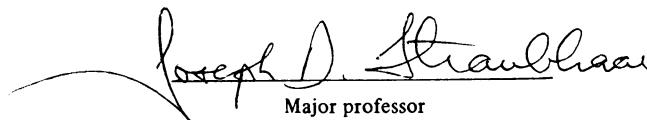This is to certify that the

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FACTORS INFLUENCING ON PRIME-TIME PROGRAMMING
OF KOREAN TELEVISION NETWORKS

BY

Joon-Ho Lee

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michgan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Dapartment of Telecommunication

1992

ABSTRACT

FACTORS INFLUENCING ON PRIME-TIME PROGRAMMING
OF KOREAN TELEVISION NETWORKS

By

Joon-Ho Lee

This study tried to examine network prime-time programming trends in Korea in relation to two contextual factors (political-legal and economic factors). Based on theoretical reasoning and findings of previous research, two general hypotheses were proposed: first, a series of major political-legal environmental changes would have significantly influenced on program diversity and level of dependence on foreign programs. And secondly, rapid growth of the size and commercialization of Korean economy would have decreased program diversity and dependence level on foreign programs.

Methodologically, 210 sample program lists from 1962 to 1991 were coded and followed by both descriptive and statistical analyses on indices of each factor and element.

The results partially but strongly supported the hypotheses. The more intensive the government intervention, the higher the program diversity and the lower the percentage of foreign programs. Economically, in the period of rapid economic growth (by 1980), the programming indices have been strongly negatively correlated with the growth and commercialization indices.
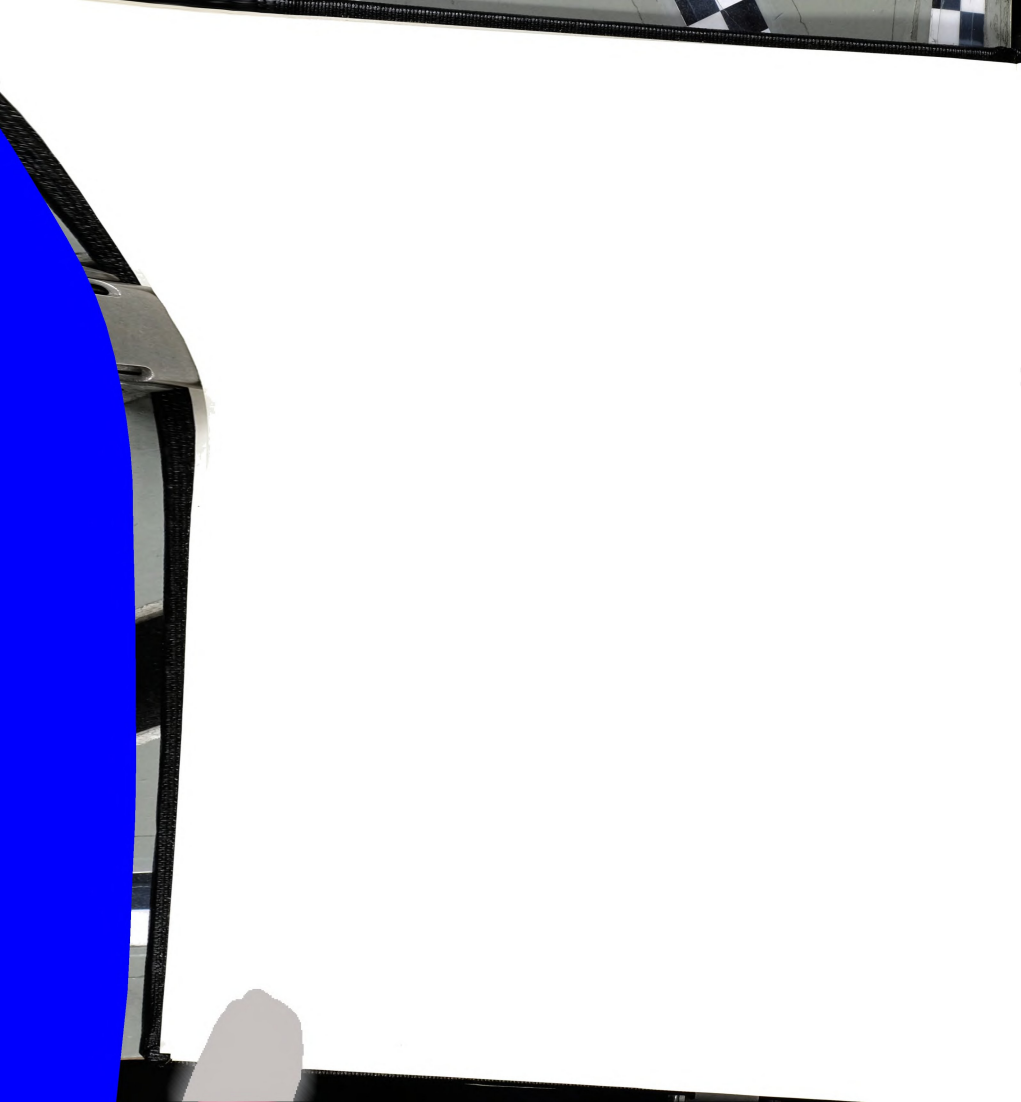
Dedicated to my parents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank my parents most, whose limitless support and encouragement have given me strong conviction to overcome a series of severe problems I faced in the United States. The other family members, Eun-Jeong and Jeong-Hoon, gave their elder brother endless help and confidence, and are much apprecicated.

When doing graduate work and thesis work, three professors, Dr. Joseph Straubhaar, Dr. Thomas Baldwin, and Dr. David McCarty, have kindly advised me and given correct ways to accomplish successful study to me. They are most appreciated for my academic achievement at Michigan State University.

My another gratitude is owed to Sug-Min Youn who is my senior at both undergraduate and graduate schools. I admire his zeal as a real scholar and like to thank for his kind and helpful suggestions.

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I. INTRODUCTION

It is the purpose of this study to examine the trends
of Korean television network programming throughout its
history (1961-1991). This study specifically intends to
focus on exploring the relationship between political,
economic factors surrounding Korean broadcasting networks
and overall trends of their prime-time programming.

As one of central roles and functions of television
broadcasters, programming has been a primary interest area
in communications studies as well as a major tool for
broadcasters' monetary profits. Prime-time programming of a
network has much more important implications in that it
could have higher ratings attracting much larger revenue for
networks than other time segments on a day depending on
competitions with other networks and its programming
strategies (Litman, 1979).

In terms of types of television programming research,
Communication Abstracts (1980-1991) tell the fact that there
have been three types of programming research.

The first type includes analyses of individual programs
and particular program categories. These usually use
content analysis and are frequently followed by critiques on
the signs and messages each program or scene provides. A
number of them are closely related to the such traditions as
semeiotics, symbolism, structuralism, or cultural criticism.

Secondly, there have been a large number of studies examining viewers' responses, attitudes and behavior changes after viewing certain television programs. This type of study can be categorized into media effects study. Most studies in this category use empirical methods such as experiment, survey, and observation.

Third, there have been studies considering patterns or tendencies of programming for a specific period as dependent variables and exploring independent variables affecting them instead of sticking to investigating programs per se or to viewers behavior. This category of programming research will be specifically reviewed in the literature review section for discussion on relevant prior research streams to the research topic dealt with in this thesis.

This study definitely belongs to the last type of the research and concentrates on general and specific programming patterns and tendencies over time as dependent variables. Additionally, it attempts to find out what have impacted on these patterns and tendencies in the Korean political and economic context.

Previous relevant researches in the United States have mainly focused on economic factors as a major influencer on programming such as level of market concentration (Peterson & Berger, 1975; Dominick & Pearce, 1976; Anderson, Hesbacher, et al, 1980; Rothenbuhler & Dominick, 1982; Hellman & Soramaki, 1985), competition among networks

(Steiner, 1952; Litman, 1979; Dominick, 1987), and the number of channels (Greenberg & Barnett, 1971; Noll, Peck, and McGowan, 1973; DeJong & Bates, 1991).

Nevertheless, relatively small number of researhers have focused on political factors. The television networks in the United States do not seem to be vulnerable to political-legal regulation but to economic and commercial environment. Besides the fact that they have traditionally been commercialism-oriented, it is because FCC and many U.S. Congressmen have been sympathetic to the broadcast industry but a little time period (Krasnow, Longley, & Terry, 1982) and because the recent television industry since the 1980s has been in the unleashed deregulation situation as well as in the situation of quasi-free market of commercial media (Tunstall, 1986).

The Korean case, where broadcasting system has long been commercially immature and politically intervened, needs to be examined in both contexts of political intervention and economic growth.

First, Korean television broadcasting networks had been strongly controlled by government until mid-1980s before the mood of democratization began to be flooded. Starting as one of the Third World broadcasting systems in December 1961, Korean television networks have been operated for 2thirty one years facing intermittently severe political intervention by the mid-1980s.

As soon as the military grasped political power in 1961, it passed a legislation (the Frequency Administration Act) to build a television broadcasting station as a governmental institution. Two years after, the government passed the first broadcasting-related act in history of Korea. This act intended to weaken government intervention but its controlling power over broadcasting was absolute (Paeng, 1988). Even after two commercial private television broadcasting networks (TBC: Tongyang Broadcasting Corporation and MBC: Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation) were allowed to broadcast their signals in 1964 and in 1969, the military government kept its political power firmly and maintained the severe authoritative control over all the networks (Chang, 1978). But the networks were generally allowed to compete each other as commercial corporations (Moon, 1989). Thus, the oligopolistic competition situation had been maintained for more than ten years until the enforced merger and abolition happened in 1980.

Next, in terms of economic factors influencing on Korean television programming, two indicators, which are considered the results of rapid growth of quantitative development and commercialization of Korean economy, can be selected. Since the economic situation of Korea has not hardly been stabilized and has been rapidly grown dramatically, tracing the growth tendencies of Korean macroeconomic indicators such as GNP per capita and

advertising market growth will make sense. In this respect,
it will be meaningful to examine the relationship between
economic growth and programming of network prime-time
network in the developmental perspective.

To look at the trend of programming practices performed
by the networks, it is necessary to associate the contextual
factors with the following indicators as elements of trend
of the Korean television programming over time: program
diversity and changes in dependence level on imported
foreign programs. These are considered to be the
determinant elements of programming quality.

Litman (1992) emphasized program diversity as an
important indicator assessing programming quality of
television. This concept makes sense in that a variety of
programs offers audiences a large number of choices,
minimizes alienated audiences, and presents the strong
production and channel capacity of a media system. Also, it
can significantly represent general governmental
intervention into television industry in the form of
regulating contents, program categories, broadcasting hours,
etc. (Han, 1989; Kim, 1983; Eastman, 1988).

Degree of foreign programs' dominance in a country-
especially in a Third World country- can be another
important indicator of programming trends. It is considered
highly correlated with the country's ability to fill out the
time for programming and its degree of dependency to other

country- especially developed countries- in economic and
cultural aspects (Howell, 1989; Straubhaar 1991,; Schiller,
1976).

In sum, considering the special political and economic
conditions of the Korean broadcasting situation, this paper
will investigate relationships between the contextual
factors (political-legal intervention and economic
evolution) and broadcast television programming trends in
prime time (general trends, program diversity, and foreign
program ratios) in Korea during the past three decades. It
consists of, first, examinations on how the political-legal
variables such as major changes and trends of media control
and regulation have influenced on the nature of Korean
broadcast programming such as program diversity, program
categories, and foreign program ratio changes. The other
part making up of this study is an analysis of relationships
between the Korean economic growth indicated by the growth
GNP per capita and advertising market growth, and program
diversity and the degree of dominance by foreign programs.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESES

This part of the paper is designed to specifically
explain and review the previous studies relevant to the
research topic and to develop possible expectations
regarding the relationships between the contextual factors
and trends in Korean prime time TV broadcasting programming.

A. Contextual Factors

1) Political-Legal Factor

There is no mass communication medium that is
completely free from government control. Mass media exist
on a point of a continuum consisting of unnumbered points
bridging two extremes- subordination and non-subordination
to political authorities (Terrou & Solal, 1951).

Based on the classification of four media systems by
Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm (1956), Korean television
broadcasting system had been included into the
"authoritarian" category by the later part of 1987 when
Korean government's the "6-29 Democratization Declaration"
was announced in June 1987 (Youn, 1992; Kim, 1989). In the
authoritarian period, most Korean mass communication media
had faced nearly all types of government control over the
press specified by Nixon's study (1965) and Lowenstein's
PICA (Press Independence and Critical Ability) study (1966).

According to Choo (1976), in developing societies or transitional societies that are politically instable, if there is a need to control the press, their governments take more often a form of economic control which is very subtle, effective, and politically safer to muzzle the press than direct political-legal control. Kim's case study (1981) shows a similar conclusion that there is a strong correlation between economic control and national security during the period of 1963-1972. Not only national security has been a strong and persuasive rationale for the press control in Korea, but economic control is also believed to have played an important role in media control.

Nevertheless, direct political-legal control has not been negligible. As most practical aspects of Korean mass media as a whole had been under the control of the government or the intelligence agency for more than two decades, the structure of the media industry has depended on government's decision for licensing or legislative changes including constitutional changes (Youn, 1992; Paeng, 1988; Park, 1988). In the period from 1961 to 1991, Korean television broadcasting industry had experienced several structural changes in terms of competition between networks. Based on Youn's recent study (1992), the period of the changes can be divided into five stages.

1. December 1961-December 1964: Government network monopoly

2. December 1964-August 1969: Duopolistic competition between government network and a commercial network (KBS vs. TBC)

3. August 1969-December 1980: Oligopolistic competition among three networks (KBS, TBC, and MBC)

4. December 1980-June 1987: Authoritative government control over mass communication media- virtually no competition existed although there were three VHF network channels (KBS1, KBS2, and MBC)

5. June 1987-1991: Liberalization of mass media- rapid diffusion of other competitive media (VCR, illegal cable TV), getting ready for another type of oligopolistic competition among four network channels (KBS1, KBS2, MBC, and SBS) (10).

Except for the first stage, there have been seemingly competitions between two or more networks and channels. The most recent period represents that the democratization and liberalization of mass media in general have been most achieved than any other stage.

However, the changes from one stage to another were determined mostly by the successive changes in political power structure, in governmental interventions, and in legislation on licensing, organization, programming and advertising (Paeng, 1988; Park, 1988). In fact, the divided periods above are much similar to the periods of changes of political system in Korea since general Park's coup d'etat in 1961. Based on Yoon's work (1984) and the Korean political situation for the time period, political system changes in Korea are also divided into the following five stages.

1. 1961-1963: Temporary military government

2. 1964-1969: The Third Republic

3. 1970-1979: Attempting a prolonged one-man rule

4. 1980-1986: The Fifth Republic

5. 1987-1991: The Sixth Republic- A series of democratizational procedures started (252).

In the first 19 years under Park-regime, the Korean mass media faced the "withering era"(Chang, 1978, 299). KBS had been completely used by the regime and TBC and MBC had been founded and operated as a tool of the ruling party (Democratic Republic Party) and big business groups because the close adherence of political and economic power elites tended to impede and erode independent practices and development of the Korean television system (Yoon, 1984; Moon, 1989; Lee, 1988; Won, 1984). The power elites basically intended to make mass media function as an effective instrument for mobilization because they early realized that the media were an important factor of social, economic and political change and needed the media to support the President Park's "Developmental Dictatorship." (Kim, 1983, 22) Particularly, after the "Renovation" period (1972-1979) when President Park amended the constitution guaranteeing his unlimited terms of president, legal control became much more strict than before and independence of judicial power of court which can guarantee freedom of press became much weaker. For example, court trials involving in

mass media cases judged to be guilty increased to eight times more than before (Kim, 1987; Yoo, 1986). Further, from 1975 to 1979 when the Ninth Emergency Measure which restricted nearly entire autonomy of mass media, the relation between the government and the media became so close that their adherence was inseparable (Yoon, 1984; Kim, 1987).

In the period of the Fifth Republic in the first part of 1980s, the government control over the mass media system was not weakened. Chun-regime succeeding to Park-regime rearranged the media system in Korea in 1980 by merging and abolishing a large number of existing media companies with the establishment of the Basic Press Law. First, TBC was forced to be incorporated to KBS (it was renamed "KBS2") and a number of limitation was loaded on capital management, operation, and programming of MBC. Second, cross-ownership of newspaper and broadcasting was prohibited. Thirdly, the two new major controlling committee was established- Korea Broadcasting Committee and Korea Broadcasting Deliberations Committee (Youn, 1992; Park, 1988). Further, more than 5,000 government officials and more than 700 media employees were dismissed (Yoo, 1986; Yoon, 1984). This was followed by a appeasement method as a way to control the remaining media employees. Most mass media employees who complied faithfully with the authoritative government control were rewarded economically in great degrees- their payment was

significantly much higher than that of other companies'
employees (Association for the Democratic Press Movement,
1986; Kim, 1986).

As far as government control over the programming of
Korean television networks is concerned, the government set
up the three categories of programs (information Programs,
socio-cultural programs and entertainment programs) and has
required the minimum proportions of each program category
(Han, 1989). The following table shows the category
requirements for broadcast programming in Korea.

Table 1. The Category Requirements for Broadcast
Programming in Korea

Categories	1964-1974	1974-1981	1981-Present
Information	10% or more	10% or more	10% or more
Socio-cultural	20% or more	30% or more	40% or more
Entertainment	20% or more	20% or more	20% or more

Note. From The Annual Report of Korean Newspaper and
Broadcasting by Korean Journalism Research
Institute, 1988.

Even though the government's standard clarifies the
heavy and increasing requirement of socio-cultural programs,
a trend research (Moon, 1989) shows that the proportion of
the programs has not been over 35% throughout the period
since 1964. Rather, entertainment programming hours have
dominating the whole broadcast hours (more than 50%). But
his findings show that there has been a noticeable change in

the proportion of the categories. In 1982, the ratio of information and socio-cultural programs raised about 5% and 10% each whereas that of entertainment programs fell 15% in comparison to the ratios in 1979. At this time the programming practice was the most close to the government requirement.

This deviation seems to be a result from that the categories are ambiguous and blur each other (Han, 1989). Anyway, Moon's work tried to prove the effect of the Korean government's controlling power over television programming in the 1980s to a large extent.

In the liberation period of Korean mass media since the later part of 1987, the ownership of them began to become diversified especially in print media and contents of television have been dramatically liberalized enough to deal with very subtle and serious social and political issues which had been strongly prohibited regardless of program categories (Park, 1988; Joong-Ang Daily News, October 11, 1988; Moon, 1989). This also reflects that the interest and cognition of Korean people became away from the ruling philosophy of anticommunism enforced by previous regimes and became closer to the liberally and democratically oriented along with the government's policy changes from anti-North Korea to pro-North Korea since 1988 and with the revolutionary changing international environment of reconciliation between the communist bloc and the capitalist

bloc.

More specific and applicable thing to be regarded in the paper would be a list of chronicle political events in Korea that might affect the mass media practices during the whole period. The following table is a synthesized list of main political events which affected Korean mass media industry referring to Yoon's study (1984) and <u>World Almanac and Book of Facts</u> (1961-1991).

Table 2. A Brief Chronicle of Mass Media Controls in Korea:
1961-1987

Year	Controls
1961	Coup d'etat, Pre-censorship over all media
1963	The Broadcasting Law, Allowed TBC to broadcast
1964	Establishment of Press Ethics Committee Act defining the committee not as a autonomous department in television system but a legal institution
1968	Indictment of New Dong-A (a monthly magazine of political critique) by the Anti-communism Law
1969	An explicit item limiting freedom of the press Allowing MBC to broadcast Amendment of three-term election
1971	Dong-A Daily News began the Movement for Protecting the Freedom of the Press Government limited the accredited newsmen to governmental department
1972	Attempting merger of local papers Renovation
1973	Restarting pre-censorship Forced abolition of major papers and news agencies Restricting photographing in the National Assembly
1974-1975	Military trial for the anti-government accused Pressure on Dong-A Daily News- Cancellation of advertising, forcing the management to dismiss resisting employees
1975-1979	Strong adherence between government and the media Assassination of president Park
1980-1987	The Basic Law of the Press Merge and abolition of mass media- TBC was incorporated to KBS and became KBS2 Purge of government officials and media employees Appeasement of media employees with monetary rewards and appointment to high positions of government officials
1987-	Liberalization by the 6.29 Declaration

Note. From Political Communication in Korea (p.94) by H. Yoon, 1984, Seoul: Nanam.
From World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1962-1991.

2) Economic Factor

Even though the Korean military governments have
controlled over the mass media severely, especially over
television networks and nationwide presses, their
contribution to the rapid and efficient economic growth has
been positively evaluated in that it pulled Korea out of a
state of absolute poverty into the magnificent
industrialization. The growth and development of Korean
economy have been in large part due to the consolidation and
stabilization of political power and to the determination
with which the firm policies for each five-year unit have
been implemented by the political leadership and its
centralized and increasing administrative capacity (Wade &
Kim, 1977; Lee, 1988).

Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world
after the Second World War and the Korean War. In 1961 when
the military began its regime, Korea's economic condition
was highly underdeveloped and inviable. However, the growth
rates in almost every economic sector consistently have been
maintained more than 10% every year since 1962 as results of
the continuing success of the consecutive Five-Year Economic
Development Plans which have been planned and strongly led
by government with emphases on the exportation-drive and the
growth-oriented policy. Since the early 1980s, the Korean
economy is frequently evaluated as no longer that of the
Third World but that of Nics or of Semi-periphery. In this

vein, the Korean economy can also be analyzed according to two separated periods:

1. 1962-1980: period of poverty, rapid economic growth, and developmental dictatorship

2. 1981-present: period of social welfare pursuit, less rapid growth, reduction of governmental authority in economy (Kim, 1987; Han, 1990; Kim, 1988; Caiden, 1991)

According to Hudson (1984), there is a strong correlation between a country's wealth and its investment in telecommunication industry although it is difficult to find an absolutely accurate direction of the relationship, i.e., which one affects the other. In doing this, one of the most popular indices for measuring economic growth in relation to mass media industry would be GNP per capita. On the other hand, advertising market growth index is another important indicators estimating the growth and volatility of media industry in a country where a major amount of advertising practices, which encourage and sustain its significant portion of commercial infrastructure, are conducted by purchasing the space and time of commercial media (Youn, 1992; Waterman, 1988). A series of development researchers has used GNP per capita or GDP as a core index measuring a country's economic growth or development and correlated it with the development in communication sector (Marsh, 1976; Shapiro, 1976; CCITT, 1972, 1982; Hudson et al.,1979;

Lerner, 1958, 1967). They usually attempted to explore relationships between the economic growth and media growth and concluded that the growth and volatilization of communication systems could lead to political, economic, and social development of a country in general.

In terms of advertising market growth, it has also been proved to have a close relation to commercialization and financial availability of mass media. Especially those media systems adopting the American commercial model will tend to be consistent with it.

These indices are considered applicable for Korean mass media industry in that the most visible and virtual index showing people's average quality of life is GNP per capita and in that the most periods of Korean television network history is occupied by tradition of commercialized operation supported by the Korean government that has believed the networks accepting advertizement could help various companies become viable (Moon, 1989). Even KBS, not a commercial corporation nominally, has heavily sold its time for advertising in the periods of from 1963 to 1969 and from 1980 to the present (Ihn, 1986) in addition to charging monthly fee to households with one or more color television sets.

It is a fact that there have been critiques on the growth of Korean economy that point out its dependency on Japan and the United States, inequality, labor exploitation,

doubt on real growth of quality of life, etc. (Koo, 1987; Foster-Carter, 1987; Kim, 1987; Lee, 1981; Han, 1990). Thus many of them refuse to accept and use the indices above. Instead, they prefer considering more qualitative development outputs such as quality of life, completeness of civil consciousness, degree of independence on foreign economic power, and democratization. This attempt is a new wave in studying development issues of a country while the majority of previous studies before 1980s tended to rely their measure on major macro-economic indices like GNP, television diffusion rate, consumption rate, etc. According to this argument, the term development has a much wider meaning than just economic growth, political development, and the promotion of social change (Mowlana & Wilson, 1990).

Although there have been critiques as mentioned above, in this approach, GNP per capita and advertising market size will be considered as main economic factors of television programming trends. The rationales are, first, there is no reliable index correctly measuring the abstract meaning suggested by the new wave studies. So the numerically convertible indices will be more applicable to statistical analysis. Second, as the growth and alteration of Korean media industries have not been autonomous, it is hard to find their independent aspects of their estabishment, management, and operation for the majority of their early historical period (Lee, 1988). Instead, the indices as a

result of government-driven economic growth (officialy estimated idices) would be more suitable for investigating the forces of programming trend changes. Finally, as related above, the capitalist development of Korean economy is evaluated positively in general. And the consistent commercialization and increase of production capacity of Korean media industry have been euphoniously achieved (Ihn, 1986).

B. Programming of Korean Television Networks

As mentioned in introduction, although a large number of studies on programming have been done, their focuses tended to be inclined to the fragmented, individual investigation on programs per se and their effects on viewers. There have been very few full-scale studies on the relationship between contextual factors and the trend or change of television programming. Especially there has been no study focusing on the relationship in Korean case except for Youn's (1992). In this section, several relevant representative studies, regardless of their fundamental perspectives, are introduced on the basis of a consideration of diversity and foreign programs ratios.

1) Diversity

Diversity issue of broadcast programming has rather a

long historical research background in relation to
competitions among networks.

Since Steiner's radio programming study (1952), the
discussion on the relationship between competition among
media and program diversity has been made. The study found
out that although the number of radio broadcasting stations
increased, the total size of audiences was not increased
because new stations seldom originated new formats of
programs and duplicated or imitated programs that were
already cast by other stations.

Backe (1978) argues that huge networks can provide more
diverse and more localized services and programs than small
size media by merging or affiliating smaller media. He
expands the idea into the case of a conglomerate that
contains the cases of merging different media while
Bagdikian (1985) claims that diversification of media
industry is needed for diversity of program contents of mass
media. Auh (1983) argues that competition among channels
and advertising attraction are major factors for decline of
diversity. He clarifies the reason- competing producers
provide similar programs though consumers (audiences) want
more diverse programs.

Again, a few more empirical studies show contradictory
findings each other. Dominick and Pearce (1976) found that
media oligopoly caused decrease in programming diversity.
They assumed networks, especially in prime-time, were

economic institutions pursuing profits from advertising and

borrowed an theory explaining the particularity of

oligopolistic competition situation:

> The firms within the oligopoly are mutually
> interdependent, an action taken by one member being
> responded to and often imitated by the other members.
> Within the system there is also a pressure toward
> equilibrium and, consequently, there is a general
> tendency not to upset the status quo. In addition,
> the product of an oligopoly is essentially
> homogeneous... entry into the market is difficult and
> weak competitors are usually squeezed out (70-71).

They also contributed to programming study by using

several useful indices besides diversity- stability,

homogeneity, A/A program time, and equilibrium.

Their research findings was contradictory to Litman's

findings (1979). He explored the difference of the degree

of competition and program diversity between the time frames

of before-ABC's rise and of after-ABC's rise. The ABC's

ascendancy to the top disturbed the oligopolistic

equilibrium and formed more severe competition. This

resulted in higher diversity of programming and enhancement

of viewers' welfare in the sense that they could have more

options by increase of program diversity.

Levin (1980) designed a separate set of diversity

indices- vertical diversity and horizontal diversity and

concluded that increase in the number of stations led to

greater program horizontal diversity and thereby stimulated

higher total television viewership in the local markets.

These are a main research stream on diversity issue but they have focused on competition situation as the most important influencing factor on programming diversity. As this paper's interest is involved more in political-legal factors and in macroeconomic situation in Korea than in the narrow meaning of competition situation, more relevant previous research review is needed.

Wakshlag and Adams (1985) investigated the impact of prime-time Access Rule (PTAR) on program variety and concluded that the controlling rule over prime-time network's programming for encouraging competitive standing of other types of television industry (syndication and local producers) by blocking networks from airing and distributing their own programs to their independents in the top 50 marketts at the first one hour of prime time (Head & Sterling, 1990) had decreased program variety. This finding is consistent with those of Steiner (1952), Backe (1978), Auh (1983), and Dominick and Pearce (1976). This study has a distinct implication than the studies above in that it introduced a policy factor (PTAR) as a contributor to program diversity study.

In terms of Korean case, Han (1989) examined the trend of program diversity of Korean television networks and analyzed both vertical and horizontal diversities. He found that the proportion of entertainment and duplicating channel

and time had been high, and that the vertical diversity
within a channel had been more diversified as the number of
competing channels had been increased. Youn's recent work
(1992) shows that the vertical diversity of Korean network
programming has been reduced as the number of channels
increased. Even though their topics are almost the same,
the results are inconsistent. The reason would be the
difference in indices measuring diversity. Han (1989) used
Herfindahl-Hirschman index (HHI) while Yoon used CR-3 index
in addition to the HHI. This means the possible differences
can lie with the difference of measures.

Litman (1992) discussed on the various indices for
measuring program diversity and argued that diversity index
as a critical measurement tool should be accurate in
addition to satisfying the following concerns:

1. The number of categories must not be too large.

2. The total number of options available to the
   customer should be known.

3. The breadth and depth of program offerings should be
   concerned.

4. No fail to adding the influx of new and innovative
   programming.

5. Both horizontal and vertical nature of program
   choice should be considered.

6. The relative importance of categories should be
   taken into account (28-30).

2) Level of Dependence on Foreign Programs

Another element making up of the characteristics of programming trends in a broadcasting system would be the ratio of imported foreign programs and their proportion of total programming cost. This study focuses on the former because of the topic of this paper dealing with programming issues not with production per se.

In the third world countries, especially in several Latin American countries, the cultural imperialism phenomenon has been reduced in television programming and production due to the development of production ability supported by sufficient financial availability and viewer's indigenous cultural taste (Straubhaar, 1981, 1991; Pool, 1977; Mattos, 1984; Lee, 1980). Brazilian media development shows that a tendency that the ratio of foreign programs (mostly American entertainment programs) has been significantly reduced due to the growth of television industry to produce original programs and the shift of audience preference along with the strong political and financial supports and facility implementations such as microwave and satellite infrastructure. Even they became one of the first Third World countries exporting their own programs (Straubhaar, 1991). The case of Mexico is similar to the Brazilian case. The merger of channels into the Televisa structure has led to domestic programs' dominance in the market (Noriega & Leach, 1979). In other countries

like Argentina, Peru, and Venezuela, the balance of influence or commercial control tends to be increasingly domestic (Straubhaar, 1983).

The theoretical background of the arguments above is linked to the life-cycle theory of product and cultural industry theory. The former points out that the basis for local industries' minimum independence is the local audiences' preference change into domestic cultural products (Lee, 1980). The latter concentrates its interest on the effects of production and distribution in the industrial context and market on cultural products (Schiller, 1976; McAnany, 1983)

Straubhaar (1983) and McAnany (1983) analyzed the key factors for media industry growth and production in the Third World: market size, commercial structure, competition, programmer behavior, entrepreneurial behavior, government policies, and preference of national culture. As mentioned above, the output of these factors would be nationalization of television programming and exportation of programs. The advancement of these factors can inevitably lead to more viable infrastructure used to support domestic media industry. Waterman's argument of the following (1988) is highly plausible with regard to relationship between national economy and domestic media production:

> ...the larger are a country's investment in film and television production, the greater will be the

competitive advantage of producers in that country
[even] attempting to sell their programming on the
world market. The amount of domestic production
investment can in turn be said to depend primarily on
the size and efficiency of the domestic infrastructure
used to support those industries (142).

His economic model approach is based on Japan and
several European countries' media market and industries, but
he eagerly tried to make his following general postulates
clearly supported:

1. All other things equal (notably the programme's
   country of origin), larger amounts of production
   investment attract larger audiences.

2. All other things equal (notably production
   investment), Audiences prefer programmes produced
   within their own country (144).

These perspectives contain another considering point-
the importance of national factors such as government
policies and audience preference- together with the media
imperialism viewpoint in counteracting foreign influence
(Ogan, 1988). This fact led the width of perspective to
more autonomous audiences as well as possible self-reliant
media systems.

Korean television system had primary depended on
foreign technology, equipment, and finances for a long time.
However, since the late part of 1970s when the production
capacity, commercialization, and indigenous tastes of
viewers began to be progressed, foreign influence seemed to

have been relatively decreased although a considerable amount of equipment for production still depends on importation, especially on Japan and the United States (Moon, 1989; Lee, 1988). In fact, one empirical study shows that the proportion of foreign programs has tended to be decreased during this period (Han, 1989). In this respect, the perspectives discussed above (life-cycle product theory and cultural industry theory) deserve to be adopted in this study.

C. Hypotheses

First of all, to expect trends in Korean prime-time television programming, the regulatory power of Korean government should be considered. As mentioned in introduction, the industrial structure change and programming criteria of Korean television is mainly based on government or official regulation and control. Thus, the programming diversity and the ratio of imported, foreign programs would be affected by the government controls. According to Youn (1992), when the industrial structure of Korean television structure were competitive, diversity of prime-time programming decreased. A couple of content analysis studies show that the percentage broadcast hours of imported programs on Korean television has been significantly declined (Moon, 1989; Han, 1989). Based on

these assumptions, the following hypotheses are generated:

        Hypothesis 1: Korean television programming changes would take place after major media control situations changed; The general trend and patterns of programming would be changed after each major regulatory change in the Table 2. happened.

        1-1: Individual political affairs and events intervening into media would significantly change the trend in Korean television programming during the past three decades.

        1-2: Recently, in relatively strong government intervention period (1980-June 1987), program diversity would be higher than in its counterpart period (July 1987-1991).

        1-3: In the periods when networks' commercially competitive situation was guaranteed by the government (1965-1979 and July 1987-1991), program diversity would be lower in comparison to other periods.

        1-4: As the required portion of socio-cultural programs has been increased over time, the percentage of them aired by the networks would have been increased.

Among these hypotheses, the first one (1-1) is considering the impacts of individual political, regulatory affairs on network programming in general. Next two of them (1-2 and 1-4) are based on Moon's (1989) and Youn's (1992) study. Their findings are, as the degree of governmental intervention increased, broadcasting industry tended to follow the government's standards and requirements to enhance diversity and independence of programming.

The third hypothesis (1-3) is about the nature of programming by oligopolistically competing networks which have been formed by government. With an emphasis on the relative superiority of government intervention to commercial competition and following Wakshlag and Adams' findings (1985), program diversity would be decreased in this oligopolistic situation.

Economic factors- GNP per capita and advertising market size would also have affected the dependent variables above. The growth rate of GNP per capita and advertising market size can represent degree of volatility of the whole industry including television industry. Also they could be indicators telling degree of commercialization of the industry and indigenous production capacity of the Third World television industry. In this sense, the following hypotheses are developed:

> Hypothesis 2: The growth of economic activity of a country would have decreased program diversity.
>
>> 2-1: The growth of GNP per capita would have negative correlation with program diversity.
>>
>> 2-2: The growth of advertising market would have negative correlation with program diversity.
>>
>> 2-3: For the rapid economic growth period (pre-1980), the relationships of the hypotheses above will be stronger than those for the relatively stablized growth

period (post-1980).

These hypotheses are based on the arguments of Steiner
(1952), Backe (1978) and Auh (1983) that explain program
diversity would be decreased by competition such as
imitating programming, power or counter programming, airing
mainly popular programs competitively among commercialized
media trying to attract advertisers who intend to introduce
and to sell their product to consumers growing their
purchasing power. As GNP per capita of Korea has been being
grown and its economy being rapidly commercialized, these
hypotheses can be applicable.

The next hypotheses are a tool for partially testing
the product life-cycle theory and cultural industry theory
in that they investigate the relationship between the two
factors in television industry growth and production which
help a television industry in a country become more
independent from foreign industries. GNP per capita is
closely related to the market size and size of advertising
market is related to commercial structure and
entrepreneurial behavior:

        Hypothesis 3: The growth of GNP per capita and of
                      advertising market that reflects the
                      growth of commercial television industry
                      and its capacity of indigenous
                      programming in Korean would have strong
                      relationship with the increase of

domestic programming of Korean networks.

3-1: The growth of GNP per capita would be negatively correlated with the proportion of imported programs in Korean television programming.

3-2: The growth of advertising market would have negative correlation with the proportion of imported programs in Korean television programming.

3-3: For the rapid economic growth period (pre-1980), the relationships of the hypotheses above will be stronger than those for the relatively stablized growth period (post-1980).

Those hypotheses above are firmly following the hypothetical assumptions of asymmetrical interdependence and product life cycle theories that the more commercialized a country's economy and production ability, the more independent its programming contents and the more domestic viewers' tastes. McAnany's (1983) and Straubhaar's (1983) analysis of factors for nationalization of programs and program exportation that has been reviewed already in the literature review part offers rationales for the hypotheses above. To be more specific, the indices of GNP growth and advertising market growth representatively show the growth or development of Korea's economic development and growing competitiveness in broadcasting arena. Then, as already hypothesized, they would be closely related with decrease of program diversity and decrease of the percentage of imported programs.

III. METHOD

To gather the programming data over three decades
(1962-1991) of Korean domestic network television, one of
the most popular major nationwide daily newspaper was
chosen- Chosun Daily News- and the contents of program lists
and guides were analyzed. The sampling of the dates during
the period is, first, second week of November of every year
(1962-1991) was selected as a mid-term point between
biannual programming adjustments of each network taken place
in between late February and mid-March and during September.
Also the month represents a time period when very few
political and economic fluctuations happened each year.
Thus, the total number of the program lists are 210.
Secondly, in each program list, the amount of time of each
prime-time program was counted. The range of prime time in
Korea is from 7PM to 10PM. Third, two coders were chosen
and performed the coding work.

Program categories were divided into seventeen types,
which were then categorized into the three basic categories
Korean government set up- information, socio-cultural, and
entertainment. Programs were also categorized into domestic
and foreign. Foreign programs were divided into the United
States and other foreign programs.

1. News
2. Every day drama
3. Weekly & biweekly drama
4. Sports(live/recorded/news)
5. Variety show
6. Comedy
7. Quiz (pure informational/entertaining)
   /Game show
8. Movie
9. TV series/TV movie
10. Talk show
11. Classic music/Concert
12. Traditional music/arts
13. Government/Military
14. Education/Culture/Documentary
15. Children (non-entertaining/entertaining)
16. Non-sports events(live/recorded)
17. Other

Among these, program types of 1, 4 (sports news), 7 (non-entertaining show), and 13 fall into "information" category, those of 11, 12, 14, 15 (excluding entertainment programs) into "socio-cultural" category, and types of 2, 3, 4 (excluding news), 5, 6, 7 (excluding non-entertaining quiz programs), 8, 9, 10, 15 (cartoon, story telling, drama, etc.), and 16 (awarding events to pop stars, and the like) are relabeled as "entertainment" category (refer to APPENDIX A).

This classification is not absolutely ideal but a result of considerable analysis of and reference to the previous researches on Korean programming (especially Ihn, 1986; Han, 1989; Youn, 1992) and the concerning points Litman (1992) suggested.[1] The rationale for dividing drama

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[1] The points of concerns are shown on page 24.

into every day and weekly/biweekly dramas is, difference in airing time for one episode. Generally, weekly and biweekly dramas are longer (50 minutes) than daily drama (20-30 minutes).

Variety show has been very popular in Korea since its beginning. Talk show had not been a familiar genre of Korean television but it began to attract audiences' wide attention since the early 1980s.

To increase the reliability in coding categories of individual program, several year books and referential books- Korean Broadcasting System Yearbook, "17 Year-History of Tongyang Broadcasting Corporation" in 20 Year-History of Joong-Ang Daily News, History of Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation: 1961-1982, 30 Year-History of MBC in Pusan: 1959-1989, and TV Guide are looked up.

After finishing coding, coder reliability test was done by comparing their coding work of the six sample years 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, and 1990. The inter-coder reliability was 92.6%.

Next, quantitative works follow the coding process. Diversity indices were introduced; both vertical and horizontal diversity indices are measured. The methods are, first, CR-4 (amount of time concentrated on four dominant program categories) that were initially employed and widely used for measuring industry concentration. Secondly, in terms of horizontal diversity, Litman's (1979) and Levin's

(1980) methods could be chosen. Of them, the amount of time unit within which the number of program choices available is as same as that of Litman's (30-minutes). Levin's method of 15-minutes is not realistic because the Korean television network programming does not tend to be based on this time unit.

To test the hypotheses, some statistical testing methods such as correlation and regression were employed as well as descriptive analysis of the data was done.

Until this point, in introduction, this study has looked at previous relevant background studies among the three types of programming study patterns, political and economic backgrounds surrounding Korean broadcast programming practices, and research problems. In literature review part, a variety of findings suggested by relevant prior studies has been introduced and discussed. And several possible relationships between the contextual factors and programming characteristics making up of hypotheses have been set up. In terms of methodology, sample (the second week program lists of a Korean newspaper), sample size, and ways to collecting the sample for content analysis have been illustrated along with statistical and descriptive testing methods for verifying the hypotheses.

Next part of the paper includes a specific presentation

of data yielded by the content analysis, a descriptive analysis of the data, and the results of statistical treatment of the data. It will be followed by discussions of the study findings, conclusion, and suggestion for future study.

IV. RESULT- DATA PRESENTATION AND HYPOTHESIS TESTING

This part shows the data and results from content analysis of program listings. First, the overall diversity (vertical and horizontal) trends are clarified and descriptive and statistical analyses of their relationships with contextual factors (political and economic). Secondly, the trends of Korean prime time network programming are analyzed based on the three categories (information, socio-cultural and entertainment) Korean government set up as a program proportions requirement. Last, trend data on the ratios of foreign programs are shown. These are also analyzed in relation to the political and economic factors.

A. Program Diversity

Table 3. is a list of both vertical and horizontal diversities of Korean prime time television networks over time. Vertical diversity index (subtraction of CR4 value from 1.00) is available throughout thirty-year period (1962-1991) while horizontal diversity index is available only since 1969 when Korean television networks began to be in oligopolistic competition situation.

The trends of diversity are illustrated in figure 1. to make it easier to investigate major shifting points.

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Table 3. Vertical Diversity and Horizontal Diversity of
Korean Television Networks in Prime-Time over Time

Year	Vertical Diversity*	Horizontal Diversity**
1962	.43	-
1963	.46	-
1964	.45	-
1965	.33	-
1966	.38	-
1967	.21	-
1968	.38	-
1969	.39	2.42
1970	.31	2.61
1971	.27	2.45
1972	.28	2.19
1973	.28	2.14
1974	.34	2.33
1975	.27	1.71
1976	.33	1.61
1977	.20	1.90
1978	.24	1.45
1979	.22	1.40
1980	.36	1.57
1981	.40	2.35
1982	.36	2.26
1983	.46	2.00
1984	.41	2.30
1985	.38	2.14
1986	.34	2.42
1987	.40	2.42
1988	.33	2.50
1989	.36	2.47
1990	.34	2.28
1991	.29	2.19
Average	.34	2.13

Note. * Derived by summing the percentages in the top four
program categories per year and subtracting from
1.00 (1.00 - CR4).

** Derived by summing the number of available program
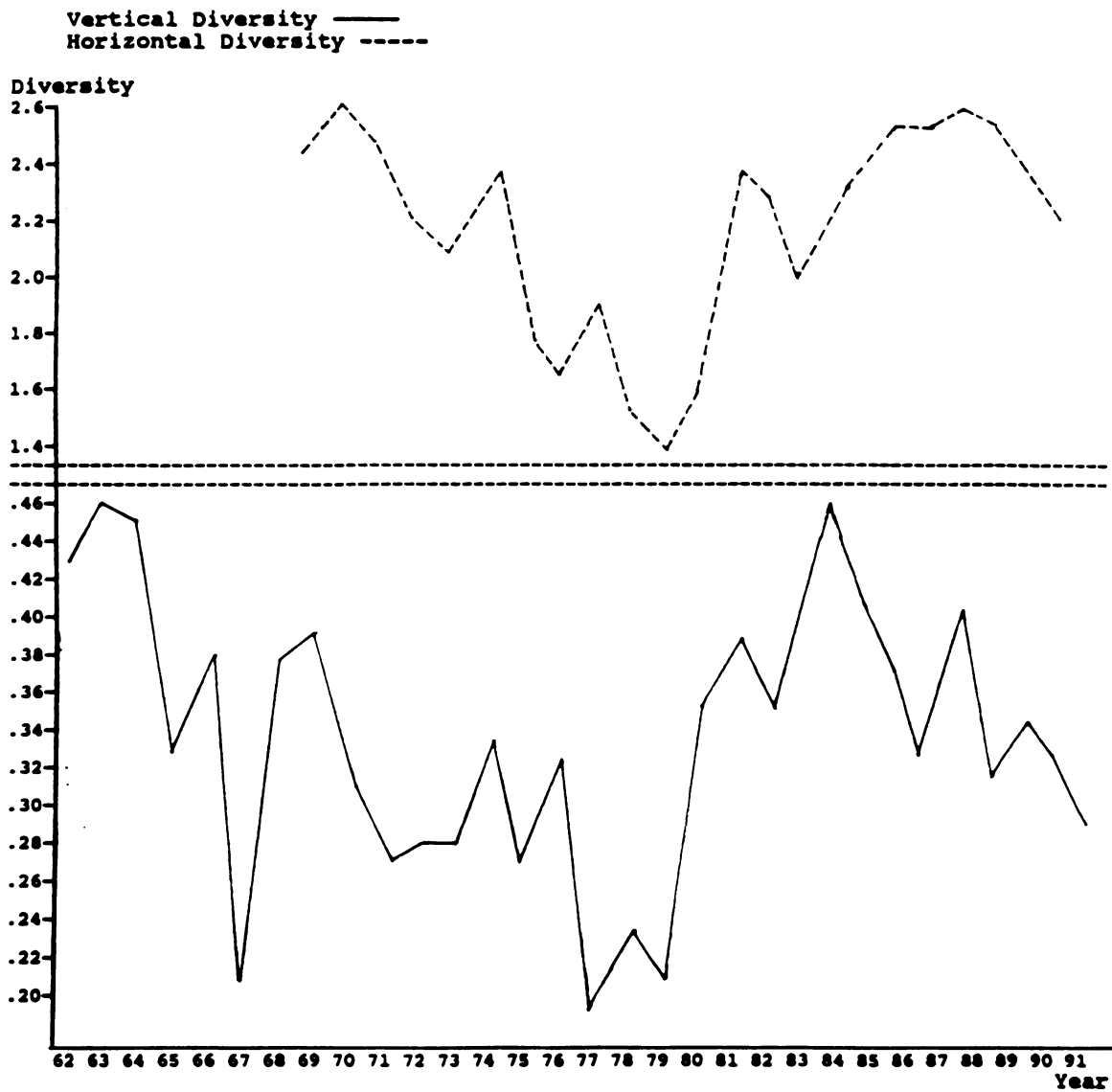categories in each time unit (30-minutes) and
averaging them per year.

Figure 1. Vertical and Horizontal Diversity Trends of Korean Prime Time
Network programs from 1962 to 1991

To look at the general trends of both vertical and horizontal diversities, first, both were relatively high in the 1960s except for the exceptionally low vertical diversity in 1967. Next, in the 1970s, they were very low. But, in the early and mid-1980s, they became almost as high as in the 1960s. Nevertheless, since the late 1980s, the trend has been directed to the bottom.

In terms of vertical diversity, there has not been any year with a diversity above .50; that means there have not been any year when the average prime time amount for non-four dominant program categories has exceeded 50%. Especially, in the period of the late 1970s, diversity index was in the range of only the .20-.24 due to counter-, power-programming and program formats imitation among three networks concentrating on a variety of daily and weekly dramas with short and continuous episodes, which could hold viewers stay in front of television sets on consecutive days for the programs.

In case of horizontal diversity measuring degree of viewers' program choice, it had been decreased during the 1970s. This is also due to the increase of competing programming strategies and practices by the networks such as power programming.

To relate these trends of program diversity to political factors, above all, the trends are significantly

influenced by the major political changes in Korea.

In the early period (1962-1964) when only one military government-owned network (KBS) was in monopolistic situation, vertical diversity index was highest throughout the whole history of Korean television broadcasting. This is consistent with the expectation that the more government intervention, the higher program diversity.

In the duopolistic competition situation from 1965 to 1968, general diversity level was dramatically dropped with great fluctuations. This shows that the programming was not stable and depends on easily-changing programming policies or principles of networks due to the sudden competition situation created by a sudden legislation ('63 Broadcasting Law) permitting a commercial network (TBC) to enter the television broadcasting market.

The third stage (1969-1980) when oligopolistic competition and hard-core ratings game were allowed by government and done, both diversity indices were lower than any other period. Mostly, vertical diversity was below .30 and horizontal diversity was below 2.00. This tendency had been accelerated as time went by until 1979. In 1974, one exceptional point peaking up is found while the overall diversity level is so low. It is considered as temporary impact of a series of government's restart of strict regulations such as pre-censorship, abolition of major papers and news agencies, and restricting news gathering in

the National Assembly in 1973. Additionally, in the period
of strong adherence between government and the media (1975-
1979), both diversity indices were particularly low. This
alludes that networks pursued the utmost commercial interest
by severely competing each other with a few program
categories which would bring secured successes in the
ratings game while subordinating to and cooperating with the
government. In this period and the next, the networks'
autonomy in function of reporting government information had
not existed and they seemed to cooperate with government to
restrict the people's right to know.

Next period in the early and mid-1980s was under strong
government intervention. In the late 1980, the temporary
military-controlled government assembly named the
Legislating Committee for National Security enforced
abolishment of TBC, incorporated it into KBS and renamed it
KBS2 (the second public television channel). Also the
assembly created an educational channel (KBS3 which was
renamed EBS in 1991) and tried to specialize each channel.
Due to this event, program diversity was increased up to
about .40 (vertical) and 2.30 (horizontal).

After Democratization Doctrine in June 1987, almost
every part of Korean society started to be dramatically
liberalized, westernized, internationalized, and rapidly
commercialized. As these tendencies were going on, the
contents of television programs and attitudes of journalists

followed these fads. The 1989's permission of another
commercial network's (SBS) entry in the late 1991
accelerated the dissemination of the fads and competition
among programmers. Therefore, the vertical diversity level
has been dropped below the average over time and horizontal
diversity has been also on the way to the bottom since 1988.

Thus the hypotheses pertaining to the relationships
between political factors and programming diversity of prime
time Korean TV networks (1-1, 1-2, and 1-3) are partially
supported. To restate these findings, first, when
commercial competition was guaranteed by government (1965-
1979), both diversities were extremely low. Second, the
strong the government intervention without commercial
competition guarantee, the higher diversities. Third,
individual political affairs and events intervening into
media have changed the level of program diversities in the
following order; primarily, constitutional changes,
secondly, broadcasting-related laws legislation, and
unexpected, sudden regulatory change over mass media.

Economically, the hypotheses (H: 2-1 and 2-2)
pertaining to program diversity and economic indices (GNP
per capita and total advertising expenditure) were tested by
using two statistical devices: correlation and multiple
regression. Above all, to roughly look at the evolving
trend of Korean economic growth shown in Table 4, both GNP

per capita and total advertising expenditure have been
continuously grown for the time periods except for those in
1980. Here, as clearly mentioned in part II, the year 1980
reflects a major division of the characteristics of growth
trend of Korean economy over time. Additional implication
of the year is that it is the only year when Korean economic
growth was interrupted as a result of a series of political
crises after President Park's assassination in October 1979.
The period after 1980 have been a re-reaping stage of Korean
economy surrounded by issues emphasizing not only on the
growth processed by quantitative, exportation-drive, and law
labor costs but also on social welfare and equality. In
this respect, in addition to the whole period analysis, the
following statistical analyses were done bilaterally by
dividing the whole period into two stages of before 1981 and
after 1980.

Table 4. GNP and Advertising Expenditure of Korea

Year	GNP per capita* ($)	Total Advertising Expenditure($mil.)*
1962	87	-
1963	98	-
1964	102	-
1965	106	-
1966	125	-
1967	142	-
1968	169	30.0
1969	210	34.2
1970	248	36.6
1971	289	39.4
1972	319	44.7
1973	396	57.6
1974	542	80.5
1975	594	136.7
1976	803	175.3
1977	1,012	189.0
1978	1,396	275.3
1979	1,644	385.8
1980	1,512	374.1
1981	1,734	416.5
1982	1,824	529.3
1983	2,002	714.2
1984	2,158	859.6
1985	2,194	742.0
1986	2,505	844.7
1987	3,110	1,157.4
1988	4,127	1,278.5
1989	4,994	1,540.5
1990	5,569	-
1991	-	-

Note.   * Both are current exchange rates.
From International Financial Statistics by IMF
From Monthly Statistical Bulletin by The Bank of Korea, June 1991.
From Survey of World Advertising Expenditures, 1971-1991, Mamaroneck, NY: Starch INRA Hooper Inc.

Table 5. is correlation outputs investigating the relationship between economic factors and program diversities.

Table 5. Correlation between Economic Indices and Program
         Diversities

	GNP per capita	Total Advertising Expenditure
Vertical Diversity	.367* -.333** (p<.05) -.483*** (p<.01)	.465* (p<.05) -.275** (p<.05) -.365*** (p<.05)
Horizontal Diversity	.228* -.876** (p<.01) .656*** (p<.01)	.304* -.882** (p<.01) .590*** (p<.05)

Note.   * Until 1991
        ** Until 1980
       *** 1981-1991

The hypotheses are not supported during the whole period (1962 -1991) because the correlation values indicate that there are positive correlation between the variables. However, in the period until 1980, the hypotheses are supported in that both economic indices have strong negative correlation with both diversities. During post-1980 period, the hypotheses are supported in case of vertical diversity.

Next, multiple regression analysis has been done in order to trace how the entire economic growth and commercialization have influenced on diversity of Korean prime time network television by setting the two economic

indices as an independent variable and the two diversities
as dependent variables. Table 6. shows the final regression
results according to the three time periods.

Table 6. Multiple Regression of Program Diversity of Korean
Prime Time Networks and a Combination of GNP per
capita and Total Advertising Expenditure

Diversity	Period	R	R-squared
Vertical Diversity	1962-1991	.639	.408
	1962-1980	.591	.350*
	1981-1991	.594	.353
Horizontal Diversity	1969-1991	.473	.224
	1969-1980	.882	.778**
	1981-1991	.670	.449

Note. * p<.05
       ** p<.01

According to the table above, the hypotheses 2.
expecting that as Korean economy has grown, program
diversity would have been decreased is partially supported.
The R values are .591 and .882 and R-squared values are .350
and .778 in case of both diversities during the period of
1969-1980 at the 99% confidence level. The latter values
mean that the explaining power of the combined independent
variables. Thus, the two variables representing Korean
economic growth can explain the 35.0 % of vertical diversity
during 1962-1980 period and can explain the 77.8% of
horizontal diversity during 1969-1980. They are both
highly significantly supporting the influence of economic

growth of Korea on reduction of both program diversities
from 1969 to 1980.

B. Program categories

In this section, a trend in percentages of three
program categories which have been set and whose proportion
has been required by Korean government is presented. As a
result of content analysis of program listings, Figure 2.
has been obtained.

As shown in the figure, percentage of entertainment
programs has been constantly above 50%. This implies that
the Korean prime time networks have been heavily relying on
entertainment programs for the purpose of attracting
viewers, raising their ratings, and increasing advertising
revenues. The most concentrated entertainment program types
is daily and weekly dramas that are mostly soap operas
dealing with love-hatred-and-separation stories between two
or three lovers.

The networks have increasingly aired information
programs that are mostly news and investigating news. Since
a dramatic rise in 1976 from 12.7% to 35.3%, the trend has
been stabilized. The most popular program in this category
is a news show which has been aired at 9 P.M. since 1972.
Since the oligopolistic competition period among KBS, TBC,
and MBC, the news program has been scheduled at 9:00 and

Information ————
Socio-Cultural ————
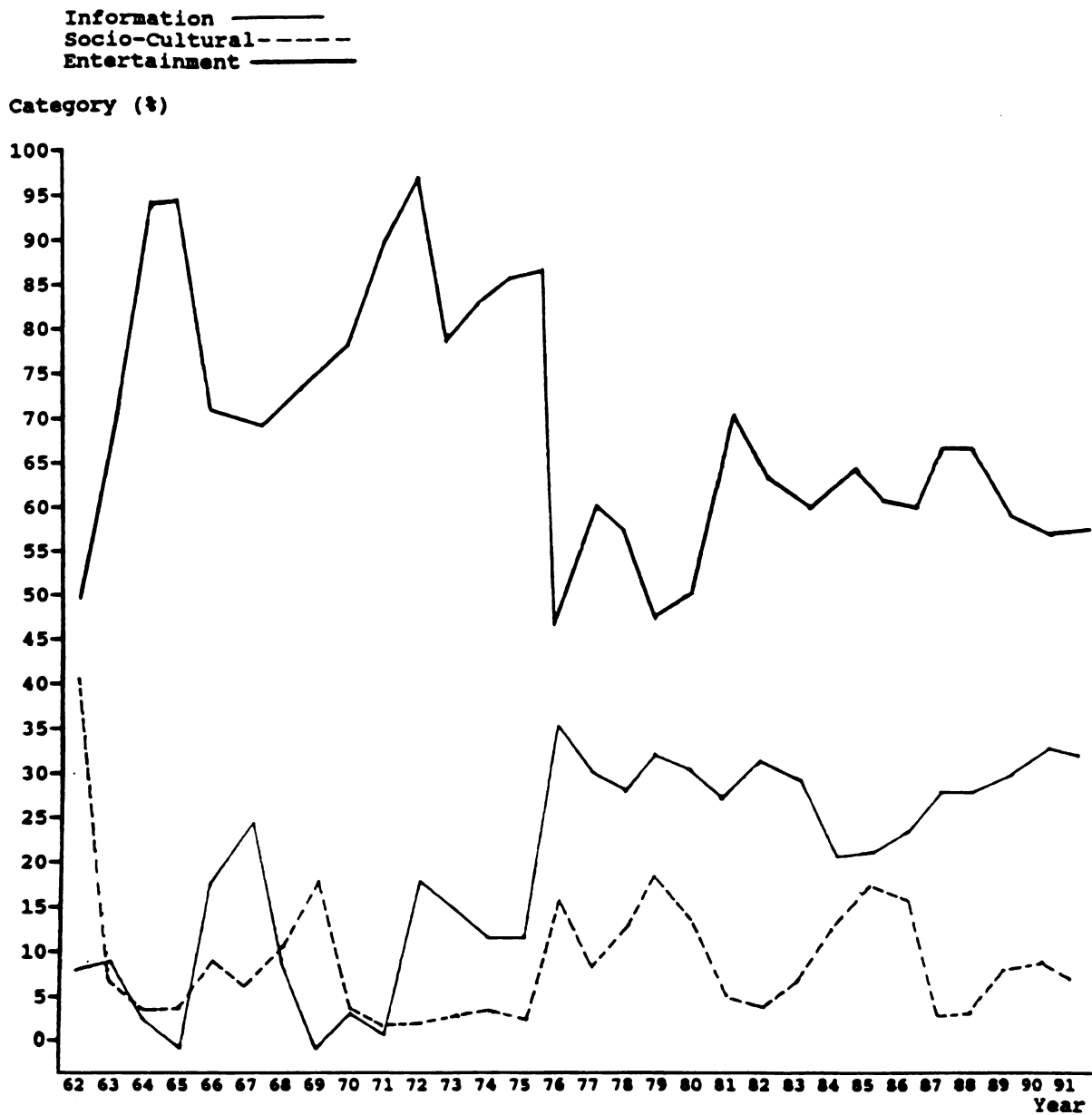Entertainment ————

Category (%)

Figure 2. Percentage of the Government-Standard Program Categories of Korean
Prime Time Networks from 1962 to 1991

become a major competitive program type for the networks even though KBS2, which was conversed from TBC in late 1980, has not been airing it. During recent three years, the amount of time scheduled for the program is roughly more than 30% of total prime time on KBS1 and around 20% on MBC.

It is a different story when it comes to the category of socio-cultural programs. There has not been a special trend in the change of its percentage but the years indicating relatively high percentage (above 10%). In 1962, 1969, 1976-80, and 1984-86, the percentages were higher than 10%. Here, the last two time periods have a certain implication. These time periods (late 1970s and mid-1980s) represent the ending days of two authoritative regimes of the Fourth Government and the Fifth Government and the severely tough political intervention into mass media.

This phenomenon can be explained by considering the fact that Korean networks, regardless of public or commercial networks, have been commercialized and have concentrated on rating games. Even KBS, a public television network has depended on advertising money in 1960s and since 1980 in addition to collecting monthly subscription fee. Ratings game among the networks has led them to severe counter- and power- programming offering few choices to viewers each time unit and scheduled socio-cultural programs at non-prime time units within daily airing hours. Additionally, a significant part of programs in this

category has been scheduled on KBS3 which was established in 1980 and renamed as EBS (Educational Broadcasting System) in 1991, which has been cast through UHF channels.

Table 5. is a list of the average percentages of each program category over the given time periods of 1964-1974, 1974-1981, and 1981-1991 in order to compare the government requirements in each corresponding period. The table shows how faithfully the networks have comply with the government requirements in the case of information and entertainment programs. However, as mentioned above, the minimum requirement for socio-cultural programs has not been met. Thus the hypothesis 1-4 is not supported by prime time programming analysis.

Table 7. Average Percentage of Program Categories in Comparison to the Government Requirements

Categories	1964-1974	1974-1981	1981-Present
Information	9.5 (10)	27.1 (10)	26.4 (10)
Socio-cultural	12.6 (20)	11.4 (30)	9.3 (40)
Entertainment	76.0 (20)	61.2 (20)	63.6 (20)
Other	1.9	0.3	0.6

Note. The numbers in the parenthesis are minimum percentages required throughout the broadcast time.

Whereas information and entertainment programs' requirements have been met well or excessively programmed but the average percentage value of social-cultural programs has been decreased over the periods. Of course, this table

again indicates the reality of networks' commercialization, rating game, and the effect of the 1980's emerge of KBS3 specialized in social-cultural and educational programs without commercials.

C. Foreign Programs

The trend of foreign program proportion is shown in Figure 3. A noticeable part of the trend exists from 1975 to 1981. This time, percentage of foreign programs was very low (.26% - 3.57%). As mentioned earlier, this time period was politically unstable and the period of close coherence between government and mass media when political intervention into mass media was severe. Instead, pure commercial competitions among three networks were at a utmost level. As a result of the competition by numerous number of dramas produced by the networks and power programming of them, ratio of foreign programs as well as diversities were much lower than the other periods. During the 1980s and 1990s, the percentage has been stabilized at the 5-10% level without large fluctuations.

In particular, the trends of three different ratios- total foreign program ratio, U.S. program ratio, and non- U.S. program ratio- are quite similar.
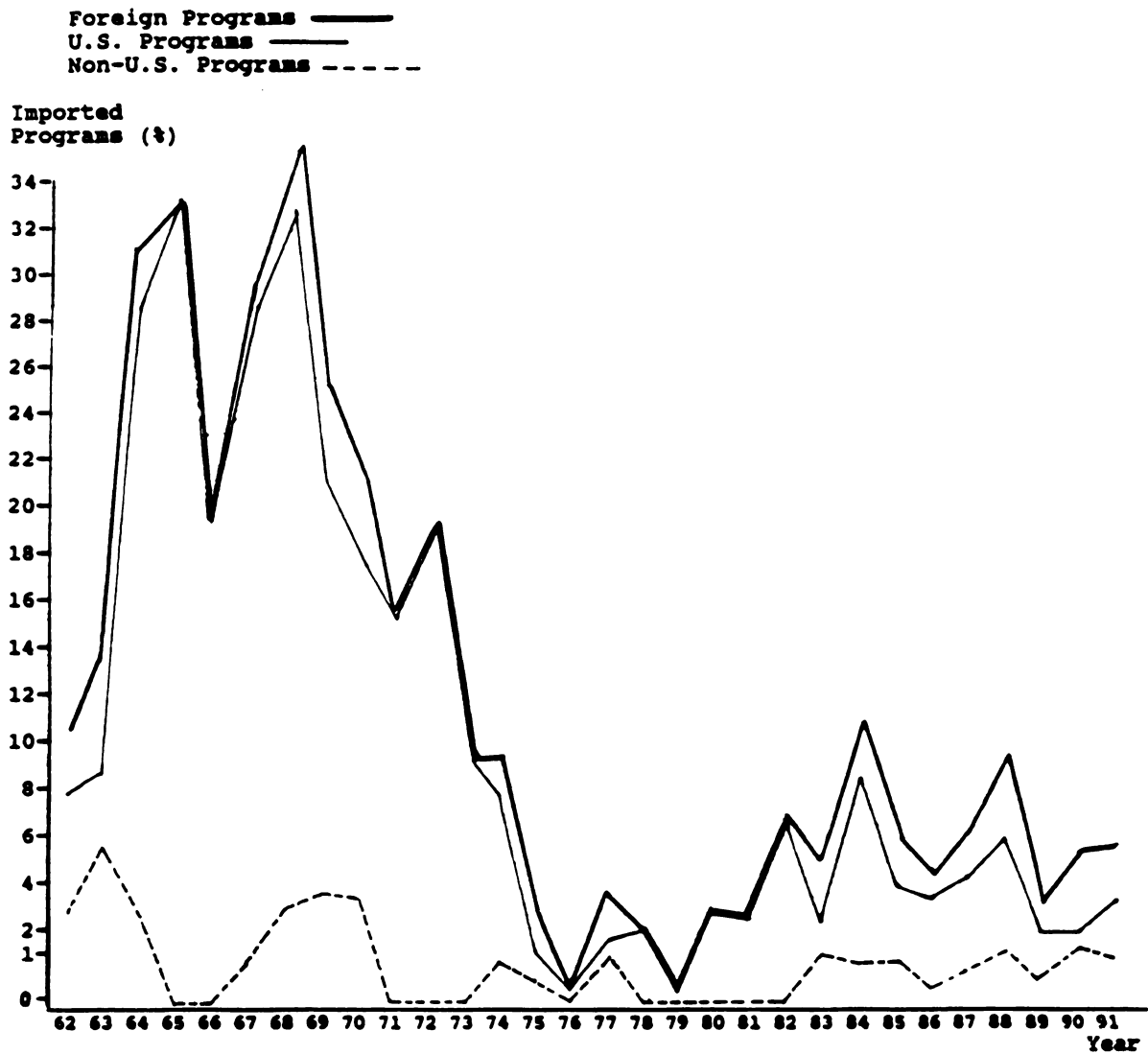
Figure 3. Percentage of Foreign Programs of Korean Prime Time Networks from 1962 to 1991

Based on this figure there would be few political factors intervened. To mention one thing about this, Korean government has traditionally suggested or sometimes requested that the total foreign program ratio should not exceed 10% of total broadcast time on the domestic networks. In the Korean prime time network programming, the regulatory suggestion or requirement that has a somewhat weak enforcing power seems to have been met well since 1973 in association with the networks' commercial competitions concentrating on their domestic imitation and duplication programs like dramas especially soap operas.

Instead, the trend of foreign program proportion occupying Korean prime time TV networks seems to have been more related with economic growth of Korea. Table 8. is a correlation matrix between economic indices and percentage of imported programs.

Table 8. Correlation between Economic Indices and Percentage of Foreign Programs

	GNP per capita	Total Advertising Expenditure
Percentage of Foreign Program	-.414*	-.370*
	-.765**	-.749**
	-.074***	-.073***

Notes. * Until 1991 (at p<.05 level)
 ** Until 1980 (at p<.01 level)
 *** 1981-1991 (no significance)

Throughout all the period units, negative correlations lie between economic indices and percentage of foreign programs. Among them, correlations of the time units of until 1991 and until 1980 are significantly acceptable and in these cases the hypotheses 3-1 and 3-2 expecting that there would have been negative correlations between the economic growth and commercialization indices and foreign program percentage are well supported. Especially, during the period before 1981, very strong negative correlations(-.765 and -.749) between the variables exist.

Also, multiple regression analysis has been done to gain findings on how much and how accurately the economic indices can explain or predict the trend of the relative amount of aired time for foreign programs. Table 9. is the list the final multiple regression results on percentage of foreign programs as a dependent variable and a combination of GNP per capita and total advertising expenditure as an independent variable.

Table 9. Multiple Regression of percentage Foreign Programs on Korean Prime Time Networks and a Combination of GNP per capita and Total Advertising Expenditure

	Period	R	R-squared
Percentage of Foreign Programs	1962-1991	.500	.250
	1962-1980	.765	.586*
	1981-1991	.513	.263

Note. * p<.05
       ** p<.01

In general, the R values are high above .500. However, when considering at a significance level of .05 (95% confidence level), the R and R-squared values during the period of 1962-1980 are significant ($p < .05$).

The R-squared value during the period is very high enough to partially support the hypothesis 3. expecting that as the Korean economy as a whole has been evolved, foreign programs' relative amount has been decreased. The degree of explaining power of the R-squared value of the .586 means the 58.6% of the percentage trend of foreign programs in Korean prime time networks is shared and explained by the combination of economic variables.

V. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study tried to examine network prime time programming trends in Korea in relation to contextual factors that might have influenced on real programming practices. The elements of the programming practices explored in this study were two program diversity indices (vertical and horizontal diversity indices) and percentage of foreign imported programs. In this study, vertical diversity index is calculated by subtracting CR4 index, which has been popularly employed to measure industry concentration ratio, from 1.00. It represents how diverse program categories each network provide. Horizontal diversity index is the number of choices of programs available in each 30-minute time unit of prime time. This indicates how many choices viewers could have. In terms of percentage of imported programs, percentage of whole amount of time when foreign programs have been aired was calculated.

After testing the hypotheses pertaining to correlations between the political, economic contextual factors and the two elements of programming above, and to influences of the factors on the programming elements, some findings and implications were derived as follows:

1. The Korean networks' prime time programming has been somewhat heavily affected by major and specific political, legal environmental changes throughout the 30-year history of indigenous Korean TV broadcasting networks- whichever major or minor constitutional reforms, change of regimes, individual legislation regarding mass media.

2. More specifically, vertical and horizontal diversities have been partially but significantly and sensitively changed by the political and legal changes.

3. The absolute amount and relative percentage of foreign programs seem to have complied with the maximum standard of government suggestion (10%) since 1973.

4. Although the government standard for information, entertainment and foreign programs has been met fairly well, the increasing standard for minimum requirement for socio-cultural program categories has not been met because of the accelerating rating games and commercialization of the networks.

5. Statistically, economic factors representing the growth of total size and advance of commercialization of Korean economy such as GNP per capita and total advertising expenditure have close relationships with and significant influence on the elements of programming in the period of rapid economic growth of Korea (by 1980).

6. Since the early 1980s, the trends of programming has been stabilized in general with little direct affect of contextual factors and the reduce of the economic growth speed.

To take a closer look at the findings generally stated above, coming back to the results and hypothesis testing part and more systemic review is necessary. The remaining part of this thesis is discussion on the concluding statements above and suggestion for future study.

First, since its beginning, Korean broadcasting system have been determined by government severely in almost all

aspects of the industry including permit to establish
stations, ownership limitation, programming, advertising,
etc. The timely fashions between the change of regimes or
legislation and change of competition situation are a good
example. So there have been significant changes in
programming practices in 1965, 1972-74, 1980-81, and 1988,
that are the years coming just after constitutional reforms
and major changes of mass media-related legislation
happened.

Secondly, to examine the results of programming data
in the years, just after the first commercial, private
network was founded (in December 1964) followed by the
Broadcasting Law (passed in 1963), vertical diversity index
of 1965 fell down more than 10%. In 1973, a strong
temporary regulatory execution which was relatively severe
and in the following year both diversities went up in large
degree. Also, it influenced on reducing foreign program
down to below 10% by the most recent year. In the 1980-81
period, with the strong regulatory reform, program
diversities increased about 80%. Later, since 1988 when
governmental intervention has been reduced and when
commercialization of the whole Korean society began to step
a new, higher stage, program diversities have tended to be
gradually decreased. Recently, percentage of foreign
programs also has been slowly going downhill with little
fluctuation year by year. In this vein, a policy change by

government stimulating competition and commercialization of the networks tended to lead the program diversity and percentage of foreign programs to falling down. In addition, the period of mid- and late-1970s shows another example for this. In spite of the strong intervention into media, the diversity and foreign program indices had fallen ultimately due to the government's guarantee for allowing high level of competition among three networks in commercial sense.

Third, continued from the discussed point above, the networks' strong desire for winning ratings games and securing abundant advertising revenues has led prime time to being filled with a few dramas and news with overlapped schedule. It also set aside socio-cultural programs to both networks' and viewers' last preferences.

Next, in terms of the contribution of the rapid economic growth over 20% per year by 1980 to prime time programming of Korean TV networks, its degree is proved to be high enough to become another determining factor for the pattern of programming. As shown in results and hypothesis testing part, the negative correlation between each economic index and the elements of programming trends is very high during the time period of 1962-1980. Also, the multiple regression analysis shows that explaining power of both associated indices as a independent variable is 35% (in case of vertical diversity), 77.8% (in case of horizontal

diversity) and 58.6% (in case of percentage of foreign programs) during the rapid economic growth period. Further, vertical diversity index has strong negative correlation with the economic indices during the period after 1980. These imply that both economic growth index (GNP per capita) and commercialization index (total advertising expenditure) have the compatible direction and mechanism with those the political-legal factors are involved.

Last, as resulted from this study, a division of period for analyzing economic contextual factors have an important meaning. The results are much different in after-1980 period from those in by-1980 period in that, as mentioned before, the nature of economic growth and economic policy during the two periods is not the same. The large and sudden fluctuating points of the indices are very few after 1980 compared to those by 1980. It implies that during the past decade Korean TV programming has been taken off to more stabilized and mature level than before due to the change in the nature of economic surroundings. As shown tables and figures in previous part, the values of programming indices have changed little and connecting lines indicating them are more horizontal than vertical.

VI. SUGGESTION FOR FUTURE STUDY

Realizing a few limitations of this study in aspects of range of the topic and methodologies, this researcher want to suggest the following tips for future study.

This is a case study for the purpose of testing previous theoretical assumptions based on earlier study findings rather than pursuing to develop generally applicable theories. In this sense, it will be desirable to enlarge the scope into comparative perspectives or more general contexts.

Methodologically, this study has also a few limitations. If sampling size had been larger enough to measure instability index, the findings would have been more applicable to the real settings. Reconsideration of dividing program categories would be needed because it is a crucial determinant of the degree of program diversity. Most importantly, it will be valuable to devise indices for measuring the degree and characteristics of political intervention of each point and each time period.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A. Program Category Coding Form

1. Serial Number _____   2. Date 11/___/19___ , ____day

Sources PROGRAM CATAGORIES	Foreign (MIN.)		NETWORKS & TIME(MIN.)		
	U.S.	Non-U.S.	KBS1	TBC(KBS2)	MBC
I. Information					
1. News	___	_____	___	_____	_____
2. Sports News	___	_____	___	_____	_____
3. Quiz(Non-Entertaining)	___	_____	___	_____	_____
4. Government, Military	___	_____	___	_____	_____
II. Socio-Cultural					
1. Classic Music/Cocert	___	_____	___	_____	_____
2. Traditional Music/Arts	___	_____	___	_____	_____
3. Education/Culture/ Documentary	___	_____	___	_____	_____
4. Children (Non-Entertaining)	___	_____	___	_____	_____
III. Entertainment					
1. Every Day Drama	___	_____	___	_____	_____
2. Weekly/Biweekly Drama	___	_____	___	_____	_____
3. TV Series & TV Movie	___	_____	___	_____	_____
4. Movie	___	_____	___	_____	_____
5. Sports(Live/Recorded)	___	_____	___	_____	_____
6. Variety Show	___	_____	___	_____	_____
7. Comedy	___	_____	___	_____	_____
8. Quiz(Entertaining)/ Game Show	___	_____	___	_____	_____
9. Talk Show	___	_____	___	_____	_____
10. Children(Cartoon/Drama for Children etc.)	___	_____	___	_____	_____
11. Non-Sports Events (Entertaining)	___	_____	___	_____	_____
IV. Others	___	_____	___	_____	_____

Year _____

Time Units	7:00 -7:30	7:30 -8:00	8:00 -8:30	8:30 -9:00	9:00 -9:30	9:30- 10:00
(Serial #____) # of Different Program Types						
(Serial #____) # of Different Program Types						
(Serial #____) # of Different Program Types						
(Serial #____) # of Different Program Types						
(Serial #____) # of Different Program Types						
(Serial #____) # of Different Program Types						
(Serial #____) # of Different Program Types						
Total						

Total:_____   Average:_____