

Attitudes of Japanese Audience toward Korean Popular Culture and East Asian Community

Inhee LEE

Kyung Hee University, South Korea

Eun-jung KIM

Kyung Hee University, South Korea

Myoung-hoon SUNG

Kyung Hee University, South Korea

Eun-young LEE

Kyung Hee University, South Korea

Abstract

This study examined (1) the current state of television program exchanges between Japan and Korea and the adoption of television programs in Japan; (2) the possible role of joint DMB (digital multimedia broadcasting) as channels for collaborative contents production and distribution; and (3) theoretical foundations regarding cultural pluralism, regionalism and proximity as well as the globalization of culture. The study also reports the results of a survey of a Japanese audience on what they think about Korean popular culture and its future roles in developing an East Asian cultural community. The findings of this study show that the Korean Wave was thought to be playing a positive role in elevating the image of Korea as a neighboring country with which Japan has shared similar cultural traditions and a close historical relationship. With the movement of people (such as travel, study abroad, business, immigration, etc.) between the two countries, cultural perceptions toward the neighboring country have gone along in the direction of building positive and favorable images.

Keywords: Korean Wave, popular culture, mass media, cultural pluralism, globalization of culture, East Asian Community.

Introduction

Recently, a rapid growth of Asian audience's interest in Korean popular culture has brought forth interesting issues about the possibility of cultural exchanges among the East Asian countries, particularly between Japan and Korea. From the success of Korean popular culture in Japan, we have witnessed potential for the cultural commonalities

that these countries have shared for throughout history. Some argue that the expansion of Korean popular culture in China, Japan, and other Asian countries will contribute to the formation of Asia's common cultural community largely based on its global media system. However, fears also exist about the fact that unbalanced flows of cultural products could only lead to cultural imperialism where the consumption of cultural products are dominated by one country's production and marketing rules; and that, as a result, it could sow the seeds of political and trade friction.

Despite these arguments, it seems true that a strong cooperation of East Asian countries in politics, economy, and socio-cultural fields will help East Asia to enjoy an enhanced global competitiveness in the world. Fulfilling such cooperation is also consistent with the current global trend of creating regionally adjacent communities, such as NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), EU (European Union), and CARICOM (Caribbean Community). These communities were originally formed for economic and trade purposes, but have increasingly become a cultural foothold to serve their own people at the same time.

Interestingly enough, a recent cultural phenomenon called the 'Korean Wave' (defined as a fever of enthusiasm about Korean popular culture primarily created by Korean mass media programs) deserves careful consideration and observation to seek possible directions for the creation of a cooperative cultural mechanism within the East Asian territory.

The goal of this paper is to provide possible ways of helping to build an East Asian community from the perspective of Japan and Korea by promoting cultural exchanges between the two countries. To achieve this goal, this study examined (1) the current state of television program exchanges between Japan and Korea and the adoption of television programs in Japan; (2) joint DMB as channels for collaborative content production and distribution; (3) theoretical foundations regarding cultural pluralism, regionalism and proximity as well as the globalization of culture; and (4) reports on the results of a survey of a Japanese audience on what they think about the Korean popular culture and its future roles in developing an East Asian cultural community.

Mass Media Programs as Facilitator of Cultural Exchange

We are witnessing an era of cultural cooperation where 'culture' has become a keyword for various transnational activities. Particularly, popular culture has become a set of entertainment products that disseminate not only content and fun but also the norms, values and ways of living that a society holds. The entertainment industry has grown tremendously into a big business along with the power of popular culture. Now popular culture is allowed to flow across the border more freely than ever by virtue of the mass media systems, and has been widely adopted by neighboring countries where the audience hails it with acclamations. The Korean Wave is regarded as a result of such cultural dissemination and enthusiastic expressions from audiences within the East Asian territory.

One of the most important characteristics of the Korean Wave is the success of Korean television programs in Asian countries. According to <Table 1>, the export of Korean television programs to Japan has grown steadily both in network and cable television areas. In 2001, the number of items exported to Japan was 2,121 and 37, respectively, while the number of items imported from Japan was 564 and 251,

respectively. In 2004, the number of items exported to Japan increased to 4,833 and 570, respectively, marking more than twice as many as in 2001 (in cable television, an increase of about fifteen times). The number of items imported from Japan also increased, but the table shows a rapid increase in cable television whereas it shows a gradual decrease in network television. In 2004, 132 programs were imported by network television and 1,514 programs by cable television from Japan. Such active exchanges of popular culture programs are, needless to say, extremely desirable and appropriate in facilitating a common ground for the cultural community which we are aiming for.

Table 1 Flows of Korean Mass Media Programs in Asia, 2001-2004 (Unit: number of items)

Country	Flow	2001		2002		2003		2004	
		Network	Cable	Network	Cable	Network	Cable	Network	Cable
China	Export	1,194	21	2,583	43	3,160	298	1,946	412
	Import	-	126	3	283	22	10	3	223
Taiwan	Export	2,768	460	4,925	342	1,412	644	2,162	333
	Import	34	-	28	189	3	-	2	-
Japan	Export	2,121	37	3,401	214	3,781	334	4,833	570
	Import	564	251	229	902	168	446	132	1,514

Source: Korea Ministry of Culture and Tourism's web site: www.mct.go.kr.

However, what the table reveals is that there exists a serious imbalance between exports and imports from 2001 until 2004 which shows a one-way flow of cultural products into Japan and other countries, dominated by the exports of Korean mass media programs. The primary reason why the imports from Japan increase annually is that the Korean government has begun to relax the controls against Japanese popular culture progressively since 2000. Currently, almost all Japanese dramas¹ are allowed to broadcast through the cable and satellite television channels by the Korean government, although not through network channels yet. Since Korea's culture policy trend is to open its domestic market toward Japanese popular culture step by step, the quality and box-office power of a program itself will eventually become an important factor in determining its success in the Korean market.

As for the genre of the programs exported to Japan in 2004, drama ranked first, followed by variety, entertainment, documentary, education, and music in the volume of exports. Among the imported programs from Japan, animation overwhelmingly showed the highest number of items, followed by drama, documentary, and entertainment, respectively (Korea Broadcasting Institute, 2004).

Looking at the domination of Korean popular culture in the Chinese market, some express concerns that excessive contact with the Korean Wave has made Chinese youngsters addicted to a Western-oriented lifestyle, weakening a respectful attitude for Chinese traditional culture (Zhang and Li 2005). On the other hand, positive arguments are also observed as well. Once dramas are adopted and broadcast through the mass media, these programs become so popular that viewers find themselves having a feeling of cultural familiarity and closeness. Zhang and Li (2005) argue that at the success of

¹ Dramas with rating grades of PG-15 (parental guide necessary under age 15) and PG-19 (parental guide necessary under age 19) are excluded in the deregulation category.

Korean Wave are cultural similarity between Asian countries and the superiority of the program quality (for example, exquisite structures of scenario and cinematography). Similar results were found in a research that examines factors which promoted the Korean Wave in China: high quality of Korean popular culture and active marketing strategies by Korean production businesses (Lee 2004).

From the point of media uses, it has been known that the public largely acquires access to Korean television programs in three ways. First, a popular program is imported from Korea and televised through local networks, primarily via satellites. Second, Internet users look for web sites that offer contents containing Korean popular culture (for example, a soap opera series) and enjoy the convenience of downloading them to view at their own leisure. Third, people who hate inflexible broadcasting schedules prefer obtaining DVDs (digital video disks) and enjoying them at their own convenience without regard to the restriction of time and place (Liao and Wang 2005). Indeed, the channels through which people gain acquaintance with Korean television programs have become diverse thanks to the development of media technologies.

In Japan, the entertainment industry has rapidly grown and expanded. A research study conducted by the Japanese Ministry of Economics and Industry reveals that the profits of the movie industry and sales of recorded videotapes and DVDs broke a record high in 2004; and offered an analysis that such results came directly from the popularity of Korean soap operas including *Winter Sonata* (Asahi.com, 2005.8.1). *Winter Sonata* (冬のソナタ) was first broadcast in Japan in April 2003 and has had a great impact on Japanese audiences. Audiences showed wild enthusiasm for the Korean soap opera, enough to call the main actor as 'Yon-sama' (with *sama* attached as a term of respect). Since the introduction of *Winter Sonata* in Japan, the number of Korean soap operas which have been exported to Japan and broadcast via networks and satellites increased conspicuously.

<Table 2> shows a list of Korean soap operas (dramas) that were broadcast or are currently being broadcast by Japanese mass media since 2003. Besides these dramas, several new varieties or infotainment programs featuring Korean popular culture were launched in 2004 along with increased regular programming in networks and satellites. It seems that the case of the Korean Wave as observed in Japan certainly proves to be a model of cultural exchange being enough to strongly bind the two countries with cultural affinity and sympathy.

Joint DMB Offers Channels for Korea and Japan

In March 2004, for the first time in the world a DMB (digital multimedia broadcasting) satellite blasted off from Florida, United States, with joint ownership of Japan's MBCo and Korea's TU Media. It was named MBSat (or Hanbyol in Korean) and expected to show its full potential as the world's first DMB satellite. The world regarded the existence of MBSat as a symbol of the technological and cultural bond between Japan and Korea (The Electronic Times, 2004.3.15).²

² 전자신문 (電子新聞) (2004.3.15). 세계 첫 DMB 위성 발사현장 스케치. www.etnews.co.kr

Table 2 Korean Soap Operas Broadcast in Japan, 2003-present

Medium	Channel	Title	Origin	Broadcast Period	
Network	NHK	겨울연가 (冬のソナタ)	KBS	04.4.3-8.21	
		아름다운 날들 (美しき日々)	KBS	04.10.2-05.4.2	
		올인 (オールイン)	SBS	05.4.16-05.10.1	
		대장금 (宮廷女官チャングムの誓い)	MBC	05.10.8-	
	日本 テレビ	레디고 (レディー・ゴー!)	KBS	04.9.7-9.20	
		호텔리어 (ホテル리어)	MBC	04.9.22-10.28	
		진실 (眞実)	MBC	04.11.1-11.29	
		파파 (パパ)	KBS	04.11.30-12.29	
		별은 내 가슴에 (星に願いを)	MBC	05.1.4-2.1	
		상두야, 학교 가자 (サンドウ、学校へ行こう!)	KBS	05.2.2-3.1	
		파리의 연인 (パリの恋人)	SBS	05.3.2-4.6	
		가을동화 (秋の童話)	KBS	05.4.7-5.10	
		옥탑방 고양이 (屋根部屋のネコ)	MBC	05.5.11-6.7	
		비밀 (秘密)	MBC	05.6.8-7.11	
		진실 (眞実)	MBC	05.7.12-8.8	
		아름다운 그녀 (美しい彼女)	SBS	05.9.5-9.29	
		TBS	사랑 (サラン Love)	MBC	04.10.25-12.6
			발리에서 생긴 일 (バリでの出来事)	SBS	04.12.8-05.2.9
	富士 テレビ	천국의 계단 (天国の階段)	SBS	04.10.16-05.4.2	
		슬픈 연가 (悲しき恋歌)	MBC	05.4.30-9.10	
Satellite	NHK BS2	겨울연가 (冬のソナタ)	KBS	03.4.3.-9.4	
		아름다운 날들 (美しき日々)	KBS	03.9.25-04.3.25	
		올인 (オールイン)	SBS	04.4.1-9.23	
		대장금 (宮廷女官チャングムの誓い)	MBC	04.10.7-05.3.31	
	BS 日テレ	가을동화 (秋の童話)	KBS	04.9.1-9.30	
		별은 내 가슴에 (星に願いを)	MBC	03.1.7-4.22	
		레디고 (レディー・ゴー!)	KBS	03.4.29-6.17	
		안녕 내 사랑 (グッバイ・マイ・ラブ)	MBC	03.6.24-10.7	
		해피 투게더 (Happy Together)	SBS	03.10.14-04.1.27	
		비밀 (秘密)	MBC	04.2.3-6.8	
		호텔리어 (ホテル리어)	MBC	04.6.15-10.12	
		파파 (パパ)	KBS	04.11.2-05.3.1	
		파리의 연인 (パリの恋人)	SBS	05.1.1-3.6	
		유리화 (ガラスの華)	SBS	05.2.7-6.20	
	BS-i	우리가 정말 사랑했을까 (愛の群像)	MBC	05.10.7-	
	BS 富士	천국의 계단 (天国の階段)	SBS	04.10.16-05.3.16	
		태양 속으로 (太陽に向かって)	SBS	05.4.5-8.16	

Source: TBS. 2005. "Kankoku drama bumo wa nani wo kaetaka", Shinchosa Joho 53, p. 25.

MBSat allows broadcasters to transmit digital television programming to mobile phones via conventional terrestrial transmitters, bringing together two of the world's foremost consumer technologies—telephony and television. Conventional satellite systems typically require bulky dish antennas, but DMB can be played on small devices thanks to the up-to-date technology used to construct the antenna into a sleek portable terminal. Companies in Japan and Korea recognized the strong potential of the cutting-edge broadcasting system and created TU Media in Korea and MBCo in Japan. SK Telecom and TU Media forged a consortium in 2003 consisting of about 200 local companies, including contents providers, cell phone makers and financial service firms. The two entities combined forces to launch DMB satellite MBSat and have made strong efforts to commercialize DMB services (The Korea Times, 2005.1.5).³

Such technological advancement as MBSat have generated expectations that it will contribute to making cultural exchanges brisk between the two countries via active collaborations in content production and trade. However, the current status of content production and services available via MBSat is far from satisfactory, much remains to be done to achieve the original objectives of the MBSat project—joint construction of the culture and information industry for the two countries. In fact, it is insisted that both Japan and Korea need to acquire a more positive attitude in applying MBSat to the real market (Baik 2005). There is also general agreement that both countries should actively pursue an open-door policy to the East Asian countries' popular culture and that they put forth to build a new culture model suitable to East Asian community (Sugaya 2005). Whether we will be able to develop a cultural community in East Asia depends not merely on technological or commercial issues, but on the withdrawal of current regulations putting obstacles in the way of the free flow of cultural content.

Cultural Pluralism, Regionalism and Proximity

There are sufficient reasons for making efforts to build an East Asian community through cultural exchanges. Some argue that exports of video contents to neighboring countries by a few advanced nations in the video production field prove to be natural consequences resulting from the market dynamics (Hoskin and Mirus 1988; Waterman 1985; Wildman and Siwek, 1993). McAnany (1986) argues that understanding the transnational flow of video contents requires comprehensive and careful research into the characteristics, functions and economic structures of the international video industry; interrelationships among individual countries; history and societal particularities of each country, and so forth.

Cultural pluralism is a method of trying to explain new dynamics of cultural exchanges among countries through observation. It is recognized that relationships between cultures and societies are no longer mediated primarily through politics. They are subject to market rules, to the goals of profitability and more and more oriented to the homogenization of products created in a few huge studios that manufacture cultural products. Today it is the media, or the primary channels for cultural globalization, that

³ The Korea Times (2005.1.5). Korea set to outpace Japan in mobile broadcast race. times.hankooki.com; Korea began commercial DMB services in May 2005.

are at the heart of issues about cultural pluralism, given their economic power and their influence on human symbolic order. Technological development has made continuous cultural exchanges at a global level with unprecedented rapidity and amplitude possible. We have witnessed, in the case of Korean Wave, that there are new possibilities for the enrichment of different cultures in such a media environment. However, these possibilities cannot be realized in a situation where the imbalance of cultural exchange is too large. Part of the East Asian market is being caught up in these new cultural patterns, generating concerns that unbalanced and unequal media flow could drive the sphere of cultures to a political dispute. It would not be possible to ignore the threat of cultural Darwinism promoted by a market controlled by a few groups operating at a global level and privileging the marketization of culture.

Along with this, the culture industry shows a pattern of localization where its market is centered on the regional block based on geographic territories. In other words, it is a current trend that the world market operates in regionally adjacent communities, such as NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), EU (European Union), and CARICOM (Caribbean Community). These communities were originally formed for economic and trade purposes, but have increasingly become a cultural common ground to serve their own people at the same time (Chon 2003; Sinclair 2000). It is argued that, although the media promotes cultural homogenization along with globalization, a complete homogenization will never occur because the cultural reference of Confucianism in East Asia, for example, will not be subdued by the influence of Western culture. Thus, it is essential that we should pay attention to vitalizing an East Asian regional community which has long shared the same cultural references. Inglehar and Carballo (1997), as well, suggested that a culture has maintained its dynamics within the boundary of religion, such as Catholic-centered Latin America, Confucianism-centered East Asia, Christianity-centered Europe and North America, and the Islamic Middle East. Such differences determine the pattern of cultural consumption within the religious, and cultural boundaries, particularly in the viewing of television programs (Song 2002).

Much of the current research indicates that audiences tend to more actively adopt information that is within cultural proximity. This is described as cultural discount or cultural proximity, where the perspective of cultural discount seeks to understand the flow of video content within the context of cultural characteristics of 'texts' whereas the perspective of cultural proximity approaches the cultural characteristics of the 'audience.' By cultural discount we mean that the audience prefers the video contents manufactured in its mother tongue or those containing socio-culturally similar values and norms (Waterman and Rogers 1994). This notion has been supported by research done in many countries. Korea, for example, shows a decrease in importing television programs produced in Western countries due to the decrease in viewers.

From the perspective of cultural proximity, the audience prefers television programs imported from culturally close countries to those from culturally far countries. Characteristics of cultural proximity include the number of people traveling between two countries, the number of international marriages, and the experience of colony. Such flow of people and culture are regarded as being affected by politics, economy and international relationships between countries (Chan and Ma 1996; Ishii, Su, and Watanabe 1999; Lee 1998; Yoo and Chung 2000; Yoo and Lee 2001). Researchers also argue that the audience feels familiarity of cultural patterns from what they view (Ishii,

Su, & Watanabe, 1999), and that the audience finds a frame of reference for modern daily life and feels cultural closeness in the content of the programs (Iwabuchi 2000; 2001). These perceptions more or less have an affect on the adoption of foreign mass media programs.

Globalization of Culture

The Korean Wave is often said to have contributed to creating positive national images of Korea and to increasing interest in Korea among Asian countries. Since the late 1990s, Korean popular culture, especially programs of mass media and pop music, have drawn unprecedented enthusiasm from audiences in such countries as China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, and Vietnam. This phenomenon occurred as foreign cultural markets for Korean domestic broadcasting programs and music products were broadened to Asian countries. It represents the trend of cultural globalization taking place from the beginning of 21st century. Nations have now become borderless in terms of exchanges in information and knowledge, capital, technology, culture, and even population. A cultural product that originates in a specific country need not be consumed by its own people anymore. It could fly beyond the territory of a nation and meet audiences from all over the world.

Likewise, the popular diagnosis of our time emphasizes globalization. It suggests that the world we live in is no longer divided so rigidly by state borders. Money, goods, images, and people move across the borders which used to characterize the traditional world. Globalization theory also refers to the compression of time and space. Though distances have shrunk and lost meaning for some people, they can move easily and freely in global and local settings, time is something they do not have enough of. On the other hand, people who are stuck in their localities, who do not have the opportunity to move in space, have plenty of time (Bauman 1998).

So far, the trend of cultural flow has been dominated by Western countries, and Asian countries have only been their markets, resulting in the imitated and unbalanced civilization. However, the phenomenon of the Korean Wave is unique in its characteristics from this point of view: that is, the Korean Wave is a process of new cultural communication indigenous to East Asia, not to the Western countries, thus the Asian audience are able to share cultural commonalities based on its similar history and custom.

Various activities across national borders can be explained by the term of “deterritorialization” suggested by Appadurai (1990; 1991; 1996). It means that activities such as production and consumption, formation of communities, and politics and identity are occurring regardless of regional boundaries. Appadurai distinguishes continuous global cultural flow, the movement and change, into five dimensions: ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, finanscape, and ideoscape. According to Appadurai, these landscapes are the building blocks of ‘imagined worlds.’ By saying that, he extends the idea of ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson 1983), the idea of nations and nationalities being constructions of shared images of a common past and character. Whereas Anderson emphasizes the role of printed media in the making of these imagined communities, Appadurai points towards electronic media with the idea

of mediascape. He argues that electronic media, television and internet especially, are producing and distributing images of attractive lives. These images help to constitute fantasies of possible lives elsewhere. Therefore, Appadurai argues, the media is partly increasing migration and deterritorialization, which means changes in the level of ethnoscape.

Previously, Appadurai's landscapes were believed to take place within a national territory, but nowadays each 'scape' is supposed to occur across the borders. In this regard, let us think about the elements that have made the Korean Wave endure since its beginning. We might consider that movement of people and ethnic groups, movement of capital and technology, and the media's impact across the border have played certain roles in so doing. In the case of the Korean Wave, the fact is similar in that the increase in the movement of people caused by immigration, study abroad, and travel has resulted in the growth of cultural flow between nations, but it is characteristic that the major actors in promoting the flow between Japan and Korea are the young generation who have been exposed to the Korean mass media. Therefore, it is meaningful to look at what they think of the Korean Wave.

The young generation is more flexible in accepting new culture and technology than the old generation. Popular arts and culture travel across the national border by way of the new media, and are consumed mostly by the young generation to eventually build a homogenized culture. It is obvious that the young generation plays a key role as cultural adopters in the process of cultural diffusion.

What Japanese Audience Thinks of Korean Popular Culture

So far, in this paper, the argument was made that, (1) mass media programs have played a significant role in facilitating transnational cultural exchanges, but unbalanced flow of those programs between Japan and Korea were found; (2) a joint DMB was launched as an instrumental symbol of Japan-Korea collaboration in producing and distributing television programs, but substantial activities showing such cooperation have not been maintained; (3) theoretical foundations for cultural exchange offer us insight for effectively and logically dealing with the transnational flow of mass media programs—cultural pluralism, regionalism and cultural proximity; and (4) globalization of culture can be realized through the 'deterritorialization' of five dimensions—people, media, technology, finances and ideas. The next step should be a practical one so as to examine the structure of the audience's image and communication processes around the cultural exchanges between Japan and Korea.

In this regard, this study conducted a survey of Japanese audiences who live in Japan and Korea. The purpose of the survey was to look merely at what is in the Japanese audience's mind about Korean popular culture. By examining the directions of the audience's images it was possible to devise several suggestive plans for effective cultural exchanges in the East Asian community. The total number of respondents was 85, of which 60 live in Seoul, Korea and 25 of those live in Tokyo, Japan. A small, convenient sampling was used from educational institutions of foreign language education.

According to <Table 3>, a total of 67.1 percent of the respondents answered ‘television’ to the question, “From what types of media did you have contact with the Korean Wave?” while 23.5 percent said ‘the Internet,’ 2.4 percent ‘magazine,’ 1.2 percent ‘newspaper,’ 5.9 percent ‘others.’ The result indicates that television and the Internet are playing the most important role in disseminating the Korean Wave. Still, television was obviously predominant in media exposure.

Table 3 Types of Media Exposure

Media	TV	Internet	Magazine	Newspaper	Others	Total
Frequency	57 (67.1%)	20 (23.5%)	2 (2.4%)	1 (1.2%)	5 (5.9%)	85 (100%)

Relationships between the adoption of Korean popular culture and the socio-economic status of the audience were not found. 68.2 percent of the respondents answered that enjoying Korean popular culture does not depend on the socio-economic status. However, the respondents thought that middle class people enjoy Korean popular culture on a whole. (see Table 4)

Table 4 Socio-Economic Status of Korean Popular Culture Adopters

Status	Upper Class	Middle Class	Lower Class	No Relations	Total
Frequency	2 (2.4%)	18 (21.2%)	7 (8.2%)	58 (68.2%)	85 (100%)

<Table 5> shows the regional distribution of perceived adopters of Korean popular culture. It indicates the relationship between the activity of enjoying the Korean Wave and the region where its primary adopters live. A majority of the respondents (61.2 percent) answered that regional differences do not influence the activity of enjoying the Korean Wave, while 29.4 percent agreed that they believe the primary consumers of the Korean Wave live in metropolitan areas.

Table 5 Regions Where Korean Popular Culture Is Most Enjoyed

Region	Metropolitan Area	Medium/Small Cities	Rural Area	Does Not Matter	Total
Frequency	25 (29.4%)	7 (8.2%)	1 (1.2%)	52 (61.2%)	85 (100%)

Ages of those who enjoy Korean popular culture were distributed in a relatively diverse manner ranging from those in their twenties to fifties. The ages of the audience between 40 and 49 marked the highest percentage with 36.5 percent, followed by those in their thirties with 26 percent, consumers in their twenties with 19 percent, and those in their fifties and above with 17 percent, respectively. (see Table 6) In relation to the gender and marriage status of the audience, 74.1 percent of the respondents answered that married females occupy the biggest part of the adopters of Korean popular culture. (see Table 7) 20 percent of unmarried females also accounted for the adopters of Korean popular. Male adopters accounted for only 6 percent irrespective of their marriage status. Altogether, it can be argued the Korean Wave phenomenon is propelled mostly by female audiences of varied ages.

Table 6 Ages of Adopters of Korean Popular Culture

Age	Under 19	20-29	30-39	40-49	Above 50	Total
Frequency	1 (1.2%)	16 (18.8%)	22 (25.9%)	31 (36.5%)	15 (17.6%)	85 (100%)

Table 7 Gender and Marriage Status of Adopters of Korean Popular Culture

Gender	Male/ Unmarried	Male/ Married	Female/ Unmarried	Female/ Married	Total
Frequency	4 (4.7%)	1 (1.2%)	17 (20.0%)	63 (74.1%)	85(100%)

As we move ahead to the familiarity of Korean popular culture, a total of 76.5 percent of the respondents agreed that they feel familiar with it, while 8.2 percent answered no (see Table 8). According to <Table 8-1>, the respondents explained reasons why they feel familiar with Korean popular culture, among which the most frequently answered reason was that it is easy, convenient access to Korean dramas, music, and cinema. The item “geographical closeness” accounted for the second top reason (24.6%), followed by “cultural similarity” (12.3%).

Table 8 Perceived Familiarity of Korean Popular Culture

Familiarity	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total
Frequency	65 (76.5%)	7 (8.2%)	13 (15.3%)	85 (100%)

Table 9 Reasons for Perceived Familiarity

Access to Korean dramas, music and cinemas is easy and convenient	32 (49.3%)
Japan and Korea are geographically close	16 (24.6%)
Japan and Korea share cultural similarities	8 (12.3%)
Japan and Korea have similar ethnic backgrounds	3 (4.6%)
Japan and Korea share historical similarities	0 (0.0%)
Others	6 (9.2%)
Total	65 (100%)*

*Answer to this question was contingent to the answer from Table 8.

According to <Table 10>, a total of 71.8 percent of the respondents answered that they experienced an increased interested in Korea after they exposed themselves to Korean popular culture. Only 2.4 percent of the respondents said that they came to lose interest in Korea. 22.4 percent accounted for no specific changes of interest in Korea. <Table 11> shows the results of answers to the question, “what role do you think the Korean Wave has played in promoting the image of Korea?” 90.6 percent of the respondents said ‘played a positive role,’ while only 2.4 percent of the respondents checked ‘played a negative role.’ 2.4 percent of the respondents said that the Korean Wave did not play any role in advancing the image of Korea.

All in all with these responses, it can be said that, for the most part, exposure to mass media programs contributes to generating an increased interest among audiences and building a positive image toward the content manufacturing country.

Table 10 Changes in Interest in Korea After Exposure to Korean Popular Culture

Interest	Increased	Same as before	Decreased	Don't Know	Total
Frequency	61 (71.8%)	19 (22.4%)	2 (2.4%)	3 (3.5%)	85 (100%)

Table 11 Promotion of Korean Image by Korean Popular Culture

Role	Positive	Negative	No Role	Don't Know	Total
Frequency	77 (90.6%)	2 (2.4%)	2 (2.4%)	4 (4.7%)	85 (100%)

The most influential area in leading the Korean Wave phenomenon was television dramas, as 75.3 percent of the respondents agreed, followed by big stars (17.6 percent) and the cinema (4.7 percent). In light of no responses to Korean pop music, electronic products, and clothing, it can be inferred that television dramas and big stars are the most dominant factors maintaining the Korean Wave, while other areas are rarely being recognized by the Japanese audience. (see Table 12)

Table 12 Most Influential Areas of Korean Popular Culture

Area	TV Dramas	Big Stars	Popular Music	Electronic Products	Cinema	Clothing	Others	Total
Frequency	64 (75.3%)	15 (17.6%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (4.7%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (2.4%)	85 (100%)

According to <Table 13>, as a result of the Korean Wave phenomenon in Japan, respondents mostly agreed that the number of Japanese tourists visiting Korea will increase (40%), followed by the answers that “Korean culture industry will gain a foothold in the Japanese market” (21.2%), “there will be marketing achievements for Korean general products in Japan” (16.5%), and “Korean culture will be advanced to a higher level of quality” (14.1%), respectively.

Table 13 Perceived Benefits for Korea by Korean Wave

The number of Japanese tourists visiting Korea will increase	34 (40.0%)
Korean culture industry will gain a foothold in the Japanese market	18 (21.2%)
There will be marketing achievements for Korean general products in Japan	14 (16.5%)
Korean culture will be advanced to a higher level of quality	12 (14.1%)
Japanese students coming to Korea for study abroad will increase	3 (3.5%)
Don't know	2 (2.4%)
Others	2 (2.4%)
Total	85 (100%)

<Table 14> shows how the respondents perceive the influence of the Korean Wave on facilitating active flow of human and material exchanges in East Asian countries. About 73 percent of the respondents stated that the Korean Wave will play a positive role and only 2.4 percent for the negative roles. Specifically, the respondents agreed that the Korean Wave will play a positive role in “promoting active economic exchanges among the East Asian countries” (41.2%) and “establishing cultural homogeneity in East Asian countries” (16.5%). On the other hand, 21.2 percent of the respondents said that the Korean Wave will not exert a significant influence. (see Table 15)

Table 14 Influence on Flows of Human and Material Exchanges in East Asia

Influence	Positive	Negative	No Influence	Don't Know	Total
Frequency	62 (72.9%)	2 (2.4%)	4 (4.7%)	16 (18.8%)	85 (100%)

Table 15 Role of Korean Wave in Forming the East Asian Community

Will promote active economic exchanges among the East Asian countries	35 (41.2%)
Will not exert a significant influence	18 (21.2%)
Will establish cultural homogeneity in the East Asian countries	14 (16.5%)
Will establish cultural heterogeneity in the East Asian countries	5 (5.9%)
Will cause economic imbalance in the East Asian countries	1 (1.2%)
Don't know	12 (14.1%)
Total	85 (100%)

<Table 16> indicates the perceived premises that the respondents provided for the East Asian community to be formed. A total of 63.5 percent agreed that understanding of neighboring countries' culture is needed, and 16.5 percent replied that a full open-door policy in popular culture should be applied. 10.6 percent of the respondents also said that visa-free travels should be implemented among the community countries.

It is interesting to see that these results involve policy-oriented resolutions rather than technological or economic means. Respondents seem to agree to the idea that certain types of human and material exchanges among the East Asian countries should be continued and promoted with these premises implemented.

Table 16 Perceived Premise for Forming the East Asian Community

Understanding of community countries' cultures is needed	54 (63.5%)
A full open-door policy in popular culture should be applied	14 (16.5%)
Visa-free travels should be implemented among the community countries	9 (10.6%)
Exports and imports of cultural contents should be balanced	1 (1.2%)
Others	7 (8.2%)
Total	85 (100%)

Discussion and Conclusion

The goal of this paper was four-fold: basically to seek possible ways of helping to build an East Asian community from the perspective of Japan and Korea by promoting cultural exchanges between the two countries. To achieve this goal, this study examined (1) the current state of television program exchanges between Japan and Korea and adoption of television programs in Japan; (2) joint DMB as channels for collaborative content production and distribution; (3) theoretical foundations regarding cultural pluralism, regionalism and proximity as well as the globalization of culture; and (4) reports on the results of a survey of Japanese audiences on what they think about Korean popular culture and its future roles in developing an East Asian cultural community.

For the most part, it was found that mass media programs manufactured in Korea have drawn tremendous attraction from its neighboring countries, particularly in China, Taiwan and Japan. This paper focused on delving into Japan-related implications, by trying to look at the regional dynamics leading toward the building of an East Asian community.

One of the most important characteristics of the Korean Wave is the success of Korean television programs in Asian countries. However, it was found that there exists a serious imbalance between exports and imports from 2001 until 2004 which shows a one-way flow of cultural products into Japan, dominated by the exports of Korean mass media programs. The Korean government has begun to relax the controls against Japanese popular culture progressively since 2000. Currently, almost all Japanese dramas are allowed to broadcast through the cable and satellite television channels by the Korean government, although not through network channels yet. Since Korea's culture policy trend is to open its domestic market toward Japanese popular culture step by step, the quality and box-office power of a program itself will eventually become an important factor in determining its success in the Korean market.

As for the genre of the programs exported to Japan in 2004, drama marked the highest record, followed by variety, entertainment, documentary, education, and music in the volume of exports. On the other hand, among the imported programs from Japan, animation overwhelmingly showed the highest number of items, followed by drama, documentary, and entertainment, respectively.

The launch of a joint DMB satellite by Japan and Korea generated much expectation that it would contribute to making cultural exchanges brisk between the two countries via active collaborations in contents production and trade. However, the current status of contents production and services available via MBSat is far from satisfactory, much remains to be done to achieve the original objectives of MBSat project. In effect, we should keep in mind that Japan and Korea need to take up a more positive attitude in applying the MBSat to reality. Each country should also pursue an open-door policy to the East Asian countries' popular culture and make strong efforts to build a new culture model suitable to the East Asian community. Whether we will be able to develop a successful cultural community in East Asia depends not merely on technological or commercial issues, but on the withdrawal of current regulations putting obstacles in the way of free flow of cultural content.

Cultural pluralism is a way of trying to explain new dynamics of cultural exchanges among the East Asian countries through observation. It is recognized that relationships between cultures and societies are subject to market rules, to the goals

of profitability and more and more oriented to the homogenization of products created in a few huge studios that manufacture cultural products. Today it is the media, or the primary channels for cultural globalization, that are at the heart of issues about cultural pluralism, given their economic power and their influence on human's symbolic order. Technological development has made cultural exchanges continuous at a global level with unprecedented rapidity and amplitude.

Along with this, the culture industry shows a pattern of localization where its market is centered on the regional block based on geographic territories. Communities such as NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), EU (European Union), and CARICOM (Caribbean Community) were originally formed for economic and trade purposes, but have increasingly become a cultural common ground to serve their own people at the same time.

Cultural proximity means that the audience prefers television programs imported from culturally close countries to those from culturally far countries. Characteristics of cultural proximity include the number of people traveling between two countries, the number of international marriage, and the experience of colony. Such flow of people and culture are regarded as being affected by politics, economy and international relationships between them. Researchers also argue that the audience feels that there is a familiarity of cultural patterns from what they view, and that the audience finds a frame of reference for modern daily life and feels a cultural closeness in the content of the programs. These perceptions more or less have an effect on the adoption of foreign mass media programs.

Looking behind the statistics of the survey of Japanese audiences, it seems that the term and phenomenon called the Korean Wave is widely known and recognized among Japanese people. The Korean Wave was primarily being disseminated through television and dramas that are broadcast through it. This implies that the impact of broadcasting and prerecorded television programs is great in terms of increasing the recognition level of an emerging cultural phenomenon.

Today, television is a universal medium for ordinary people to indirectly contact the other side of the world. Moreover, television is the center of a household where all kinds of cultural activities are taking place among the family members. It can be inferred that the momentum of the Korean Wave has been closely associated with mass media like television, and that its primary genre is home drama (soap opera). This is quite contrary to what we have known so far in that the Korean Wave has been primarily promoted by Korean pop music and a handful of big stars. The fact was that television dramas are the most influential in advancing the Korean Wave among the Japanese audience.

When it comes to the success of the Korean Wave, it indicates the quality of Korean popular culture has caused it to be propelled by the mass media. The contents of electronic media such as television especially, are generating and distributing images of a life in Korea that is attractive. These images help to constitute fantasies of possible lives elsewhere to Japanese audiences. It can be said that the media are partly increasing the movement of people across the national border and deterritorialization is actually occurring as Appadurai (1990; 1991; 1996) suggested.

It can be concluded that the image of Korea, so far being unfamiliar to most Japanese people, turned out to be producing a favorable impression, and that the Korean Wave was thought to be playing a positive role in elevating the image of Korea as a

neighboring country with which Japan has shared similar cultural traditions and close historical relationships. Thanks to the exposure of the phenomenon called the Korean Wave, Japanese audiences agreed that they are becoming more interested in Korea than before. With the movement of people (through means such as travel, study abroad, business, immigration, etc.) between the two countries, cultural perceptions toward the neighboring country have moved in the direction of building positive and favorable images.

If cultural communication is meant to be a process where mutual parties attempt to reach an understanding by way of cultural activities, it seems that what is left to be desired, for Korea, is to invest active efforts to develop rich, jointly-produced cultural content with Japan and serve the globally dispersed foreign audience on a long-term basis. This holds true because we are living in an age where the power of a nation comes from the power of culture.

References

- Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Appadurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Appadurai, A. 1991. "Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology," in R. G. Fox, ed., *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. pp. 191-210. Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press.
- Appadurai, A. 1990. "Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy," *Diaspora*, 2 (2): 1-23.
- Asahi.com (2005.8.1). "Eiga gyokai kugen no kakkyo, hanryo nadode uriagedaka shijo saikoni" <www.asahi.com>.
- Baik, S. 2005. "Japanese-Korean cultural convergence by satellite DMB". Paper presented at the annual conference of the Korean Association for Broadcasting and Telecommunication Studies, Kwangju, Korea, November 10-11, 2005.
- Bauman, Z. 1998. *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Chan, K. and Ma, D. 1996. "Asian television: Global trend and local processes," *Gazette*, 58 (1): 45-60.
- Chon, B. 2003. "The global reception structure of popular films," *Korean Journal of Journalism & Communication Studies*, 47 (3): 281-303.
- Korea Broadcast Institute. 2004. Conditions of the broadcasting industry (방송산업실태 조사). <www.kbi.re.kr>.
- Hosokin, C. and Mirus, R. 1988. "Reasons of the U.S. dominance of the international trade in television programs," *Media, Culture and Society*, 10: 499-515.
- Inglehar, R. and Carballo, M. 1997. "Does America exist? And is there a Confucian culture?: A global analysis of cross cultural differences," *Political Science & Politics*, 30 (1): 34-47.
- Ishii, K, Su, H. and Watanabe, S. 1999. "Japanese and U.S. programs in Taiwan: New patterns in Taiwanese television," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, (Summer): 416-431.
- Iwabuchi, K. 2001. "Becoming culturally proximate: The ascent of Japanese Idol dramas in Taiwan," in B. Moreran, ed., *Asian Media Production*. pp. 54-74. Curzon

- Press.
- Iwabuchi, K. 2000. "To globalize, regionalize, or localize us,' that is the question: Japan's response to media globalization," in G. Wang, J. Seravaes, and A. Goonsekera, eds. *The New Communications Landscape: Demystifying Media Globalization*. pp. 142-159. New York: Routledge.
- Lee, I. 2004. "Korean Wave and the images of Korea: What Chinese students in Korea have in mind," Paper presented at the symposium on "Northeast Asia regional identity: Present and future," Peking University, China, October 11-12, 2004.
- Lee, P. 1998. "Toward a theory of transborder television," in A. Goonakesera and P. Lee, eds., *TV without Borders: Asia Speaks out*. pp. 274-286. Asian Media Information and Communication Center.
- Liao, S. and Wang, J. 2005. "Impacts of Dae Jang Geum on the Chinese audience," Paper presented at the annual conference of the Korean Association for Broadcasting and Telecommunication Studies, Kwangju, Korea, November 10-11, 2005.
- McAnany, E. G. 1986. "The logic of cultural industries in international perspectives: Convergence or conflict?" in B. Dervin, et al eds., *Progression in Communication Science*. pp. 1-29. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.
- Sinclair, J. 2000. "Geolinguistic region as global space: The case of Latin America," in G. Wang, J. Servaes, and A. Goonasekera, eds., *The New Communications Landscape: Demystifying Media Globalization*. pp. 19-32. New York: Routledge.
- Song, K. 2002. "Television in Korea: Broadcasting structures, programs, and audience," Korea Broadcasting Institute.
- Sugaya, Monoru. ed., 2005. *Higashi Ajia no Media Contentsu Ryutsu*, Tokyo: Keio Gojyuku Daigaku Shjuppankai.
- The Electronic Times (2004.3.15). "World's first DMB satellite blasts off" (세계 첫 DMB 위성 발사현장 스케치). <www.etnews.co.kr>.
- The Korea Times (2005.1.5). "Korea set to outpace Japan in mobile broadcast race". <times.hankooki.com>.
- Waterman, D. 1985. "Prerecorded home video and the distribution of theatrical feature films," in E. Noam, ed., *Video Media Competition: Regulation, Economics and Technology*. pp. 221-43. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Waterman, D. and Rogers, E. M. 1994. "The economics of television program production and trade in far East Asia," *Journal of Communication*, 44 (3): 89-111.
- Wildman, S. and Siwek, S. 1993. "The economics of trade in recorded media products in a multilingual world: Implications for national media policies," in E. Noam & J. Millonzi, eds., *The International Market in Film and Television Programs*. pp. 13-40. Norwood, N.J.: Ables.
- Yoo, S. and Chung, Y. 2000. "Determining factors of Korean terrestrial television program exports," *Korean Journal of Broadcasting & Telecommunication Studies*, 14 (1): 209-256.
- Yoo, S. and Lee, K. 2001. "A comparative study on the cultural similarity of the television dramas in East Asian countries: 'Wish upon a Star' of Korea, 'Love Talks' of Hong Kong, & 'Love and Sorrow' of China," *Korean Journal of Journalism & Communication Studies*, 45 (3): 230-267.
- Zhang, G. and Li, S. 2005. 'Analysis of the cultural community and the communication by broadcasting media in the North-Eastern Asia.' Paper presented at the annual

conference of the Korean Association for Broadcasting and Telecommunication Studies, Kwangju, Korea, November 10-11, 2005.