer a means of entertainment and leisure. Particularly those who cannot afford to enjoy other means of entertainment such as attending concerts, plays, movies or other social meetings, watching television might be the foremost enjoyable pastime. That is the reason why working class people consume more television time than the middle or upper class do. The data collected respondents after or before discussion reveals that working class people watch television almost everyday whereas middle class people watch television less (see detail questionnaire in Appendix 5). The hours of watching television also varies in terms of class and gender. The working class and females are heavier consumers of television. (See Table 42).

But the notion that people watch a television programme simply because it is enjoyable needs to be scrutinized.

One of the most characteristic feature by which soap opera maintains the constant viewing habit of the audience is the narrative structure. The storylines and the narrative structure of the serial is the main driving engine for keeping the audience in a constant mode. The expectation and anxiety over what is going to happen next keeps the audience in front of the screen. The 'hooking strategy' -
Table 42

Amount of Television Watching, By Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hours (a Day)</th>
<th>1(%)</th>
<th>2(%)</th>
<th>3(%)</th>
<th>4(%)</th>
<th>5(%)</th>
<th>Total(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>24(44)</td>
<td>19(35)</td>
<td>6(11)</td>
<td>5(9)</td>
<td>1(2)</td>
<td>55(101)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>8(15)</td>
<td>13(24)</td>
<td>20(36)</td>
<td>10(18)</td>
<td>4(7)</td>
<td>55(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days (a Week)</th>
<th>1(%)</th>
<th>2(%)</th>
<th>3(%)</th>
<th>4(%)</th>
<th>5(%)</th>
<th>6(%)</th>
<th>7(%)</th>
<th>Total(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>4(7)</td>
<td>8(15)</td>
<td>4(7)</td>
<td>12(22)</td>
<td>5(9)</td>
<td>3(5)</td>
<td>19(35)</td>
<td>55(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>4(7)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>6(11)</td>
<td>6(11)</td>
<td>39(71)</td>
<td>55(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the stop after the dramatic happening, in this sense, contributes to sustaining the audience who is anxiously awaiting the next episode. The structure of ending with a dramatic and unexpected shot or with a crucial moment is designed to keep the audience in constant expectation of what will happen in the next episode.

"I watched the serial drama because I was curious about what follows in the next episode."
(Group 1)

"When one episode ends, then I watch it again to know what is going to happen next."
(Group 11)

Q: 'Why do you watch the serial drama?’

"Because the narrative continues. Everything will be could-be-things. Therefore I was curious and wanted to watch continuously."
(Group 13)

"For Love and Ambition, it deviates from the monotony. The folding stories, content, implicit and the pace of the narrative is so fast that I am sometimes waiting for what could happen next, as far as Love and Ambition is concerned."
(Group 6)
The serial drama offers the audience suspense, anxiety and expectation. As Dorothy Hobson (1982:118) experiences in her discussion with the Crossroads audience, the storylines and the narrative structure of the serial is the main hook for the audience.

Some people watch the programme because they think soap opera offers the forum to be learned or imitated. By comparing their life with the soap opera world, the viewers attempt to seek some information that they think is relevant to their life style. As Horace Newcomb (1984) states, television functions as a cultural forum for discussion of personal, interpersonal and social issues.

Q: "Why do you watch soap opera then?"
"When I am watching television, I think there are many things to learn and when there are some wrongdoings on the screen, it comes up that I should not behave like that."
"From there, we learn life. There is a message that television transmits. Since that message is transformed to us, we watch and compare our lives with various lives on television. This is how, (I) watch the drama."
"I watch it because there is somehow something to learn. By watching it, I think I behave like that. I watch the television, reflecting on myself." (group 1)

"There seems something to learn. I learn how to deal with things when I am in similar situation. For that reason I watch the drama." (Group 11)

One college student also gave an interesting reason why he watches the drama. "For enhancing the capacity for criticism."

The other reason why people watch soap opera is that they
think the incidents in soap opera are likely to happen in one's real life. For viewers, the incidents or stories presented in the soap opera world are regarded as 'probable things' – if they do not happen to one, then they do to other people in real life. Television, in this case, provides shared feeling for a viewer to articulate his or her own experience or problems.

"Since there are many situations that might happen or do happen in our daily life, I have watched it for a preparation." (Group 4)

"I watched it, fascinated by a situation the drama presents." (Group 6)

"I am interested in what those people (in soap opera) are dealing with in situations which I have never experienced. That’s why I watch the soap opera." (Group 6)

"In my case, I think what the writer produces might happen. When stories are evolved, I wonder if we become like that. I feel that the writer’s intentional outputs can frequently happen in our life." (Group 13)

Does it mean that the audience confuses fictional world with real life? Not at all. Clearly, the majority, as Hobson (1982:122) also observes, are under no illusions and are fully aware that the programme is fiction. (This will be discussed in detail later in a subchapter on reality and fiction.) The constant referencing of the events portrayed in the programme with their own experience in real life is the way in which the viewers interact with the stories. The identification of himself or herself with one or more characters in the programme is associated with the involvement of viewers in the fictional world. They share the feelings of the characters, evaluating the character’s way of life and their conduct. Then they decide whether they are right or not and who is their favourite or not, making judgements of their own.
"I watch the serial because it is a regular drama that evokes my curiosity. The life of Lee Duk-Hwa (Tae-soo, hero of Love and Ambition) shows that one-sided love by a woman alone is no good. That life is similar to real life." (Group 1)

Through the characters the viewers reflect on their lives, making a judgement whether they follow or reject the character's life. This judgement, of course, is not a final judgement. After watching, when they are talking about the programmes with their friends, workmates or family, their judgements are again chewed and filtered through exchanges of their opinion. Some viewers might change their attitude or judgement and some might strengthen their opinion, deviating from initial readings of the text. Reading the soap opera, in this sense, is not a single and unilateral process. Rather it involves a complex and subtle process. It involves various social processes—the text itself, one's own moral framework which is mediated through the social condition of one's life and discussion and exchanges after watching.

The notion that watching a soap opera provides the viewer with escape is invalid, at least in this discussion. Escapism means that someone is running away from their problems and seeking diversions. Contrary to the readers of romance novels who expressed that 'romance novels provide escape just as Darvon and alcohol do for other women' (Radway 1984:88), soap opera viewers are able to understand and cope with problems. They rather actively confront the problems presented in soap opera as a means of 'coping with' or 'dealing with' rather than just escape. Many soap opera viewers, whether they regard soap opera as realistic or unrealistic, are critical of the programme.¹ There are, of

¹ Many studies and the literature generally on soap opera and its audience have expressed a similar line of (Footnote continued)
course, some elements of escapism in soap opera. But the 'flight' into a fictional world, as Ang (1985:49) points out, is not "a denial of reality as playing with it." In this sense, the nature of 'flight' into a fictional world is quite different from the romance novels in which readers are using the text for 'escaping from a harsh world' or 'soothing away the tensions of the day'. Soap opera is rather "a way of understanding and coping with problems which are recognized as 'shared' by other women, both in the programme and in 'real life'." (Hobson 1982:131) Whereas romance reading is, to some extent, regarded as 'an innocuous thing' or 'an addiction', soap opera viewing at least, in spite of the constant viewing habit or addiction, enables one to place the limits of the fictional and the real under discussion to face reality (Ang 1985:49).

Women viewers are inclined to talk about the programme more than men after watching. Few men admit to doing this.

Q: "With whom do you talk about the programme?"
"It seems that men do not talk (about the programme)."
"Women do." (Group 2)
"I just watch it. I never talk."
"Men seldom talk, and almost taboo it." (Group 5)

The expression that talking about the soap opera is tabooed by men ensures that if they talk about it, as Morley (1986:155) states, it "would be to put their very masculinity in question." It is further justified by the following remark. "When women officemates are talking, I just listen. I don't join in." (Group 7). Another male business group follows the case.

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1(continued)
Q: "With whom are you talking about the drama?"
"Just watching. I never talk about it"
"Seldom talking"
"It is not important"
"In the office, when women talk about it, I just say it is good or what is likely to happen next."

(Group 6)

Also one worker expressed: "Women watch and talk about it a lot." (Group 12).

Women themselves admit that they talk about soap opera more than men. "For soap opera, women seem to talk frequently about it." (Group 8). Women viewers talk about soap opera to their friends, workmates and husbands. Although there are those who talk about the soap opera to their husbands and families, the majority of the respondents admitted that they talk about soap opera more with friends than family.

Q: "With whom do you talk about the programme?"
"Mostly with friends"
"I discuss it with friends more than family"
"As far as the narrative of soap opera is concerned, one is likely to talk mostly to friends, isn't one?"

(Group 1)

"Neighbors"
"Friends"
"I talk to my husband only when watching together."

(Group 8)

Particularly, some women (mostly housewives) viewers express the reluctance to discuss and watch soap opera with their children because there are some embarrassing scenes which could be harmful to children.

"It became a family issue after the dinner in old
days. Despite the fact that I talk to my family, I wished it would finish as soon as possible especially the scene in which Hwa-Hyun Cha (Mi-Ja, heroine of Love and Ambition) was drunk. Because at that time, the children were watching television together. While other things are good, such as the role of Young-Rim who was portrayed as a good example of a strong woman, and encouraging women, through bringing up her children after her husband has died. But I was annoyed by the scene of drunken and bankrupt women. Although, in fact, it happens in real life, I wish television could minimise that sort of scene which could be harmful because everybody is watching."

(Group 11)

"After watching, people say that certain programmes are not good for children because they provide children with ideas." (Group 11)

"In the family circle, we cannot talk. We can't talk because our daughters and children are present." (Group 9)

This section has looked at the viewing mode and patterns. People watch the soap opera because it offers entertainment. But, the notion of entertainment has more diverse meanings. They can include the simple passing time, a source for information or habitual activity derived from the narrative of soap operas. Viewing patterns and discussion about the programmes prove to be different in terms of age and class. We dealt with the dynamic process of watching television. The next section focuses more on how viewers commute between the two polar positions of reality and fiction. It is important because commuting between two poles decides the degree of the involvement and distance from the text.

8.2. Reality and Fiction

Many of the respondents contend that the pleasure of soap
opera comes from the lifelike qualities of the serial. They think that what television presents could happen and does happen in their real lives. While they describe the soap opera world as the 'probable', they are also well aware that what they watch is fabricated and artificial.

"When I am watching television, I am encouraged to behave like that. But soon I refrain myself that I must not be confused because it is a drama and fiction." (Group 4)

"When I am watching drama, I feel that it is a drama, not reality because it is far from (our life style)." (Group 9)

"Drama is a fabricated situation in which a writer adds lies and truth. When television shows a sad scene, I feel sad at once, then I realize that it is made like that." (Group 10)

"Everybody is talking about Love and Ambition a lot, but Face of the City has an awkward element in its content and narrative which does not coincide with reality. The writer makes it unrealistic. Drama presents unreasonable things. There are too many artificial ones." (Group 10)

"Sometimes I have seen people crying when watching soap operas. Then I ask why are you crying. Why do you compare it with your real life? It is an artificial work." (Group 12)

"People get crazy when watching television. Then I tell them that it is a drama. Nowadays, who else behaves like that? I think it is far from real life." (Group 13)

As they know that what they watch is fabricated, they are able to detect the aesthetic conventions of soap opera. They explain how soap opera narrative works.

"The nature of Drama lies in a rhetorical flourish. In fact, the drama writer puts in lot of rhetoric and
even then I wonder how they are so clever. The conclusion is simple. In the end, I love you, that's what the character is trying to say. But (characters always say that) I wish to talk with you on the bench near the running river, and so on, and so on. (laughing) That sort of expression is not a general expression. Western drama, perhaps, may have less of these kinds of expressions."

"That makes it enjoyable." (Group 7)

"The presentation of a psychiatrist in order to create the image of Mi-ja is utterly artificial. It is artificial in the sense that many widows are presented in order to enhance the image of Mi-ja. It is employed in order to match with the surroundings." (Group 6)

"If soap opera deals with ordinary people, it is not interesting. Therefore, because (soap opera) picks up particularly distinctive characters, I think, it is far from the value and consciousness of ordinary people." (Group 8)

For them, the word 'realistic' implies a limited meaning. It is confined to the 'realism' in the fictional world which is utterly artificial and fabricated, in other words, 'represented reality'. For this reason, some part of the fictional world is acceptable to some people, if they think it is a represented reality.

"I feel some part of (the serial) does not differ from my life. In order to jump to the upper class, in case of Love and Ambition one has to pass an national examination for potential lawyers, in Face of City one is marrying the daughter of a business tycoon. This sort of happening is common in real life, isn't it? There is no difference, I feel." (Group 6)

"It strikes me as real. The difference between the poor and rich is a such case. There are still so many poor people who live in shanty places." (Group 14)
Identifying oneself with the character as 'real people' thus provokes an involvement of viewers in a fictional world.

"The moment when I am watching, I become a hero or heroine. By becoming a hero, I live his (or her) life. In drama when the character is crying I am crying, when laughing I am laughing, and sharing the enjoyment. In that moment, I become a hero. I am watching in this manner. I am a hero." (Group 1)

Noticeable here is that for some viewers a text is acceptable as real if the represented reality matches with their social conditions.

"We share the same feeling when soap opera presents one similar to one's life situation. Therefore I hope television does not present upper class life. It has to be matched with our standard." (Group 1)

"As for the life of the upper class, I do not feel it as close." (Group 3)

"Whether drama sets a standard (or yardstick) for ordinary people or the level of living standard television sets is the important matter." (Group 3)

"I feel antipathy, when I think it becomes a quite different class from me." (Group 4)

"If poor people are presented in drama, I feel it is close to our life style. If rich are presented, I feel distant." (Group 14)

"Although contemporary drama presents the life of ordinary life, it presents too many stories about the lives of the upper class."

"Yes, that is true. It is too much." (Group 5)

"I do not know about the life of the upper class because I am in the middle (class)." (Group 6)

"It differs from our values." (Group 8)

Noticeable here is that despite the fact that Face of the
City devotes large sections to the working class lives (see chapter 6), viewers from middle and working classes read it as the world of the upper class. From these comments, it is evident that reading of a text is framed within one's social conditions and environment in terms of class. Or, at least, as Ang (1985:35) notes, the represented reality must coincide with the social reality of 'ordinary people'. Otherwise, it is interpreted as 'unrealistic' or 'artificial'. In that manner, some part of the fictional world is unacceptable to them, if they think it is a represented unreality or artificial.

"While I am watching, first I feel it is nothing to do with me." (Group 4)
"I feel it is far from our life." (Group 4)
"I feel that Face of City is in a distant country." (Group 4)
"It does not exist in our life" (Group 8)
"I feel distant. The way of life is quite different. I think those who are living there live like that." (Group 9)
"It distorts our life too much." (Group 11)

Commuting between reality and fiction, they establish an interrelationship with a text through which some parts are accepted and some are not. People discuss not only the issues and problems of the fictional world but also the issues and problems of their real life. In this sense, as Schroder (1988:77) outlines, viewers are commuting between the polar opposites, but they have one foot in each camp. From the observation, it becomes clear that viewers put their foot in the pole of reality, when the content proves to be identified with their real life situation. Otherwise, viewers consider the content as a fictional or artificial one fabricated by writers. In this sense, the experience of involvement and distance may be simultaneous and interrelated.
8.3. Making Sense of the Differences: Between 'Makguli' and Whisky

The content analysis shows that there are significant differences and changes in terms of the culture of 1960s and 1980s, Korean and western culture, and the culture of rich and poor. In this section, my attention focusses on the extent to which viewers read the differences portrayed by television. Telling of the differences which soap opera invites us to share is referred to as 'the recognition of various cultural artifacts.' Making sense of the images in terms of the Korean and Western cultures, and the 1960s and 1980s, then, could lead to a way of interpretation and perception through which moral and ideological judgement and framework can be arrived at.

When I asked whether you could distinguish the differences portrayed in the programmes of *Love and Ambition* and *Face of the City*:

"Sixties are traditional and eighties are openhearted." (Group 2)
"There is a clear distinction. In *Face of the City*, the moral framework, the way of life, tools for life, structure of house, decoration, way of talking and thinking become westernized." (Group 4)
"There are big differences in the way of life." (Group 11)

Many viewers are able to distinguish the differences between *Love and Ambition* and *Face of the City*. They are particularly keen to observe how the programmes deal with family relationships. Given the fact that most of the action in soap opera takes place in the home of the characters, their concern about family relationships and structure is reasonable. For the viewers, the family structure of the 1960s portrayed in *Love and Ambition* is seen as mother-in-law, husband and children-centred, whereas 1980s
presented in *Face of the City* is viewed as couple-oriented and individualistic. Specifically, many are concerned about the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law.

"The message is different. In *Love and Ambition*, women exist because of children. Tae-soo reluctantly accepts Jung-Ja because of the child despite the fact that he does not love her. But in *Face of the City* it is individualistic. (Character says) I make it mine because I like it. That's the difference between the 1960s and 1980s." (Group 1)

"I think the value system has been changed. It is between the period of cohabitation with mother-in-law and the period of the nuclear family." (Group 8)
"The first drama (*Love and Ambition*) is traditional and the way of living puts the elderly first, and *Face of the City* is individualistic centred on one's interest. They live emphasizing their lives, paying less attention to the elderly."
(Group 8)
"In *Love and Ambition*, when Jung-ja takes the child to her mother, the mother-in-law says that your husband is living with you not because of you but because of Hoon-hi (couple's child). That reflects the value system of those days that the child is first priority. But in *Face of the City*, after the birth, the couple are divorced. It shows lack of responsibility."
(Group 8)

"In *Love and Ambition*, when mother-in-law is talking, even though she is depressed, she should have served dinner to the husband."
(Interrupting) "Has to serve dinner"
(Continuing) "Although she is upset, she has to treat him well unless she wants to leave him."
"That is true."
(Continuing) "That is the difference between Love and Ambition and Face of the City." (Group 9)

"As far as the family relationship is concerned, in Love and Ambition the way the mother-in-law deals with the daughter-in-law is extremely strict. But sons and daughters seldom protest against their parents. In Face of the City, for their success and ambition, they are ruthless even to brothers and brothers-in-law." (Group 10)

The position and status of women in the family structure and society can also be detected by the majority of viewers. They agree that whereas women in Love and Ambition are portrayed as passive, feminine, big family-oriented, the women in Face of the City shown as active, aggressive, nuclear family oriented.

"I feel that the rights of women improve a lot." Q: "Then can you explain it in detail?"

"In Love and Ambition, when Tae-soo is trying to prepare dinner himself, then Pae-Joo (a friend of Tae-soo's mother) follows and serves dinner for him. That is the Korean way. In Face of the City, the expression of love to the opposite sex is direct and crude (naked)." (Group 4)

"Most women characters presented in Love and Ambition are passive. In the passive way, (they) accept love. The pattern of love portrayed in Face of the City seems to bring in the concept of scramble of love and achievement of ambition." (Group 7)

"In Love and Ambition, women obey men, but in Face of the City they are in equal positions, as against the case when one obeys and the other is to be obeyed." (Group 14)
In particular, the two heroines' position in the programmes - Mi-ja in *Love and Ambition* and Jung-Hwa in *Face of the City* was the main concern of the viewers.

"The position of women seems different. In the 80s, women are freer in discussion between men and women. In *Love and Ambition* (women) are passive. And Mi-Ja is rejected in there (*Love and Ambition*)." (Group 6)

"There is a difference in the manner of love. In the 60s of *Love and Ambition*, when the husband (of Mi-ja) is dead, she cannot express it although she loves him. But in *Face of the City* the expression of love is direct. That is the difference. They are also fighting each other." (Group 13)

"In *Love and Ambition*, although she likes him, she cannot express this. In *Face of the City* one can strongly express one's arguments. In the case of *Face of the City* Mung-gil Choi (Jung-hwa, heroine) expresses her strong desire, and does everything that she likes." (Group 13)

One salaried businessman's remark is quite striking in the sense that he can even detect the position of women with regard to their professional role in the society.

"Of course although there is the writer's intentional will, women presented in *Face of the City* have more professional aspects. But in *Love and Ambition*, even if there is professionalism, after all it cannot but reflect the social structure that falls into artistic world." (Group 7)

When I asked whether they could identify the cultural differences in terms of material life;

"I can. Clothes are quite different. As far as restaurants and pubs are concerned, the sixties are
ordinary-oriented, in *Face of the City* many western restaurants are presented and the language of the 60s is crude (gawky)." (Group 5)

"In the 1960s, the clothes and houses are quite different from those in *Face of the City*. Language of those days is also crude and not modernized." (Group 12)

"The interior of the house is different. In the case of *Face of the City*, the beds and furniture are elegant whereas in *Love and Ambition* the furniture is simple." (Group 13)

"In the 1960s they are drinking Makguli (traditional Korean alcohol). In *Face of the City*, it is whisky or beer and there is no Makguli." (Group 13)

"Hair styles have been changed. In the 60s hair styles are so simple, like perms." (Group 13)

"The colour of clothes in *Love and Ambition* is simple and in *Face of the City* the colour is splendid (colorful)." (Group 14)

"In *Face of the City* there are beds and elegant furniture, and in the kitchen a sink." (Group 14)

As is shown in the content analysis where the differences between *Love and Ambition* and *Face of the City* are evident, the majority of viewers are able to read the cultural differences portrayed in the programmes.

On the other hand, contrary to the majority of viewers, some viewers express the inability to distinguish the differences. The fact that although the setting of *Love and Ambition* is based on the 1960s, the serial is made in the 1980s means that it might comprise more contemporary elements. This may explain why they are unable to distinguish the differences.
"When I watch only these scenes, I cannot find any clear distinction." (Group 5)
"I can't find the differences between the two programmes." (Group 8)
"There is no difference in material life. The life of the upper class is the same." (Group 9)
"There is no difference." (Group 12)

Even a salary clerk (Group 6) expresses that restaurants in the 60s are more elegant than in the 1980s.

Then I moved on, asking whether they were able to distinguish the differences between Korean culture and western culture portrayed in the programmes and how they would define the two different cultures. Many viewers contend that Love and Ambition embraces lot of traditional Korean culture whereas Face of the City comprises western cultural artifacts.

"Love and Ambition shows traditional Korean meals, and it also shows that (the wife) has to serve dinner to the husband unless she is seriously ill. But in Face of the City, I do not feel that kind of thing. In that sense, there seems to be many differences between the traditional culture and western culture." (Group 1)

"In Love and Ambition, the blood ties, close family ties are presented. But in Face of the City, because of their ambition they are selfish, thereby betraying the family." (Group 2)

"What expresses the oriental style in Love and Ambition is that when a baby is sent to a woman's parents' home, the mother-in-law demands that the daughter-in-law should bring the baby back soon. But nowadays, the baby can be sent, and we send a baby
for this purpose. That is the difference between oriental and western." (Group 5)

"In Love and Ambition, Mi-ja is advised to contract with a film director. Then she agrees because of personal affection. Affection is oriental and Korean. From there comes Korean (value)." (Group 7)

"Living with mother-in-law is the Korean way. But nowadays the young daughter-in-law does not want to live with the mother-in-law." (Group 11)

"As far as daily life is concerned, in the 60s there are many things in Korean style. The 80s are westernised, elegant, colourful and modernized." (Group 12)

"While there are many differences in eating, clothing and housing, the value system also differs. The traditional value system in which one respects parents is oriental and foreign culture is openhearted."

"In Love and Ambition, the mother-in-law shouts at the daughter-in-law. In western culture, this is not so. That is the difference." (Group 13)

For viewers, respecting or loyal to parents, the wife being loyal to the husband, affection, blood ties and close family ties are seen as Korean or a part of the oriental value system. On the contrary, openness, feminism, selfishness and the nuclear family are viewed as belonging to western culture. In particular, they are concerned about the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. Living with parents is Korean and the nuclear family is western.

I then turned my attention to the differences between
Korean and western cultures in terms of material life.

"The pattern of meals on the table is different. Korean people eat 'kimchi' on a small dining table, sitting on the floor. But the western style is to have a meal on a big (western-style) dining table. That is different." (Group 1)

"In Love and Ambition, when television shows the conversation between brothers they are kneeling. But in Face of the City, they are sitting on an elegant sofa, having a coffee. That is the difference." (Group 1)

"Having a meal in a (western) restaurant is western style, and having a rice and kimchi is the Korean style." (Group 2)

"First of all, the concept of restaurant (in Korean language, restaurant means western restaurant) is a western one. 'Daepogip' (Korean style pub), Makguli (Korean alcohol) in Love and Ambition are Korean, aren't they? Having western alcohol in a restaurant is western." (Group 5)

"Mi-ja and Tae-joon drinking beer and wine in a villa is western style." (Group 6)

"Daepogip and restaurant are contrasting." (Group 7)

"In the kitchen, 'sot' (Korean sauce pan) is Korean." (Group 7)

"The scene of drinking by Hwa-yun Cha (Mi-ja) in the stand bar is a western one." (Group 8)

"Makguli and sojoo are Korean (alcohol). Beer and whisky are western. That is different. Also there is a difference in the way of drinking. One drinks
Makguli from a big bowl. But western alcohol is sipped from a small glass." (Group 10)

"There is a big difference in the way of life. House and clothes are different. Hanbok (traditional Korean cloth) and hanok (Korean style house) are Korean." (Group 11)

"In the restaurant, cutting (meat and food) is western. Our Korean is bulgoki (Korean roasted beef) and kimchi." (Group 13)

"Mother-in-law's hair style in Love and Ambition is a chignon. But in Face of City, it is a perm."

"There is difference. The culture of beds is imported. It seems to import western culture, because it is not Korean. Also in clothes and hair style, there are many changes." (Group 13)

"In the 60s, there is the Makguli and in the 80s, the restaurant." (Group 14)

"In Face of the City, there are many scene of having western food." (Group 14)

"Between whiskey and Makguli." (Group 14)

"There are many changes in clothes. Also many decorations have been changed." (Group 14)

'Makguli' and whisky, 'makguligip' and the pub or western restaurants, 'hanbok' and 'yangbok' (western clothes), big bowl and small glass, 'hanok' and 'yangok' (western house), 'kimchi' (Korean picked hot cabbage) and bread – these are the differences between Korean and western culture distinguished by viewers. The reading of the images of western and culture in terms of material life portrayed in the programmes by audience is striking. They read western culture as elegant, modern, colourful and smart, after all as positive. It is evident in the expression of 'elegant' and 'smart'. "The 60s are identified with drinking makguli and being comfortable. In Face of the City it is smart."
(Group 13) While they perceive western culture as a positive one, they also think of Korean culture as 'comfortable'. That means that Korean culture is familiar to them, particularly to the working class and elderly people. In this case, western culture is perceived as alien. Whether they accept it or not is another matter. This will be discussed in detail later.

The images of Mi-ja and mother-in-law (Tae-soo's mother) in Love and Ambition and Un-hae and Jung-hwa in Face of the City bring about their concern.

"In Face of the City, Myung-kil Choi (Jung-hwa) and Mi-kyung Won (Un-hae), who are both living in the 1960s, are present, but one is living the western way and the other is the typical Korean woman. Mi-kyung Won is a woman who has true love without attached conditions and Myung-kil Choi is a woman who is selfish." (Group 1)

"In Love and Ambition, Pa-joo serves Tae-soo with dinner, when he is trying to serve himself. That is the Korean way. In Face of the City, there is a clear contrast. Mi-kyung Won (Un-hae) is portrayed as the model for Korean women and Myung-gil Choi (Jung-hwa) is an extremely western woman. And the younger sister - Mi-kyung Won (Da-hae) - is between them. While she understands the position of her elder sister, also she rejects that the elder sister as a Korean woman is too obedient." (Group 4)

"The typical western woman is Mung-gil Choi (Jung-hwa) and the typical oriental woman is Mi-kyung Won (Un-hae)." (Group 5)

"Tae-soo's mother is a totally oriental woman who remains as a Korean woman until she dies, and so is Pa-joo. In Face of the City, Myung-gil Choi
(Jung-hwa) who achieves what she likes is a western woman." (Group 6)

For them Tae-soo's mother and Un-hae are seen as oriental and as the Korean woman, whereas Jung-hwa is utterly read as a western woman. It is interesting in that Mi-ja in Love and Ambition is seen as oriental when compared with Jung-Hwa in the previous discussion. But here she is seen as westernised. Actually she is a westernised woman in the viewpoint of the 1960s. But in the viewpoint of the 1980s, she is not. In that sense, Jung-hwa is the most westernised woman, followed by Mi-ja, Un-hae and Tae-soo's mother. This reading of images coincides with the content analysis in which Jung-hwa is portrayed as a westernised woman whereas Un-hae is presented as a Korean woman.

Does it mean that a text is a strong conveyer which merely imposes a certain meaning and ideology on viewers? To some extent, that assumption may be right. A text which already contains producer's intentions may be seen as a conveyer of certain values and ideology as well as material artifacts. But television also provides the audience with a forum for discussing and judging not only 'represented reality' but also their real life. Passing through these complex processes of watching, perception, discussion, identification (with reality and fiction) and judging, a final reading is made. In this context, the text plays a dual role. It is, on the one hand, a conveyer of initial meaning in which a certain ideology is imposed. On the other hand, it is a presenter of a cultural forum in which various materials and ideological artifacts are displayed.

Viewers also find that while the upper class is associated with western culture, the lower class is associated with Korean culture.

"Face of the City is westernised because Myung-gil Choi's (Jung-Hwa) house is totally upper class. And
Hyung-sup's house is Korean style and they are very poor." (Group 1)
"Coincidentally, western culture is confined to the upper class in both programmes." (Group 6)
"In Face of the City, what is said to be westernised is the way of life of the upper class people." (Group 7)

In analysing the cultural differences read by viewers between Love and Ambition of 1960s and Face of the City of 1980s and Korean culture and western culture, I realise that viewers' readings are more complicated than expected. The explanation of the woman's position with regard to professional roles is a good example. They are able to read the differences portrayed in the programmes in terms of the cultures of the 1960s and 1980s, and of Korean and western culture. In this sense, they clearly know what the soap opera is trying to say and read it in their social and subjective positions.

8.4. The Relationship Between the Degree of Involvement and the Degree of Real Life References

The previous section has dealt with how viewers make sense of Korean and Western culture, of 1960s and 1980s culture. Viewers know the differences between Korean and Western culture, and 1960s and 1980s culture. They clearly know what is Korean and Western culture, and what is the 1960s and 1980s culture. They label the 1960s as Korean-oriented culture and the 1980s as Western-oriented culture.

This section concerns how viewers make sense of the images of the Western (or Korean) culture in terms of involvement and distance. How do they perceive the Western culture portrayed on soap operas in terms of positive and negative images? How are the readings different in terms of
social class? What are the relationships between the involvement with the images of Western culture and the real life references? These are the basic questions we shall address in this section.

Thus, our first concern will be focussed on the extent of the viewers' involvement with the images of Western culture (and vice versa, distance from Korean culture). It is assumed at this stage that high involvement with Western culture is more likely to be affected by the presentation of Western culture. In order to validate this, we shall examine the relationship between the extent of involvement with the images of Western culture and real life references to Western culture. Real life references signify that viewers refer to value orientation or moral frameworks in the light of their real life circumstances. By doing so, real life references can be compared with the involvement with the images of Western (or Korean) culture. Thus, if high involvement with the images of Western culture turns out to be a high degree of real life references to Western culture, it could be safe to say that high involvement with the images of Western culture may be more influenced by the presentation of Western culture.

8.4.1. The Involvement and Distance from the Images of Western Culture

The first task, thus, is to calculate the degree of involvement and distance from the images of Western culture (and vice versa, Korean culture). The degree of involvement divides into 'high', 'middle', and 'low' involvement to the images of Western values and life style.

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2 See the examples of distinction between the involvement with the images and real life references in the later section.
We shall begin with how viewers become involved with Western and Korean-oriented characters. As Table 43 shows, middle class viewers are more involved with the images of Western-oriented characters (55.2%), while they maintain a distance in relation to the images of Korean-oriented characters (44.8%). On the other hand, working class viewers are deeply involved with the images of Korean-oriented characters (87.5%), while they clearly keep their distance from the Western-oriented characters (12.5%).

Table 43

The Involvement With the Images of Characters

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Middle Class(%)</th>
<th>Working Class(%)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Western-Oriented</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Characters</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jung-hwa</td>
<td>8 (28)</td>
<td>3 (9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hong-jo</td>
<td>5 (17)</td>
<td>1 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myung-woo</td>
<td>3 (10)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Korean-Oriented</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un-hae</td>
<td>10 (35)</td>
<td>21 (66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tae-soo</td>
<td>1 (3)</td>
<td>4 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tae-joon</td>
<td>1 (3)</td>
<td>1 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tae-soo’s Mother</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>2 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim-chung</td>
<td>1 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>29 (99)</td>
<td>32 (100)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

The middle class viewers are comparatively more involved with the images of Jung-hwa who is portrayed as a Westernised, individualistic and determined feminist rather
than the working class.

"Jung-hwa is portrayed as a progressive woman. I like her image" (Group 3)
"I prefer Jung-hwa. She is positive and she has the ability to look to the future. My sights are limited. That's why I like her." (Group 5)
"I like Jung-hwa. She is faithful to her emotion. Love is exchangeable. Love is not one-sided. She can express what she likes and wants. She has positive and progressive thinking." (Group 6)

By contrast, working class and middle-aged viewers are strongly involved with the images of Un-hae who is portrayed as a traditional feminine woman.

"It is a choice between genuine love and taking somebody's lover. Un-hae pursues genuine love." (Group 8)
"Un-hae can be compared with our life. I like her because her image is similar to our environment and values." (Group 8)

"I like Un-hae. I don't like Jung-hwa because she is trying to take somebody's love." (Group 9)
"Un-hae is portrayed as a traditional Korean woman who is feminine and has a mild character." (Group 9)
"She [Un-hae] said in a scene that she would follow Hyun-chul even if he [Hyun-chul] were in hell." (Group 9)

"I like Un-hae in Face of the City. The wealthy daughter [Jung-hwa] has taken somebody's lover." (Group 12)
"I like Un-hae because she is a Korean woman who is able to be patient and loyal." (Group 12)
"I like the Korean style woman." (Group 12)
Middle-aged peasants (Group 11) strongly identify themselves with Tae-soo's mother who is portrayed as a typical traditional Korean woman.

"I was impressed by her image, portrayed as stubborn but as having Korean virtue."
"I like Kim Yong-rim [Tae-soo's mother] because she is a really strong Korean woman."

While the young workers group (13) is loosely involved with the images of Korean characters, they also keep a distance from the Korean images.

"I like both women. Un-hae is portrayed as a quite feminine woman. Also I like Jung-hwa because she can express her feelings and emotion, Jung-hwa seems to be candid."
"Un-hae is a Korean style woman and Jung-hwa is western style woman."
"No, I don't think so. Un-hae can also express herself. Instead, she can constrain herself when she thinks it is time to constrain. But Jung-hwa expresses everything although it is time to be restrained. That's why I don't like her [Jung-hwa]."
"I like Jung-hwa because she is a progressive woman."

The readings of the images of Western and Korean-style characters, in this sense, vary in terms of class and age. Working class and middle-aged viewers are more involved with the images of Korean-style characters, whereas middle class and young generations are more involved with the images of Western-oriented characters.

Not only do the images of Western and Korean-oriented characters vary in terms of class and age, but the images of material life style also vary. The groups were involved with the images of western (or Korean) material life-style in a different degree and mode. Middle class groups were more
Table 44

The Degree of Involvement with the Images of Western Culture

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<tr>
<td><strong>Western Values</strong></td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Western Life Style</strong></td>
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<td>H</td>
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<th>G 8</th>
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<td><strong>Western Values</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Western Life Style</strong></td>
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(H=high, M=middle, L=low)

involved and identified with the images of Western life style.

"I feel that the life style of Hong-jo is similar to ours." (Group 2)

"I was lured by the scene of a smart and elegant Western restaurant in *Face of the City*. In particular, the scene that had birthday party in the smart restaurant attracted me." (Group 2)

"I was impressed by the scene that showed a smart restaurant in *Face of the City*." (Group 5)

"I like the spacious garden in Do-jin's home."

(Group 7)

"I have more identification with *Face of the City*." (Group 7)
"I prefer Do-jin's home. If I were to have a lot of money, I would like to buy that kind of house."
(Group 7)

By contrast, working class viewers maintain a distance from the Western life-style presentation. While they have enjoyed the story and narrative, they are indifferent to the presentation of western and upper class life-styles.

"It [Face of the City] is far from our life. The drama which shows the upper class is nothing to do us." (Group 9)
"I just imagine that a luxurious life style such as Do-jin's is something like that. I am not interested in it. I also do not wish to be like it." (Group 10)

On the other hand, they have a strong identification with the life-style of Tae-soo's family portrayed in Love and Ambition.

"The life style of Love and Ambition is almost similar to ours. The life style is frugal. Although the life style of Mi-ja [a movie star] is too luxurious, the other characters' life styles are almost the same (as ours)." (Group 11)
"I like the life style of Love and Ambition. There is the warmth of ordinary people." (Group 11)

"Love and Ambition is reminiscent of our life. But in the case of Face of the City, it is above our standard. It is far from our life." (Group 12)

In summary, it is safe to conclude that while middle class viewers are highly involved with the images of the Western life-style, they are loosely involved with the images of Western values. On the other hand, working class viewers have kept a distance from both the images of Western values and life-style.
8.4.2. The Degree of the Real Life References

More light can be shed on the degree of the real life references to Western (or Korean) culture which can be distinguished from the degree of involvement with the images of Western (or Korean) culture in order to examine the relationship between them. Real life references signify a practice of discussing viewer’s real life frame in the light of the images portrayed. Although this distinction is not an easy task, we may nevertheless be able to categorize it according to whether the references are directly related to the images of television or viewers are expressing their real life experience, perception or orientation towards certain life styles or value systems.

Here is an example. Firstly, we illustrate the involvement with the images of television.

"In Face of the City, there is a clear contrast. Won Mi-kyung [Un-hae] is portrayed as a model for the Korean woman and Choi Myung-kil [Jung-hwa] is an extremely Western woman. And Dae-hae (younger sister) is between them. While she understands the position of the elder sister, she also rejects her as a Korean woman who is too obedient."

By contrast, the following example refers to a real life frame.

"It (the behaviour of Jung-ja) could happen to young women. But for us it is impossible."
"It happens in the present time."
"Whatever some women claim as equal rights with men, I hope it could not happen to our daughter and daughter-in-law."

This kind of reference to real life was based on one’s normative and moral frameworks. Thus, by comparing the
relationship between the degree of involvement with the images of television and the real life references, we may find the degree of influences or effects. But as will be discussed later, although I have asked about the images of television, most viewers are referring to their real life.

Examining the real life frame in this way, it was found that the groups differ significantly in the degree of orientation towards Western (or Korean) culture in terms of social class and age. The highest degrees of orientation towards Western culture were made by salaried businessmen's groups, followed by college students, workers, housewives and peasant groups (see Table 45).

Table 45

The Degree of the Real Life References Towards Western Culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle Class</th>
<th>G1</th>
<th>G2</th>
<th>G3</th>
<th>G4</th>
<th>G5</th>
<th>G6</th>
<th>G7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Values</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Style</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Working Class</th>
<th>G8</th>
<th>G9</th>
<th>G10</th>
<th>G11</th>
<th>G12</th>
<th>G13</th>
<th>G14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Values</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Style</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(H=high, M=middle, L=low)

Business groups (5 and 7) are strongly inclined to Western culture. For them, underdevelopment of Korean society comes from sticking to Korean ideologies or
life-style. They stated that by accepting Western culture, Korean society would be advanced.

"In order to develop, we have to advance to Africa, and Latin America (to sell goods). Sitting here and waiting is not enough. In there, we can find the seclusiveness of the oriental way of thinking." (Group 5)

"It makes me angry when I watch soap opera, because people in them cannot express what they think and feel. In that sense, I hope it will be improved in the future." (Group 5)

"Everywhere openness and westernization is obvious. Thus I don't understand those who still resist the trend." (Group 7)

"In a background of limited natural resources, the population is increasing. Therefore we have to develop our consciousness to match that level. In that sense, the oriental way of thinking is outdated." (Group 7)

By contrast, young working class housewives (Group 8), young male workers (Group 12) and young female workers (Group 13) put their positions in the middle ground.

"That is old fashioned. In the old days, it was natural. But that is silly."

"In those days there was great affection for parents. But nowadays, everybody is living separately since it is the day of the nuclear family."

"At the present time, there is no clear division of the man's and the woman's work. They help each other."

"It seems she does not know anything. The woman seems foolish in that she resists serving her husband a meal although her husband knows well that she is not ill after being scolded (by mother-in-law)."
Q: "Which one do you prefer?"

"Rather than expression of preference, it differs in terms of persons. In my case, it seems much better to make their own decision if they are responsible because I live in the contemporary period and am young. Life is mine."

"In my case when we see our life as well as the soap opera’s portrayal, I think the youngsters are so dissipated. Thus, I prefer our traditional way of thinking, morals and customs." (Group 12)

Q: What do you think about the behaviour of Jung-ja?"

"Look at the behaviour of Tae-soo towards his wife. I am angry about his irresponsible behaviour. Anyway she blindly loves him, isn’t that reasonable?"

"Hold on. It becomes the woman’s fault. If the man has a fault, it is only 10 percent. Why are there equal rights between man and woman? Man is man and woman is woman. Without love how can he live with her?"

"It is not so good. However, if there is equal right for men and women, woman is woman and man is man."

"No way. When she is ill, he has to help himself, hasn’t he?" (Group 13)

The peasant groups (9, 10 and 11) have strongly kept a distance from Western life-style and value systems. They strongly reject Western culture.

"Whatever the intention of the writer is, and whatever is said to be modern, as a Christian, according to the Bible the woman has to respect her husband. Therefore, from the old days the husband is heavenly. When television shows the traditional, our
Korean and oriental etiquette, those who lack good character may intend to disgrace the husband and those who have good characters may learn from it."

"In Love and Ambition, a widow should not be married to a bachelor. But in it, she insists on her way, ruining married life as if she lacks a husband's love. This, on the spiritual level, shows lack of respect. The audience will then disgrace their husbands."

"In the relationship between Tae-soo and Tae-joon, Tae-soo always speaks impolitely to the elder brother in the manner of a hooligan. In Korean society it cannot be accepted." (Group 10)

"It could happen to young women. But for us it is impossible."

"It happens in the present time."

"Whenever some women claim equal rights with men, I hope it could not happen to our daughter and daughter-in-law."

"I don't like it as well."

"Therefore, it is experienced as the generation gap."

"Western culture develops so fast that our good morals and manners have gone." (Group 11)

One female peasant group's responses show that their orientation is divided by ages. While most middle-aged women agree with the traditional notion that the wife has to be loyal to her husband, two young women do not agree.

"In the rural area, particularly at age of 40 to 50 women think that although I am sick, I have to serve my husband's meals. That is woman's virtue and duty and she has to do it."

(Everybody is agreeing except two young women. She says)

"I don't think loyalty is the only a virtue. I think women have to have their own arguments. Obedience
only to a mother-in-law is not a virtue, but they have to have their own opinions, deciding what is good. It seems also good to me that the mother-in-law asks for the daughter-in-law's opinion."

"That is a generation gap."

"In the conversation, when I respond to her, mother-in-law says it is a rude reply. Then I cannot say anything although I wish to talk."

"In the old days, however the daughter-in-law was right, we could not talk."

"I am living with my mother-in-law. Although I wish to talk, it is better not to talk because I can predict she will say it is a rude reply."

"Nowadays young women do not want to live with their mothers-in-law, treating them (mothers-in-law) badly. Isn't that right?"

"That is the generation gap. Here we cannot judge which one is wrong."

"That is true. That is the generation gap."

(Group 9)

By analysing the degree of real life references to Western culture, we have found that there are slight differences between life styles and value systems. From these responses, it is becoming clear that the majority of viewers except two peasant groups (9 and 10) and one worker's group (14) incline towards the Western material life style. While the middle class and young viewers are inclined to the Western life style, the working class and middle aged people accept it in a passive and compromising way. Having analysed the degree of the involvement with the images and the degree of real life references, we shall now focus on the probable effect and its relationship with the two frames.
8.4.3. The Probable Effect and the Its Relationship with the Two Frames

Does television serve as a powerful vehicle to convey foreign material artifacts and ideology? And does this imposition lead to the real consumption of Western culture? From the content analysis and responses from the viewers, it becomes evident that television conveys certain material and ideological artifacts. The content analysis shows that television presents various Korean and Western cultural products. (See Chapter 6). Viewers also contend that there are different messages in terms of Korean and western culture and the 1960s and 1980s. (see also Chapter 8.3.). Having said that, it is safe to conclude that television, in specific soap operas, functions as a conveyor of various cultural products of material things and ideology. Serving as a showroom for displaying information and knowledge about various cultural commodities, television invites the viewers to make sense of their interpretation and evaluation which might lead to real consumption of certain material things and ideology.

Accordingly, the main purpose of this project is to explain the complex process of people’s involvement, that is, explaining the relationships in which viewers are engaged between the text and making sense of the text (readings). In doing so, we are able to guess the probable effect. In this sense, as Libes and Katz (1986:152) point out, "it is not a study of effects but rather of the processes that might lead to effects."

Up to this point, the involvement with the images of Western (or Korean) culture and the degree of real life orientations towards Western (or Korean) culture have been analysed. From now on, more light can be shed on the relationship between the two levels.

The comparisons reveal that high involvement with the
Table 46

The Comparison Between the Involvement of the Images and Real Life References Towards Western Culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Western Life-Style</th>
<th></th>
<th>Western Values</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Involvement</td>
<td>Real Life</td>
<td>Involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with Images</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>with Images</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>L</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>H</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>H</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(H=high, M=middle, L=low)

Images of Western culture is associated with high degree of real life references to Western culture, and low involvement is associated with low degree of real life orientation. From these findings, two assumptions can be drawn.

Firstly, viewers' readings are framed and constructed in terms of their social class and age. The differentiated
readings on the same text with regard to social class and age support the notion that readings are framed in their social position. This means that television serves to reinforce an existing perception that is framed and contextualized in the social process which derives from the material base of human beings. Thus, it is more important to put the viewers in the broader context of social process rather than see them as atomized individuals.

Secondly, the fact that high involvement is associated with high degree of orientation assumes that they are more vulnerable to the presentation of Western culture. In this sense, middle class and young viewers are likely to be more affected by the presentation of Western culture than working class and old viewers. It is also worth noting that viewers maintain relative distance from the presentation of Western values and ideologies as compared with the presentation of material products. As far as the material artifacts are concerned, they are likely to be more affected by the presentation of Western culture. In other words, viewers are more vulnerable to material products that soap operas present than the moral and value system. Viewers are keen to watch and discuss the western material artifacts that television presents. The Korean soap operas, in this sense, provide the viewers with a showroom for displaying various western cultural artifacts.

Does it mean then that as far as value systems and ideologies are concerned, television is not an important medium for conveying ideology and moral framework? In direct terms, it is right. But if people's material life is affected, then there is a possibility of changing consciousness. Although their consciousness is not likely to be changed immediately, the changing patterns of life style might change their values and ideologies in the long run. But we may be wrong. It is the dialectical process of cultural imperialism. Thus, what is needed for future study of cultural imperialism will be a thorough analysis of the
social existence of various social classes and its relationship with their consciousness.

In summary, we have outlined a complex relationship between the text and its audience. It is revealed that viewers' readings are more complicated than we expected. Viewers are able to read the differences portrayed in the programmes, constructing them in their social and individual frames. It also indicates that viewers are relatively unmoved by the presentation of the value system compared with the presentation of material artifacts. The analysis also shows that readings of the text with regard to different cultures varies in terms of social class and age. It is evident that the readings are framed and contextualized in the social process which derives from the material base of human beings. Thus, it is necessary to put the viewers in the broader context of social process rather than as atomized individuals isolated from society. With regard to cultural imperialism, television serves to provide the viewers with knowledge and information about western material artifacts, values and ideologies.

8.5. Advertising and Soap Opera

The activities of transnational advertising on a global level are constantly increasing. The message of transnational corporations are penetrating into the hearts of people in the Third World. New communication technologies such as computerization of marketing and satellite transmission are likely to speed up these trends. As Sinclair (1987:102) points out, the market share of American transnational advertising agencies had experienced a fivefold increase in the mount of overseas business during the last thirty years. South Korea which allowed direct investment of transnational advertising agencies is also likely to be influenced by transnational advertising (see chapter 2.4.)
What is implicit in this new development is the role of transnational advertising and its impact on local people and culture. A series of studies on transnational advertising in the Third World show that it transforms local people's lifestyles and consumption patterns (Mattelart 1983; Sinclair 1987; Janus 1981; Janus and Roncagliolo 1979, see also detail chapter 7.1.) From these studies, it is evident that transnational advertising somehow affects people's lives and culture.

As was discussed in the previous section, the soap opera also influences and affects people's attitude and perception. It is worth noting that in many ways the function and role of soap opera in influencing the viewer's consumption pattern and images is different from that of advertising. The primary target of advertising is to sell products and create images of products and institutions. Advertising in this sense directly appeals to viewers to trigger actual purchase. What advertising does is to attach images to products via brand names. Whether this direct appeal leads to real consumption is beyond the scope of this thesis. What we are concerned about is to know how the soap opera portrays certain cultural artifacts and images and how the audience perceive and recognise the content of the soap opera which might be different from advertising.

Advertising is designed to convey very specific and direct messages to the viewers. Soap opera also conveys certain messages to the viewers, but in different ways. The aim of advertising is to promote consumption of a particular product. On the other hand, the function of a soap opera is not to promote a particular product but to create the general cultural milieu and social environment. In this sense, the portrayal of a certain culture in soap operas is a rather secondary, a natural and integral part of the narrative (Hansen 1984:133). What soap opera does offer through portrayal of certain cultural products and value systems is the furnishing of the social environment that
caters to social judgement and individual criteria. Positive images read by the audience (which do not necessarily match with readings of producer and researchers) are likely to lead to potential buyers of general items and things, not a specific product. Although the remarks with regard to soap opera and advertising made by the audience are fragmented and inconsistent, they are worth noting here.

"Advertising promotes consumption. When a specific product appears on television, that product is sold very well." (Group 1)

"When children watch television, they beg us to buy the products; in such cases it is very difficult to resist." (Group 1)

"Advertising on television forces us to buy some products, although I did not intend to buy them before." (Group 9)

"There are differences between drama and advertising. We are watching drama in order to relax. It provides us with the criteria for the value system about what is right or wrong. But advertising is different. Advertising directly appeals to us. When I see advertising on television, I wish to buy. But soon I turn away, because I cannot afford it." (Group 11)

Here, it is noticeable, that while advertising directly appeals to viewers, it also invites a strong degree of resistance. If viewers cannot afford to buy, they simply turn away from advertising or change the channel.

"When advertising appears on the screen, I switch the channel to another one. Then come back after the advertisements." (Group 6)

"There are too many advertisements on television." (Group 11)

"It is unpleasant because there is too much exaggerated advertising on television." (Group 11)
This is one of the reasons why the advertising industry has had to deal with some form of opposition. In many countries, there are consumer organizations. These organizations are particularly concerned with the bombardment of advertising. Based upon the notion of 'consumerism', they oppose 'consumerism', mainly promoted by advertisements.

Table 47

The Function of Advertising and Soap Opera

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Advertising</th>
<th>Soap Opera</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aim</strong></td>
<td>To Promote a Specific Product</td>
<td>To Create General Milieu and Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manner</strong></td>
<td>Direct Appeal (Primary)</td>
<td>Indirect Appeal (Secondary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reception</strong></td>
<td>Explicit Acceptance or Resistance</td>
<td>Implicit Acceptance, Compromise or Resistance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For many viewers, while advertising is considered to be some form of information which at least provides the brand name, it is also true that advertising invites direct resistance or opposition. In this case, viewers simply turn away from advertising or change the channel. On the other hand, the form of reception of soap opera is different from that of advertising. For soap opera, it is hard to turn away from the story or change the channel although viewers are not satisfied or do not accept some parts (not whole part) of the content and messages of soap opera once they are involved in the narrative. Narrative keeps the audience in
the constant mode which ensures they stay with the soap opera. The hooking strategy also guarantees the audience another episode. If viewers are not satisfied with the whole part, they would not watch it at all.

To ask which medium is more effective than another in convincing people that it is inadequate because each has a different function and role. Unlike advertising which appears to be 'artificial' or 'constructed', soap opera functions as a 'natural' or 'integral' part of real life. Soap opera gives the audience the impression that the world of soap opera is analogous to one's life, appearing as 'naturalized' or 'likely' components of real events and happenings. It is worth noting that the strategy of targetting the consumer employed by advertising depends on the content of programmes. For example, advertising for Korean soap operas is mainly targetting female consumers. In this case, cosmetics are primary items among other things. Each medium functions as a substitute which the other cannot replace.
CONCLUSION

Framework and Background

The role of the mass media in relation to the cultural transformation between countries has brought about concern and attention among media researchers, policy makers and concerned bodies. While numerous studies in different countries have examined the unbalanced and unequal exchanges between nations, only a small number have focused on the role of the mass media in the cultural transformation of the Third World societies in particular.

Traditional studies of cultural imperialism have been primarily based on showing unequal exchanges on the global level either by looking at the political economy of the media organizations or by examining the number and hours of the imported programmes. While these efforts have contributed to the elucidation of the underlying mechanism of cultural hegemony by the centre countries, it is also an undeniable fact that they also have their limitations and deficiencies.

Firstly, these studies are criticized as being inadequate to grasp the complex process of cultural imperialism. They are primarily concerned with the exploitative nature of external forces. Their focus thus centred on the political economy of the imperialistic forces of the western industrial societies and the role of transnational corporations. They developed around the particular concern over the relationship between ownership and control of the media and cultural hegemony on the global level.

Secondly, these studies are criticized for lacking
concrete evidence at the empirical level. These limitations in the narrow concept of media influence and the lack of concrete methods have led us to the more broadened and concrete view.

In this broadened view of cultural imperialism, the emphasis is shifted from the exclusive focus on the political economy of the media organisations to the diverse perspectives: 1) the dynamics of internal and external relationships, 2) the role of new communication technologies, 3) the meanings of text and 4) its relationships with audiences.

However, it would be unreasonable to say that the political economy approach has not contributed to the illumination of the process of cultural imperialism. It has played a great part in awakening attention to the nature of imperialistic forces and transnational corporations and in identifying the underlying mechanism of cultural hegemony on a global level. But it would also be reasonable to conclude that the approach as a whole can not explain the whole process of cultural imperialism. The political approach has strength in its capacity of uncovering the control, ownership and structure of media organization, particularly of the western imperialist countries. To talk about the production side of industrial societies is only to explain a part of the process, not the whole process of cultural imperialism. As we have discussed in the thesis, the process of cultural imperialism is not a simple and crude one, rather it takes a complex and sophisticated form. Unlike the simplistic explanation in which the main cause of cultural imperialism is ascribed to the external forces of imperialist countries, this study has called for the dynamics and dialectics of the relationship between internal and external forces.

Proponents of the political economy approach tend to seek the present cultural synchronization process in the Third
World only from external forces. Thus, in their approach, the theme of anti-imperialism becomes the main slogan, leaving aside the dynamics of internal forces. The result is an overlooking of the internal dynamics of incipient countries. The process of cultural imperialism, as they claim in the approach, is not simple and unitary. It rather involves the various forces of internal dynamics along with external forces. It is important to bear in mind that without internal features external features cannot exist. The fundamental cause of the current imbalanced flow of culture is not only based on an external, but also from internal factors. In this sense, the main cause of cultural imperialism in the Third World should be understood through the thorough examination of the internal forces based on suitable external forces. This is the dialectic of the internal and external contradiction that now faces the culturally dominated countries. A phenomenon or thing cannot be properly explained without a concrete analysis of dynamic relationship between internal and external forces.

Therefore, the traditional study of cultural imperialism which seeks the main causes of cultural dependence in the Third World only from external forces cannot be a sufficient approach unless the study is implemented with the thorough examination of the dynamics of internal and external forces involved in the process of cultural imperialism. The process of cultural imperialism in the Third World is not only involved with the political economy of imperialist countries and transnational corporations but is also involved with the political economy of the local society and various social classes including the domestic bourgeoisie and the dominated.

The traditional studies on cultural imperialism tend to indulge in the powerful electronic medium—television. However, the advent of new communication technologies in the Third World demands new changing perspectives. The spread of new communications—VCRs, satellite broadcasts, cable
television and computers has brought about new implications for the Third World countries. Not only do these new communication technologies bring about technological dependence on the centre countries, but they also create social concerns as well. Thus, it is necessary to take account of their impact on indigenous culture in terms of national sovereignty, dependent or development context.

The growing of the media conglomerates in the Third World has also changed the patterns of international flows. As far as television programmes are concerned, Mexico and Brazil act as the major exporters of television programmes and main gatekeepers for television dubbing to other Latin American nations. Hence, Mexico and Brazil function as core countries for other Latin American countries. But in the new communication sector, they act in a peripheral role for the industrial countries. From these observations, there seems no crude and manifest cultural imperialism in television programming in the semi-periphery countries.

The major problem in traditional studies of cultural imperialism was the ignorance about the meanings of the imported and locally-produced programmes in the recipient countries. Most works on cultural imperialism tended to show quantitative evidence of imbalanced flows between the Third World and the exporting countries. The aim has been to identify the imbalanced flows by counting the number or hours of imported programmes in the recipient countries. In other words, the meanings of those flows were missing in the analysis. If we are to grasp the complex process of cultural imperialism, it would be necessary and urgent to take account of the meaning of the programmes. Particularly, for most Third World countries which had gone through colonial domination and are still experiencing a dependent situation in economic, political, cultural and technical sphere, the locally produced programmes might (or might not) reproduce and represent the alien cultural artifacts combined with indigenous expressions.
Traditional studies in cultural imperialism have been concerned more with production, control and ownership of the media organizations than with consumers. What has been missed in such studies is the relationship between cultural meanings of the programmes and the audience's responses. In their analysis, the audience is automatically supposed to be passive and helpless victims of imperialism. For them, the examination of the political economy of the media organizations of imperialist countries is enough to explain the whole process of cultural imperialism. But how could we vindicate ourselves without referring to the consumer side, without which production or the whole process of communication can be properly explained? What is needed here is the dynamic relationship between the meaning system and differential responses under the specific social context in which political economy is an underlying factor.

Cultural Syncronisation in South Korea

South Korea has been in transition from a traditional Korean (or Oriental) culture to a western-oriented culture. Since the 19th century when the country was forced to open by the western and Japanese imperialists, Korea has experienced dramatic changes in material life styles, family structure, personal relationships, values and ideologies. Nowadays, the products of western culture - coffee, hamburgers, bread, whisky, beer, cola, western-style clothing, housing, decoration, pop songs, nuclear family system, western values are no more alien to Korean people.

The transformation of Korean culture was the result of the contradictions between the external and internal forces. From the beginning, the flow of culture into Korea was not a voluntary process, but a forced transformation facilitated by coercive means of military and economic power. At the same time, it should be noted that the forced opening of Korean society was due to the inability of the ruling classes to deal with people's demands for economic and
social changes. These forces of external and internal relationships have led to the drastic cultural transformation of Korea. The expansion of the capitalist economy, the communication (or cultural) policy which allows free flows of commercialized westernized culture, and the introduction of new communication technologies have speedened up the so-called homogenization of culture.

The launch of Japanese satellite broadcasting might speed up the pace of this homogenisation. If the cost of a parabola dish decreases by mass production, fear of Japanese cultural invasion would become a serious issue. The presence of the AFKN (American Forces Korean Network), the opening of the Korean cultural market to transnational film makers and advertising will bring about more concerns.

Communication policy in South Korea appears to be positive at least in terms of ownership in the sense that it blocked direct ownership by foreigners. But at the levels of programme patterns and content, the outlook is not as positive. As far as cultural policy is concerned, it allows free flow of foreign culture. The rapid adoption of new communication technologies by the South Korean government and industries contributes to speed up this pace.

Fancied by the so-called 'information society', the South Korean government guaranteed the information industry full support for research and marketing. The rapid spread of VCRs, satellite and computers in South Korea and in the Third World in general, is clear evidence that the pattern of cultural imperialism is moving towards the new communication technologies. In a sense, television which has dominated the traditional study of cultural imperialism for a long time can no longer be a sole champion for enquiry as before, although it has still considerable potential in some Third World societies. As is evident in studies on the flows of television programmes in Latin America and other parts of the Third World (Nordengstreng and Varis 1974; Varis 1984;
Schment et al. 1984; Straubhaar 1984), the number and hours of imported programmes have declined, while the adoption of new communication technologies has increased.

In South Korea, the imported programmes on television amount to less than 15 per cent, while the area of cable television and satellite transmission is beginning to bloom. The South Korean government has changed the communication policy which allows the adoption of new communication technologies. A couple of big corporations are preparing for cable broadcasting. The government is also considering the launch of direct satellite broadcasting. The adoption of new information technology will provide the transnational corporations with a new lucrative market. Transnational domination is evident in the computer market. About 69 per cent of the market for super macro computers, 54 per cent of macro computers and 29 per cent of personal computers have been dominated by IBM alone, from 1967 to 1985. The macro computer market is all dominated by U.S.A.-based transnational corporations of IBM, VAX, Wang, and Prime. The rapid adoption of new communication technologies in the Third World is likely to speed up the pace of cultural synchronization on the global level.

In terms of social control, new communication technology brings about social inequality and social conflicts within society and between societies. New Communication technology involves not only the transnationals but also the political system, the government, the corporations and trade unions in the recipient country. Thus, the analysis of cultural imperialism in the Third World should pay more attention to new dimensions generated not only by the conventional medium of television but also by new communication technology.

'Minjoong' Culture

In response to these radical changes, there has been a growing concern about traditional culture among some
intellectuals, workers, peasants and the urban poor—minjoong. A new movement for seeking traditional and minjoong-oriented culture has evolved. The characteristic of the minjoong culture is that it seeks to emphasize the traditional culture against the westernized and commercialized mass culture. It extended the concept of cultural movement which cannot be separated from the material base of people's life. It emphasized the communal or cooperative life in which work and leisure are linked. Restoration of 'talchum' and 'nongak' was such an attempt.

But it should be noted that minjoong culture is not a simple return to old culture in the sense that it tries to incorporate the elements of minjoong's life and culture into modern expression. Although minjoong culture in South Korea does not reach all sectors of culture, it has gained considerable popularity, particularly in literature and dance. It, thus, can be seen as a form of resistance to the westernized commercial culture and a part of awareness that seeks a new form of alternative culture.

As we have seen in chapter 8, the readings and expression of the working class are quite different from those of the middle class. They keep distance or are critical about the presentation of western material life styles, values and ideologies. In this sense, the minjoong culture has a potential, particularly among the working class.

The Content Analysis of Korean Soap Operas

Unlike many Third World countries where imports of foreign programmes are still prevalent, less than 15 percent of South Korean programmes are foreign imports. In this sense, at least in South Korea, foreign programmes do not play an important role in disseminating foreign ideologies and value systems. Rather, western ideologies are incorporated into locally produced programmes along with the adoption of basic patterns, formulas and typology of certain
western genres.

This is the reason why four local soap operas rather than American programmes were chosen as research subjects. The question of why soap operas in particular were chosen from among other genres has to be answered.

Firstly, soap opera is the most popular genre among others, in South Korea as well as in America and Britain. At the time of recording of the soap opera samples, they occupied a high rank in the viewing ratings. Love and Ambition ranked first, followed by Face of the City in 8th place, Condition of Love in 15th place, and Time in 32nd place. This is one of the reasons why the soap opera has attracted severe criticism as well as popularity among audience and media critics, leading to it being a popular topic of research and popular discussion about television contents.

Secondly, soap opera is seen as more realistic and narrative than other genres. Literature on soap opera studies show that audience regard soap operas as more realistic than any other genres (Hobson 1982; Ang 1982; Buckingham 1987). The soap opera also has its very distinctive narrative features. In contrast to other genres such as news, documentary, situation comedy, Westerns, police and detective shows and variety shows, soap opera takes the most complex narrative structure in which up to forty characters may be running, at times appearing as important figures, other times as potential characters emerging. By doing so, the soap opera enables one to capture the complexity of people’s lives in which certain values, ideologies, ideal types, social norms and material artifacts are presented as more realistic than other genres. These are the main reasons why I chose soap opera as my research subject from among other genres. This does not mean that other genres are less important tools for research.
In terms of techniques, the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods would be helpful. While the quantitative method of content analysis has distinct advantages in systemic and quantitative description of manifest content, it still has limitations. In particular, it is not capable of accounting for the immanent and latent messages or the organised system of ideologies or values. On the other hand, qualitative analysis through structural or semiological methods enable one to uncover the immanent and hidden messages of the text. Thus, the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods produce more systemic and delicate meanings from text.

The comparison of the historical development of the Korean and American soap operas, and the patterns and formulas reveal that the Korean soap operas have similarities as well as differences when compared with the American soap operas. In basic composition, there are many similarities, such as the serial forms, cliffhanger formats, the running time of an episode, and the domestic world. But there are some differences in setting locale, the demographic features of the characters and the production systems. Thus, while some basic patterns are transformed to the local programmes, they have also incorporated the local elements, patterns, formats and formulas.

The content analysis of South Korean soap opera as a case study shows that it presents and projects two contrasting cultures, western and Korean. It appears from the analysis that western material life as exemplified in consuming western food, drinks, alcohol, attending western style restaurants and pubs and using foreign words are portrayed as positive and dynamic. In contrast, Korean material life such as consuming Korean meals, drinks, and alcohol, attending Korean style restaurants and pubs and using less foreign words are portrayed as negative and static. With regard to the ideologies and value system, South Korean soap opera also presents contrasting elements in the western and
Korean value systems.

In the case of *Face of the City*, Hyung-sup's family (lower class family background) is portrayed as exhibiting Korean-oriented values such as idealism, collectivism, docility and femininity. It contrasts with Do-jin's family (upper class family) which is portrayed as western-oriented in embracing values such as materialism, individualism, aggressiveness and feminism. In this sense, upper class culture is more exposed to western culture whereas low class culture is portrayed as more Korean-oriented. Accordingly, Korean soap opera reproduces and represents the western material life and value systems along with Korean material life and value systems. Korean soap opera as a whole contrasts two different cultures of western and Korean culture as positive and smart versus negative and dull (or vice versa). These are the images of Korean and western culture portrayed in the Korean soap opera. One very crucial issue still remains outstanding. How do the viewers themselves respond to the images produced by television (or read by the researcher)? This is the last question which has been also overlooked by traditional studies of cultural imperialism.

The Dynamics of Audience Responses

The issue of whether foreign culture or programmes as a whole influence the life styles and values of local people in the Third World has received a constant attention from media researchers and policy makers. But unfortunately, little effort has been made at the concrete empirical level in this area. An exception is the research on transnational corporations and their cultural influences in the Third World, and the cultivation effects of foreign programmes on local people. In the case of studies of transnationals, only the role of advertising in selling consumer commodities and changing the life styles and habits of local people has been emphasized. But how western culture and ideology have been
imposed on local people through specific programmes has been neglected. While cultivation approaches have some merits in accounting for the influences of foreign programmes on local people, particularly as compared with conventional effect studies, they are still inadequate as a means of unveiling the complex process of cultural imperialism in the sense that the approaches are confined to quantitative explanation.

Consequently, it is argued that the active audience approach which has emphasized the dynamic process of viewers' interpretation is more appropriate for the uncovering of the complex process of cultural influence. The active audience approach asks how viewers select, accept, negotiate and make sense of the programmes they watch. In this broadened view of media influence, the emphasis is shifted from the quantitative accounts to the deeper and delicate process of involvement with the content.

The group discussions reveal that viewers' readings are more complicated and complex than we expected. Viewers discuss not only the issues and problems of the fictional world but also the issues and problems of their real lives. Viewers oscillate between reality and the fictional world. But viewers consider the soap operas as reality when they feel that the contents of the programmes are close to their real life situation. In this sense, working class viewers are more critical and maintain distance from the content of the soap operas. For this reason, these viewers think that the world of the soap operas is far from reality because they think most soap operas portray upper class life.

Viewers are able to read the differences portrayed in the programmes in terms of 1960s and 1980s' culture, western and Korean culture. Many viewers are able to identify the differences between *Love and Ambition* and *Face of the City*. They are particularly keen to observe how the programmes deal with family relationships. For viewers, respect or
loyalty to parents, wife’s loyalty to husband, affection, blood ties, and close family ties are seen as associated with the Korean or oriental value system. By contrast, openness, feminism, selfishness and the nuclear family are identified as western culture. In this sense, viewers clearly know what soap operas are trying to portray.

It is also revealed that the readings differ in terms of social class and age. The middle class and young viewers are more attached to the western life styles and values portrayed in the programmes. From these findings, it is obvious that viewers’ readings are framed and constructed in their social and individual context. They indicate that television serves to reinforce an existing perception that is framed and contextualized in the social process which derives from the material base of human beings. In addition, viewers are relatively unmoved by the presentation of the value systems compared with the presentation of material artifacts. In other words, viewers are more vulnerable to the material artifacts than the values or ideologies that television presents. Accordingly, it is more important to put audiences in the broader context of the social process rather than to see them as atomized individuals.

Traditional studies of text and audience have tended to overemphasize the powerful and omnipotent aspects of the content. In that perspective, the audience is seen as passive and helpless, incapable of responding to messages where certain meanings are merely passed on to them. By contrast, we have attempted to explore the dynamic relationships between the content and its audience. Concern was thus centred on how the audience constructs and makes sense of text. The responses recorded in the group discussion suggest that the relationship between programmes and audiences is marked by diversity and complexity. The relationship between the texts and viewers, therefore, cannot be seen as a unitary and one-way process which is implicit in the traditional cause-and-effect study: to do so
would be to ignore the complexity and diversity of the process of cultural imperialism.

Limitations and Suggestions

As has been shown in the analysis of the dynamics of internal and external relationships, content analysis of Korean soap opera and group discussion, the process of cultural imperialism is not a simple, one way and crude process. Rather it is mediated through complex and diverse processes in which the various sections of production, representation and consumption are interrelated and interactive. The major problem with traditional studies of cultural imperialism is that it tends to oversimplify the process of cultural imperialism of which it can only explain a part. Thus, if we are to understand and grasp the whole process of cultural imperialism, a broader, holistic and contextual approach which sees the media not in isolation but in relation to other institutions and processes would be needed (Halloran 1986:47; Szecsko 1981:14). In other words, the study of cultural imperialism 'cannot be identified solely through an analysis of its conditions of production, or through the analysis of texts in isolation' (Buckingham 1987:203). What is needed here is the holistic or convergent approach, the three pods of the communication processes – production, representation and consumer – are not apart.

To deal adequately with the role of mass media in relation to the cultural flows between countries, critical enquiry should investigate more closely; 1) the relationships between the patterns of ownership (and control) and the production process, 2) the relationships between the text and its audience. As the infrastructure of media industries in the Third World has expanded, market forces have become more important in shaping and constraining the content of media production. Thus, how the patterns of ownership and control affect the content of programmes with regard to cultural imperialism thesis has to
be elaborated more in future research.

Concerning the latter issue of how text affects or influences people's attitude and perception, few suggestions can be made. By employing an active audience approach, one is able to access the process that might lead to effects. But one still does not know to what extent watching of programmes leads to real consumption of particular material artifacts, values and ideologies - real effects. In order to deal with this problem, future research should look more closely at the audience itself.

As has been argued elsewhere, the readings of the programmes are framed in their social position and cultural environment. Thus, it is necessary to take into account how these social and cultural environments are related to their readings. For this purpose, it will be useful to watch closely the relationships between social environment (or cultural milieu) in terms of social class, age, sex, education background and residential area, the differentiated readings and real consumption, by participating in real consumers' environment - houses, work places, schools or offices.

As far as the impact of television in the process of cultural imperialism is concerned, television cannot be blamed as a sole monster. As Ian Connel (1985) has argued, blaming only television for its bad effects may deflect attention away from genuine difficulties and complexities. The process of cultural imperialism, in this sense, should rather look for a broader pattern of social process in which other social institutions such as school, family, peer groups, work environment play major parts, along with television and other mass media. By doing so we are able to trace the complex, diversified and sophisticated process of cultural imperialism.
Appendix 1

Primary Indicators of Korean culture

Culture, as Edward B. Tylor (1969) states, is 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities, and habits acquired by man as a member of society.' Culture can be understood as complex social patterns and structures which comprise all aspects of human activities - social, economic and political organization, ideology, belief, religion, language and arts.

Based on the literature on culture and anthropology (e.g. Fried and Pfeiffer 1977; Chapper and Coon 1978; Hamnond 1971) I have drawn the following cultural patterns.

(1) Material traits

(2) Social systems
Marriage and the family, class and caste.

(3) Political and social control

(4) Ritual techniques

(5) Language

(6) Art
(1) Language

The Korean language was developed from a Tungustic linguistic base when Korean ancestors in early days were in central China and Mongolia. The classical written language used by the Korean court and scholars through many centuries was Chinese, just as Latin was used for centuries in Europe. Before the fifteenth century, scholars who wished to become government officials and 'Yangban' (aristocrats of ruling class) had to learn Chinese.

However in the early days of the Yi Dynasty (A.D. 1446), a simple and effective phonetic alphabet of twenty-five letters, originally called 'Hunminjonggum' - literally, the right sounds to teach the people - but now referred to as 'Hangul', was developed by a group of scholars at the instigation of King Sejong. Two principles were applied in devising the forms of vowels and consonants: consonants symbolize the organs of speech and vowels symbolize heaven, earth, and man - the three elements in the oriental philosophical view of the universe. The characteristic of the Korean language is marked by a variation based upon the place in society of the speaker. For example, equal position in society is associated with humble and equal level of language; superiors (mainly elderly) use simplified 'low talk' to younger people; inferiors of younger people use 'high talk' with numerous honorifics when speaking to superiors. 'Hangul' is easy to learn, but being phonetic did not have the precision of the Chinese characters. So a mixed script was developed, combining Chinese characters with 'Hangul'. The result is that the Korean language is rich in its ability to express both concrete and abstract thoughts and meanings (McCune 1966).

(2) Clothing

The traditional Korean dress has undergone significant modification through the centuries. In recent decades, more
and more Koreans have been adopting western-style clothes. Nowadays in the streets of Korean cities and small towns, one sees most people wearing western-style clothes. However, among the humble and old people in the conservative areas the traditional Korean costume is still seen. In addition, women from wealthier families often prefer the traditional design for their gowns, while some scholars and tradition-bound men often each have a set of traditional costumes for home or holiday use. In particular, many people wear traditional costumes for traditional celebrations, for instance, the lunar New Year's Day.

The traditional male costume consists of a loose jacket and wide, baggy trousers tied at the waist and gathered at the ankle. A short vest with pockets is worn over the jacket. Completing the outer costume, particularly for formal wear, is a long, flowing coat, also tied with a bow. The material is usually white cotton, linen or silks. Women wear a very short, flaired blouse called 'chogori', open in front over a white undergarment, and the long, high-waisted skirt known as 'chima'. This basic pattern could be made up of anything from coarse hemp or cotton to lavish, colourful silk brocades. Perhaps, the most distinctive thing about Korean dress is that both men's and women's apparel is white, although greys, blues and pastels are not unusual.

(3) Housing

In the 20th century, many Koreans in big cities have taken to living in western-style houses or apartments. But still the majority of urban houses, and almost all of those in the countryside embody the traditional style.

The building may be L-shaped, or even an open hollow square, as new rooms and wings are added for a son as he marries (this is especially the case with farming families). It is invariably a one-storey building, with walls of brick, clay wattle, or cement building blocks. The roof is tiled or
thatched, according to the means of the family. The most distinctive aspect of a Korean house is its 'radiant heating' system, called 'ondol'. The house is heated with the use of heat or smoke from fires and is channelled under stones. After removing shoes on a wooden porch outside, one enters the room through doors that consist of sliding panels; wooden grills covered with translucent rice paper (windows may be of glass or paper). The structure is oriented to the South to capture as much sunlight and warmth as possible. Household furnishings vary with the means of the family, and tend to be sparse and simple. Every room except the kitchen and storeroom is likely to be the multi-purpose room; living and dining, studying or entertaining, and sleeping by night, when thick quilts and bedding (rolled up during the day in a cabinet) are brought in to be used in winter, while the straw pallet is used in summer.

(4) Food

Rice is a universal food in every meal: in fact, the Korean word for food is rice. Customarily rice dishes are frequently supplemented with fish, vegetables - often soy beans - seasoned and cooked meats, such as beef, pork or chicken and fishes. Soup (with vegetables and meats) is often used as a main dish. A unique part of the diet and important for its vitamin is 'kimchi', seasoned hot pickle. Recipes vary but they usually contain cabbage, long white radishes, red peppers and other vegetables with ample garlic, ginger and pickled shrimps or anchovies flavouring.

Home diet is simple; each meal includes a bowl of white rice, a meat or fish soup and a dish of 'kimchi'. Fresh vegetables are eaten in season. But foods for guests and general celebrations tend to be more elaborate. There is 'bulgogi', strips of beef charcoal - roasted over a brazier at table after marinating in a complex mixture of soy sauce, sesame, and spices; 'sinsonno', an elaborate mixture of
meat, fish and vegetable dishes, including delicate rice cakes and cookies for special occasions, the preparation of which requires many stages and much labour. Water is the main beverage, and well water is considered superior to all but spring water. 'Sungnungs', rice tea made from cold water and burned rice generated from the bottom of the cooking pot, is taken after all regular meals. 'Makgulli' is the traditional Korean alcohol made from wheat and rice mash.

(5) Art

Korea is rich in artistic and cultural heritage. Although in the distant past Chinese models and patterns influenced achievements, Korea's art forms have been unique and original. The Korean people also have a deep respect for their cultural heritage and a veneration of the vast both of which have given them solace in the present era. They have also thereby been enabled as a people to maintain a cultural entity when threatened by outside forces which sought to destroy or absorb them into their own cultures (Clare et al. 1969; McCune 1966). The Unified Shilla Dynasty (A.D. 668 - 936) was the most excellent in Buddhist architecture and sculpture, Koryo Dynasty (936 - 1392) in celadon ware, and the Yi Dynasty (1392 - 1910) in painting and calligraphy.

Examples of traditional architecture and masterpieces of sculpture reveal the distinguished spiritual and artistic attainment of the Korean people which are inspired by beautiful mountains and rivers. The achievement of Korean visual art, in which Koreans were unequalled after surpassing their Chinese teachers, was ceramics. Grey to black earthenware, often with openwork pedestals in triangular or rectilinear cut-outs, was a characteristic of early periods. By A.D. 935 the art of glazing had been perfected, and the Koryo Dynasty is marked by fine, clear green-blue porcelain (celadon) similar to that of contemporary China, though distinctively Korean (Clare et al. 1969).
(6) Family System

The basic unit of the Korean society has been the family and not the individual. The family unit was structured around the kinship or clan system, which has its nucleus in the conjugal and extended family. Throughout the centuries, an individual’s position within his family became the major criterion for his social position.

The oldest son and his wife live with the family and maintain the family line. Daughters, when married, leave the family to join the family of the husband. The younger son, after his marriage may be set up in a separate family, but will continue to maintain relations in a subordinate position. The male-dominated family is thus extended. In the home the father is the dominant figure. He is given authority by his wife and children. The eldest son’s wife who is from another clan becomes a part of the family unit, undergoing hardship (arduous work, self-sacrifice, and so on) in the family. After the birth of her first son, this situation is eased. The mother who has had sons - and ultimately grandsons - plays a quiet, but often powerful, role in the household through the daughters-in-law or through the husband and son.

The patrilineal family is tied to other families by this process and it is these groups of interconnected families which make up the clans. Clan members usually have the same name. This traditional system of hierarchy, although having evils, particularly for young women, has its strength in maintaining harmony within the household. Through the inter-linkage families, work may be exchanged. And when fortune exists for one family, through a bright son, or through bountiful crops, all of the interrelated families share in that good fortune (McCune 1966).
APPENDIX 2

The Coding Schedule

Section A: The Television Programme

1. Programme description

1.1. Programme Title: _____________________________
    Program No. 1
    □ □

1.2. Channel
    1. KBS 1 2
    2. KBS 2
    3. MBC

1.3. Scheduling
    Day 3 4
    □ □
    Month 5
    □
    Time from 6 7 8 9
    □ □ □ □
    Time to 10 11 12 13
    □ □ □ □

1.4. Episode Serial No. 14 15
    □ □
2. Programme Patterns

2.1. Setting

1. Number of scenes showing home 16 17
   
2. Number of scenes showing front yard 18 19
   
3. Number of scenes showing office, corridor or lobby (inside building) 20 21
   
4. Number of scenes showing social meeting place 22 23
   
5. Number of scenes showing full-scale building, house or scenery 24 25
   
6. Number of scenes showing open setting 26 27
   
7. Number of scenes showing mobile setting 28 29

2.2. Locale

1. Metropolitan city 30
2. Small city
3. Large city
4. Rural (village, farm, etc.)

2.3. Number of families

1. 1 family 31
2. 2 families
3. 3 families
4. 4 families
5. More than 5 families
2.4. Social class of families
   1. Number of upper class families 32
   2. Number of upper-middle class families 33
   3. Number of lower-middle class families 34
   4. Number of lower class families 35

3. Family Structure
   1. Number of the nuclear family 36 37
   2. Number of the extended family 38 39
Section B. The Character

4.1. Programme/Character No.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme Serial No.</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character Serial No.</td>
<td>2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2. Description of Character

4.2.1. Character

Name ______________________

4.2.2. Sex

1. Male 4
2. Female 5

4.2.3. Age

1. 0 - 15 5
2. 16 - 24 6
3. 25 - 44 7
4. 45 - 64 8
5. Over 65 9
6. Unclear 10

4.2.4. Socioeconomic Status

1. Upper Class 11
2. Upper Middle Class 12
3. Lower Middle Class 13
4. Lower Class 14
5. Other - Specify : 15
6. Unclear 16
4.2.5. Occupation

1. Business Executive and Landlord 7 8
2. Lawyer
3. Doctor
4. Nurse
5. Other Professions
6. Governmental Officer
7. Manager
8. Teacher
9. Clerk
10. Shopkeeper
11. Worker
12. Servant
13. Waiter or Waitress
14. Student
15. Musician, Artist and Sportsperson
16. Housewife
17. Unemployed
18. Other - Specify:

4.3. Episode Serial No.

4.4. Types of Clothes

Code: 0. Not Wearing
1. Wearing But Not Frequently
2. Frequent Wearing

4.4.1. Western Style Clothes

4.4.2. Modified Western Style Clothes
4.4.3. Traditional Korean Clothes

4.5. Theme or Verbal Reference

Code:  0. Not Present
       1. Incidental Reference
       2. Minor Theme
       3. Major Theme

1. Anti-Communism

2. Pro-Communism

3. Collectivism

4. Individualism

5. Idealism or Spiritualism

6. Materialism

7. Docility or Loyalty

8. Aggressiveness or Resistance

9. Male Superiority
10. Femininity

11. Feminism

12. Christianity

13. Buddhism

14. Confucianism

15. Other Religion

16. Super-Natural Belief

4.6. Types of House Where Character Lives

1. Western Style House

2. Korean-adapted Western Style House

3. Western-Influenced Korean House

4. Traditional Korean House

4.7. Number of Times Using Foreign Language

4.8. Types of Restaurants, Coffee shops, Pubs and Discotheques Attended by Character
4.8.1. Number of Times Attending Western Style Restaurants, Coffee shops, Pubs and Discotheques

4.8.2. Number of Times Attending Modified Western Style Tearoom

4.8.3. Number of Times Attending Korean Style Restaurants and Pubs

4.9. Types of Food, Drinks and Alcohol Consumed by Character

4.9.1. Number of Times Having Western Food

4.9.2. Number of Times Drinking Western Drinks and Alcohol

4.9.3. Number of Times Having Korean Food

4.9.4. Number of Times Having Korean Drinks and Alcohol
APPENDIX 3

General Instructions

The main units of analysis were defined as follows:

Programme
Programmes were defined by their discrete time slots, scheduled by broadcasting institutions. This meant that each episode of a serial was coded as one programme. Accordingly, 75 programmes were coded.

Scene
Literally, scene means a unit of a screen usually composed of a number of interrelated slots that are unified by location, time and dramatic incident. It is the continuity of time and space in the action depicted in the shots which facilitates combining these into the large unit of the screen.

Verbal Reference
A verbal reference to various systems was defined as any uninterrupted sequence of speech (monologue, dialogue or conversation) related to various value systems. Uninterrupted means that continuous topic or theme in the speech was treated as one verbal reference.

Character
A character was defined as any speaking character involved in the actual or implied speech related to various value systems in each episode. This means that extra characters who did not engage in the actual speech related to various value systems were excluded in the analysis. Thus 1060 cases of characters were coded.

The coding schedule for the programme was designed to
record two types of data:

1. Programme characteristics
These include the characteristics of the programme such as programme title, programme number, channel, time, and date of showing and episode serial number.

2. Programme patterns
These were designed to observe the basic programme pattern. These included the number of scenes in the setting, the locale of the episode, and number of families engaged in the episode.

The coding schedule for the character was designed to observe three sets of variables:

1. The demographics of the character
This set included the categories of sex, age, the character's role, socioeconomic status, and occupation.

2. Obvious cultural artifacts
This section was designed to detect the obvious artifacts of Korean and western cultures such as types of clothes, types of houses, types of restaurants, coffee shops, pubs and discotheques, types of food, drink and alcohol, and the number of times of use of foreign language (types of music).

3. Value Systems
This section included the contrasting Korean and western value systems and ideology with reference to elements such as individualism, collectivism, aggressiveness and docility.

Terms and Definitions

Section A: The Programme

This section is a general description and classification of the programme and programme patterns.
2.1. Setting

Scene: a scene is defined by its spatial and time dimensions. Each time the spatial and/or the time dimension changes, the scene changes. A new scene starts when there is a change of location (spatial dimension) and/or a shift in time (time dimension).

Setting: the location where the action and dialogue take place -

1. Home
   Inside home: living room, bedroom, kitchen, barracks and any accommodation.
2. Front Yard
   Outside house, but inside fence. The Korean garden is situated in front of the house, and bordered by a fence. Frequently washing, cleaning foods and other action take place.
3. Office, corridor or lobby
   Inside office, corridor or lobby but all activities take place inside building.
4. Social Meeting Place
   Restaurant, bar, coffee shop, pub, tearoom, discotheque and ballroom, etc.
5. Full-scale Building, House or Scenery
   Simply showing the scene of street, house, building or scenery.
6. Open Setting
   Action taking place in street, park, farm, ranch, playground, garden, swimming pool and resort area.
7. Mobile Setting
   As passenger or driver of car: on public transport (bus, underground, train, ship, airplane and bicycle etc.)

2.2. Locale

1. Metropolitan City
It includes Capital of Seoul and 'Jikhalsi' which is the administrative name for the metropolitan city under the direct control of the government of 4 big cities - Pusan, Taegu, Incheon and Kwangjoo.

2. Small City
It includes all cities, excluding Seoul and Jikhalsi.

3. Large Town
It means the 'Eup' which is the administrative name for a large town.

4. Rural
It includes all small towns, villages, farms, fishing villages and hamlets.

2.3. Family
A unit of a family with couple and children - either nuclear family or extended family.

2.4. Social Class of Family
Classification of social class of family based on wealth, income, occupation, political power, social status, prestige, level of consumption and family background. The classification is sub-divided into four social class groupings - upper class, upper-middle class, lower-middle class, lower class.

1. Upper Class
The stratum of a society that is able to dominate the lower strata by virtue of its greater power, authority, wealth and prestige. Capitalist, landlord, business executive, high ranking civil servant, lawyer, doctor can be included into this class.

2. Upper-middle Class
The stratum of a society that includes the relatively prosperous business, professional and governmental occupations. The members of the upper-middle class obtain their income from their occupation, are active in community affairs, send their children to college, live in the better
residential areas, etc.

3. Lower-middle Class
A social stratum of a community including those people who have a limited but modestly adequate amount of money and education (usually through high school). It includes a variety of occupational groups such as skilled workers, clerical, sales, small businessmen, farmers, foremen, etc.

4. Lower Class
A rough designation of social class determined in general by the low income and educational levels of its members.

3. Family Structure

1. Nuclear Family
   A Couple with children.
2. Extended Family
   A Couple with husband's (or wife's) parents, brothers, sisters and their children.

Section B: The Characters

A demographic analysis of each character in terms of sex, age, socioeconomic status, occupation, material artifacts and verbal reference.

4.2.2. Sex
4.2.3. Age
4.2.4. Socioeconomic Status
   Social class of character by his or her occupation, economic status and living standard. Same classification in Programme Section, 2.4. Social Class of Family.
4.2.5. Occupation

4.3. Episode Serial Number.

4.4. Types of Clothing
It was coded once for each episode.

Code 0 if a character does not wear the following clothes.
Code 1 if a character wears the following clothes but does not frequently wear them.
Code 2 if a character frequently wears the following clothes.

4.4.1. Western style clothing; obvious western style clothes such as blue jeans, short pants, mini-skirt, cowboy style, hippy style and English language inscribed clothes, etc.

4.4.2. Modified western style clothing
Ordinary clothes worn by most people

4.4.3. Traditional Korean clothing
Only 'Hanbok' (Traditional Korean clothing) was counted.
(See detailed description of hanbok in Appendix 1 on Korean culture)

4.5. Verbal Reference

0 (not present): Code 0 if a character does not make any verbal references to each value or ideology at all.
1 (incidental): Code 1 when each value or ideology is referred to, but that reference about each value or ideology is incidental and does not exceed more than two sentences.
2 (minor): Code 2 when a character speaks about the value or ideology in more than two sentences, but speech is not essential to the narrative or story line of an episode.
3 (major): Code 3 when a character discusses the value or ideology at considerable length and extensively, and the theme is significant to the narrative or the plot.

1. Anti-Communism refers to anti-Communism theme or ideology which particularly involves the speech that mentions North Korea as a horrible place, the
espionage operation by the North Koreans, or the sufferings meted out by the North Korean Army.

Example: "North [Korea] - Isn't it a horrible place?"

2. Pro-Communism refers to the pro-Communism themes or ideologies. No reference was found.

3. Collectivism implies an idea of a group or collection of people working together in a common cause for the benefit of the whole, as opposed to individualism. In particular, it involves the collective responsibility or cooperation in the family of community.

Example: "Self-love which does not account for another's right, and happiness is a sort sin." "I will look after all the family - you, Hyun-woo and father."

4. Individualism refers to a doctrine that stresses the importance of the individual in relation to other entities.

Example: "I choose and decide. That is important."

5. Idealism implies the belief or tendency to represent things in their ideal forms, rather than as they are.

Example: "I don't live with money, but with affection."

6. Materialism stresses the belief or doctrine that the main goals of human beings are the acquisition of wealth, the accumulation of goods, the enjoyment of services, and the achievement of
general well-being.

Example: "Nowadays, everything is money. Don’t you know the price of the grave? This is the world that can’t be buried if money is not available."

7. Docility or loyalty refers to the belief or tendency to be obedient or loyal to something, as opposed to aggressiveness.

Example: "You have to wait like a generous mother. There is no way. You may well know that those who can endure for a long time, win"

8. Aggressiveness implies a belief or action towards controlling the person against their will for the benefit of the controlling agent. It includes offensive, hostile or assaulting beliefs or behaviour.

Example: "I don’t like the idea of endurance or forgiveness. You must avenge it completely."

9. Male superiority implies the idea that advocates or supports male dominance or women’s sacrifice.

Example: "I know that the presence of women must not have a large share in men’s lives."

10. Femininity refers to the notion that women have to be effeminate or womanish.

Example: "I am a weak and tender woman who loves and depends on a man."
11. Feminism implies a doctrine or movement that advocates equal rights for women.

Example: "I have always thought that I am not a woman who is made only for marriage."

12. Christianity refers to a religion based on the teachings of Jesus Christ and adhered to by followers.

Example: "Even though human beings challenge the authority of God by building the Tower of Babel, they are simple human beings."

13. Buddhism refers to a religion that is based on and follows the teachings of Buddha and his followers.

Example: "What a careless King of the Yama [Hell]. He took the life of a youngster."

14. Confucianism refers to the doctrines that follow the ethical teachings of Confucius who emphasized the moral order and the virtues of the society and people.

Example: "The new bride has nothing to do for her mother-in-law. Just have a son and show him to mother-in-law. Then, there will be no hardship in your married life."

15. Other religions refer to those outside of Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism and Shamanism. No single reference was found.

16. Supernatural belief implies the shamanism beliefs in the supernatural power of shaman.
Example: "Our clever and thankful Three God Grandmother. Thank and thank you for giving an another birth."

4.6. Types of House

1. Western Style House
   This only concerns the house furnished with western style sofa, bed, table, furniture and interior.
2. Korean-adopted Western Style House
   Western style house incorporated with Korean elements.
3. Western-influenced Korean House
   Korean style house modified with western style
4. Traditional Korean House

4.7. Foreign Language
   Use of foreign language or word. It was coded each time whenever foreign words were used by a character.

4.8. Types of Restaurant, Coffee Shop, Pub and Discotheque

4.8.1. Western Style
4.8.2. Westernised Korean Style Tearoom
   Mainly sell coffee, tea and soft drinks.
4.8.3. Korean Style
   It includes Makguligip and Hansikgip.

4.9. Food, Drink and Alcohol

4.9.1. Western food including bread, western style meats, vegetables, hamburgers and fast food.
4.9.2. Western drinks such as coffee, whisky, cola, milk, beer and wine.
4.9.4. Korean drinks and alcohol - Sungnun (Korean tea), Ginseng tea, Makguli and Sojoo.
Appendix 4

The Questions for Group Discussion

1.1 General Viewing Mode

1. How often do you watch television?
2. How often do you watch soap operas?
3. Why do you watch soap operas?
4. With whom do you discuss the content of soap operas?

1.2. Interpretation and Evaluation of the Text

1. Can you find the cultural differences between the programmes of the 1960s and the 1980s?
2. If you can, what is the main differences between them? Specifically, please tell me the main differences in terms of housing, clothing, meals, restaurants, pubs, use of language, value system.
3. How do you see the culture of the 1960s and the 1980s portrayed in the programmes?
4. Can you identify the differences between Korean and western culture portrayed in the programmes?
5. If you can, what are the main differences between them?
6. What do you think about the Korean culture and western culture portrayed in the programmes?
7. Can you see the different cultures of social classes and groups portrayed in the programmes?
8. If you can, how are Korean and western culture related?

1.3. Media Use and Probable Effect

1. What kind of characters do you like to see in the programmes?
2. What kind of life style do you like to pursue in the programmes?
3. How closely do you think the characters in soap operas correspond to your life style?

4. How closely do you think the life styles portrayed in the programmes resemble or correspond with your life?

5. How closely do you think the value systems portrayed in the programmes resemble your value systems?
Appendix 5

Personal Information About Group Interviewees
(for collection)

I would appreciate it if you would take a brief period to discuss the questions on these matters. The group discussion is part of a project I am conducting about programme content and its relationship with viewers. The study is designed to explore the reading context and interpretation of the programmes.

After you watch the 29-minute constructed programmes extracted from Face of City and Love and Ambition, you are asked to provide your interpretation and understanding of the content of the programmes. This project aims to yield data and information discussed by you and to provide bases for the analysis of your comments. I strongly believe that this group discussion will provide useful bases for future action to improve the quality of programmes and future academic research. I ask for your understanding and interpretation of the programmes. Please feel free to discuss any questions. This group interview will be used solely for academic research. Your cooperation is highly appreciated.

Dong-Uk Yim
Centre for Mass Communication Research
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England
1. How often do you watch soap operas on television?
   _____ a. Never
   _____ b. Rarely
   _____ c. Sometimes
   _____ d. Often
   _____ e. Almost Every Day

2. How many soap operas do you watch each week?
   _____ a. None
   _____ b. 1
   _____ c. 2
   _____ d. 3
   _____ e. 4
   _____ f. 5 or more

3. How much do you like to watch the following kinds of programmes? Please mark the rank in the left-hand side.

   Not Favourite 1 2 3 4 5 Favourite

   _____ a. News, Current Affairs and Documentary
   _____ b. Variety Show and Quiz Programmes
   _____ c. Situation Comedy
   _____ d. Series Drama
   _____ e. Soap Opera
   _____ f. Films
   _____ g. Sports
   _____ h. Other (Specify) ________________

4. About how many hours a day do you watch television?
   _____ a. less than 1 hour
   _____ b. 1 hour
   _____ c. 2 hour
   _____ d. 3 hours
   _____ e. 4 hours or more

5. About how many days per week do you watch television?
6. Which programmes do you prefer between domestic and foreign programmes? Please mark the rank in left-hand side.

Not Favourite 1 2 3 4 5 Favourite

_____ foreign programmes
_____ domestic programmes

7. If you watch foreign programmes, how often do you watch them?

_____ a. Never
_____ b. Rarely
_____ c. Sometimes
_____ d. Often
_____ e. Frequently
_____ f. Very Frequently

8. How many times have you travelled abroad?
   And to which countries? Please tick the number.

None ___ 1 ___ 2 ___ 3 ___ 4 ___ 5 ___ 6 or more ___
Nations ________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

9. During the past six months how many foreign movies have you watched in the cinema?

_____ a. None
_____ b. 1 - 2
_____ c. 3 - 4
_____ d. 5 - 6
_____ e. 7 - 8
_____ f. 9 - 10
_____ g. 11 or more
10. How often do you read foreign magazines?
   ____ a. Never
   ____ b. Rarely
   ____ c. Sometimes
   ____ d. Often
   ____ e. Very Often

11. How often do you watch AFKN programmes on television?
   ____ a. Never
   ____ b. Rarely
   ____ c. Sometimes
   ____ d. Often
   ____ e. Very Often

12. What is your sex?
   ____ a. Male
   ____ b. Female

13. In what age group are you?
   ____ a. under 20
   ____ b. 21 - 30
   ____ c. 31 - 40
   ____ d. 41 - 50
   ____ e. over 51

14. What is your occupation?

________________________

15. What is your total household income per month?
   ____ a. less than W 199,999
   ____ b. 200,000 - 399,999
   ____ c. 400,000 - 599,999
d. $600,000 - 799,999

e. $800,000 - 999,999

f. $1,000,000 or more

16. What is your educational background?

a. Primary School

b. Junior High School

c. Senior High School

d. Some College Work

e. Graduated from College

f. Some Graduate Work

g. Master’s Degree

h. Ph.D Degree
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