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**The Interpretative Positions Of The Audience And  
The Invitations Of Television Drama**

**by  
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**Submitted for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

**Department of Film and Television Studies  
University of Glasgow**

**June 1997**

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Ph.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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has been approved by the Committee for the thesis requirement  
for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Film and Television Studies  
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## Abstract

The purpose of this study was to explore different acts of interpretation in the interaction between text (television drama) and audience. This study proposed a new theoretical and methodological problematics for audience studies, which is called 'empirical reception aesthetics', challenging the taken-for-granted terms such as audience activity, interpretative communities and the openness of text. It brought out three areas of interest in empirical reception aesthetics; the audience's horizons of expectations, the interpretative positions and textual invitations. In order to investigate these areas, this study emphasised methodological convergence, employing both survey research and the focused family interview.

Concerning the audience's horizons of expectation about television drama, the Korean audience saw it as 'emotional escapism', 'distanceship', 'naturalistic realism', and 'imaginative realism', which set limits on divergence in interpretations and reading pleasure. This implies that a range of foreknowledge is an integral part, as a mediated factor, in the interaction between text and audience.

It found that there were four interpretative positions; 'the escapist', 'the habitual', 'the ironic' and 'the non-engaged'. Though the individual viewer tends to take a dominant position, this is closely influenced by the other positions on the ground that interpretative positions are correlated with each other. This implies that the audience's interpretative position is not fixed in relation to class or gender. By using the term 'interpretative positions', we are able to avoid a simplistic distinction of oppositional reading and dominant reading and the mechanical application of the audience's interpretation to social backgrounds. Moreover, audience activity can be better understood when focused on a negotiated position.

This study argued that discursive relations are also significant in the act of reading television drama, focusing on cultural capital such as the frequency of watching drama, cultural exchanges and genre preferences. The audience's hermeneutic pleasure is attributable to 'conventional openness' whereby the audience is invited to participate in the fictional world from the processes of gap-filling such as the feeling of co-authorship, sharing secrets, a feeling of mastery and puzzle-solving games. Conventional openness means that the meanings of text are not infinitely open, but to some degree determined, depending on generic conventions and popular aesthetic codes.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Traditionally, those studying the humanities have tended to take one of two opposing approaches, concerning themselves either with 'a method of presentation' or 'a method of understanding'. While those taking the first view point, as in formalism, structuralism and genre studies, have focused on aesthetics and structures of meaning inherent in the text, the other side, including the phenomenology of art, hermeneutics and reader-oriented criticism, have been concerned with understanding the reader or subject, suggesting interpretations dependent on the role of the reader. In spite of such a distinction, both sides of the tradition have made open a route to understanding, on the one hand, how a wider range of textual elements and styles function in the text, and on the other, to approaching how interpretations are made as a product of the reader's experience. It seems certain that these discussions may provide some valuable spring boards from which audience studies may explore the interaction between text and audience.

While over the last few decades, media studies have also made a distinction that has reduced the area of interest to a set of oppositions between the text-oriented approach and the audience-oriented approach, there have been significant shifts from the former, and audience passivity, towards the latter, and audience activity. In administrative or quantitative traditions, one important division was between these perspectives which asked what the media do to the viewer and others which considered what the viewer does with the media. As uses and gratifications studies have replaced effect studies, the notion of the active audience has been empirically theorised to disregard the idea of the mass. For uses and gratifications research, the viewer is active in that he/she is intentional, selective and involved. In critical or qualitative paradigms, there has been, equally, an attempt to conceptualise audience activity by exploring how the viewer, as a social and cultural being with the complex reality of everyday life, makes sense of meanings, resists the dominant meaning, and in turn constructs his/her own subcultural practices. Such a conceptualisation encourages the idea of the viewer as embedded in the micro-world of domestic and daily existence.

Although starting out from different philosophical and methodological backgrounds, both uses and gratifications research and reception studies have arrived at similar conclusions with, in broad terms, relative audience autonomy demonstrated as a key building block. The findings of empirical research are deployed to dismiss a model of effect/media by which the masses are greatly influenced.<sup>1)</sup> In a similar vein, reception studies are invoked to challenge the view of the media as the means by which dominant and preferred meanings are reproduced. Another key point lies in the emphasis on multi-dimensional uses and gratification and on complexity of interpretations. There is no doubt that these contributions serve to conceptualise the notion of the active audience and the complexity of reception.

A plethora of criticism is, nevertheless, offered with reference to these researches. Among this criticism is 'the disappearing text' which is attributed to the over-emphasis of the role of the audience and the openness of text. Blumler, Gurevitch and Katz (1986: 260) admit that 'texts are to some extent constraining. We must therefore build into our outlook an explicit recognition that texts are not infinitely open and may allow a limited number of possible readings'.<sup>2)</sup> Moreover, the disappearing text results in ignorance of various differences in the manner in which the audience receives or reads television drama of different genres. If the audience builds up motives for watching soap operas, it is clear that, to some extent, these stem from generic conventions of soap operas: never-ending stories, interweaving storylines and unfolding textual elements. From the critical camp, Curran (1990: 152) points out:

Audiences do not have an infinite repertoire of discourses to draw upon in adapting TV meanings. The location of individuals in the social structure will tend to determine which discourses they have ready access to. This influences in turn the range of readings that they will derive from media content.

Just as active audience theories criticise the 'disappearing audience' in effect studies and Screen theory, so they themselves are refuted on account of the 'disappearing text'. To borrow Blumler, Gurevitch and Katz's expression, it is a 'dialogue of the deaf'. It is evident that the meaning of text is neither infinitely open nor entirely determined. Nevertheless, uses and gratifications theories are often dismissed for implying that almost any television programme can be used for almost



any function and, hence, can be interpreted in almost any way. Reception studies tend to ignore the fact that meanings inherent in the text exert pressure on audience interpretation in certain preferred ways, even though they can sometimes be rejected.

More recent audience studies have looked at both sides of the interaction, including negotiated readings. They have examined both the ways in which the audience actively makes sense of presentations, and the ways in which television presentations have the power to shape and inform public understandings (Liebes and Katz, 1989, 1993; Livingstone, 1990; Roscoe, Marshall and Gleeson, 1995; Wilson, 1993). What still needs to be done here is to shed light on a pool of mediated factors or complexity in the encounter of audience and text. Although there have been a few analyses, there is much room for exploring this complex and mediated relation.

In examining the interaction between text and audience, this research will follow some ideas from the phenomenology of art such as reception aesthetics which may offer rich possibilities, even though it has conceived of the reader as an abstract construct, as signified in the notion of 'implied reader' or 'mock reader'. Therefore, it is necessary to position the audience in its social context beyond abstraction, and at the same time to bring out cultural and discursive relations in interpreting television drama, which are not only shared but also divergent.

### **1-1 The Purpose of the Present Study**

The present study is designed to identify the way in which Korean audiences construct various 'horizons of expectations' and 'interpretative positions', and how they are invited by a plethora of repertoires of television drama, and in turn gain hermeneutic pleasure in the interaction between text and audience. It attempts to go beyond a dichotomy between active and passive audiences and a simplistic usage of the term, 'interpretative communities', and to explore central issues of complexity and consensus in drama reception. Three essential areas will be investigated: the horizons of expectations — a range of foreknowledge, as it were, which has been constructed through experience of texts; the audience interpretative positions which are connected with textual dimensions and social backgrounds; and textual



invitations and hermeneutic pleasure. To put it in another way, this research will focus not only cultural/discursive modes of interpreting text, but also on complexity in reception within domestic and social context, suggesting that meanings of text are to some degree determined both through the audience's given experiences and social backgrounds and through textual elements and aesthetics. In addition, this research will explore consensus and divergence in interpretations which are neither completely homogeneous nor divergent.

Concerning the audience's horizons of expectations, it can be said that the constraints imposed by the audience are significant for understanding either shared or divergent experiences or interpretations. Yet only a little is known of the role of prior cultural and social knowledge and genre expectations. The horizon of expectations as a mediated factor between text and audience has a crucial implication, because it is a set of pre-given experiences which are not purely subjective but intersubjective. Moreover, we can assume that the audience reads television drama and gains pleasure through constituted knowledge which is socio-culturally derived from its experiences of similar genres, narrative types and various emotional and cognitive perceptions of what television drama seems to be.

The viewer's interpretative position is another mediated factor. The audience's readings are framed by shared cultural formations. In previous studies, shared interpretative positions tend to be derived from objective positions such as class, subculture group and ethnicity, as has been seen in the term 'interpretative communities'. Though it is recognised that these conditions set limits on the viewers' interpretative positions, it is necessary, first of all, to identify their specific sites as experiences of watching drama. Watching drama encourages its own interpretative positions which differ considerably from those taken when watching news, public affairs and documentaries. After finding the specific positions of a drama viewer, it is necessary to relate them to objective social and cultural contexts.

Regarding dramatic invitations, this study will bring the power of text to illuminate how audiences gain pleasures with reference to genres, narratives, hermeneutic act and context, because we cannot dismiss these textual elements or aesthetics in the process of reception. It is obvious that a specific genre or narrative provides particular pleasure. More importantly, there is 'gap filling' in the reading process, that is to say, a set of acts of reading in which the audience is invited to

speculate about future development and to reconstruct past events. This process of reading contributes to creating hermeneutic pleasure.

In order to achieve its purpose, this study will analyse Korean television drama as a whole. <sup>3)</sup> Most work on television drama has concentrated on studies of the audiences reading either a particular serial or soap opera such as *Dallas* or an episode from a popular serial, or on the context of television viewing. Such work has been important for moving away from more abstract theories which ignored the role of the audience towards more concrete audience readings and the relationship between a serial and a subculture group.

However, if the audience has constructed its horizons of expectations and interpretative positions, it cannot be said that this has been derived from only a particular drama. Though a viewer enjoys watching a particular soap opera, it is assumed that he or she will watch other dramas. For example, Korean audiences regularly watch five or seven kinds of drama a week. This tendency would be similar regardless of nationality, even though there are differences in frequency of regularly watched dramas. This implies that the viewer's reading position has been concretised through viewing various dramas rather than through only one.

It is only by a more comprehensive understanding of television drama reception that we can pursue different readings and pleasures in relation to different genres and narratives. By doing this, we will be able to explain the complexity and variety of reading and involvement; whether, for example, the male viewer makes sense of a television drama which is generally regarded as a female genre and vice versa, or how different genres contribute to different audience readings or positions.

## **1-2 Research Questions**

The first part will suggest a new theoretical perspective to explore the interaction between drama and audience, following the phenomenology of art or German reception theories in literary criticism. The study will examine some theoretical and methodological premises of existing audience studies, investigating their strong and weak points and the extent to which they may contribute to a new problematics. This is not to imply that it is merely a superficial mixture of the text-oriented perspective and the audience-oriented perspective. Though this study will



give more priority to the audience, it will attempt to seek alternative ways to understand the interaction of text and audience, discussing the following two questions: what are the theoretical and methodological problems of existing active audience studies? How can a new problematics be built up which is comprehensive enough to go beyond the blind-spot of both text and audience oriented studies?

The second part of the study will analyse the viewer's horizon of expectations which has been constructed in the encounter of the intention of text and the intention of viewer. This is concerned with the viewer's foreknowledge and intersubjectivity established by cultural and social experiences. Some of the questions to be addressed are: what kinds of horizons has the viewer constructed and how are they interrelated? How is the viewer's horizon related to his/her social and cultural backgrounds and generic knowledge?

Based on the viewer's horizon of expectations, the third area of inquiry will focus on interpretative positions. This argues for the exploration of consensus and divergence in interpretations within each distinct viewing position. Some of the questions to be tackled are: what kinds of interpretative position is the viewer located in? What are the relationships between the position, and social and cultural backgrounds? How do viewers belonging to each interpretative position take up a negotiated position concerning nearness to and distance from television drama?

The final part of this inquiry will be devoted to hermeneutic pleasure, genres and context of reception. It is necessary to explore hermeneutic pleasure within the conventional openness of television drama. The following three questions are posed: how does the audience gain hermeneutic pleasures through protensions and retentions? How does the audience become involved with different genres? How is the audience's pleasure related to the context of viewing and cultural exchange?

While answering these research questions, this study will stress the point of balance between autonomy and determination, disregarding overemphasised audience activity. There is no doubt that the activity of the audience can be far better understood in terms of interrelated and negotiated positions. Though an individual viewer either has a dominant horizon of expectations or takes an interpretative position, his/her act of reading cannot be detached from other horizons and positions. As a consequence, it is necessary to identify the viewer's act of reading through these complex relationships.

### **1-3 Outlines of the Study**

The chapters that follow are arranged thus: Chapter Two offers some critical accounts of active audience studies including the feminist perspective. It asserts that active audience studies are overly optimistic versions of reality over-emphasising the role of pleasure, appealing to resistant readings, and overestimating the polysemy of the text. Moreover, they tend mechanically to relate a reading position to a social position such as class or subculture, as a result of which they seem, ironically, to fail to explore complexity of reception and discursive power. Regarding methodology, ethnography, in fact, refrains from sharing a broad focus on social process, since it does not account for the relations between subculture and common culture. More importantly, it relies on a researcher's point of view rather than the point of view of the audiences involved.

This chapter features an attempt to search for a new theoretical problematics, so called 'empirical reception aesthetics' which deals with textual dimensions and the concretization of the audience. To rephrase that, empirical reception aesthetics may be an alternative way in which to identify the intersubjectivity of the audience's reading and interpretative positions without ignoring the power of the text.

Chapter Three outlines the research design and analytical procedures. It reveals that this study conducts three analytical procedures: a pilot survey, the focused family interviews and the final survey research. Employing both a quantitative and a qualitative method, this research first assumes that neither qualitative method is entirely satisfactory as a means of understanding audience reception, and, further, asserts that the two methods are not incompatible. What must be achieved by their convergence is a way to demonstrate a wider range of differences and specialities within a scientifically generalised knowledge of audience interpretation of, and involvement with the text.

It explains the survey sample (gender, job, class, interviewed families etc.), the composition of the interview and the survey questionnaire, analytical methods of interview and survey data, and the findings of the pilot study from which the focused interviews are arranged. All interviews are conducted at each family home, with most of the family members attending, and a stratified sampling method is employed for survey research.



Chapter Four discusses four horizons of expectations, namely naturalistic realism, imaginative realism, emotional escapism and distanceness which are found through a factor analysis. Naturalistic realism is to do with the ways in which the audience connects its experience with the text, so that it is referential in the sense that the audience relates to characters or fictional worlds as real people or reality itself. Imaginative realism is more connected with the poetic (emotional /imaginative) dimension which means indirect experiences or the associative process of bringing the presented world vividly to life in mind. Emotional escapism is related to psychological processes: identification, catharsis and avoidance, making the audience more strongly involve itself in the fictional world and flight from reality. Finally distanceness is bound up with incompatibility and moral judgement about the world of drama.

What is central here is that there is an interrelation of these horizons. That is to say, the audience is not determined by one horizon but overdetermined through a complexity of various horizons. This chapter continues to explore these horizons in relation to socio-cultural factors; gender, social backgrounds and cultural capital, genre preference and context of viewing.

Chapter Five explains four interpretative positions of the audience; the escapist, the habitual, the ironic and the non-engaged position. The escapist position is the most emotionally involved in the presented world, watching drama to escape from everyday life. Both the habitual and the ironic positions are related to negotiated readings in that they admit the logic of the culture industry, but are critical of subject matters or dramatic structures. While the former is more related to watching drama for togetherness, the latter is nearer to drama but less playfully involved and more critical in assessing dramatic constructions. The non-engaged position shows moral judgement, most critical evaluations and awareness of the drama as separate from reality. It is, however, worth noting that the escapist is not always the mindless, just as the non-engaged is not the distanced viewer. Both of them are mindless on the one hand, and are mindful on the other hand. In addition, this chapter investigates how these interpretative positions are related to cultural and social backgrounds.

Chapter Six examines the way in which the audience gains pleasure from various genres, narratives and popular aesthetic elements. It argues that hermeneutic pleasure is attributed to conventional openness of drama whereby the

audience participates in co-authorship, sharing secrets, a feeling of mastery and assurance in the process of gap-filling, as it were, by protensions and retentions. Further, it elaborates how the context of viewing is complex and different according to the degree of involvement with drama. To put that another way, doing something else while watching drama does not always result in inattentive viewing.

The final chapter attempts to trace implications as well as limitations in this research. Here it returns to theoretical and methodological convergence in audience studies. Some implications are suggested in relation to autonomy and determination of the audience, complexity of reception, interpretative positions, textual invitations and so on. It emphasises that audience activity may be better explored when seen as discursive experiences which are related to a set of foreknowledge and cultural capital.

## Notes

1. The main focus of uses and gratifications research is related to the question of 'what people do with the media' (Blumler and Katz, 1974). The implication of uses and gratifications researches into television soap opera audience is, firstly, to demonstrate the concept of an active audience on the ground that the viewer is intentional, selective and involved, as is found in reception studies. Secondly, these researchers have explored various motives for using soap opera which are mainly categorised as entertainment, escape or avoidance, information-seeking and social utility (Alexander, 1985; Compesi, 1980; Perse, 1986; Rubin, 1983, 1984, 1985). For example, Compesi explains that the most important gratifications that the audience derived from the daytime serial, *All My Children*, is 'entertainment'. Following entertainment are 'habit' and 'convenience' ('it is on at a convenient time'). The fourth is 'social utility' ('conversation or talk about drama with friends or family members'). A less important gratification is 'relaxation and escape from problems'. Thirdly, by employing a plethora of variables related to viewing motives, audience activities and the media effects, these studies have empirically shown how the viewing motives are interrelated, and how the audience activities are multidimensional. The significant correlation between viewing motives might mean a more utilitarian use of soap opera. Not only have these findings revealed that the audience's activities, because of its diversity, are not consistent, but they have also demonstrated that audience activity is an important intervening variable in media uses and effects, since factors such as selectivity, attention and involvement are positively related to media effects such as satisfaction, cultivation and parasocial interaction (Buerkel-Rothfuss and Mayes, 1981; Carveth and Alexander, 1985; Kim, 1992; Perse, 1986; Perse and Rubin, 1988; Rouser, 1984; Rubin and Perse, 1987). As a consequence, uses and gratifications studies have empirically explained the involvement of the audience, interrelated viewing motives, multidimensional uses of soap opera and the importance of audience activity as an intervening variable.

2. Apart from 'the disappearing text', uses and gratifications research suffers from another drawback: originating in psychological problematics, it has tended to dismiss sociological backgrounds and contexts, and most researches on television drama have only surveyed college students (Babrow, 1987; Buerkel-Rothfuss and Mayes, 1981; Carveth and Alexander, 1985; Kim, 1992; Perse, 1986; Perse and Rubin, 1988; Rubin, 1985). Although uses and gratifications theory has succinctly suggested viewing motives and effects, it has

insufficiently situated them within any cultural and social frameworks. For example, it has shed light on a wide range of pleasures by using more explicit and rigorous variables including relaxation, the passing of time, entertainment and escape. But pleasure can be better understood when applied to social relations such as class positions and cultural relations such as viewing context or cultural capital, rather than simply to psychological motivations. That is not to say, of course, that psychological motivation is less important than socio-cultural factors, but that various motivations should be positioned and interpreted within cultural and social contexts.

3. History and characteristics of Korean television drama will be discussed in Appendix 1.



## Chapter 2

### **Towards Empirical Reception Aesthetics of Television Drama**

Recent media studies have tended to lack a conception of text and audience which is both dynamic and mutually definitive. While some of them have focused on an analysis of the meaning in the text, others have concentrated on the act of reading at the expense of the determinacy of the text and the media. Just as the audience has tended to disappear in the text-oriented approach, so the power of the text has seemed to be gradually dispersed in recent audience studies. Whether text or audience is the main focal point, it should be studied with an eye to the existence of the other. What is required is to seek out an appropriate theoretical paradigm or problematics comprehensive enough to go beyond the limits of each rather myopic conception of the audience/text interaction, looking more broadly at the inherent dynamic relationship.

This chapter explores some issues which have preoccupied television drama audience studies or reception studies at a theoretical and methodological level. The first section rethinks what is described as 'the active audience theory', one of the crucial developments in recent media studies, pointing out that the concept is limited in its capacity to account for the complexity of reception, and at the same time is ignorant of some aspects of consensus concerning the audience's interpretative positions which have been constituted through its experience. The second section offers criticism of the essentialism involved in common gendered audience studies. The third part offers a critical account of ethnography which has been fashionably employed. The fourth section deals with the term, 'the discourse of feelings', as a set of intersubjective experiences which are positioned within social experiences, but cannot simply be reduced to formal systems. This concept may be useful in exploring the relationship of text to audience.

The final section suggests 'empirical reception aesthetics' as a new theoretical and methodological problematics, deriving from the phenomenological theory of art, literary criticism and theories of readers, and then outlines three areas of interest; the audience's horizon of expectations, the interpretative positions, and textual invitations. Its main concern is with discursive relations of interpreting television

drama for the interaction between text and audience. This chapter argues that, by employing empirical reception aesthetics, it is possible to overcome some problems in the active audience studies such as cultural populism, the disappearance of the text and the mechanical application of the audience's interpretations to class, gender and ethnicity.

## **2-1 Repositioning Television Drama Audiences**

An active audience theory is a recent development in media studies over the last decade and a half. It has emerged from criticism of 'Screen theory' and positivist/behaviourist effect theories, both of which considered the spectator or audience to be passive. Despite significant contributions on textual mechanisms, Screen theory has been criticised for reducing the social to the personal and for overwhelmingly privileging text over context. Effect theories, ranging from the bullet effect to even the limited effect theories, have involved the assumption that any effects will be isomorphic with television content, taking no account of the productive process of reading or of the divergence of meanings.

In broad terms, theories of the active audience have come to emphasise the interpretative role of the audience and the importance of context as a crucial aspect in the production of meanings. The text is made to mean through the process of reading and is, to some extent, open or polysemic. This gets rid of the notion of the audience as the passive mass, the user or the inscribed textual subject. Supporting ethnographic research methods and activity of reading, Tulloch (1990: 12-13) asserts that 'we cannot describe social activity at all without knowing what its constituent actors know, tacitly as well as discursively. Rather than 'objectively' placing any of these as (often 'deviant') 'other', it is important to treat their utterances and behaviour as 'making sense' within their own cultural space'. This means emphasis on the knowledgeability (at the level of both discursive and practical consciousness) of the audience about power relations in dominant culture.

With regard to the reading and consumption of television drama from audience studies, three social factors, namely gender, class and ethnicity have been identified. Most analyses have tended towards the pleasure and resistance of audiences, especially women, in accounting for the immense appeal of the soap opera or the

prime-time serial (Ang, 1985; Brown, 1990, 1994; Fiske, 1987b; Hobson, 1982). According to these works, the soap opera has been considered as undermining the masculine ethos dominant in popular culture. In more general terms, they have focused on the ways in which female audiences actively and creatively make their own meanings and create their own culture. For instance, watching soap opera is explained as a way of temporarily refusing the demands associated with female viewers' social role as wives and mothers and with patriarchal ideologies.<sup>1)</sup>

Other researchers stress that class, among other factors, plays a major role in how female audiences make sense of television drama (Seiter, Borchers, Kreutzner and Warth, 1989; Press, 1990). These analyses show that women cannot be considered as an undifferentiated audience. Seiter et al. hold that 'the position of the 'ideal mother' — a person who possesses greater wisdom than all her children, whose sympathy is large enough to encompass the conflicting claims of her family, and who has no demands or claims of her own — is partially taken up by middle-class women, while it is consciously resisted and vehemently rejected by working-class women' (1989: 237), because this textual position is not easily accessible to them. In other words, the working-class women refuse the narrative's demand for sympathy and understanding as the position of ideal mother. This refusal is due to the recognition of a gap between the comfortable lives of the television characters and real situations of working class women. Therefore, Seiter et al. assert that 'ideal mother' is nothing but a specific social identity of a middle-class woman rather than of a working-class woman. In contrast, Press (1990) points out that working-class women are more likely than middle-class women to perceive *Dynasty* to be realistic, and to accept it less critically. Press (1990: 178) further asserts that '*Dynasty* operates hegemonically for working-class women, either helping them to live vicariously and ignore dissatisfactions with their own lifestyle, or simply to blur perceptions of their own lives through the television image'. On the other hand, middle-class women focus on differences between themselves and the *Dynasty* characters, feeling superior to the involved characters in that middle-class women may attempt, albeit not entirely successfully, to solve similar family problems to those which characters are failing to solve.

Some researchers have been much interested in the role of ethnic backgrounds in the reception of television drama (Liebes and Katz, 1986, 1989, 1993; Silj, 1988). Liebes and Katz (1986, 1989, 1993) reveal how different cultural and ethnic groups



—— Israeli Arabs, Moroccan Jews, Israeli Russians, Kibbutz members and Americans —— make their own sense out of the series *Dallas*. There are differences among these groups concerning their critical distance and involvement with *Dallas*. Their conclusion is that the non-Americans consider the episode more real than the Americans, having little doubt that the episode is about 'America'; the Americans are less sure, and are altogether more playful in their attitudes towards the programme.

Here we could raise further questions concerning television audience studies: what makes Seiter et al.'s and Press's findings reach completely opposite conclusions? <sup>2)</sup> Are gender, class and ethnicity independently mediated in the process of reading? Are there any textual invitations in making the pleasure of watching television drama? Don't divergent interpretative positions or modes exist in terms of discursive relations beyond gender, class or ethnicity?

As has often been noted, some of the positions emerging from recent audience studies can be outlined broadly as being: i) that the audience is active in that they hold far greater power over the text than is generally assumed and construct resistant pleasure; ii) that the meanings of text are always open or polysemic rather than closed or fixed; and iii) that the interpretative positions of the audience are divergent. It is worth noting that a critical account of these problematic assumptions is offered to reposition television drama audiences.

It is, in effect, a crucial point that we should seek for the relations between the audience's autonomy and determination, and the openness and closedness of the text. The active audience theory has failed to find this point of balance, by over-emphasising the audience's competence. At one extreme, Budd, Entman, and Steinman (1990: 170) hold that 'whatever the message encoded, decoding comes to the rescue. Media domination is weak and ineffectual, since people make their own meanings and pleasures'. Though even Morley (1992) has tried to distance British cultural studies from excessively optimistic trends, it is certain that the notion of activity has gone too far. In this connection, some researchers (Curran, 1990; Morris, 1990; Seaman, 1992) have highly criticised such overestimated activeness of the audience. Seaman (1992: 304-305) denounces:

Interpretations that rest on mere coherence or viewer pleasure can obscure a cynical, self-serving variety of populist pandering . . . At best they reflect a misguided or twisted form of 'deference' to 'ordinary people'. At worst, they

only masquerade as deferential respect for the desires of the 'masses': frequently they constitute a deceitful reliance upon the symptoms of a system of indoctrination as a warrant for dubious claims about 'resistance' and 'opposition'.

According to Seaman, the active audience theory is nothing but 'pointless populism'. In a similar vein to Seaman, Morris (1990: 22) stresses that it is 'the sheer proliferation of restatements, and the emergence in some of them of a *restrictive definition* of the ideal knowing subject of cultural studies'. As these analyses on pleasure, resistance and the politics of consumption are endlessly repeated with minor variations, they not only fail to investigate discrimination or complexity and contradictions inherent in mass cultural texts, but also tend to demonstrate the misperceived identification between the knowing subject and a collective subject, 'the people'. As a consequence, the critical force of that populism seems to disappear, because they encourage cultural democracy by seeing mass culture not as a vast banality machine but as a raw material made available for a variety of popular practices.

From the notion of excessive activity of the audience, Morley (1992; 1994) and Ang (1990) have recently tried to make a distinction, saying that an active audience does not always mean a powerful one. They underscore that much active audience theory is, in fact, premised on a heavily negotiated reading as a reasonable starting point. It is certainly appropriate to shift from activity as resistance of pleasure or just oppositional reading towards a more negotiated process of reading to which too little attention has so far been paid. Moreover, we need to avoid a simplistic distinction between activity and passivity. In this connection, as Livingstone (1990: 192) puts it:

As a term, 'active' has become fashionable and hence it has been used in many, often contradictory, ways which need to be clarified on use. To reject the toolkit, do-what-you-will-with-the-text, model is not necessarily to reject a vigilant, attentive and creative reader or viewer, but nor is it to reject a habitual, schematic, unimaginative one. Rather, the point is that viewers must inevitably 'do' something with the text, but that they are likely to draw upon their formidable resource of knowledge and experience to do so, and creativity or habitual response will be a function of the relationships between the structures of the text, the social knowledge of the viewer and the mode of

interaction between them (critical or referential, mindless or mindful, motivated or apathetic)

Another problem concerning the position of the disappearing text in the active audience theory should also be raised again. No matter how open the meaning of the text, it is to some degree fixed or preferred. Despite the fact that meaning does not inhere within the text, and is far better seen as a property of interpretative production, we cannot deny the textual signification of what Barthes (1972) and Corner (1991) call the second level of meaning. Corner (1991) points out that meaning nearly always implies the socio-cultural relevance and value (the third level of meaning) in cultural studies, as the result of which meaning equals imaginative response. Corner (1991: 271) is concerned about a disastrous degree of slippage around the question of textual openness and closure, arguing that 'researching together of interpretative action and textual signification is still the important thing for audience research to focus upon'. As the active audience theorist insists on the openness and polysemy of the text, it leaves no room to explore the way in which the dominant meanings of an established society are reproduced. As Curran (1990: 146) notes, this trend is ascribed to the fact that the political aesthetics gave way to the popular aesthetics in audience studies, as it were: the focus of interest moved from the question of how television texts advanced or retarded political struggle to the question of why they are popular.

On the other hand, the disappearance of the text brings about ignorance of drama as an aesthetic object, or poetics as normative features of particular types of aesthetic products. There is a range of textual elements to draw the audience's interest. In effect, soap opera has different popular aesthetics from those in the prime-time serials or mini-series. Overgeneralising specific textual structures risks ignoring the specific relation of each genre to the construction of subject. Therefore, it is necessary to take more interest in the poetics of television drama through which the audience engages with the drama as a textual system, and by which the audience is able to recognise any specific instance in each genre.

It is ironical that active audience theory tends to fail to explore the relations of complexity and consensus in reading, by emphasising only a subject position of class, gender or ethnicity, on the one hand, or by stressing only the divergence of individual audience members on the other hand. As psychoanalytic works have demonstrated, the audience is dispersed and fragmented not only through the



characteristics of the television text itself, but also through 'nomadic subject positions'. There is thus a need for a theory of dispersed subjectivity within shared discursive and social relations. If the audience is considered as being constructed only by a subject position, we are failing to bring out the complexity and differentiation in the construction of the subject, mainly because the subject is constructed through various interpretative and social positions rather than through a single one.

What is central here is the nexus of consensus and divergence in the audience's interpretative positions, as analysed by a few researchers (Livingstone, 1990; Liebes and Katz, 1993). In this regard, there is a need to investigate not only the nature of audiences' interpretations, but also the extent to which these interpretations diverge from each other. Further neither complete consensus nor entire divergence in interpretations must be assumed, but instead interrelationships of the areas of consensus and divergence must be investigated (Livingstone, 1990). The fact that consensus exists in interpretations does not mean that the audience is just passive, but implies that the audience has constructed 'shared discourses of feelings'.<sup>3)</sup>

Though this section has discussed the positions of the television drama audience, offering critical accounts of recent active audience theory, this has not been to imply that the audience is only passive. Rather, it has claimed that the audience's activity may be far better understood, if our focus of research is shifted from a simplistic division of activity and passivity, resistant pleasure and dispersed text towards the mode of the interaction of mindless and mindful, and referential and critical, the areas of consensus and divergence in interpretations and a negotiated position.

## **2-2 A 'Gendered' Audience and Essentialism**

It is particularly in feminists' works that television drama genres have been explored. Feminist critics look to genre in terms of the relationship between the text and gender (female audience), analysing the construction of masculine/feminine difference, the particular text's address for a female audience, resistant reading of the female audience and so forth. Feminists' attempts are somewhat limited in objectives when investigating audience involvement and pleasure, even though it is

admitted that they have been interested in aspects which concern the employment or the representation of women and have actually been successful in addressing those. This is not only because a certain genre has its own conventions and textual specificities which are especially interesting to particular groups of people (and not to others), but also because particular audiences have the horizon of expectations of genre through given watching experiences such as genre knowledge, cultural capital and preference.

Modleski (1982) suggests similarities between the narrative form of the soap opera and the routine of the women's day. She discusses the soap opera as being a particularly feminine type of narrative in three aspects. Firstly, its open-ended narrative without climax or resolution is mediated to women's psychological and routine flow of time. Just as the soap opera is never ending, so women's domestic work and capacity for waiting is infinite. Secondly, its multiple position presents them with a dilematic feeling different from the monolithic feeling, characteristic of the position of taking care of all family members as a mother. Thirdly, its discontinuous and retarded narratives provide for possible interruption and distraction crucial to the proper functioning of women in the home. Modleski (1983) continues to argue that the rhythms of women's work in the home accord closely with the flow of daytime television, particularly the way in which soap operas, quiz shows and commercials interrelate. She further says housewives want to know what is on other's people's minds, because they are excluded from participation in the larger world. Daytime television programmes provide them with the needs and desires to read about others in the rhythms of their domestic work.

The work of Modleski is valuable on the point that the pleasure of the 'gendered' audience is ascribed to a textual structure which has been neglected in cultural studies. It thus demonstrates the difference of pleasure to be obtained by women and men. But her limitation is that the relation of the audience to the text is restricted to that of the housewife to the text. Further, women are limited to the housewife not working outside the home, and having one, two or more children. In spite of accepting the openness of the text, Modleski argues that only a subject position as *mother* is inscribed within the soap opera. Obviously, there exists a contradiction between the openness of the text and a single subject position. In other words, the openness of the text guarantees multiple subject positions rather



than an inscribed position. It could not be said that the female audience would take up only a subject position either as housewife or mother.

It is here worth noting that Kuhn (1984) attempts to make a distinction between subject position proposed by text and social subject positioned in context. With reference to women's genres, Kuhn separates femininity as subject position and femaleness as social gender, trying to avoid the reduction of femaleness to femininity. Kuhn's term, 'spectatorship' is quite useful on the point that it bridges text and context, because the female audience may or may not take up feminine subject positions. However, what should be examined is a wide range of cultural and social factors which are mediated in interaction between femininity and femaleness.

Brunsdon extends the gendered subject position offered by the text to extra-textual space, suggesting spectatorship constructed in culture rather than by representation. This space is closely related to the cultural competencies of the female audience. Brunsdon (1981: 36) says:

Just as a Godard film requires the possession of certain forms of cultural capital on the part of its audience to "make sense" — an extra-textual familiarity with certain artistic, linguistic, political and cinematic discourses — so too does *Crossroads*/soap opera. The particular competences demanded by soap opera fall into three categories: i) Generic knowledge — familiarity with the conventions of soap opera as a genre, ii) serial-specific knowledge — knowledge of past narratives and of characters, iii) cultural knowledge of the socially acceptable codes and conventions for the conduct of personal life.

This implies that the social audience cannot simply be reduced to the subject position proposed by the text. Brunsdon aims to resolve problems posed by the model of the spectator/subject, at the same time recognising the gendered subject position. It is quite interesting to see Brunsdon's attempt to reconcile the text position and the context position, even though the context outweighs the text for her.

Despite the valuable theoretical contributions of Kuhn and Brunsdon, cultural analyses of television fictions from feminist critics have failed to go beyond this relationship. They underscore resistant or subversive readings; sub-cultural identity as the creation of an oral network; psychological pleasures; conceiving of the female audience as a social audience already divided by gender (Ang, 1985; Brown, 1990,

1994; Hobson, 1982; Geraghty, 1991; Feuer, 1984; Seiter et al., 1989; Press, 1990). For instance, Hobson (1982) argues that a television melodrama like *Crossroads* should not be assumed to be escapism or fantasy, but should be located as an integral part of everyday life or experience by the elderly and the female audience. This is mainly due to the fact that the female audience has 'ownership' rights. Having rejected the elitist criticism which ignores what the audience thinks about a programme, she overemphasises the importance of context and of the use or pleasure taken up by the female audience. In this point, her argument lies in a similar line to Fiske's problematic, cultural populism or semiotic democracy. Hobson has undoubtedly gone further by abandoning any concern with quality and by considering the text as being simply dissolved into its readings.

First of all, feminist analysis's problem is that it foregrounds an excessively active reading by the female audience, considering gender as one of the crucial mechanisms in structuring cultural identity and pleasure. If we overestimate the female audience's active reading, it will be difficult to find critical and moral justifications for criticising how popular television dramas have constructed patriarchal ideology and gender identity in established society. 'The growing theoretical and empirical sophistication of feminist media studies has not only jeopardised its relevance for a critical feminist media politics but also diminished its potential as a comprehensive cultural critique' (Zoonen, 1992: 35). Further, the emphasis on the active reading of the female audience entails an assumption: 'journalistic genres have been seen as irredeemably male and closed, in contrast to the progressive female 'openness' of the viewing relations typically obtaining in popular drama' (Corner, 1991: 277). In spite of an active reading of the female audience, it is undeniable that television dramas have contributed to the dominant hegemonic construction of given gender identities. There is a further need for giving priority to the female audience's critical power over cultural populism and the hegemonic process.

Secondly, the act of reading should be understood by closer examination of the context in which the male and the female audience and their interrelationships make sense. This does not simply say that for the male the domestic sphere is a place of leisure, defined in distinction to an external workplace, and for the female it is a place of work, as Morley (1986) argues. This study asserts that the home should be considered as the site where leisure and work are combined for men and women as

well. As feminist criticism presupposes that the household as context is the sphere of work for women, they argue that women are only able to watch television dramas distractedly and guiltily. It only gives us half the picture, for the opposite hypothesis could be developed. Because times of leisure for women are more likely to be limited in the home than those for men, women could conceive of watching television drama as their real times of leisure, watching it concentratedly without any guilty conscience. Of course, it is undeniable that for women the domestic sphere tends to be more the site of work. Rather, the point is that it is not appropriate to make a simple distinction between leisure and work in the home.

Owing to the disregarding of other cultural contexts, the feminist perspective has failed to consider the relation between subculture and common culture. As watching television drama is only a single leisure practice in women's everyday life, it is further necessary to articulate subculture into common culture. In this connection, Radway (1988: 367) notes:

We (feminists) have often reified or ignored totally other cultural determinants beside the one specifically highlighted. . . . there is no discussion whatsoever of the ways in which the practice of reading might be articulated with practices organised by and centering on race or class. Ethnographers of media use have also tended to rule out as beyond our purview questions of how a single leisure practice intersects with or contradicts others, how it is articulated to our subjects' working lives, or it is used to contest the dominance of other cultural forms.

Finally, feminists have not determined the similarities and differences of reading in the female audience's interpretative positions. To be sure, female viewers do not only construct 'shared horizons', but also have divergent positions that go beyond only a gendered position. We should place at the forefront of our thinking and analyse discursive and social relations which bring about consensus and divergence in the female audience's interpretations. Another mediated factor of readings is the mode of emotional participation such as the extent of involvement and distance. The extent to which the audience is emotionally engaged could exert an influence upon the process of reading and the addressing of subjectivity. We should pay more attention to the ways in which females engage with television drama, as compared with male audiences. By doing this, we would shed light, more clearly, on the modes of pleasure for the female audience.



We cannot suppose that gender will be the only determining factor in the reading of television dramas. The act of reading is not only a gendered practice, but also more involves complicated cultural and social positions. We need to look into a wider range of social backgrounds apart from gender. Considering gender to be a crucial factor, we could not account for differences which appear within the female audience's interpretation or differences of pleasure which female and male feel in television drama watching.

### **2-3 Limits of Ethnographic Audience Studies**

Ethnographic work has established a firm position in British media studies, especially television audience studies, with a move from the analysis of subculture to the analysis of the media audience. Undoubtedly, ethnographic works on television audiences were initiated by two intriguing branches; more or less text-oriented, Hall's *Encoding/Decoding Model* (1980) and works on subcultures and deviance conducted in the late 1960s and 1970s, especially, Willis's *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs* (1977). Following Hall's model, Morley (1980) investigates the relation between the reading of television text and the audience's social backgrounds through focused interviewing of twenty-six groups for one and a half hours on average. Although Morley reveals that the position of classes correlates little with the positions of reading, he proves how polysemic and open the text is for different social groups.

On the contrary, Willis (1977) observes a group of twelve working class boys for three years through group discussions, informal interviews and diaries in their school and work places. His aim is to explain cultural reproduction through the interplay of education and the labour process in social formation. He asserts that the counter-culture of working-class boys in school is similar and connected with working-class culture. Deriving such concepts as 'penetration' and 'limitation', Willis identifies the contradictions and irony in working-class counter-culture.

From these previous ethnographic works, lots of researchers have interviewed and observed television drama audiences, by using a combination of ethnographic techniques: i) individual or group interviews (Brown, 1994; Buckingham, 1987; Hobson, 1989; Sieter et al, 1989; Tulloch and Moran, 1986); ii) participant

observation (Hobson, 1982; Tulloch and Moran, 1986); iii) personal documents such as letters (Hobson, 1982; Ang, 1985; Tulloch and Moran, 1986, Gripsrud, 1995); iv) retelling stories (Livingstone, 1991; Liebes and Katz, 1993); and v) group discussions (Liebes and Katz, 1986, 1989, 1993). Here Hobson (1982) and Buckingham (1987) add analyses of programme makers' intention as well as audience's reading. Their findings reveal the significant fact that the audiences read the text differently from programme makers' expectation. Hobson argues for a recognition of the way in which texts are appropriated by their audiences, going so far as to say that audiences have the 'rights of possession' because its fans feel that a programme belongs to them (1982: 153).

Most works on drama audiences have been concerned either with the popularity of the text and pleasure inherent in the text or with the relation between the audience's partial experiences and a specific genre. There is no doubt that audiences obtain pleasure from television drama and their different readings are due to social and cultural backgrounds. The results of these studies have been intensive connections of the act of reading with realism, pleasure, gender and viewing context. For Hobson, the pleasure of audiences is derived from part of the cultural exchanges which go on in everyday life. For Ang, Buckingham and Livingstone, attention is paid to textual structures such as 'emotional realism', 'retention' and 'protension', and romantic narratives. To rephrase that, these reception studies have not described holistic dimensions as the social context, but read a singular part of the audience's reading.

It is worthwhile shedding light on differences between audience ethnography and Willis's work. Though the audience ethnographies use almost the same techniques as Willis, their research strategies are quite different. As Nightingale (1989, 58-60) points out, these audience ethnographies refrain from sharing a broad focus on social process and stop short of the interpretative work needed to read the audience. This means that they use their ethnographic data to achieve textually defined aims rather than to explain social process. Another important difference is that reading the significance of the signs of a subculture and its relation to the cultural totality is qualitatively different from reading television and from reading an audience's reading of television. In effect, the audience ethnographies have not only described rather limited television phenomena, but have also given a

one-dimensional reading of the audience. Ethnography has some simple theoretical assumptions. Hammersley and Atkinson (1993: 2) define it thus:

ethnography (or participant observation, a cognate term) is simply one social research method, albeit a somewhat unusual one, drawing as it does on a wide range of sources of information. The ethnographer participates, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions; in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues with which he or she is concerned.

According to Hammersley and Atkinson's definition, ethnography can be understood as a method in which the ethnographer goes to the field, and holistically observes and describes cultural and social phenomena in as natural a context as possible. Central to ethnography is a distinctive kind of description, as a result of which ethnography places great emphasis on the techniques and strategies of description. Hammersley (1992: 22-23) explains at least three reasons for the ethnographic emphasis on description: firstly, ethnographic methodology is based on inductivism. Secondly, ethnographers want to see the world from the point of view of the people involved. Thirdly, ethnographers emphasise the importance of understanding events *in context*. *Out of context* the nature of what occurred may be misunderstood. Consequently, ethnography deals with the common, often taken-for-granted actions that people construct to organise and make meaningful the most routine aspects of everyday life. It focuses on how social actors accomplish these fundamental operations of everyday life, including the construction of routine communication activities.

Given these basic ethnographic assumptions, we can criticise methodological and epistemological drawbacks to be found in television audience studies. It is certain that television audience studies have employed far too restrictive techniques and strategies which are involved not so much with naturalistic description as with 'reading of reading'. Depending on short interviews of only two hours duration, limited participant observation and letters, television drama audience studies have failed to collect a wide enough range of information on the audiences involved.

Secondly, the lack of information has made it difficult to explain the watching of dramas as a social process. As most ethnographers have admitted, the



ethnographic approach is holistic in emphasis and is fundamentally concerned with the context of action: thus, their argument runs, an action such as viewing of television or cultural practices needs to be understood within everyday life and the dynamics of the domestic process. However, we can prompt the question of how television ethnographic studies have provided an adequately 'thick description' of the complexities of this activity. This is mainly because these studies have focused on the popularity of a specific drama, not on domestic context, as a result of which they have failed to position subculture within broader common culture.

Thirdly, most studies have seemed to rely on a researcher's point of view rather than the point of view of people involved. The result is a co-opting of the interviewee's experience of the text by the researcher using the authority of the researcher's point of view. Of course, this is not to say that ethnography is a method lacking in reflexivity. As Clifford (1986) puts it, ethnographic truths are inherently *partial*. No matter how objectively ethnographers may describe the field, there is no escape from reflexivity. But the problem lies in the extent to which researchers engage in interview or participant observation. As interviewees' voices and researchers' voices are equally heard, or interviewees are directed by researchers, we can not take up information as relevant and rigorous. Such a limitation results in the lack of justification for 'reading of reading'. As a consequence, the meaning of a text in audience studies seems depend on what the researcher expects of it.

Questions can also be posed with reference to ethnographic methodology. It cannot be said that the composition of all the interviewed individuals and groups constitutes a representative cross section of the community, and that findings may validly be generalised to other groups. To be sure, the primary objective of ethnography is not to ensure that analytical accounts produced about certain classes, peer groups and families can be generalised to other social groups or settings. It is not being suggested that the ethnographer should seek scientific procedures in a positivist sense with lawful behaviour or statistical generalisation.

What is being pointed out here is that ethnographic findings could be more useful knowledge only if the television audience researcher employed a probability sampling method based on class, gender, education and so on. This seems a way to more or less reduce over-relativism shown in a micro-perspective. In fact, scientific sampling and generalised findings are of no use for the majority of ethnographers

observing other indigenous cultures in anthropology, because indigenous culture is otherness or one which is already differentiated. Television ethnographers on the other hand take a different assumption from that of traditional ethnographers. They do not observe and describe indigenous cultures or ways of life at a long-term level, but investigate domestic context and reading of reading which are based on class, gender, age etc. at a short-term level, or just through family interviews. While television ethnographers are concerned with shared experiences within each family members, traditional ethnographers are interested in common culture in specific social formation. Thus the problem is that television ethnographers identify television phenomena as the object of research with other cultures observed in anthropology, when using ethnographic methods.

## **2-4 Discourses of Feeling**

It is evident that the audience engages with television drama in quite different ways, because it is able to participate in the fictional world. This participation does not come of its own accord, but must be reproduced. If the audience participates in a certain drama, this is because this activity has affective foundations, but it is also because these foundations are structured by a type of discourse allowing them to be activated. The structure of discourse which sustains television drama produces the participation as well as the affective or emotional attitude. It is here worth developing Williams's terms, 'structures of feeling', with reference to textual experience.

According to Williams (1977: 133-134), 'structures of feeling can be defined as social experiences in solution, as distinct from other social semantic formations which have been precipitated and are more evidently and more immediately available'. Williams (131-132) goes on:

The methodological consequence of such a definition, however, is that the specific qualitative changes are not assumed to be epiphenomena of changed institutions, formations, and beliefs, or merely secondary evidence of changed social and economic relations between and within classes. . . They are social in two ways that distinguish them from reduced senses of the social as the institutional and the formal: firstly, in that they are *changes of presence* (while they are being lived this is obvious; when they have been lived it is still their



substantial characteristic); second, in that although they are emergent or pre-emergent, they do not have to await definition, classification, or rationalization before they exert palpable pressures and set effective limits on experience and on action.

There exists a set of experiences: the subjective as distinct from the objective; feeling as distinct from thought; the immediate from the general; the personal from the social. However, they can not simply be reduced to the subjective, feeling or the personal, but are rather thinking as feeling and feeling as thinking on the grounds that such feeling or experience has been constructed in a living and interrelating continuity. Furthermore, they can not be reduced to belief-systems, institutions or general relationships.

William's use of the concept of a structure of feeling exists at two levels (which are sometimes confused): first and more importantly, it is derived from attempts to understand specifically affective elements of consciousness in a generation or period. Secondly, it is found, in a narrower sense, as specific feelings in art which are not covered by other formal systems. We can define this sense as a 'discourse of feeling'. To put it another way, structure of feeling refers to a feeling or experience which already exists and to which the expression gives structure, whereas discourse of feeling refers to a situation in which feeling only exists when it is structured by discourse. Though the latter can not be detached from the former, it is relatively less historical. By defining a discourse of feeling as a subcategory of a structure of feeling, it is possible to explore more specifically the ways in which an individual audience member feels and experiences a set of texts.

Ang (1985) attempts to find a connection between the recognition of fictional excess and familiarity with the idea embedded in *Dallas*. The female viewer experiences psychological reality — what Ang calls 'emotional realism' — even though she considers *Dallas* to be fictional. For Ang, emotional realism has to do with the recognition of a 'tragic structure of feeling', as a way of apprehending and experiencing the world, following Raymond Williams's terms.

A problem raised here is that Ang applies the structure of feeling to too restrictive a genre and to a restricted female audience. In point of fact, the audience's recognition of television drama is concerned not so much with the structure of feeling as with the discourse of feeling. By misusing the terms, Ang tends to fail to determine a range of affective involvement which is divergent and

shared and is a route to pleasure for the male audience, because pleasure is considered to be one already divided by gender. Further, Ang tends to equate discourses of feeling with structures of feeling, by directly connecting each textual experience with broader social experiences. This is not to say that textual experiences should be distinguished from social ones, but to imply that complexity between the two should be explored in detail. Among various discourses of feeling, 'a tragic structure of feeling' is one which plays a significant role, especially in melodrama and soap opera genres, within the audience's subjective experiences.

Let me give an example of how viewers construct discourses of feeling from *Farm Diary*, a Korean rural drama series. For Korean male viewers aged over 40, the dominant discourse of feeling in *Farm Diary* may be called 'realistic nostalgia'. Though they don't think that *Farm Diary* reflects the present reality of Korean agricultural society, they feel the dramatic world to be imaginatively realistic. As the father's authority has been rapidly driven away, male viewers aged over 40 seem to long not only for traditional patriarchal society, but also for the heartedness of rural communities in contrast to competitive modern city life.

Contrary to the middle aged male viewers, female viewers are likely to experience 'empty nostalgia' rather than 'realistic nostalgia'. Even though experiencing the warm heartedness and nostalgia in *Farm Diary*, they are unlikely to yearn for the fictional world or the agricultural society. In this context, their nostalgia is concerned not so much with the realistic as the empty. This is probably due to fact that, for female viewers, living in an agricultural society is regarded as more difficult than living in a modern city, because of hard domestic work, patriarchy and delicate family relationships such as conflicts with mother-in-law or between sisters-in-law. Thus they tend to be sympathetic with rural life which reflects nature, nostalgia, and warm heartedness, but not to yearn for the fictional world. It can not be said that either realistic nostalgia or empty nostalgia can be reduced to economic relations or dominant ideology.

These discourses of feeling which the audience has constructed can be specifically related to the evidence of forms and conventions in text, and at the same time to the audience's horizons of expectations which have to do with a pool of cultural knowledge and generic knowledge. In this point, discourses of feeling are not, albeit subjectively experienced, completely personal but intersubjective and shared.

## **2-5 Towards Empirical Reception Aesthetics: The interaction between text and audience**

It is especially in empirical reception studies that the humanities such as literary criticism, anthropology, theories of readers and the social sciences have converged within recent media studies. These can be understood as attempts to integrate theories of texts and of readers, and qualitative and quantitative methods, not least because just as the audience is disappearing on one hand, so the text is dispersed on the other. This research suggests 'empirical reception aesthetics', as an attempt to explore the interaction between text and audience.

The phenomenological theory of art provides us with an important springboard from which to view the interplay between text and audience, because it is concerned not only with the actual text, but also, in equal measure, with the reader's actions involved in responding to that text. It is thereby positioned between two poles: the textual dimension and its concretization or realization. From this perspective, the work cannot be reduced to the text itself, nor simply to the concretization accompanied by the reader.

Ingarden's (1973) conception of text offers a starting point for empirical reception aesthetics. He considers text to be a purely intentional object which is neither determinate nor autonomous, but dependent on an act of consciousness. What is important for Ingarden is the notion that various layers and dimensions of the text form a 'schematised structure' to be completed by the reader. Thus the text is always indeterminate unless it is concretised by the reader. Drawing on Husserl and Ingarden, Iser (1974: 274) asserts;

The work is more than the text, for the text only takes on life when it is realized, and furthermore the realization is by no means independent of the individual disposition of the reader — though this in turn is acted upon by the different patterns of the text. The convergence of text and reader brings the literary work into existence, and this convergence can never be precisely pinpointed, but must always remain virtual, as it is not to be identified either with the reality of the text or with the individual disposition of the reader.

The work must lie within 'the virtual dimension between the text and the reader' (Iser, 1974: 278) from which the work derives its dynamism. It is thus



important to elucidate this virtuality which bridges the gaps between text and reader. Following the German literary reception theorists based on phenomenology, especially Wolfgang Iser and Hans Robert Jauss, both of whom have been concerned with a reconstitution of literary theory by drawing attention away from the author and the text and refocusing on the text-reader relationship, empirical reception aesthetics is interested in the virtual dimension in order to establish under what textual and social conditions a drama (text) has meaning for an audience and how interpretative positions are mediated in the audience's readings.

Empirical reception aesthetics need to explicate three areas. The first is to investigate the intersubjectivity of the audience which can be defined as the 'horizon of expectations' (Jauss, 1982). If the audience imbues the drama with the semantic unity that is identified with intentionality, we should explain the audience's foreknowledge which is culturally and socially derived from its experiences of similar genres and narrative types. The second is to seek for the interpretative positions which are derived from the horizons of expectations, rejecting the problematic terms, 'interpretative communities'. The third is to bring out textual invitations as popular aesthetic devices. Textual devices are the significant factor which bridges the gap between text and audience, by making text itself a worthwhile aesthetic object.

### **The audience's horizons of expectations**

Husserl explores the interrelation between the perceiving subject and the perceived object or something. According to Husserl's basic assumption, as we can not perceive without pre-intentions or pre-conception, each preconcept, in turn, makes sense to us if it is processed. Therefore, dyadic interaction arises out of an interpretative activity, which will contain a view of others and an image of ourselves.

From Husserl's concern that sheds light on the possibility of noncasual knowledge on a broad scale and especially with reference to perceived phenomena, it is useful to follow his term, the life-world, when focusing on the interaction between text and audience. The life-world contains two senses: 'the live world of individual experience and a constituted, intentional structure with a transcendental machinery' (Natanson, 1964: 80). What is central here is that a phenomenological

study can not only pay attention to the world of experiences itself. Rather, even though the life-world is subjective, its concern is related to 'universal a priori', or the transcendental world of experiences as distinct from 'objective a priori'. This transcendental world of experiences or 'a constituted intentional structure and a constituted reality dependent upon an immanent fiat of consciousness' (Natanson: 85) offers an important starting point about perception or interpretation which is neither purely subjective nor objective. Husserl remarks: 'every originally constructive process is inspired by pre-intentions, which construct and collect the seed of what is to come, as such, and bring it to fruition' (quoted in Iser, 1974: 277). Undoubtedly, whenever text is read as something, the interpretative response will be based upon pre-given knowledge or experience. The act of reading is never a pre-intentionless understanding of something. Husserl calls this system of pre-intentions or expectations 'the horizon'.<sup>4)</sup>

Helmut Kuhn (1940: 107-108) enumerates three aspects of horizon which are conceived by Husserl: i) horizon is the ultimate circumference within which all things are bound to appear. To explore the horizon means to integrate the things in a broader context; ii) while limiting the totality of given things, the horizon also frames it. The frame of a picture helps to constitute its wholeness, but similarly the horizon determines that which it frames; iii) by its very nature every horizon is 'open'. In this point, we can grasp the horizon which, while limiting a set of given perceptions and things, helps to constitute its wholeness and is the impetus of self-transcendence in that it is a basis of experience outside experience.

Borrowing and adapting a term from Husserl and Gadamer, Jauss refers to the possibility of objectifying 'the horizon of expectations' in texts. Jauss (1982: 24) suggests three generally presupposed factors through which the horizon of expectations is constructed:

Firstly, through familiar norms or the immanent poetics of the genre; second, through the implicit relationships to familiar works of the literary-historical surroundings; and third, through the opposition between fiction and reality, between the poetic and the practical function of language, which is always available to the reflective reader during the reading as a possibility of comparison. The third factor includes the possibility that the reader of a new work can perceive it within the narrower horizon of literary expectations, as well as within the wider horizon of experience of life.

Jauss's suggestion provides us with the clue with which to determine how the reader constructs the horizon of expectations. Just like the literary reader, it can be said that the television audience constructs the horizon of expectations through the poetics of drama, through familiarity with specific dramas and through cultural and social knowledge.

The importance of the horizon of expectations is attributed to the fact that it may open a road to bringing out the intersubjectivity beyond merely subjective responses. Just as the intention of the text tends to define more or less the space of reading, the intention of the audience, determined by already given experiences or preconceptions, also seems to determine, as it were, the space of meaning. Of course, it is not a rigid boundary in the sense that it moves with various intentions and invites others to advance further. A wide range of horizons are merged and reconstructed against the background of textual, generic and cultural elements. As a result, we could establish an intersubjective understanding that not only eliminates the individual response, but also determines, to some degree, the influence of the text. The horizon of expectations as constructed within the intention of the text and the intention of the audience is closely bound up with the audience's interpretative positions which are divergent on the one hand, but are shared on the other hand.

Any viewer has a set of fore-knowledge concerning what television drama is like or should be, through varying experiences. Its pre-given knowledge is mediated in the mode of interpreting television drama. For instance, if a viewer conceives of television drama as the reflection of the reality, or the representation of ordinary people's ways of life, his horizon of expectations can be called 'naturalistic realism'. On the contrary, if a viewer has critical distance in the negative perception of television drama itself, his horizon of expectation can be regarded as 'distanceship'. Though there are several horizons of expectations about television drama, but they are not infinite. This is mainly because horizons of expectations are not purely subjective but an intersubjective experience which is conditioned in familiar norms, conventions and genres. Moreover, there still exists dominant horizons of expectations within which the audience's interpretative position is constructed.



### **From interpretative communities to interpretative positions**

Reception studies have extended the terms of 'interpretative communities', <sup>5)</sup> in an effort to shed light on the process of reading, employed by audience members in their decoding of media texts. There is no doubt that this conception has been encouraged by the ethnographic turn but has been abused in problematic ways. Focused on interpretative communities, some researchers have revealed how these are related to gender, class, and ethnicity, as has been mentioned. The strong point of these studies has been the attempt to relate the audience interpretation to several social backgrounds. Much of what they argue is valid, but they have left much to be desired. As they overemphasise a demographic background, they fail to shed light on shared or divergent orientations which are merely derived from a social collective.

We shall have to take into consideration the difference of memberships within an interpretative community, because an interpretative community is not an homogeneous group. If male and female working classes differ in their decodings, this may be ascribed to other cultural/discursive positions, beyond just classic or gendered interpretative communities. Moreover, we need to explore the way in which the meanings of these communities are either overlapped or differentiated.

Dismissing the use of the term 'interpretative communities' which equates it with socio-demographic groups, Jensen (1990: 130) suggests that 'interpretative communities should be characterised by their discursive modes of interpreting media content'. In a similar vein to Jensen, Schröder (1994: 339-342) advocates:

We have arrived at a position where interpretative communities are conceptualized in two interdependent ways: as situational and interactive social networks on the one hand, and as discursive formations, or codes, on the other. . . Even if we want to study 'situated viewers', we do not have to 'situate' them in natural or simulated groups in order to explore such situatedness. . . A research design that privileges the individual reader does not automatically prevent us from exploring the multiple socio-cultural discourse.

This research agrees with Schröder's point which privileges the individual viewer over the interpretative communities. <sup>6)</sup> Instead it is more useful to shift away from 'interpretative communities' towards 'interpretative positions', when exploring television drama audience. The focus here is concerned not only with the individual

viewer within a domestic context, but also with cultural/discursive modes of interpreting text which are to some degree shared, as has been seen in the horizons of expectations.

The audience's interpretative position can not be detached from its social and cultural ones. However, the point that should be made here is that the audience's positions have to be located within specific sites, such as the amount of experience of watching drama and the resulting foreknowledge, that is, discursive relations, because it can not be assumed that the audience's interpretative positions will be the same regardless of news, current affairs and drama. If such specific sites concerning the reception of drama are not to be explored, the site of autonomy and the role of discourses in constituting and differentiating audience's readings and pleasures will not be found. The crucial point in the encounter of viewer and text is the range of available discourses, and this has not yet been adequately examined.

Only a few works provide an interesting starting point by revealing different interpretative modes at a discursive or textual level. Liebes and Katz (1993) suggest four interpretative positions (or types of involvement) by using two criteria of involvement: i) referential/critical, <sup>7</sup> ii) hot/cool. Based on these dimensions, the audience is broken down into the moral (referential and hot), the ideological (critical but hot), the habitual (referential but cool) and the aesthetic group (critical and cool). Similarly, Livingstone (1990) categorises four audience positions corresponding to different interpretations of the romantic narrative in *Coronation Street* by employing a cluster analysis. The four types of audiences are labelled 'the romantics', 'the negotiated romantics', 'the negotiated cynics' and 'the cynics'.

These studies offer quite important implications; firstly, they seem to overcome a simplistic distinction of the active and the passive on the ground that they underline the negotiated positions. For example, Liebes and Katz (1993) determine two negotiated positions; hot involvement in the critical reading and cool involvement in the referential reading. Russians relate more closely to the thematics of *Dallas*, becoming hot, and even bothered, over the manipulative message, whereas Americans and kibbutzniks are more cognitively and playfully involved in the reality of the programme, and thus fall in the referential/cool category. The second important point is to demonstrate how the meaning of a specific drama or an episode is read differently in corresponding to discourses and patterns of involvement which are brought to bear on the text by the audience. What that

means is that they link the audience's positions with a discursive or textual level, rather than with only class, gender and subculture group. The third point is to explore the ways in which the audience constitutes consensus and divergence in reading in terms of discursive relations. This can make open a road which can bring out the complexity of reading, because they investigate consensus and differences in the audience's reading due not only to social backgrounds, but also to involvement in text.

If different readings are to be understood, it is certain that the sites of encounter of text/audience should be preferentially explored. This is not only because readings occur through direct experiences and foreknowledge, but also because there are shared interpretative positions which can not merely be reduced to gender or class positions.

### **Textual invitations**

The third concern of empirical reception aesthetics is with textual invitations as aesthetic devices to draw audience attention. Though it needs to explore generic conventions and a wide ranges of strategies of narratives, this part demonstrates how the audience is induced into television drama in terms of textual structures. Claiming that the text allows for meaning, while restricting the possibilities, Iser suggests two places in the textual system where text and reader interact in the reading process: blanks or gaps and negations. Iser (1980: 112) writes clearly how blanks and negations dominate the act of reading.

Blanks and negations both control the process of communication in their own different ways: the blanks leave open the connection between textual perspectives, and patterns — in other words, they induce the reader to perform basic operations *within* the text. The various types of negation invoke familiar and determinate elements or knowledge only to cancel them out. What is cancelled, however, remains in view, and thus brings about modifications in the reader's attitude toward what is familiar or determinate — in other words, he is guided to adopt a position *in relation* to the text.

Iser's theory of the act of reading relies upon a basic semiotic distinction between syntagmatic structure and paradigmatic structure. The syntagmatic structure is explained as related to gaps or blanks which are defined as 'spots of



indeterminacy'. The importance of the blank is ascribed to the fact that it connects various segments of the text for communication or interaction between text and audience. For instance, the story line suddenly breaks off and continues from another perspective in an unexpected direction. The result is a blank that the audience must complete to join together the unconnected segment. To be sure, this is the most rudimentary process for the act of reading.

Here the juncture of two or more segments, in turn, constitutes the 'wandering viewpoint', which is for Iser conceived as 'a means of describing the way in which the reader is present in the text' (1980: 118). As the wandering viewpoint results from a constantly changing position within the text, it tends to position the audience's viewpoint. This may be due not only to the unpredictable relation between segment and segment, but also to the change of the character's viewpoint. The moving of the wandering viewpoint may be best understood through the dialectics of protension (anticipation) and retention (retrospection). In other words, as each segment contains protension which creates new expectation to be confirmed in subsequent segment and retention which answers the expectations aroused by the previous segment, the reader interprets the text through a wandering viewpoint, an intersection between protension and retention. Thus, the wandering viewpoint constitutes a field of vision (the horizon about the text), and simultaneously causes the audience to speculate as to what lies around the next segment. Consequently, the audience viewpoint wanders backwards and forwards across the text, making pleasure from reading text.

What is here important in watching television drama is that protension is not always related to the unpredictable narrative. It does seem that predictable protension is as significant as unpredictable protension in watching television drama, because even though aware of the story development, the audience is keen to watch and indeed their knowledge adds to the pleasure. This is not to say, however, that the reader in novel or film always has unpredictable protension as an aesthetic experience. Rather, the point is that the protension of the television drama audience is more likely to be conducted through the predictable narrative than through the unpredictable one, as compared with the literary work or film.

On the syntagmatic level, the audience acquires a perspective from which previously accepted values and norms appear invalid. When it occurs, on the paradigmatic level, negation is produced. Negation is another process of reading in

which the reader fills in blanks. According to Iser, negation is a standard by which to evaluate the quality of the text. The text is classified as low quality, unless negation transcends the reader's horizon. However, if we are to introduce Iser's theory into television drama reception, we should need to revise his assumption about the question of the quality. With regard to the act of television drama reading, affirmation is as important as negation. Affirmation is an act of reading in which the audience confirms the familiar and endorsed norms and values. Thus the act of reading is conducted in the interaction between affirmation and negation.

Iser's argument that the text, by its very nature, must call into question the validity of familiar norms ignores the audience's primary aesthetic experiences as the pleasure of reading. For example, repetition as an aesthetic device of affirmation would be able to open the space of interpretation on the paradigmatic level. Allen (1987: 85-86) points out that television drama contains a great deal of narrative redundancy: the repetition of information from character to character within each daily episode. Allen emphasises the point that 'who tells whom is just as important as what is being told'. The repetition of information within the same episode is far from being paradigmatically redundant. This is because a character's telling could be variously read against the background of his/her viewpoint. It can be said that narrative repetition contributes to opening the space of reading. As a result, the primary aesthetic experience results from the intersection between affirmation and negation on the paradigmatic level. For Iser, this filling in of blanks and negating familiar norms and values refers to what Ingarden calls concretization.

Jauss and Iser's theory helps us to elucidate the complexities involved with the audience's most basic encounter with the text: the reading process itself. Its merits are that it has forced us to recognise the interaction between text and audience. Nor can we any longer ignore the fact that texts are constructed to be read, and that they dictate the terms of their readability. Despite Jauss and Iser's contributions, some criticisms are raised as to the notions of the reader as an abstract construct, the lack of sociological backgrounds and the absence of analytical justification or empirical proof. Empirical reception aesthetics needs to undertake analysis of the real viewer who is autonomous and positioned in social relations. As most reception theorists have criticised, the majority of reception theories in literary criticism are not concerned with the reader in any empirical sense (Holub, 1984; Jensen, 1987), as recognised in the notion of 'the implied reader' or 'the model reader'. Rather, the

reader is either a 'transcendental construct', an educated European, or the critic himself. It is necessary for us to shift away from such a notion of the reader towards the social audience. Therefore, 'the notions of the reader response may serve to establish a new focus on the social uses. . . . may serve to broaden the approach to audience reception in social science' (Jensen, 1987: 29). Reception is at once a cultural and social phenomenon, and the object of hermeneutic as well as social scientific inquiry. Consequently, an empirical reception aesthetics is an attempt to converge quantitative and qualitative methods for investigating the interaction between text and social audience. If this were done, we could avoid the abstraction of the 'implied reader' and the ambiguous distinction between reader and critic or interpreter itself: the actual reader who should be the object of reception studies was confounded with the investigator.

However, the limitations of empirical reception aesthetics are that limited attention is paid to the process of reading which is acted out in the audience's complex perception. In connection with the reading process, Iser explores the 'consistency-building' and 'image-making activity of the reader'. In principle, the reader forms a Gestalt in the process of participating in the production of meaning. When the constructed Gestalt is at odds with an imaged Gestalt, then the reader tries to make things consistent. On the other hand, the act of reading entails ideation (or image-making activity) an essential part of the creative imagination by which the reader produces the meanings. In spite of such processes which are an integral part of reading, empirical reception aesthetics fails to analyse things that are experienced or conceptualised within the consciousness of the reader. The second problem originates in its adoption of an ahistorical, phenomenological starting-point. By conceiving the text-audience relationship in terms of constant or timeless concepts, it tends to foreclose an interpretation of historical knowledge. The third limit is using the horizon of expectations in the narrower sense. The horizon of expectations in principle refers to historical situatedness, but this research applies it to simple interaction between text and reader.

Despite such limitations, it may be a useful alternative for reception studies in terms of social science. This is not only because it may objectify the horizon of expectations which the audience undertakes in various levels by surveying and interviewing many audiences, but also because, by avoiding the abstract concepts, it may explore the social relations which are connected with the act of reading. In



addition, by adding an interview method, it would be able to explore divergence of interpretative positions which are constituted within the audience's horizons of expectations and social relations.

## **2-6 Concluding Remarks**

This chapter has offered some critical accounts of what is called the active audience theory or reception studies in terms of a theoretical and methodological level. The strong point of the active audience theory is the extent to which it reveals the audience's readings as divergent and the ways in which they are related to social backgrounds such as gender, class ethnicity and so on, beyond the notion of an undifferentiated mass.

However, by overemphasising romantic versions of the activity, it has failed to explore the point of balance between the audience's autonomy and determinacy, and between the openness and closure of the text. Most works are thus marred by a facile insistence on the polysemy of the text. It is certain that the interpretative positions are, to some degree, limited by given meanings, even though the autonomy of the audience is granted. Ironically, it tends to foreclose complexity of reception, as it appeals to pleasure or mere coherence. With regard to methodological issues, the now fashionable ethnography has been criticised here too. In spite of its methodological merits for understanding television viewing within the structure and dynamics of a context of action, the application of ethnography to watching television has been too narrow and restrictive.

A way must be sought to understand the interaction between text and audience which is an integral part of the process of reception, dismissing a simplistic distinction between activity and passivity, and a trend which prefers either text over audience or audience over text. This research has argued that the discursive relations of interpreting text should preferentially be explored. In this connection, this research has firstly coined 'the discourse of feeling', drawing on Williams's terms. It is evident that the audience has constructed a set of experiences including subjective, emotional and personal as distinct from objective, cognitive and general. Though these experiences cannot simply be reduced to the social, they are far better understood in cultural and social relations. This is not only because they are

constituted according to forms and conventions in the text, but also because they are shared in the audience's given experiences.

This research has also proposed 'empirical reception aesthetics' as a theoretical and methodological alternative which is concerned not only with the power of text, but also with the power of audience. It is concerned, first of all, with exploring the intersubjectivity of the audience reading which is related to the 'horizon of expectations' which is constructed within the intention of the text and the intention of the audience. Secondly, it is concerned with interpretative positions which privileges the individual viewer over the interpretative communities. Thirdly, it is much interested in textual invitations which induce the viewer to perform basic operations within the text and to adopt a position in relation to the text.

## **Notes**

1. In a similar vein, Radway (1987) argues that reading romance novels functions as a 'declaration of independence', as a way of securing privacy while at the same time providing companionship and conversation.
2. The major problems in these two studies lie in that the female reading position was mechanically reduced to the class position. It is simplistic to say that either all working class wives take up resistant reading, or all middle class wives read television drama in a resistant way. Here, we should take much account of other social and discursive factors; genre preference, cultural capital and the extent of watching drama as well as social backgrounds.
3. The discourses of feelings will be discussed in detail in Section 4.
4. From this perspective, Gadamer (1993) says that the pre-given knowledge is prejudices, in a positive sense, which are a condition of the possibility of understanding and belong to historical reality. Prejudices are those preconceptions which limit the possibility of vision in the hermeneutic situation. Thus, Gadamer introduces the central notion of horizon as an essential part of the hermeneutic situation. For Gadamer, as horizon is historically founded upon fore-having, fore-sight and fore-conception, it is not a closed but a constituted and constitutive term. As a result, it is understood as the system of moving prejudices which we bring with us at any situated time and context.
5. According to Fish (1980), 'interpretive communities', as sub-communities in which readers have shared rules of institution, is related not so much to complex readings of the reader as to institutional and literary determinants which impinge on the reader's interpretations.
6. This does not argue that we should determine 'the community of improvisation', suggested by Machin and Carrithers (1996), which seems be more problematic than are interpretative communities. They emphasise that people do improvise more freely on the materials of culture and experience than the notion of a monolithic interpretative community can encompass. This is not a community in that they focus on just an isolated individual.



7. The referential is explored under three categories; *keyings* (real and play), *referents* (“I”, “we” and “they”) and *value orientations* (interpretative or value-free, and evaluational or normative), and the critical is found under three headings; *the semantic* (themes, message, etc.), *the syntactic* (genre, formulae, etc.) and *the pragmatic* (self-awareness of the nature and causes of involvement).

## Chapter 3

### Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the research design and analytical procedures employed in the present research. This research executed three analytical procedures: a pilot survey, the focused family interviews and the final survey research. This makes use of both quantitative and qualitative methods which are not in fact contradictory but compatible.

There is a growing necessity for integrating some merits of each approach in order to explain more empirically and to understand social phenomena. Set against the theoretical background of empirical reception aesthetics suggested in Chapter 2, this chapter proposes an empirical qualitative method, because neither a positivist nor an interpretative paradigm is entirely satisfactory to bring about an understanding of complexities and specificities in the process of reception.

This research attempted to challenge the widely held idea that there are two methodological paradigms in social research. It has suggested that the distinction between the two is of limited use, arguing instead for methodological integration in audience studies.<sup>1)</sup> This research proposes three stages as a desirable method of methodological integration in which surveys are conducted before and after the focused interviews, and the focused interviews are then interposed as the catalyst. This means the process from generalisation to specificity, and then from specificity to generalisation.<sup>2)</sup> Of course, this is not to deny that there would be philosophical or methodological clashes, especially in the inductive and the hypothetico-deductive.

It is common for qualitative researchers to contrast their own inductive strategy with the hypothetico-deductive. However, such a distinction is over-simplified. Just as every quantitative approach is not concerned with hypothesis-testing, so every qualitative approach does not use the inductive strategy. Though employing both case study and survey research, the strategy of this present research is the inductive and descriptive. The main concern of this research is not with testing hypothesis, but with identifying cultural patterns and describing particular relationships involving television drama reception.

As a consequence, while the focused family interview is the attempt to make any feature of the audience's reception more precise, which may otherwise not be

properly achieved from survey research, survey methods are employed to objectify varying data and find out socio-cultural relationships and complexities.

### **3-1 The Focused Family Interviews**

The key technique in family interviews is the focused interview. As Merton and Kendall (1955: 476-477) have noted, 'the primary purpose of the focused interview was to provide some basis for *interpreting* statistically significant effects'. After significant elements and patterns have been previously analysed by the investigator, the interview is focused on the *subjective experiences* of persons exposed to the pre-analysed situation. After having previously analysed the audience's horizons of expectations, the interpretative positions and context of viewing from the pilot survey, the researcher, employing the focused interview technique, attempts to determine particular responses to these findings.

By choosing the method of family interview, the researcher was operationalising the assumption that family interaction is a key to understanding the mediating process via which television programmes enters into the domestic culture and everyday life. Work on television family viewing has shown that family members tend to accommodate and negotiate with their choice as to what is to be viewed and reading (Bausinger, 1984; Gunter and Svennevig, 1987; Lull, 1980; Morley, 1986). Most dramas in the three Korean television networks are scheduled between 8 and 11 PM during weekdays, and between 9 and 11 AM on Sunday which are conceived of as the family viewing time, except daily serials in the morning and teenager dramas. As most Korean workers finish their work around 6 and 7 PM, and usually arrive at home around 8 PM, between 8 and 11 PM are assumed as the domestic time when all family members may watch television drama. In this point, the viewer's experience of drama can be better described in relation to family interaction. Interviewing questions were put to the family as a whole rather than to specific individuals, although at times reticent participants were prodded by the interviewer.

The researcher entered all interviews with a list of issues to be covered, most of which were drawn from the findings of the pilot study. Most questions were as non-directive as possible, asking what thoughts and emotions the drama brought to the



interviewee's mind, but some of them were to some degree directive, by questioning the interviewee to provide agreement or disagreement. This does not imply that the interviewee was simply required to reply 'yes' or 'no' at the extreme. Even in such cases, they were asked to give the reasons why they agreed or disagreed with questions.

The focused interview with semi-structured questionnaire is different from that in the traditional ethnographic interview in that the researcher has reduced the width of the focus of inquiry in advance. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 114) have indicated, often the researcher wishes to test out an hypotheses arising from the developing theory or to find out particular issues and here quite focused questions may be required.

There are two reasons why the researcher employed the focused interview strategy rather than the holistic observation strategy of traditional ethnographic studies. First of all, the main purpose of this interview was concerned not so much with naturalistic observation as with a specific set of subjective experiences concerning television drama reception: what are the characteristics of the four horizons of expectations, 'naturalistic realism', 'imaginative realism', 'emotional escapism' and 'distanceship' and of the interpretative positions, 'the escapist', 'the habitual', 'the ironic' and 'the non-engaged'? How does the viewer get hermeneutic pleasure?

Secondly, it should be admitted that television ethnographers face inescapable practical limitations. These involve insufficient information, the difficulty of participant observation in the naturalistic setting, and restrictive description in connecting watching television with common culture when investigating domestic context and reading of reading at a short-time level, at most over several hours. As interviews in this research were conducted for two or three hours with each family, it was thought to be more efficient and economical to execute the focused interview with a list of questions to be investigated. <sup>3)</sup>

Nevertheless, the major limitation of this kind of interview strategy was that the researcher was restricted to a less open mode of questioning, by having decided beforehand the questions to be asked. As a result, the researcher's point of view intervene in the data collection process, because the interviewee is questioned to provide a specific set of information.

## **Interviewed families**

The sample was divided into three classes for comparisons between families based on monthly income, job and educated years. But the sample did not represent the relative numbers in the population as a whole, as the interview data from only fourteen families would not reflect the modes of watching television drama in Korean households.

At the first step, the researcher asked friends, neighbours and relatives to introduce interview families (eight working class, six middle class and four upper middle class families). Four families (one upper-middle class family: husband's job is surgeon; two middle class families and one working class family) refused the interview, because television dramas were hardly watched (surgeon's family). Three families were not interested in a family interview but gave no specific reason. After having confirmed from friends, neighbours and relatives whether or not each family permitted an interview, the researcher called either the husband or the wife of each family to let him or her know the purpose of this research, and then arranged each interview schedule. The sample of interviews consisted of fourteen families (Table 3-1), all of which were drawn from Seoul and possessed a VCR. All comprised households with husband and wife living together with one or more children, with the exception of Family 2. Forty-nine family members attended interviews.

Family interviews were conducted by the researcher alone from 5 August to 26 August, 1994. Each family was interviewed for around two hours between 7 and 11 PM at their home, most of the family members attending. Husband and wife were chiefly interviewed by means of the semi-structured interview questionnaire, but other family members were sometime asked to answer them. All interviews were recorded through a cassette tape recorder, and then transcribed in full for analysis.

### **Family 1**

Husband and wife working together in their butcher shop from 8:00 AM to 8:30 PM, and their two children aged 14 and 11. After *News at Nine* and dinner, they usually watch one television drama a day.

Table 3.1. Interviewed families' details

Family	Monthly Income	Job (H/W)	Age (H/W)	Watching TV(min.)	Educated Years (H/W)	No. of Children	Home Status
F1	£ 1480	Butcher *	44/41	90	6/6	2	Owner
F2	£ 600	Guard	59/58	480	9/6	4	Owner
		Housewife					
F3	£ 1000	Manual worker	38/34	120	12/9	2	Rent
		Housewife					
F4	£ 800	Handyman	33/32	120	9/9	1	Rent
		Part-time worker					
F5	£ 1400	Sergeant	50/43	120	9/9	2	Owner
		Housewife					
F6	£ 1100	Cafe Owner *	38/37	180	16/16	2	Rent
F7	£ 650	Fruit Seller *	37/35	45	16/16	2	Rent
F8	£ 1000	Clerk	37/32	90	16/16	2	Owner
		Housewife					
F9	£ 2100	Broker	45/45	210	12/9	2	Owner
		Housewife					
F10	£ 1200	Office Worker	43/43	240	14/9	2	Owner
		Housewife					
F11	£ 1300	Shop Keeper *	46/43	120	12/12	2	Owner
F12	£ 2100	Artist	56/41	120	18/16	2	Owner
		Housewife					
F13	£ 2000	Manager	45/41	120	16/16	2	Owner
		Shop Owner					
F14	£ 2500	Public Servant	49/47	60	16/16	2	Owner
		Music Institute Owner					

### Notes

(a) Watching television (min.) per weekday

(b)\* Husband and wife working together



### Family 2

Husband working as a guard and wife as full-time housewife. Most of their leisure activity is to watch television. Husband and wife seem to be addicted to television, watching more than 400 minutes. The husband usually watches television even during hours of duty. They live separately from their three married sons and daughter.

### Family 3

Husband is a production related worker, wife full-time housewife. Husband usually controls programme choice, and his favourite drama is *Myung-Hoe Han* (historical drama) and *Feeling* (romantic drama), because both of them are suitable to watch together with their children, whose ages are 11 and 9.

### Family 4

Husband is a part-time construction worker and his partner is a part-time worker. They have not as yet had an official wedding ceremony and have a daughter aged 3. As the hours of the husband's work are irregular, it is rare that they watch television together.

### Family 5

Husband is a sergeant in the Korean army, as well as having two shops. Husband and wife usually watch television drama with their son, a high school student, and daughter, university student. Their favourite dramas are, *The Moon of Seoul* (romantic comedy) and *This Man's Way of living* (family melodrama).

### Family 6

Husband and wife running a Korean restaurant. They habitually watch television drama in the morning while having breakfast. *The Wind Blowing Outside The Window* (family melodrama) is regularly viewed.

### Family 7

Although husband and wife graduated from university, they sell fruits in the street, after the husband was made bankrupt two years ago. They tend to see

television drama as well as the world in a negative way. They are least interested in television drama, because neither has enough time to watch it.

#### Family 8

Husband is an office worker with a full-time housewife. Both of them are deeply pious Christians, tending to evaluate television drama by means of standards of morality. Their favourite drama is *Teacher's Love Without A Pause* which is suitable to watch together with their a son and a daughter whose ages are 9 and 6.

#### Family 9

Husband runs a property agency, wife full-time housewife. Husband usually comes home at 8:30 PM. After having dinner, this couple sometimes take a walk for 30 minutes. They watch television drama from 9:30 PM or 10:00 PM to 11:00 PM. They were more likely than other families to enjoy watching television drama.

#### Family 10

Husband working as a chief of department. The slot for watching television is from 9:00 PM to 10: 30 PM. Family members usually watch television drama together, not focusing entirely on viewing television. Favourite drama is *Farm Diary* (rural drama).

#### Family 11

Husband runs a small interior design shop and wife sometimes helps her husband's work. She regards her husband as a dictator, since he decides almost everything including programme choice. Husband's favourite drama is *Love Hung On A Jujube Tree* (rural drama) and *Myung-Hoe Han*.

#### Family 12

Husband is a part-time lecturer and player of Germono, a traditional Korean musical instrument, similar to 'cello. Television is usually turned on after 6:00 PM, but this family's members watch television for 2 hours a day. Husband and wife seem to be critical in evaluating television drama.

### Family 13

Husband works as a business manager and his wife runs an ice-cream shop. This family tends to select television drama suitable for their children, all family members watching it together. Children whose ages are 15 and 12 mostly control programme choices.

### Family 14

Husband is a middle ranking public servant and his wife, who had suffered from breast cancer, runs a musical institute. They seem to be conservative, the wife selecting television programmes. This couple only watch television drama, evaluating it by standards of morality. Their perception of television drama is quite critical.

## **3-2 Survey Research**

Based on the results of the pilot study and of family interviews, the final survey research was designed to objectify what horizons of expectations and interpretative positions the audience generally brings to television drama, and to explore correlated and mediating factors among them. If only using the family interviews, one could not identify the way in which the modes of reception were interrelated and diverse, often unpredictable in relation to a variety of socio-cultural factors surrounding viewing.

### **Data collection**

The data for this research were gathered by a survey method with self-report questionnaires. Self-report questionnaires are appropriate in that the audience itself assesses its reception, as representing various experiences of its own. The questionnaire took around 30 to 45 minutes to complete. Five survey assistants, who had previously been informed about the ethics of questionnaire administration by the researcher, were employed to distribute and collect questionnaire data.

The survey data were collected during a 8-day period from 29 November to 6 December, 1996. Out of 230 questionnaires completed, 207 were useful data. A



total of 23 questionnaires were not useful because some questions were insufficiently answered ( $N = 21$ ) or because some demographic questions were not clear ( $N = 2$ ).

### Survey sample

This research employed a stratified sampling method which has proportionate sampling; that is, where the number of the groups selected for the sample reflects the relative numbers in the population as a whole. The survey divided the population into three strata; gender, age and job, depending on the *Korean Statistical Yearbook* issued by the Korean Government in 1991.

According to the *Korean Statistical Yearbook*, the employed population in Seoul is 4,416,709, of which the number of employees is 3,680,421 and the number of housewives is 736,288; the distribution ratio of manual workers is 52.2% (2,304,891: male 1,647,974 (71.5%) and female 656,917 (28.5%)); that of the office worker is 22.6% (1,00,029: male 699,799 (70.0%) and female 300,230 (30%)); that of the professional is 8.5% (375,501: male 225,680 (60.1%) and female 149,821 (39.9%)); and that of housewife is 16.7% (736,288). As the survey sample of this research is extracted from the distribution ratio in the population, it reflects the relative ratio of three strata in the population as a whole. However, the percentage of manual workers is a little lower, because most of the insufficiently answered questionnaires were manual worker's ones. All respondents live in Seoul.

#### (a) Gender

The sample was 49.8% men ( $N = 103$ ) and 50.2% women ( $N = 104$ ). 66 women were full-time employed and 38 women were full-time housewives.

#### (b) Age

The sample comprised as follows: 69 respondents (33.3%) in 20s, 76 respondents (36.7%) in 30s, 41 respondents (19.8%) in 40s and 21 respondents over 50s. The Mean of age is 35.2 ( $SD = 9.98$ ).

#### (c) Job

Respondents were asked to tick their jobs in respond options, based on the *Korean Statistical Yearbook*: a) wholesale & retail trade and restaurants ( $N = 32$ );

b) sales or service workers ( $N = 31$ ); c) production & related workers and labourers ( $N = 27$ ); d) clerical & related workers ( $N = 46$ ); e) administrative & managerial workers ( $N = 10$ ); f) professionals ( $N = 23$ ); g) housewives ( $N = 38$ ). However, these job divisions were recategorised into manual workers including wholesale & retail trade and restaurants, sales or service workers, and production & related workers; office workers meaning clerical & related workers and administrative & managerial workers; professionals and housewives. The sample consisted of 90 manual workers (43.5%), 56 office workers (27.1%), 23 professionals (11.1%) and 38 housewives (18.4%).

*(d) Educated years*

The category of educated years was based on the Korean education system; education under 9 years means elementary or junior school completed; 12 years high school graduate; 14 years vocational or technical college graduate; 16 years university graduate; over 18 years postgraduate. The sample was 9.3% under 9 years, 32.5 % in 12 years, 9.2% in 14 years, 41.1% in 16 years and 7.9% over 18 years.

*(e) Class*

Class is recategorised, according to the extent of job and educated years, because there are no officially recognised standards for class division in Korea. Respondents were classified as: low class if the educated years were less than 12 and they were manual workers; middle class if 14 to 16 years were spent in education and they were clerical & related workers or administrative & managerial workers; upper middle class if the educated years were more than 16 and they were professionals and if the educated years were more than 18 and they are administrative & managerial workers. In a case of a full-time housewife, class was defined according to the extent of income and educated years: low class if the educated years were less than 14 and the monthly income was less than £ 799; upper-middle class if the educated years were more than 16 and the monthly income was over £ 2,000; the others were categorised as middle class. The sample consisted of 77 respondents (37.2%) belonging to low class, 95 respondents (45.9%) in middle class and 35 respondents (16.9%) in upper-middle class.



### **3-3 The Composition of Questionnaires**

The research used two kinds of questionnaires: one for family interviews and the other for survey research (Cross-refer to Appendix 2). Interview questions were not necessarily presented in a precise order; rather, the interviewer was intended to employ the interview questionnaire as a guideline, making certain that each area of the questionnaire was covered in the discussion. Often, the interview questions were anticipated by the family member and answered spontaneously without guidance from the interviewer. At another further stage, for the final survey questionnaire, several items on the horizons of expectations, textual invitations and evaluation of quality were added in order to find out characteristics of the interpretative position.

#### **Interview questionnaire**

The interview questionnaire was made up of four sections (Cross-refer to Appendix 2-B). The first section consisted of general questions about television viewing and watching drama: (1) the number possessing a television set and VCR, (2) domestic leisure activities, (3) the time slot of watching television, (4) the extent of watching drama and conversation, and (5) the domestic context while watching drama.

The second section contained questions concerning favourite and regularly watched drama: (1) ranking of favourite drama, (2) reasons for preference, (3) genre preference, (4) narratives, (5) characters, (6) homology between drama and lived experiences, and (7) the ways of pleasure.

The third section included the most important questions for this research, dependent on the findings of the pilot survey analysis, concerning the audience's horizon of expectations and the interpretative positions, and in particular how interviewed family members perceived or felt differently about 'naturalistic realism', 'imaginative realism', 'emotional escapism' and 'distanceship', and how they evaluated the narratives, quality and screen writers.

These items are implicitly bound up with four criteria: (1) referential/critical reading; (2) aesthetic/analytical dimension; (3) the interest of drama; (4) evaluation. While the referential was concerned with story-to-life, and emotional involvement, the critical included story-to-metalinguistic criticism and cognitive distance. The



aesthetic was explored in relation to questions of value. For example, the narrative of drama is aesthetically good/bad, because it is realistic/unrealistic, predictable/unpredictable, flow/slow development, exaggerated/not exaggerated, formulaic/not formulaic, syntactic (genre, composition of drama, technical codes) and semantics (theme and message). The interest of drama is interviewed with the character-oriented, the main story-oriented, and screen writer or producer.

The final section consisted of questions about family: (1) ages, (2) number of children, (3) home status, (4) educated years, (5) occupation, and (6) monthly family income.

As has been seen in the interview questionnaire, interview questions were broadly divided into the general and the specific. Firstly, general questions placed the first section and the final section and evaluation about popular aesthetics in drama narratives in the third section. Specific questions were related to the second and the third section. Interviewees were individually asked to identify their favourite drama, their reasons for liking it better than others, evaluate narratives, characters, compositions and screenwriters or producers, the ways of pleasure, and homology between the world of drama and their experiences. To determine the horizon of expectations and the interpretative position, interviewees were asked to respond to seventeen items in question 16 in the pilot survey. For example, interviewees were asked to give reasons for agreement or disagreement and their opinions as to whether television drama reflects ordinary peoples' ways of life. But they were often asked to answer other additional questions not included in the interview questionnaire.

### **Survey questionnaire**

The final survey questionnaire (Cross-refer to Appendix 2-C) was made up of five sections. The first section consisted of general questions about television viewing, arranged as follows: (1) the number possessing a television set, (2) favourite television programme, and (3) the time slot of watching television.

The second section consisted of questions concerning talking about television drama with family members or other people and the context of viewing; question 4 and 8 measured viewing context; question 5 and 6 measured conversation about drama; question 7 was related to channel conflicts.

In the third section, three open-ended questions measured 'favourite drama genre' (question 9); 'the mode of pleasure' (question 10) and 'interesting narratives' (question 11). Cultural capital of television drama were analysed under four headings: 'cultural exchange' (question 12) measured by the extent of conversation about drama, 'drama-knowledge' (question 13), 'familiarity' (question 14) by the extent of watching television drama each week and 'the extent of watching TV' (question 20-1). By using a variable of familiarity, another new nominal variable, the type of the viewer, was made. The heavy viewer was one who usually watches more than seven programmes of drama, the middle viewer was three to six programmes of drama, and the light viewer was less than two programmes of drama a week.

The fourth section measured the horizons of expectations (question 15), the interest of narrative (question 16), textual invitations (question 17) and quality evaluation (question 18) and genre preference (question 19). Twenty items on the horizons of expectations were questioned. From the findings of the pilot survey research, four items were excluded because these items showed low factor loadings and low reliability. Excluded items were 'drama deals with love or adventure' (item 2), 'drama is realistic but recognisably fictitious' (item 4), 'drama shows the ways in which various classes live' (item 6), 'drama is a lifelike story' (item 12). From the findings of family interviews, seven new items were added to identify the horizons of expectations and the interpretative positions: (1) drama portrays the full range of social reality, (2) drama is not realistic but trumped-up story, (3) characters are people whom we are able to meet in real life, (4) I sometimes wish to be a hero or heroine in drama, (5) drama reflects ordinary people's ways of life, (6) characters are far from my reality, (7) I am touched with pity for tragic characters, (8) characters accomplish what I would like to do, (9) watching drama tends to make me forget the daily grind, (10) drama represents delicate emotional events and situations, (11) I am often moved to tears while watching drama, (12) I often imagine various events concerning my childhood, romance or difficult pasts, etc. while watching drama, (13) drama is a romantic story, (14) drama is composed of events which are likely to occur in my reality, (15) drama represents the conflict or contradiction in our society, (16) Drama depicts an ideal life, (17) episodes are distanced from my experience, (18) I feel familiarity with characters, (19) I feel comfortable while watching drama, and (20) drama usually deals with immoral events.



Secondly, six items in question 16 were designed to measure the interest of narrative: (1) reality, (2) morality, (3) character-oriented, (4) event-oriented, (5) suspense, and (6) complexity of drama. Thirdly, four items in question 17 measured textual invitations: (1) seriality, (2) predictability, (3) co-authorship, (4) protensions. Fourthly, the evaluation of the quality of drama was concerned with (1) the quality of drama, (2) the quality of a screen writer, and finally preference on five drama genres was measured.

The final section consisted of personal questions: (1) number of hours of watching television per day, (2) gender, (3) age, (4) occupation, (5) educated years, and (6) monthly income.

### **3-4 Data Analysis Methods**

Qualitative materials are usually problematic in building up data analysis and coding methods. Open-ended queries not only have the advantage of being non-directive, but also provide an idea of which dimensions were most salient for informants. But they have the disadvantage of generating a very incomplete measure of the nature and variety of responses (Schuman and Presser, 1979). Interview data were not analysed using statistical methods because there were considerable variations both on interview turns and the number of comments across dramas and interviewees, whereas survey data were analysed using the SPSS programme.

#### **Interview data analysis**

Interview data analysis and coding was conducted in a restrictive way. The researcher did not calculate the frequency of comments and turns, not only because it would result in the loss of information by simplifying salient and various features concerning interpretations and complexities, but also because there were in practice coding problems in identifying the units to be coded, and in making exclusive categories. Instead, this research coded only five areas of inquiry out of interview data: 'the type of the viewer', 'framings of reading', 'interpretative dimensions', 'analytical dimensions' and 'the context of viewing', which were used as a brief guideline for grasping the audience's interpretative position.



The type of viewer falls into three: the light, the middle and the heavy viewer, in the same way as survey research defined. The framings of reading were divided as the referential, the critical and both (the referential and critical), following Liebes and Katz's categories. The referential refers to 'story-to-life' which the informant relates to characters or fictional worlds as real people and in turn there real people to their own real life, including identification, reality as recognisable, representation of ordinary people, symbolic reality etc. It is associated with the horizons of the naturalistic and imaginative realism. In contrast, the critical is concerned with 'story-to-metalinguistic' in which the informant criticises or analyses semantic and syntactic structures, and feels incompatibility and distance from television drama. The referential but critical is connected with the way in which the informant commutes from the referential reading to the critical reading or vice versa.

Interpretative dimensions fall into two elements: 'value-orientation' (value-free and normative) and 'the mode of reading' (intent, impact and implications). <sup>4)</sup> While value-free is interpretative without being judgmental, normative is interpretative with being judgmental. With reference to the mode of reading, 'intent' is related to ideas or feeling authors intended to arouse in the audience, motivations of producers, or television executives. 'Impact' is concerned with the impact of drama on one's own thinking or emotions, speculations on impact on the average viewer. 'Implications' are broader meanings for society, current social problems or political or moral ramifications. Such comments as "that drama is just aimed at a younger audience", (intent), "that it is a distorted portrayal of father" (impact), or "that it destroys the traditional Korean morality or ethics" (implication) were coded. Here, statements were coded as + (affirmative) and - (negative).

Analytical dimensions were divided into three areas: 'narrative' (predictable, dragging, exaggerated, formulaic and suspense), 'quality' (screen writer, acting and technical forms) and 'the interest of drama' (character-oriented, storyline-oriented and events-oriented). These items were coded, dependent on whether the informant agrees or not. For instance, if the informant agreed that narrative is predictable, or that the quality of screenwriter is high, it was coded as + (disagree as - and neutral as 0). Concerning the context of viewing, items were coded according to with whom he views and talks about drama.

After three coders including the researcher read the full transcription, they independently coded interview materials. Intercoder's reliability, using Holsti's

reliability measurement, was as follows: the framings of reading (0.80), value-orientation (0.80), the mode of reading (0.76), narrative (0.86), quality (0.82) and the interest of drama (0.73). Reliability on the type of viewer and the context of viewing was not analysed, because interview materials provided obvious results.

As has been noted earlier, interview data coding was problematic and limited. Firstly, consistent coding was not made on the full transcription. Secondly, categories were not always exclusive, especially in framings of reading, the mode of reading and the evaluation of quality. For example, negative statements on intent, impact and implication are related to critical reading. Nevertheless, analytical results provided us with the general tendency in which each interviewee was positioned, even though restrictedly analysed in this research. <sup>5)</sup> Most salient statements were directly incited in order to escape the loss of information.

### **Statistical analysis**

The final survey research data were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) programme at three primary stages. The first stage, using a principal-components factor analysis with iterations and varimax rotation, was to find some factors concerning the horizons of expectations.

At the second stage, agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis with complete linkage and Euclidean distance measure, was employed to search for the size and number of clusters, as it were, the audience's interpretative positions. Cluster analysis was done on four horizons of expectations, not on the same twenty item data matrix as used to produce the horizons of expectations. There are some reasons why cluster analysis in this research was conducted on four horizons of expectations. Firstly, this researcher has assumed that the audience's interpretative position would be better explored in relation to the horizons of expectations. Secondly, it is possible to yield more clearly interpretable findings, by reducing the number of variables. Thirdly, the loss of information which would result from the reduction of the number of variables would be small, because a minimum of factor loadings of 0.50 were chosen. As was done in factor analysis, three items (item 11, 13, 14) in question 15 were excluded to improve reliability, and their factor loadings were less than 0.50. Interpretations between clusters were made using the analysis



of variance. The discussion is based on the Scheffé range tests that were performed to interpret the ANOVA results.

The third stage was to investigate the relationships among the horizons of expectations, the interpretative positions, demographic variables, textual aspects (i.e., genre preference, the interest of narrative, textual invitations and so on), and the context of viewing, by performing Chi-square tests, T-tests, two or three-way ANOVAs, Pearson correlations and so on.

### **3-5 A Pilot Study**

The intentions of the pilot study were to explore the viewer's horizons of expectations and to discover clusters of viewers in the data, as well as the characteristics and size of these clusters. In addition, findings of the pilot were used as a guidebook for the focused family interviews. As there was little previous research about the audience's pre-given perception of television drama, evaluation of aesthetic dimensions and interpretative positions (Himmelweit, Swift and Jaeger, 1980; Livingstone, 1990; Neuman, 1982), it was necessary to measure the usefulness of related questions and reliability and to outline the viewer's interpretative position.

The data for this pilot study were gathered by a survey method with self-report questionnaires which took around 30 to 40 minutes to complete. The survey data were collected during a 7-day period from 26 July to 2 August, 1994. Out of 216 questionnaires completed, 198 were useful data. A total of 18 questionnaires were not useful because some questions were insufficiently answered ( $N = 17$ ) or because some demographic questions were not clear ( $N = 1$ ).

The sample was 55.6% men ( $N = 110$ ) and 44.4% women ( $N = 88$ ). 55 women were full-time employed and 33 women were full-time housewives. In educated years, 12.1% under 9 years ( $N = 24$ ), 43.9% in 12 years ( $N = 87$ ), 8.1% in 14 years ( $N = 16$ ), 30.8% in 16 years ( $N = 61$ ) and 5.1% over 18 years ( $N = 10$ ). Job division was 53.5% manual workers ( $N = 106$ ), 22.7% office workers ( $N = 45$ ), 7.1% professionals ( $N = 14$ ) and 16.7% housewives ( $N = 33$ ).

General perception is found as follows: respondents agree to some extent that television drama is romantic and is used to avoid the burdens of work (scored on 5-



point Likert scales in which +2 means strongly agree, 0 neutral, -2 strongly disagree), 'drama deals with love or adventure' ( $\underline{M} = 0.64$ ), 'drama is a lifelike story' ( $\underline{M} = 0.61$ ), 'watching drama tends to make me forget the daily grind' ( $\underline{M} = 0.54$ ), and 'I am touched with pity for tragic characters' ( $\underline{M} = 0.50$ ). On the other hand, there is some disagreement with the suggestion that it depicts ordinary people's ways of life; 'drama reflects ordinary people's ways of life' ( $\underline{M} = -0.26$ ), and 'characters are people whom we are able to meet in real life' ( $\underline{M} = -0.19$ ) (Table 3-2).

Table 3.2. The audience's perceptions about television drama from the pilot study

How do you feel about television drama ?	M	SD
1 Drama portrays the full range of social reality	0.05	1.05
2 Drama deals with love or adventure	0.64	0.99
3 Characters are people whom we are able to meet in real life	-0.19	1.13
4 Drama is realistic but recognisably fictitious	0.39	1.12
5 Drama reflects ordinary people's ways of life	-0.26	1.08
6 Drama shows the ways in which various classes live	0.27	1.15
7 Characters are far from my reality	0.15	1.15
8 Characters accomplish what I would like to do	0.04	1.11
9 Drama is composed of events which are likely to occur in society	0.44	1.03
10 Drama represents the conflict or contradiction in our society	0.31	1.01
11 Drama depicts an ideal life	0.31	1.03
12 Drama is a lifelike story	0.61	0.99
13 Watching drama tends to make me forget the daily grind	0.54	1.19
14 Drama represents delicate emotional events and situations	0.22	0.98
15 I am touched with pity for tragic characters	0.50	1.20
16 Drama is a romantic story	0.35	0.95
17 I feel comfortable while watching drama	0.38	1.09

Table 3.3. Factor loadings of the audience’s horizons from the pilot study

		Factors			
		Naturalistic Realism	Imaginative Realism	Emotional Escapism	Distanceship
Factor 1	Naturalistic Realism				
	10	0.75	0.22	0.02	0.06
	5	0.72	-0.07	0.23	-0.12
	1	0.65	0.19	0.06	-0.12
	3	0.64	0.23	-0.05	-0.37
	9	0.62	-0.13	0.33	-0.06
Factor 2	Imaginative Realism				
	8	-0.17	0.72	0.20	-0.11
	11	0.34	0.62	-0.12	0.26
	14	0.20	0.58	0.16	0.11
	12	0.23	0.51	0.22	0.02
Factor 3	Emotional Escapism				
	17	0.14	0.06	0.77	0.14
	13	0.14	0.21	0.72	-0.13
	15	0.03	0.24	0.54	0.12
Factor 4	Distanceship				
	16	-0.03	0.18	0.19	0.75
	7	-0.12	-0.01	-0.15	0.70
Eigenvalue		3.93	2.26	1.25	1.06
Variance Explained		23.1%	13.3%	7.4%	6.2%
Cumulative Percent		23.1%	36.4%	43.8%	50.0%
Cronbach Alpha		0.76	0.61	0.60	0.56

**Note** Numbers under each factor represent the items with the same number as in the audience’s presuppositions about television drama in Table 3-2.

A principal-components factor analysis with iterations and varimax rotation has been chosen to find the audience's horizon of expectations, because they produced more clearly interpretable factors than the results of principal-axis of factor analysis with iterations and oblique rotation that yielded a five factor solution. The factor solution, which identified five initial factors, explained 56.1 per cent of the total variance. By means of often-employed criteria, eigenvalues of at least one, a minimum of two primary factor loadings of 0.50 or greater on one factor, and the secondary factor loadings of below 0.40, four factors are retained (Table 3-3), accounting for 50.0% of the total variance after rotation.

Factor 1 has an eigenvalue of 3.93 and a Cronbach alpha of 0.76, and explains 23.1 per cent of the total variance, grouping five items; (10) drama represents the conflict or contradiction in our society, (5) drama reflects ordinary people's ways of life, (1) drama portrays the full range of social reality, and (9) drama is composed of events which are likely to occur in society. This factor can be named as *Naturalistic Realism*. For subsequent analysis, an index of naturalistic realism is constructed by averaging the scores on five items (M = 0.07, SD = 0.76).

Factor 2 gets an eigenvalue of 2.26 and a Cronbach alpha of 0.61, and accounts for 13.3 per cent of the total variance, binding four items; (8) characters accomplish what I would like to do, (11) drama depicts an ideal life, (14) drama represents delicate emotional events and situations, and (12) drama is a lifelike story. This factor can be conceived of as *Imaginative Realism* in that the audience becomes more associative with the dramatic reality and world than in naturalistic realism. The scores on the four items are averaged to create an index of imaginative realism (M = 0.29, SD = 0.70).

Factor 3 has an eigenvalue of 1.25 and a Cronbach alpha of 0.60, and explains 8.4 per cent of the common variance, combining three items; (17) I feel comfortable while watching drama, (13) watching drama tends to make me forget the daily grind, and (15) I am touched with pity for tragic characters. This factor can be called *Emotional Escapism*. An index of emotional escapism is made by averaging the scores on three items (M = 0.47, SD = 0.84).

Factor 4 contains an eigenvalue of 1.06 and a Cronbach alpha of 0.56, and accounts for 7.2 per cent of the total variance, grouping two items; (16) drama is a romantic story, and (7) characters are far from my reality. This factor has some of



the characteristics of the category *Distanceship*. The scores on two items are averaged to make an index of distanceship ( $\underline{M}$  = 0.25,  $\underline{SD}$  = 0.84).

Based on the above four horizons of expectations (or four attributes), the Quick Cluster analysis was employed. According to the principle of parsimony, three to six clusters solutions were repeatedly analysed and then were interpreted using one-way ANOVAs with the horizons of expectations. A four clusters solution was chosen, not only because it was difficult to describe and interpret characteristics of clusters, in cases of a five or six clusters solution, but also because a three clusters solution was judged to be simple. Four clusters (or interpretative positions) can be named as '*the escapist*', '*the habitual*', '*the ironic*', and '*the non-engaged*' cluster, though labelling the clusters was problematic (Table 3-4).

Table 3.4. Final cluster centres: The interpretative position and the horizons of expectations from the pilot study

	Escapist Cluster	Habitual Cluster	Ironic Cluster	Non-engaged Cluster	Total Mean
Naturalistic Realism	0.53	-0.57	0.11	-0.71	0.07
Imaginative Realism	0.56	0.40	-0.04	-0.56	0.29
Emotional Escapism	0.87	0.44	0.05	-0.97	0.42
Distanceship	0.28	0.92	-0.91	0.73	0.25
Total (N)	94 (47.5)	46 (23.2)	38 (19.2)	20 (10.1)	198 (100.0)

*The escapist cluster* exhibits the highest inclination towards naturalistic realism, imaginative realism, and emotional escapism. It shows the strongest emotional investments (item 13 'watching drama tends to make me forget the daily grind' ( $\underline{M}$  = 0.96), item 15 'I am touched with pity for tragic characters' ( $\underline{M}$  = 0.93), item 17 'I feel comfortable while watching drama' ( $\underline{M}$  = 0.59), and at the same time relates to the fictional world as real (item 1 'drama portrays the full range of social reality' ( $\underline{M}$  = 0.48), item 9 'drama is composed of events which are likely to occur in society' ( $\underline{M}$  = 0.86), item 12 'drama is a lifelike story' ( $\underline{M}$  = 0.85)). This cluster is more referential and emotionally involved in the fictional world. Thus, there is no doubt that this cluster watches television drama to escape from the mundane

routines and thereby achieves emotional release as its principal objective. Almost half of television drama viewers ( $N = 94$ ) are categorised as the escapist cluster.

*The habitual cluster* is characterised by lower naturalistic realism and the highest distanced horizon (item 1 'drama portrays the full range of social reality' ( $M = -0.48$ ), item 16 'drama is a romantic story' ( $M = 1.00$ )). But this cluster establishes higher imaginative realism and emotional escapism than the ironic cluster and the non-engaged cluster, and the total Mean of respondents. These findings can imply that this cluster is disposed to view television drama habitually in that it watches it for relaxation and entertainment, but is not deeply involved in it. 23.2 per cent of samples ( $N = 46$ ) belong to this cluster. It can be said that this cluster is in a negotiated position in that while being playfully involved it sustains, to some degree, distance from the reality of drama.

*The ironic cluster*, to which 19.2 per cent of respondents ( $N = 38$ ) belong, is a group which has a lower imaginative realism and the lowest distanced horizon, but perceives television drama as naturalistic realism more than the total Mean. This cluster is inconsistent on the ground that it considers television drama as fairly realistic, despite relatively lower imaginative realism and emotional escapism. Like the habitual cluster, this cluster is in a negotiated position in that it is nearer to the reality of drama, but less playfully involved.

*The non-engaged cluster* constitutes the lowest emotional escapism, naturalistic realism and imaginative realism (item 1 'drama portrays the full range of social reality' ( $M = -0.75$ ), item 6 'drama shows the ways in which various classes live' ( $M = -1.10$ ), item 7 'characters are far from my reality' ( $M = 1.00$ ), item 13 'watching drama tends to make me forget the daily grind' ( $M = -1.25$ )). Basically, this cluster shows the lowest attention or lowest absorption and is marked out by criticism and distraction in the reception of drama. Only 10.1 per cent of the total ( $N = 20$ ) are grouped in this cluster.

Taken together, there are explicit differences between the escapist cluster and the non-engaged cluster. The habitual cluster has a little in common with the ironic cluster, because both clusters have a negotiated position. While the former involves a fair amount of emotional escapism but less realism, the latter is characterised by some degree of realism but lower escapism. In simplistic terms, in contrast to the non-engaged cluster, the escapist cluster is interpretative without exercising judgement, considering watching television drama to be entertainment. While the

habitual cluster is emotionally involved but less referential, the ironic cluster is referential but critical.



## Notes

1. What is needed here is methodological integration, rather than a disjunction and mutual exclusion of these two methods. This research thus suggests 'an empirical qualitative' method as an alternative for audience studies. This is not only because analytical accounts produced about certain social groups may be generalised to other groups or settings, but also because specificities may be concretised within generalised findings. Thus it could be an alternative to overcome the methodological limitations of each tradition. First of all, it would be possible to resolve to some degree a problem of representativeness which is the most common criticism of the qualitative method. Of course, the problem of the number of samples is common to all forms of social science research regardless of the particular method, and particularly problematic is an accidental sampling method with a small number of cases. It would be difficult to generalise the research findings to other audience groups, unless probability sampling methods were used. It could also be useful to investigate a plethora of interrelationships and complexities in the audience reception, by employing not only rigorous and clear concepts, but also systematic and explicit analytic procedures and methods. Further, it could partially resolve some problems which quantitative methods have ignored, such as the reading of the actors involved in a given situation, everyday communication, and the process of making sense in interaction.

However, it should be recognised that it is difficult to employ two methodologies, in equal measure, so this research is likely to prefer quantitative methods over qualitative ones. This is due to an assumption: both the audience's horizon of expectations and its position of interpretations would be interrelated, even though reading and pleasure are dominantly influenced by a horizon and an interpretative position. It is difficult to investigate such an interrelated complexity, if only employing a method of the focused interview. The quantitative methods may be more useful to explore the relationships of a wide range of variables. On the contrary, interviews in this research will be conducted in order to find difference and divergence in interpretations.

2. It is in practice quite difficult to follow these processes. Though respondents are not the same, and surveys and interviews are conducted in different times, the findings are not invalid. It may be assumed that the audience's horizons or interpretative positions were not constructed in a moment, rather they have been constructive and constructed in the audience's experiences in long terms. Moreover, the favourite drama and the mode of

pleasure may be different according to the audience's taste, but it cannot be assumed that the audience's perception or interpretative position, in general terms, would suddenly change.

3. This research admitted that there are some problems in the process of the focused interviews. As Liebes and Katz (1993) have pointed out, an ideal design, perhaps, would have had three stages in which individuals would have been interviewed separately before and after the family interviews, and the family interviews would then have intervened as the catalyst.

4. Categories such as intent, impact and implications in the mode of reading were derived from Neuman (1982).

5. The results of coding will be suggested in detail in Chapter 5.

## Chapter 4

### **The Drama Audience's Horizons of Expectations**

The act of reception is not one of pure subjective responses but of encounters between the intentionality of the text (or author) and intentionality of the audience. To put it another way, there is something that is bound up with the audience's pre-given knowledge and intersubjectivity, what is called, 'the audience's horizon of expectations', those sets of expectations established by cultural norms, conventions and presuppositions that inform how the audience understands and evaluates a text at any given time. If we are to understand the act of reception, it is necessary to explore the manner in which the audience brings its horizons to the text at the virtual dimension between drama and audience.

This chapter is designed not only to demonstrate the audience's perceptions which have been constituted in response to television drama, but also to bring out under what socio-cultural conditions various viewers encounter television drama. The first section deals with characteristics of each horizon of expectations which are described through the findings of family interviews. The second section finds the audience's horizons of expectations or intersubjectivity by using factor analysis. The third section empirically analyses the relationship of the audience's horizons to its social and cultural contexts.

Being in pursuit of autonomy and determinacy in television drama reception, this chapter suggests that the audience horizons are complex as well as unstable to the extent that they have constituted a pool of the audience's textual and social experiences. This implies that a dichotomy between active and passive audiences has led to failure to investigate complexity in drama reception and interpretations. From empirical analysis, it proposes that the audience's textual or cultural experiences, based on the horizon of expectations, are more significant than other demographic and social elements. Furthermore, this study argues that consensus or the shared experience is a significant mediated element in the audience's reception, even though it is complex and ambiguous.



## **4-1 Frames of the Horizons of Expectations**

Experience and perception of a material object or text is generally characterised in two ways: (a) the subject perceives a text by objectively and directly experiencing it; (b) the subject perceives a text through the mode of givenness which has been constructed within subjective and objective experiences. Thus the subject has constituted the horizon of understanding through these two ways of perception. In this connection, a horizon is regarded as something which sets limits on the scope of perception or reading. When the viewer watches television drama, his/her reading and pleasure is also constructed according to the perception of it. The audience's horizon is a mediating factor, like a kind of prism, useful for exploring the intersubjectivity of the audience as well as the relationship between text and audience.

There are two interesting works to show how the viewer perceives and evaluates popular television programmes (Himmelweit, Swift and Jaeger, 1980; Neuman, 1982). Himmelweit, Swift and Jaeger (1980) using the viewer's experience as data, and with the help of multidimensional scaling, bring out shared characteristics or dimensions for the development of entertainment. They argue that the audience becomes the critic and rates popular television serials on attributes (stylistic features — realistic, violent, funny, unpredictable and etc. and emotional impact reactions — moving informative, disturbing, exciting and etc.). Differing from Himmelweit et al's findings, Neuman (1982), by using depth interview, supports the hypothesis of cultural homogenisation revealing similar indices of analytic and interpretive response across educational levels in American society. It is evident that there is a significant difference between the audience as the critic and as the homogenised. Probably, such a difference may stem from that of British and American viewer or from different television environments.

This chapter assumes that the audience's perception is shared but not homogenised. This shared perception or horizons of expectations play a crucial role in imposing constraints on interpretative positions and pleasure which will be discussed in the following chapters. Instead, this chapter describes characteristics of four horizons of expectations, emphasising patterns of involvement and distancing that may spring from these pre-given conceptions. In this connection, Bennett and Wollacott (1987: 94) argue that 'it is the reader's foreknowledge — culturally

derived from her experience of similar narrative types — that, in the end, all will be well, which renders this troubling excitation securely enjoyable'. The audience's foreknowledge or generic competence as drama viewers is closely bound up with a wider range of experiences such as pleasure, judgement, learning and so on. These experiences should, more specifically, be examined within the individual viewer's experiences, because each horizon may be read as having various meanings according to individual viewers.

### **Realism of the audience: Naturalistic and imaginative**

Realism, an extensive and vague concept, is one of the most essential horizons for television drama audiences. Undoubtedly, there is no unambiguous definition of what 'realism' means.<sup>1)</sup> Instead of grasping realism at a textual level such as formal conventions and theme, it is here understood in the light of the ways the viewer experiences television drama as part of his/her own reality.

On this point, Ang (1985) coins the term, 'emotional realism' which springs from contradictions between the unrealistic at a denotative level and the realistic at a connotative level in the process of reception. Ang (1985: 44 - 45) says:

in order to be able to experience *Dallas* as 'taken from life' these letter-writers seem to abstract from the denotative level of the text. In naming the 'true to life' elements of *Dallas* the concrete living circumstances in which the characters are depicted are, it is true, striking but not of significance as regards content; the concrete situations and complications are rather regarded as symbolic representations of more general living experiences. . . In other words, at a connotative level they ascribe mainly emotional meanings to *Dallas*.

The experience of realism on the part of the viewer, as a subjective experience of the world, is situated at the emotional level. Ang's term, 'emotional realism' is of significance in showing the ways in which the viewer gains pleasure from his/her psychological experiences. But her problem lies in positioning emotional realism only within 'the tragic structure of feeling' at the connotative level. Moreover, there still exists the gap across which the viewer is able to participate in the presented world.



From the findings of the pilot study, this research divides the audience's realism into two levels: the naturalistic and the imaginative. It is quite difficult to distinguish the horizon of naturalistic realism from that of imaginative realism in that naturalistic realism is closely associated with imaginative realism. Moreover, a viewer may construct both naturalistic realism and imaginative realism, depending on television drama genres. Here, the distinction between naturalistic realism and imaginative realism may be made, albeit roughly, according to the degree of cognitive and emotional distance which the audience usually has from television drama, or the extent to which this distance is maintained. While naturalistic realism is more related to the referential dimension, imaginative realism is more linked with the poetic (or emotional/imaginative) dimension which refers to indirect experiences or to the associative process of bringing something vividly to life in the mind. <sup>2)</sup>

The horizon of naturalistic realism has been constituted through a profusion of cognitive responses; such as the world presented, representation of ordinary people, reality as recognisable, the moral good, and so on. Thus it is referential on the grounds that the viewer relates to characters or fictional worlds as real people and in turn relate these real people to their own real worlds.

#### Wife (Family 6)

Talking about *The Moon Of Seoul*, it seems to be *realistic*. Because it represents the experiences and feelings of *ordinary people*, based on *the reality* (researcher's italics for emphasis).

There is a confused usage of 'realistic' and 'real'; the realistic is seen as the real itself. Of course, this does not mean that the audience does not know television drama to be fictitious. Though all interviewed family members watch television drama under an assumption that it is a made up story, they regard the world represented as realistic or real.

First of all, the naturalistic realism horizon emerges from recognition that television drama is 'a representation of ordinary people'. Many of the answers in the surveyed open-ended question are along such lines: 'Joy and anger together with sorrow and pleasure of ordinary people are depicted'; 'the life of ordinary people and the life of the real country in *Farm Diary*'. It is, however, worth noting that the lives of ordinary people recognised by the audience are concerned not so much with



the political and social issues, as with the naive and personal ones in terms of drama materials.

For a long time, Korean television drama has had a weak tradition of realism in the aftermath of the Korean government's oppression. In the history of modern Korean literature and art, realism has predominantly been understood as the socialist political movement. For example, realist literature has represented the shabby reality of the working-class as a means of resistance since the 1970s, because the government has oppressed working-class activities such as strikes and labour disputes for the export-drive policy. The explicit discourses of class politics or controversial social issues have hardly been visible in Korean television drama, being considered as a taboo which might possibly destroy government authority.<sup>3)</sup> Though the government's interference recently came to an end, the realist tradition has not been established as yet. Thus a 'soap opera realist convention of narrative omission' (Jordan, 1981) is fairly discernible, as a result of which the life of ordinary people is mainly related to love interest or to their ostensible reality such as house, job and personal experience rather than their social issues and consciousness.

Most of the interviewees say that *The Moon Of Seoul* renders accurately the life of ordinary people, pointing out that its characters live in the slum quarter of what is called 'The Moon Village'. As the moon village is mostly located on a sloping hill in Korea, people living there are, in a physical sense, closer to the moon than richer people living in the housing area. More importantly, as we cannot reach the moon, 'the moon village' denotes both the reality of the poor and the inability to get out of poverty or the unattainable dream. In spite of the fact that the moon village is an emblem of economic and social problems including housing shortages, unemployment and crime, *The Moon Of Seoul* has completely omitted 'the social reality of ordinary people', only focusing on comic lives of characters. In constructing the audience's horizon of naturalistic realism, what matters is an apparent representation of ordinary people itself rather than social reality. Whether the subject materials of drama are ordinary people or not seems to be more significant than the social reality of ordinary people in naturalistic realism.

#### Husband (Family 5)

Recently, television drama is getting more realistic and closer to our reality. Especially, it shows the interwoven life and *good-heartedness of ordinary people*.

Here, emphasis is on the good-heartedness of ordinary people. Probably, the good-heartedness seems to mean attitudes which do not violate traditional ethics such as fidelity, family love, deference to the elder and so on. There is a particular drama genre, what is called 'home drama' in Korean television. Though it may be defined as family melodrama on the one hand, it is positioned between family melodrama and situation comedy on the other hand. Though its generic conventions are based on family melodrama, it is rare that it deals with extra-marital affairs or wrong but suitable partners falling in love such as love between a man and a woman from high class and low class. Home drama tends consistently to exclude high class and low class, focusing not only on middle class or ordinary people's ways of life, but also on harmony and understanding of family members. Though home drama does not delineate serious family conflicts or complex composition, it has been popular in Korea. In simplistic terms, this is due to the fact that home drama deals with the good-heartedness of ordinary people.

#### **Wife (Family 8)**

*Missing You* depicts almost the same lives that we can experience. As most of the recent dramas seem to be for the new generation, what is called 'generation X', we do not like watching these kinds of dramas where we cannot share feelings. Rather, my generation, aged 30's, feel sympathy with conflicts between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law in *Missing You* and teacher's education and love in *Teacher's Love Without A Pause*.

It is natural that reality comparable to the viewer's present experiences is regarded as realistic. This recognition is related to familiarity and empathy with characters. Being able to envisage the characters as lifelike or real forms a necessary precondition for the horizon of naturalistic realism. Not only does it spring from a perception about the representation of ordinary people and similarity of experiences, but from direct familiarity with characters.

#### **Husband (Family 8)**

A male character's personality is just like my personality. As a father and the eldest son, his roles and thinking are the same as I have been experienced and done.



It is no rare occurrence for the audience to share similar experiences to those of a specific character, with a kind of psychological conversation between the two. The husband of Family 5 conceals that a certain character presented in the drama is just like his personality, when asked to answer who is the same as his personality. Perhaps, he tends to gain a private pleasure through psychological conservation and familiarity with a specific character, as well as from the development of a main storyline.

Husband (Family 12)

Korean drama is so *realistic* as to be slushy. Talking about recently ended dramas such as *This Man's Way Of Living*, all of them depicted extra-marital affairs and dirty tricks. All broadcasters deal with almost the same kind of subject matter.

Interviewer

It is really unrealistic, isn't it? Such a profusion of extra-marital affairs does not happen so many times in our reality, does it?

Husband (Family 12)

You do not know our reality at all. Of course, it is difficulty to know it fully. The writer's sensibility is so sharp as to dramatise our reality. You know, there is 'Do-not-ask-me' tourism now. When a husband goes to the country on official business, his wife sees him off to the airport. But he meets his lover at the aeroplane. Nobody knows, there is no end of such cases in our society.

For this interviewee, a sense of reality is cultivated, suggesting that the reality present in television drama comes to be accepted as beliefs about the real world and real people. Under the assumption that television portrays social reality which, in turn, forms beliefs or images about the real world, Gerbner, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli (1986) contend that television cultivates negative effects.<sup>4)</sup> Television drama exerts a strong influence upon this interviewee whose negative images of the real world are strongly cultivated. According to cultivation researchers, cultivation effects are related to the extent of watching television,<sup>5)</sup> individual's experiences, specific content, the types of programming, and so on. Although we cannot come to a generalised conclusion about the causes of cultivation effects from this interviewee's remarks, it can be said that such effects for him are contingent upon



his indirect experiences through the specific contents of television drama: that is, extra-marital affairs.

In contrast to the perception of the naturalistic realism of television, it is interesting to see why television drama is sometimes thought to be unrealistic. Even for one who is in the category of naturalistic realism, he or she sometimes considers television drama to be unrealistic.

#### Husband (Family 2)

Certainly, television drama shows the real world of people. However, it is sometimes *unrealistic*. As you know, for instance, it is *unrealistic* that a gay got married to a widow and then divorced after he had deprived her of her property in *The Moon Of Seoul*. It is *really bad*. That gay is *very bad*.

A high proportion of interviewees sometimes recognise television drama as being unrealistic in that it represents bad morals or values. In this regard, Allen (1985: 40) says that 'however close the reader or the viewer pulls the fictive world toward him or her by endowing it with aspects of the 'real world', this pull toward reality is counterbalanced by the text's fictional status. Thus its inherent and necessary unreality is preserved'. When most interviewees use the term 'unrealistic', it literally means that the presentation of television drama is far from their lived experiences, and simplifies or exaggerates the reality. In addition, it refers to bad morals. While what is morally bad is considered unrealistic, what is morally good, seems, albeit not always, to be conceived of as realistic. Buckman (1984: 26) says that 'the serial world was unreal in at least two respects: money was rarely a major problem to its chief characters and good always triumphed'. However, differing from Buckman's suggestion, some Korean viewers consider that the triumph of the good is real and the morally bad is unreal. This implies that moral and ethic judgements mediate the evaluation of the real and the unreal for some Korean viewers.

It should be pointed out that both attitudes are possible within the naturalistic realism horizon — allowing both for a kind of 'passive' naturalistic realism respondent who believes what he/she sees, as in the cases of the husband of Family 5 and the wife of Family 6, and for an 'active' one who is dissatisfied with what he/she sees, as the case of the husband of Family 12. Though the viewers have shared naturalistic realism, different aspects of television drama appeal to them.

It is striking to see that the description of television drama as realistic is little associated with forms and aesthetic judgements. Few interviewees judge realism from the quality of its form. Rather, they accept realism only in terms of theme and settings that depict the ways of life of ordinary people. As a result, the horizon of naturalistic realism has been constructed through the representation of ordinary people, through the depiction of reality as recognisably possible, through familiarity with characters and good morals.

The horizon of imaginative realism refers to an associative relationship in which the viewer feels a sense of 'reality', despite a certain distance between his/her present experiences and the presented world of drama. Firstly, the horizon of imaginative realism is ascribed to the social and imaginative distance between the actual position of the audience and the represented world of drama. In spite of (or sometimes because of) this distance between the dramatised reality and actuality, the audience tends to feel drama as realistic.

#### Husband (Family 3)

I think that television drama shows the reality of our society. As I belong to the low-middle class, I have little chance of access to the rich and more educated people. Television drama depicts their ways of life and thinking. For example, how to teach their children at home. After watching their ways of life, I am able to imagine, Oh, that they live in such ways.

#### Housewife (Family 4)

I am not sure if such events could really happen as shown in *This Man's Way Of Living*: extra-marital affairs, conflicts between brothers, an illegitimate child and the like. But those could be in the world of the rich.

The husband of Family 3 gets knowledge as to how other classes educate their children at home. He is also shown how to get some information for the domestic education of his children, even though more educated people do not show a good model.

By contrast, the housewife of Family 4 has a moral distance between her reality and their reality. Whereas the husband of Family 3 wants to get something, she believes that immoral conduct could happen in the upper-class's life. On the one hand, she seems to make the oppositional reading which allows her to feel superior to them morally. As Feuer (1984) points out, a person such as this housewife looks



down on the upper-classes' skewed values and perverted family lives from the morality of her own family, confirming not only her superior respect for love and marriage, but also the suspicion that greater wealth and power are predicated on sin and immorality. On the other hand, it is possible to interpret moral superiority as a function of dominant ideology, not only because television drama encourages the audience to overlook dissatisfaction with its own reality and to live vicariously, but also because her reading is consistent with the values of *This Man's Way Of Living*.

Nevertheless, it may be better to say that she makes a negotiated reading in that with moral superiority she still keeps a critical distance from the presented world, but she admits the legitimacy of such generic conventions in family melodrama as a part to attract the audience's attention. It is rare that the viewer makes the resistant reading from family melodrama which shows clear-cut values between the good and the bad. There is a tendency that resistant reading in drama is made in the preferred meaning, so that it overestimates that it is conceived as the political struggle in discourse..

Secondly, the horizon of imaginative realism has been constructed from nostalgia and past experiences. Although the world of drama is apparently distant from the present position of the audience, it is accepted as realistic, in the light of emotional continuity between the world of drama and its experiences; physically distanced but emotionally nearer.

#### Husband (Family 11)

My favourite drama is *Love Hung On A Jujube Tree* (rural drama). It is the same as I had lived. Sangsoon Kim's (actor's name) attachment to the farm land is similar to my father's. Apart from Kim's acting, I enjoy watching that rural drama, not only because I grew up in the country, but also because I look back upon the memories of childhood.

Most of the respondents and interviewees who enjoy watching rural dramas, such as, *Farm Diary* and *Love Hung On A Jujube Tree*, realise that distance between their present reality and the world of drama exists practically, but feel it is not a great distance imaginatively.

As late as the 1960s, Korea was an agricultural society where traditional values and morals were still kept in village and family communities. For people aged over 40, a dominant structure of feeling is that their 'hometown of the spirit' is always



the country, even though they live in a huge and crowded metropolis, Seoul. At every Lunar New Year's Day and Thanksgiving Day, the harvest moon festival on 15 August by lunar calendar, more than half of Seoul's population, about ten millions, goes back to their hometown to remember ancestors and meet other relatives. Though rapid development of the economy has brought about a wide range of social, cultural and economic changes in Korea, the elder generation's consciousness is still oriented to the lives of the country as a hometown of the spirit.

It is undeniable that there is a point of contact between structures of feeling and discourses of feeling presented in the rural dramas. For the rural drama, dominant discourses of feeling are in fact simple, because those dramas have equated one set of familial relationships with community relationships to present a world in which the two could be conflated. All personal relationships are framed within the terms of reference of the family and the neighbour. More importantly, there is the representation of 'ideal father', 'ideal mother' and 'ideal sons and daughters-in-law'.

Over the last fifteen years, Bulam Choi, the father in *Farm Diary*, has been conceived of as the representation of the ideal father in Korea as well as in drama. In an interview with a novelist, Choi (1997) says:

Probably some viewers may realise that I always sit on 'the bottom of a room' in *Farm Diary*. [As the traditional Korean house has the under-floor heating system, the bottom of a room is always warmer than other parts.] It is a part that the screen writer has not delineated well. I am stuck to the place. Producers sometime complain about my obduracy, saying that it results in a bad composition in a screen. Whenever producers ask me to change my position, I say that 'the bottom of a room' is my place and our father's place.

His statements symbolically show how ideal father is represented in Korean drama. In fact, the bottom of a room is nothing but a symbol of father's authority. It is general that the image of the ideal father is not a democratic but a patriarchal father, which is accepted by even the young generations without great resistance, even though this image may be rejected by them. In Korean society, it is not surprising that 'ideal parents' are paralleled with our parents who were farmers. It is rare to find that 'the warmth of the working class mother' conjured up by Hoggart (1957) is portrayed in Korean television drama, because Korean society has been so rapidly changed that it has not yet constructed healthy working class ethics and

morals. Instead, almost all good ethics and morals are within traditions of feudal society such as the large-family system, Confucianism, and village community. The reality of the present Korean agricultural community is quite different from the 'reality' presented in *Farm Diary* and *Love Hung On A Jujube Tree*, both of which purport to show today's country. Most of the audience aged over 40 recognise the presented 'reality' to be unrealistic referentially, but at the same time feel it as realistic emotionally.

There is a difference between male and female viewers in constructing the horizon of imaginative realism. Differing from male viewers' perspectives, female viewers are prone to replace nostalgia with extra-marital affairs by means of family melodrama or romantic drama. Though they recognise their husbands' fidelity, they do not give up a suspicion that such events could occur in their families.

Thirdly, the horizon of imaginative realism is due to the fact that the audience regards the dramatised situations as imaginative representations of general living experiences: love/hate, happiness/misery, success/failure, affluence/poverty and the like. As it is impossible to experience such a plethora of circumstances, the audience tastes the bitter with the sweet through imaginative experiences. This is a recognition that 'it is life' or 'most people live in similar ways, regardless of the rich or the poor, the ruling class or the ruled class' (a male, working class, aged 30s). Such imaginative experiences are associated with moral and ethical judgements: a reward or punishment in accordance with a deed. People who did something wrong must be punished, and vice versa. As with television drama, life is conceived of as an endless repetition of misery, happiness etc.

But the Korean audience is less likely to encounter the tragic discourse of feeling that life is problematic or that unhappiness is the norm, mainly because there is no real soap opera which lasts for more than one decade like *Coronation Street* or *EastEnders*. Most Korean television drama has gone on the air for one year at most, with the exception of a couple of dramas such as *Farm Diary*, *Love Hung On A Jujube Tree* and *Three Families Under A Roof* (situation comedy), all of which are series broadcast once a week. Generally speaking, most television drama is finished with a happy-ending within six months, unless it is extremely popular. In addition, the Korean audience watches it holding moral values which are rarely betrayed by television drama. Though the audience perceives that life is a repetition of the good and the bad, and happiness and misery like television drama,



it has already judged it morally. Thus it is not deeply involved within the tragic discourses of feeling.

As a result, this category is far more likely than the horizon of naturalistic realism to involve the imaginative process. In this sense, it is more 'poetic' than 'referential', with a close connection with emotional escapism which will be the object of the next horizon.

### **Emotional escapism**

Uses and gratifications theorists have used 'escapism' in a narrow sense, substituting it with 'diversion': escape from the constraints of routine, escape from the burdens of problems, emotional release. Entertainment (enjoyment) and the passing of time/habit (boredom) are classified as other items.<sup>5)</sup> In this study, emotional escapism is, in a broader sense, used in terms of the ways the audience gains diversion, entertainment and pastime/habit.

It is not easy to distinguish emotional escapism from imaginative realism. There is no doubt that an imaginative process is related to gaining pleasure and feeling realism. Both of them enable the audience to withdraw from unpleasant or threatening situations by recourse to preferred symbolic or imaginative states, and simultaneously offer some forms of comfort and emotional release.

By contrast, differences between the two lie in how self-reflective the audience is when watching television drama. Emotional escapism is far less likely to involve matters of self-reflection than is imaginative realism. On the one hand, the former is more strongly associated with psychological processes: identification, catharsis and avoidance. Just as there is a process of leaving in order to get away from a particular context, so there is an association with entering a different frame of reference. The important point is that emotional escapism is far more linked with 'fantasy' in that the audience enters a quite distanced frame of reality. For the horizon of imaginative realism, the audience is apt to go into an experienced but distanced frame of reality. So the emotional escapism horizon makes the audience more strongly involved in fictional processes and the flight from reality. By doing this, the audience is less self-reflective, being directed to diversion or emotional release itself.



What defines the audience for the emotional escapism horizon? Above all, the audience has a preconception that television drama is for the passing of time, resting, entertainment and the like. It cannot be detached from 'ritualised viewing'.

<sup>6)</sup> The audience watches television drama, because drama is turned on, and there is nothing better to do.

#### Husband (Family 9)

I usually go to work at 8:30 AM and go back home at 8:30 PM. When arriving at home, I take a shower, and have dinner, and then watch *News At Nine*. I sometime take a walk with my wife after watching a news programme, but I usually watch a television drama from 9:45 PM, following *News At Nine*, and talk about happenings in my office today. Finally, I go to bed at 11 PM.

#### Husband (Family 8)

I go to my store at 8:30 AM and go back home at 8:30 PM. After taking a shower, I watch *News At Nine* and then one or two television dramas with my wife. And I go to bed around 11 PM.

The use of domestic time in most Korean families is extremely similar during weekdays. Except Family 2 and 4, there is little difference in the use of domestic times between all the families: going to a workplace between 7:30 AM and 8:30 AM, arriving home between 8 PM and 9 PM, and going to bed around 11 PM. There are at least two hours for domestic leisure, if the time for such activities as taking a shower and having dinner is subtracted. Two hours are mainly devoted to watching *News At Nine* and drama for most husbands. Except for the husband of Family 8 who enjoys listening to music and reading books, and the husband of Family 10 who likes a computer game after watching television, other husbands have no particular domestic leisure activities other than watching television. In fact, paid-labour time for Korean employees is, officially 55 hours a week, the highest level in the world, but they unofficially spend about 60 hours a week working. According to a government survey (1989), the reason why Korean working class could not enjoy outdoor leisure activities, is that because 65 percent of the working class have not enough time and 23 percent have no money. Most of leisure activities are spent at home.

As Lull (1980) puts it, television viewing contributes to the structuring of time at home even in Korea, being used to facilitate communication and to release stress.

It is natural that television viewing is used for passing time, domestic communication and relaxation.

Husband (Family 3)

While watching television drama, I do not think about it at all — development of a main storyline, meanings of drama, subject-matter. I really do not like thinking itself, being too exhausted to do anything at home. I have not done any domestic work at all. Therefore, I just watch drama — either what I can mindlessly watch, or what I found interesting, as soon as I turn it on.

Interviewer

Do not you think of even a main storyline?

Husband (Family 3)

Not at all, I do not watch television drama unless it is fresh at the first impression. I instantly change a channel as soon as I feel it boring. And I watch only television drama which is either very *realistic* or *nonsensical*. As an extreme example, a certain drama showing a human flying like *Superman*.

This remark is a good example of what the audience expects from television drama. The horizon of emotional escapism includes two contradictory expectations; one involving the realistic, the other concerning the nonsensical. The more realistic or the more nonsensical television drama is, the more the audience is ironically involved in it. In a similar context, the husband of Family 2 says 'I watch television drama, because it is just drama and I watch it, thinking it is only drama'. This statement means that even the audience who has constructed the emotional escapism horizon clearly distinguishes television drama from reality. By doing this, the audience would be able to construct the escapist horizon.

On the other hand, emotional escapism is constructed as an expectation of acknowledged meaninglessness to provide some form of comfort. That is, television drama is neither beyond nor below such an expectation. Lots of the audience are less concerned with composition, development and characterisation than with watching drama itself. When asked to retell the most interesting recent storyline or episode, some interviewees fail to reconstruct it. This suggests that involvement does not always guarantee concentration. Concerning emotional escapism, involvement of the audience, if defined as 'the degree to which the audience perceives a connection between itself and text and the degree to which the



individual interacts psychologically with text' (Levy and Windahl, 1985), seems partially to be ephemeral rather than durable, because of contextual factors such as the social relations of and space/time of watching television drama, and the degree to which the audience's horizon of expectations demands such an involvement.

Romance is the other element to generate emotional escapism. There is a general presupposition that television drama is bound to depict the true love of a couple or of family members, in spite of lots of elements which threaten their love. The preconception through which television drama is interwoven with romantic stories should not be omitted, because these have been encouraged through pre-existing dramatic diegetic conventions, genre knowledge and the like. Romance is mainly handled through fantasy which allows for a more confident assertion of a romantic world.

#### Wife (Family 14)

Most television dramas deal with the love of a couple. If not, it would be uninteresting, don't you think? *Scent Of Love* shows the truthful love of two couples: Jinsil Choi (actress's name) and Byonghun Lee (male actor's name), and Choi's mother and a man in his 40s. The love of Choi and Lee is pure! The process of giving and receiving love is genuine! Both the love of 20s and of 40s are beautiful.

*Scent Of Love* is in fact a typical romantic drama. Jisoon (Jinsil Choi), a middle class cartoonist, falls in love with Joonho (Byonghun Lee), an orphan, university student and car racer, Keechul, a high class, junior doctor, having loved her once. Though Jisoon's mother is reluctant to accept her daughter's marriage, the love of this couple is getting stronger and stronger. In contrast, as Jisoon's mother, a widow, has met a boyfriend, she also falls in love with him. The wife of Family 14 feels that television drama is amusing, for it depicts true love. Her expectation of television drama is nothing but the genuine love of a couple and a process of freeing love from pains or obstacles.

Aside from traditional conventions of romantic drama, romance is more encouraged by the newly emerging 'trendy drama'. Though 'trendy drama' has much in common with romantic comedy, it features fashionable clothes, music, the new generation's ways of thinking and its characteristic genre conventions are the love story of people in their 20s, no particular subject-consciousness, fast



development, comic elements and new sensibilities for teenagers and young adults. Its popularity is partially derived from fantasy romance.

It is worth noting that there are two kinds of emotional escapism: mindless and mindful. The mindless escapism literally means the apathetic reception of television drama, because there is nothing better than watching television drama. While the mindless escapism is related to weak involvement with drama, the mindful escapism shows strong emotional involvement and selectivity, both of which watching television drama functions as one the most important domestic entertainments.<sup>7)</sup>

### **Distanceship**

Though emotional reactions appear to be featured in constructing drama audience's horizons of expectations, there is still critical distance in the negative perception of television drama itself, as well as aesthetic evaluation. This does not imply that the audience who maintains this distanceship is less involved in the fictional world. First of all, its critical distance is due to the incompatibility between 'I' or 'we' and 'them' in that television drama represent 'their' world not 'our' one.

#### **Husband (Family 6)**

Speaking frankly, television drama is very far away from my reality. Most characters are high class people; the president and owner of a company, the professional. Of course, even an owner of a corner shop or small restaurant like me is an owner, but this is very different from that, isn't this? Luxurious houses, furniture and clothes and so on. It is not the world of 'us' but that of 'them'.

When some viewers constructing distanceship declare television drama to be unrealistic, it means that they can not have 'shared experiences', for most characters either are regarded as high class people, or live the different world from that of the viewer. Apart from characters coming from the rich, the husband of Family 6 is reluctant about the presented ways of ordinary people, feeling the ordinary people are depicted as humble. As he talks about *The Moon Of Seoul* depicting low class people living in 'The Moon Village', he feels himself to be insulted. There are several comic low class characters in *The Moon Of Seoul* which was the most popular serial, when this interview was being conducted, and this comic characterisation is an integral part of the popularity. While this aspect of *The Moon*

*Of Seoul* is more pleasurable for other viewers, it is conceived of as insulting treatment by him, because it is certainly not the sort of thing that he/she might well find happening.

It is worth noting the usage of the referent — the object to whom the statement refers. Liebes and Katz (1993: 107) argue that 'from the viewers' point, we shall rank "they" as more distant than "I" or "we". We will also maintain that "we" is more committed than "I" because the "we" invokes a role, a public persona, taking an official stance on behalf of a group'. Following Liebes and Katz' argument, this husband shows the kind of distance from direct personal involvement in the drama, because from the speaker's point of viewer, surely "they" is more distant than "we". He is incompatible with their world not only from his personal point of view, but also from the low class's one.

#### Wife (Family 12)

*This Man's Way Of Living* has corrupted morals to a considerable measure. Each of the main male characters has an illegitimate child except for Hakpyo Hong (actor's name) having got married to an illegitimate brother's lover who brings up his brother's daughter. For instance, Hong's father (owner of a big company), brother (doctor) and his brother's father-in-law (the director of hospital). It is nonsense!

Moral judgements or normative orientations are another factor for critical distance. There is no doubt that their moral standards originate in each subject position, as a father and as a wife. The wife of Family 12 also condemns the main male characters' immorality, and some fathers blame television drama for destroying the traditional ethics, and particularly, the authority of the father. Moral judgements seem to be the most crucial factor in making this audience critical and distant from the world of television drama for the Korean audience.

The third factor is attributed to the evaluation of narrative in terms of aesthetic or analytical responses. There are lots of statements concerning 'drama narrative is exaggerated, formulaic, simple and predictable'. This viewer tends to get the least suspense. These statements always come together with criticism for the quality of the screen writer and for commercialism of networks, regardless of commercial and public broadcasters.

Finally, it is owing to the lack of serial-specific knowledge that the viewer is disposed to be distanced from drama. If a viewer either dislikes watching television



drama itself or has a practical difficulty in watching it continuously because of shortage of times or other causes, it can not have the necessary knowledge and cultural competencies for enjoying drama.

**Husband (Family 4)**

I am not interested in watching television drama. Television drama is mainly broadcast after 10 PM, but I cannot watch it as I have to get up 5:30 AM to go to a construction office. Though I have sometimes watched *This Man's Way Of Living* or *The Moon Of Seoul*, I can not continue to watch them. Rather, I have often viewed *The Policeman*.

**Wife (Family 7)**

We do not have enough time to continuously watch television drama without skipping any episode. It is usually 11 PM when we arrive at home after selling fruits. We can see just part of an episode, so we do not like watching it.

Regardless of their intention, they get distanced through having had no time to spare for watching television drama. In the case of the husband of Family 4, he prefers to watch *The Policemen*, police series, which contains three or four reconstructed happenings in an episode, like *999 Lifesavers*, rather than to view serials such as *This Man's Way Of Living* or *The Moon Of Seoul*, for he does not need any specific knowledge of narratives and of characters.

As a result, for Korean viewers, distancship mainly stems from normative orientations, most of which are closely bound up with family-oriented evaluation. Instead, there is little criticism for violence or explicit sexual scenes, for these are rarely broadcast in Korean television drama through censorship or self-regulation.

What follows shall empirically analyse the relationship of these horizons of expectation to cultural and social backgrounds, not only to determine how these horizons are related to various positions of the audience, but also to consider moving from the notion of the simply active audience and essentialism towards more complicated forms of reception.



## 4-2 Factor Analysis of the Audience's Horizons

In order to objectify the audience's horizon of expectations about television drama, this study quantifies an audience's intersubjectivity by employing factor analysis, a statistical technique used to identify a relatively small number of factors that can be used to represent relationships among sets of many interrelated variables. As the audience's horizon is not a single measurable entity but a construct which is derived from measurement of other, directly observable variables, factor analysis helps identify these underlying, not directly observable, constructs. Furthermore, as the audience's intersubjectivity is assumed as complex, factor analysis is useful in finding the underlying horizons.

Respondents are asked to rate their agreement with twenty items as to how they perceive television drama, with response options ranging from 'strongly agree' (+2) to 'strongly disagree' (-2). Despite the fact that the number of these twenty items is relatively small, they can be expressed as parts of the horizon factors. Table 4-1 describes items, means (M) and standard deviations (SD) of the audience's preconceptions.

General perception is found as follows: respondents agree to a little extent that television drama is romantic and is emotionally involved, 'I am touched with pity for tragic characters' (M = 0.50), 'I often imagine various events concerning my childhood, romance and difficult pasts, etc. while watching drama' (M = 0.19), and 'drama is a romantic story' (M = 0.24). Nevertheless, respondents perceive drama as fiction and fall short of identification, 'I am often moved to tears while watching drama' (M = -0.43), 'drama reflects ordinary people's ways of life' (M = -0.30), and 'I sometimes wish to be a hero or heroine in drama' (M = -0.24).

A principal-components factor analysis with iterations and varimax rotation has been chosen, because it yielded more clearly interpretable factors than the results of principle-axis of factor analysis with oblique rotation. The factor solution, which identified five initial factors, explained 53.9 per cent of the total variance. By means of often-employed criteria, eigenvalues of at least one, a minimum of two primary factor loadings of 0.50 or greater on one factor, and the secondary factor loadings of below 0.40, four factors are retained (Table 4-2). The labelling of each factor follows the findings of a pilot survey and the focused family interviews, not only because the findings of a pilot survey are similar to those of the final survey in factor

sorting in spite of differences of eigenvalue, but also because seven items assumed belonging to each horizon of expectations from family interviews were added to make the horizons of expectations clear.

Factor 1, *Emotional Escapism*, has an eigenvalue of 4.71 and a Cronbach alpha of 0.77, and explains 23.5 per cent of the total variance, grouping five items; (9) watching drama tends to make me forget the daily grind, (10) drama represents delicate emotional events and situations, (18) I feel familiarity with characters, (19) I feel comfortable while watching drama, and (7) I am touched with pity for tragic characters. The audience involves the avoidance of one’s present experience, with its worries, doubts and problems, and enjoys the fictional world. For subsequent analysis, and index of emotional escapism is constructed by averaging the scores on five items (M = 0.11, SD = 1.04).

Table 4.1. The audience’s perceptions about television drama

How do you feel about television drama ?	M	SD
1 Drama portrays the full range of social reality	0.20	0.88
2 Drama is not realistic but trumped-up story	-0.17	0.96
3 Characters are people whom we are able to meet in real life	-0.23	0.91
4 I sometimes wish to be a hero or heroine in drama	-0.24	1.27
5 Drama reflects ordinary people’s ways of life	-0.30	1.03
6 Characters are far from my reality	0.25	0.97
7 I am touched with pity for tragic characters	0.50	1.01
8 Characters accomplish what I would like to do	-0.10	1.04
9 Watching drama tends to make me forget the daily grind	-0.06	1.24
10 Drama represents delicate emotional events and situations	0.03	1.01
11 I am often moved to tears while watching drama	-0.43	1.20
12 I often imagine various events concerning my childhood, romance and difficult pasts, etc. while watching drama	0.19	1.10
13 Drama is a romantic story	0.24	1.00
14 Dramatic events may occur in my life	-0.03	1.00
15 Drama represents the conflicts or contradiction in our society	0.08	0.86
16 Drama depicts an ideal life	0.16	0.95
17 Episodes are distanced from my reality	-0.03	0.89
18 I feel familiarity with characters	0.03	0.93
19 I feel comfortable while watching drama	0.01	0.92
20 Drama usually deals with immoral events	0.07	0.99



Table 4.2. Factor loadings of the audience's horizons

		Factors			
		Emotional Escapism	Distanceship	Imaginative Realism	Naturalistic Realism
Factor 1	Emotional Escapism				
	9	<b>0.77</b>	-0.00	0.15	0.02
	10	<b>0.73</b>	-0.22	0.03	0.16
	18	<b>0.70</b>	-0.10	0.06	0.10
	19	<b>0.68</b>	-0.11	0.11	0.08
	7	<b>0.60</b>	0.00	0.19	0.15
Factor 2	Distanceship				
	5	0.06	<b>-0.67</b>	0.11	0.17
	2	-0.04	<b>0.65</b>	0.03	-0.17
	6	-0.26	<b>0.64</b>	-0.01	-0.03
	1	0.14	<b>-0.62</b>	0.13	0.27
	20	-0.06	<b>0.57</b>	-0.16	0.26
Factor 3	Imaginative Realism				
	4	0.09	-0.03	<b>0.80</b>	0.09
	8	0.36	0.07	<b>0.60</b>	0.14
	12	0.23	-0.18	<b>0.58</b>	0.17
	17	0.16	0.37	<b>-0.53</b>	0.18
Factor 4	Naturalistic Realism				
	3	0.06	-0.37	0.03	<b>0.66</b>
	15	0.19	-0.27	0.07	<b>0.65</b>
	16	0.13	0.11	-0.23	<b>0.61</b>
Eigenvalue		4.71	2.31	1.39	1.28
Variance Explained		23.5%	11.6%	7.0%	6.4%
Cronbch Alpha		0.77	0.70	0.67	0.58

**Note** Numbers under each factor represent the items with the same number as in the audience's presuppositions about television drama in Table 4-1.



Factor 2, *Distanceship*, gets an eigenvalue of 2.31 and a Cronbach alpha of 0.70, and accounts for 11.6 per cent of the total variance, binding five items; (5) drama reflects ordinary people's ways of life, (2) drama is not realistic but trumped-up story, (6) characters are far from my reality, (1) drama portrays the full range of social reality, and (20) drama usually deals with immoral events. Here, item 5 and 1 are negatively correlated. The scores on the five items are averaged to create an index of distanceship ( $\underline{M} = 0.08$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 0.97$ ).

Factor 3, *Imaginative Realism*, has an eigenvalue of 1.39 and a Cronbach alpha of 0.67, and explains 7.0 per cent of the common variance, combining four items; (4) I sometimes wish to be a hero or heroine in drama, (8) characters accomplished what I would like to do, (12) I often imagine various events concerning my childhood, romance and difficult pasts, etc. while watching drama and (17) episodes are distanced from my reality. This factor becomes more associative with the dramatic reality and is involved. The scores on the four items are averaged to create an index of imaginative realism ( $\underline{M} = -0.04$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 1.08$ ).

Factor 4, *Naturalistic Realism*, contains an eigenvalue of 1.28 and a Cronbach alpha of 0.58, and accounts for 6.4 per cent of the total variance, grouping three items; (3) characters are people whom we are able to meet in real life, (15) drama represents the conflicts or contradictions in our society, and (16) drama depicts an ideal life. An index of naturalistic realism is made by averaging the scores on three items ( $\underline{M} = 0.00$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 0.91$ ).

Despite the fact that emotional escapism produces the largest amount of total variance, there is still a strong distanceship. In other words, the audience emotionally feels realism and fantasy, but it cognitively perceives television drama as fiction. From the findings of the horizons of expectations, it can be inferred that the viewer seems to share various horizons, though he/she constructs a dominant horizon. Thus the viewer's perception may be better understood, by considering various relationships among four horizons of expectations. It should be noted that the realistic tends to go with escapism or fantasy or vice versa. Here, we need to examine more particularly how each horizon is experienced and mediated as a part of one's own everyday life through both interview findings and answers in open-ended questions.

### 4-3 The Horizons of Expectations and Social Relations

There is not just a single independent horizon of expectations which can determine all a viewer's reading. The viewer's horizons of expectations are correlated or even contradictory. What appeals to the viewer is connected with his/her own individual life, social context, and cultural competencies. Here, the analysis of the relation of the audience's horizon of expectations to its socio-cultural factors is necessary, because the viewer is neither a completely autonomous nor a completely determinate individual. It is worth tracing the ways in which the autonomy and determinacy of the viewer is situated within gender and ages, social backgrounds, and cultural competencies.

There are differences in emotional escapism ( $F [3, 203] = 5.65, p < 0.001$ ), imaginative realism ( $F [3, 203] = 3.91, p < 0.001$ ), and naturalistic realism ( $F [3, 203] = 3.01, p < 0.05$ ) by job. As interaction effects have been suppressed due to empty cells, because the housewife is the female, one-way independent ANOVA was used. Manual workers and housewives are more prone than office workers and professionals to feel television drama as imaginatively and naturalistically realistic as well as emotionally escapist. Housewives are the most escapist and imaginative realist, with manual workers a close second, and professionals the least. Considering the relations between job and the horizons, manual worker's horizons have much in common with housewives' ones, whereas office worker's horizons are more akin to professionals'.

Three-way analysis of variance was employed to reveal whether the audience's horizons were affected by gender, the type of viewer and class (Table 4-3). Differences are significant in emotional escapism by gender ( $F [1, 189] = 4.58, p < 0.05$ ), and in emotional escapism ( $F [2, 189] = 5.75, p < 0.01$ ), imaginative realism ( $F [2, 189] = 3.37, p < 0.05$ ) and naturalistic realism ( $F [2, 189] = 3.09, p < 0.05$ ) by the type of viewer. There are no differences by class, and no interaction effects among gender, the type of viewer and class. The female is more likely than the male to be emotional escapist. The Scheffé multiple-range tests show there are significant differences between the heavy viewer ( $\underline{M} = 0.35$ ) and the light viewer ( $\underline{M} = -0.30$ ) in emotional escapism, the heavy viewer ( $\underline{M} = 0.12$ ) and the light viewer ( $\underline{M} = -0.27$ ) in imaginative realism and the heavy viewer ( $\underline{M} = 0.16$ ) and the light viewer ( $\underline{M} = -0.20$ ) in naturalistic realism. There are no differences in distancship. This



implies that moral or normative judgements about television drama are similar, regardless of gender, the type of viewer and class.

Table 4.3. The audience’s horizons: Analysis of variance summary

	df	Emotional Escapism		Distanceship		Imaginative Realism		Naturalistic Realism	
		MS	F	MS	F	MS	F	MS	F
Gender (A)	1	2.21	4.58*	0.07	0.46	0.00	0.00	0.22	0.50
Type (B)	2	2.76	5.75**	0.11	0.74	1.34	3.37*	1.33	3.09*
Class (C)	2	1.12	2.34	0.01	0.03	0.22	0.54	0.88	2.03
A x B	2	0.28	0.06	0.06	0.36	0.43	1.07	0.87	2.01
A x C	2	0.87	1.81	0.14	0.91	0.09	0.24	0.57	1.33
B x C	4	0.75	1.57	0.13	0.87	0.52	1.30	0.05	0.12
A x B x C	4	0.50	1.05	0.12	0.83	0.21	0.52	0.46	1.06
Residual	189	0.48		0.15		0.40		0.43	

\* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01

Pearson correlations between the audience’s horizons of expectations and other variables such as demographics, cultural capital, genre preference and context of viewing were computed. Table 4-4 demonstrates the Pearson correlation results. Age correlated positively with distanceship ( $r = 0.19$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). Educated years correlated negatively with emotional escapism ( $r = 0.24$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and imaginative realism ( $r = 0.17$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ).

More significantly, concerning cultural capital of television drama,<sup>8)</sup> familiarity correlated positively with emotional escapism ( $r = 0.29$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), imaginative realism ( $r = 0.21$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) and naturalistic realism ( $r = 0.18$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). Cultural exchange correlated positively with emotional escapism ( $r = 0.28$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and imaginative realism ( $r = 0.27$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Hours of watching television correlated positively with emotional escapism ( $r = 0.25$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and naturalistic realism ( $r = 0.19$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ).

Genre preference closely correlates with the audience’s horizons of expectations. As has been expected, family melodrama correlates positively with emotional escapism ( $r = 0.18$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), imaginative realism ( $r = 0.19$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), and naturalistic realism ( $r = 0.17$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), and romantic drama also correlates positively with emotional escapism ( $r = 0.44$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), imaginative realism ( $r =$



0.33,  $p < 0.001$ ) and naturalistic realism ( $r = 0.21$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). In addition, both rural drama and situation comedy correlates positively with imaginative realism and naturalistic realism.

Regarding context of viewing, concentration correlates positively with emotional realism ( $r = 0.38$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), imaginative realism ( $r = 0.30$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and distanceship ( $r = 0.18$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), and talking about drama while viewing correlates positively with emotional escapism ( $r = 0.24$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and imaginative realism ( $r = 0.28$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). In contrast, channel zapping correlates negatively with emotional escapism ( $r = -0.24$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ).

Table 4.4. Pearson correlations of horizons of expectations with other variables

	Factors			
	Emotional Escapism	Distanceship	Imaginative Realism	Naturalistic Realism
Age	0.04	0.19**	-0.10	0.16
Educated years	-0.24***	-0.02	-0.17**	-0.10
Monthly income	-0.07	0.11	-0.08	0.06
Cultural capital				
Familiarity	0.29***	0.08	0.21**	0.18**
Cultural exchange	0.28***	0.11	0.27***	0.15
Drama-knowledge	0.13	0.09	0.15	0.09
Watching TV	0.25***	0.09	0.13	0.19**
Genre preference				
Family melodrama	0.18**	0.14	0.19**	0.17**
Romantic drama	0.44***	-0.03	0.33***	0.21***
Historical drama	0.11	0.18**	0.06	0.08
Rural drama	0.18**	0.16**	0.19**	0.17**
Situation comedy	0.05	-0.02	0.17**	0.16**
Context of viewing				
Concentration	0.38***	0.18**	0.30***	0.10
Talking about drama	0.24***	0.07	0.28***	0.12
Eating or drinking	0.12	-0.04	0.04	0.06
Doing domestic work	-0.03	-0.06	0.04	0.04
Channel zapping	-0.24***	0.09	-0.09	-0.04

\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Though correlations cannot tell us about the direction of causality, several possible points from the results of Table 4-4 may be interpreted. First of all, the older it is, the more strongly the audience seems to be distant from the dramatic reality. As the family interviews have suggested, the horizon of distanceness is connected with normative and moral judgements, mainly depending upon criticism of family value. The lower the level of education, the more the audience perceives emotional escapism and imaginative realism.

Cultural capital is one of the most crucial components in constructing the audience's horizons, though it is a little problematic in that it is defined in a narrow sense. It should be noted that distanceness is not correlated with cultural capital, implying that moral and normative judgements are not influenced by familiarity, cultural exchange, drama-knowledge and watching television.

Genre preference is also another significant variable in the audience's horizons. Considering generic conventions of family melodrama, romantic and rural drama, which are the most popular drama genre in Korea, it is natural that these genres are bound up with emotional escapism, imaginative and naturalistic realism. Contrary to these genre dramas, historical drama is less related with these three horizons than distanceness.

#### **4-4 Concluding Remarks**

The audience's horizons of expectations were significantly a mediating factor between text and audience, imposing constraints on the audience's interpretative position and pleasure. Though the audience is able to read text in different ways, on the grounds that the meanings of text are open, its scope of reading cannot be said to be infinite, not the least because there is intersubjectivity in interpretations, which has been constructed through the audience's horizons of expectations. Until now, four horizons of expectations have been explored; emotional escapism, distanceness, imaginative realism and naturalistic realism. From the foregoing analyses, some implications between television drama and audience may be drawn.

First of all, it is possible to say that cultural capital, though defined in a narrow sense, is one of the most important elements in constructing the audience's horizons, together with gender and job. This is to imply that the power of the text



can not be ignored, and at the same time that it is necessary to further develop the crucial roles of cultural capital.

Second, there is the interrelation of horizons. Emotional escapism correlates positively with imaginative realism ( $r = 0.43$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), and naturalistic realism ( $r = 0.36$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), and imaginative realism also correlates positively with naturalistic realism ( $r = 0.27$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Though the audience has established a dominant horizon of either naturalistic realism or emotional escapism, it is not determined by one horizon but overdetermined through a complexity of various horizons. The fact that each horizon is correlated and complex may show how the audience is involved in television drama at various levels. Thus we are able to find out the audience's interpretative positions through complex relations of the horizons of expectations.

More significantly, these horizons of expectations make open a route to exploring discursive modes of interpreting television drama, and at the same time to rethinking the concept of 'interpretative communities' which is one of the most used and abused in audience studies. In the socio-cultural context of Korea, this concept seems to be problematic, if it is simply defined as socio-demographic groups. Class and ethnicity are not useful social backgrounds in Korean context. Not only do Koreans consist of a singular ethnicity, but also they have not constructed class consciousness yet. Even though Korea has been industrialised with rapid speed since the mid-1970s, class identity or class consciousness has remained ambiguous. Generally speaking, more than 70 per cent of Koreans tend to regard themselves as ordinary people, not as working class or bourgeois. On the other hand, this is possibly due to a dominant ideology in which the term 'working class' has been defined in terms of the Marxist or communist perspective.

On the other hand, the audience's horizons of expectations lead to moving away from interpretative communities to interpretative positions in which the individual viewer and family context should be more emphasised, when investigating the process of reception of the television drama audience. This does not simply suggest that an individual viewer's readings are infinite, because the individual viewer has shared perception of television drama. What follows shall identify the way in which the audience's interpretative positions are overlapped and complex in the light of discursive dimensions as well as socio-cultural relationships.



## Notes

1. Concerning film and television theories of realism, three issues around which debate has circulated with force and confusion might be identified: (i) realism as a term to describe a method or an attitude; (ii) realism of form/realism of theme; (iii) realism of text/ realism of audience.

Sense (i) is related to 'at first an exceptional accuracy of representation, and later a commitment to describing real events and showing things as they actually exist' (Williams, 1976: 259). In other words, it is matters of reference (of being *about* the real) and of verisimilitude (of being *like* the real). Corner (1992: 98 - 99) argues that 'the aesthetic /technical/perceptual conditions of filmic/televisual verisimilitude and the frequent embedding of the latter in a simulacrum of the *physical* have generated widespread use of the idea that television realism is illusory', and at the same time that a simple distinction can be made; 'realism of factual programmes is essentially to do with *veracity of reference*, and realism of fiction is far more likely to be matters of *verisimilitude*'.

The realism of television drama is mainly concerned with verisimilitude, as a result of which a text conforms with generic norms in such a manner that it produces the illusion of realism. Here, a further question could be raised about a method of what is realistically represented. It might be called 'realism of appearance' and 'realism of essence'. The former is to do with lifelike description or appearance, while the latter is related to structure from inner feelings to underlying social and historical movements, sometimes in even more specialised forms such as psychological realism or socialist realism.

In sense (ii), 'realism of form has included conventions of staging, directing, acting and editing. Realism of theme connects with the normative plausibility of characterisation, circumstance, action as well as being shaped within the socially ordinary or the socially problematic. The shift between two ways of conceiving realism produces either a straight conflation, or a tacking to and fro, or a complete ignoring of one side' (Corner, 1992: 100).

Sense (iii) which is one of the main points in this research, has recently been raised by reception studies of television. Ang (1985) show a move of concern away from 'realism of text' to 'realism of audience', in order to shed light on popular aesthetics of television drama. In fact, there would be some differences between realism of form and theme, and its cognitive and emotional organisation of the audience, in spite of the inseparability of the two. Here what matters is why and how the audience perceives television drama to be realistic. Ang tends to identify 'realism of the audience' with 'escapism'. Though it is

undeniable that realism of the audience can not be detached from escapism, there are further needs for exploring the relationship between text and audience such as psychological and aesthetic experiences.

2. Concerning the terms 'referentially' or 'poetically', see, R. Jakobson (1972), 'Linguistics and poetics', in R. and F. de George (eds.), *The Structuralists: From Marx to Levi-Strauss*, New York: Anchor Books, or T. Liebes and E. Katz (1993), *The Export of Meaning: Cross-Cultural Meaning of Dallas*.

3. According to Brunsdon (1989), value or quality in British television derives from its legitimisation by other, already validated art forms: theatre, literature, music, and from realism. In contrast to the British television tradition, realism is always excluded in terms of the issue of value in Korean television, whereas emphasis is given to the dramatisation of literary works and to morality.

4. Cultivation researchers have surveyed television audiences to see how closely they believe the television world corresponds to the real one or how television influences audience's concepts of social reality. They have demonstrated that heavy viewers perceive the represented world in television as more realistic or they see the real world as a more violent place than light viewers do (Gerbner, Gross, Elessy, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox and Signorielle, 1977; Gerbner, Gross, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox and Signorielle, 1978; Gerbner, Morgan and Signorielle, 1980). For example, Buerkel-Rothfuss and Mayes (1981) argue that there appears to be an important relationship between what a viewer watches on daytime serials and what he/she believes to be true about those aspects of the real world which tend to be portrayed with exaggerated frequency on soap operas.

5. In this study, 'fantasy' is, though roughly defined, a little different from 'imaginativeness'. Of course, both of them make life in the present pleasurable through imagination, removing the feeling of pressures and constraints associated with the mundane routines, problems and frustrations of the real world. However, fantasy is far more likely than imaginativeness to be defined as a lack of a 'sense of reality'. Though this could sometimes lead to a negative judgement of popular entertainment forms, it is not conceded that fantasy is simply regarded as a means of dominant ideology, because it by no means excludes a critical distance or political consciousness.



6. Rubin (1983; 1984) divides the use of the media into 'instrumental use' and 'ritualised use', depending on motivation of viewing. While instrumental use is for information-seeking and social utility, ritualised use is for escape, entertainment, relaxation and so on.

7. Mindless and mindful escapism will be discussed in the next Chapter.

8. According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), the concept of cultural capital is based on the assertion that symbolic expression has an exchange value determined by the ruling class. Cultural capital is transmitted not so much by public schooling as by private schooling, this is to say, class-based family backgrounds. Its implication makes open a route to understanding the possibility of a cultural process that is self-sustaining and self-perpetuating through the stratification and privilege of culture and taste. However, cultural capital of television drama in this research is defined in a narrow sense, not only because it is less related to cultural reproduction determined by the ruling class, but also because it is used to explore a specific form of culture rather than cultural process in broader terms. In spite of its restrictive usage, cultural capital of television drama may provide us with a key from which to explore the stratification of the audience's interpretative positions, pleasure and taste.

Cultural capital of television drama is analysed under four headings: familiarity with drama measured by the extent of watching television drama each week, cultural exchange measured by the degree of conversation in domestic context, drama-knowledge measured by the extent to which the viewer knows the screenwriter and serial-specific knowledge of past narratives and of characters. Watching television is measured by the amount of minutes a day.



## Chapter 5

### The Interpretative Positions of the Audience and Complexity of Reception

There are three kinds of readers: one who enjoys without judgement; a third who judges without enjoyment; and, in between, a reader who judges while enjoying and enjoys while judging.

— Goethe, Letter to J. F. Rochlitz 13 June 1819

The notions of ‘interpretative communities’ and ‘an active audience’ have been so widely circulated within media studies that they have come to be taken for granted, having largely developed from the ethnographic turn at a methodological level. For cultural studies they imply that the audience makes sense of text through negotiated and resistant reading and in turn produces cultural identity. Despite theoretical and empirical contributions, these findings only give us half the picture.

Rather than employing these terms, taken for granted, this study categorises the audience’s interpretative position from which the audience reads or involves with television drama in a more differentiated manner. In order to find the audience’s interpretative positions, this study assumes that they should be, first of all, explored in relation to discursive modes of interpreting drama. Many works have connected them with social backgrounds such as class, gender, subculture group and ethnicity in cultural studies, as a result of which text has been left outside the audience’s interpretative positions.

The first section, analysing interview data, explores how an individual viewer belonging to each interpretative position reads television drama, especially in an interpretative dimension such as value-orientation and the mode of reading: intent, impact and implications. The second section determines how a viewer evaluates narrative, quality of drama, and is interested in drama concerning character, storyline and events-orientation, as it were, in analytical or aesthetic dimensions. The third section, employing statistical analyses such as cluster analysis, reveals how each audience’s interpretative position is related to and overlapped with social backgrounds, because social relations cannot be ignored, even though the

audience's interpretative positions in this study are mainly explored in connection with discursive factors. The fourth section determines female and male audienceship, in order to find complexity within each audience position.

This chapter suggests that the nature of any difference in interpretations should be examined in the context of the viewer's interpretative positions. The viewer's position should be further connected with textual or discursive dimensions as well as social relations to find not only differences of reading, but also shared experiences of reading. Though an individual viewer is predominantly in a position such as the escapist, he/she is not of course completely determined by one position.

Before analysing the audience's interpretative position, it is necessary to overview four positions: the escapist, the habitual, the ironic and the non-engaged position (Table 5-1). From the findings of family interviews and the pilot study, we are able to define some features of each of the audience's interpretative position, even though it is not easy to describe exactly to which interpretative position each family member belongs. Impressionistically, there is clear-cut distinction between the escapist and the non-engaged position. The escapist position, characterised by the highest emotional escapism, imaginative realism and naturalistic realism, displays more referential reading in that it is interpretative without being judgmental, and is unconcerned or the least analytical in assessing narrative and quality. The non-engaged position reveals the lowest emotional escapism, imaginative realism and naturalistic realism and the highest distancedness. It exhibits the lowest attention and is critical of dramatic constructions in the light of syntax and semantics, replying that narrative is fairly predictable, dragging, exaggerated etc. While the escapist position tends to make a preferred reading and to be value-free in value-orientation, the non-engaged position seems to make oppositional reading and to be normative in that it is interpretative with being judgmental.

The habitual and the ironic position are located between these two opposing positions, both of which take the negotiated position in that they admit legitimacy of television drama but are to some degree critical. As it were, they are both referential and critical. While the habitual is nearer to the escapist, the ironic is to the non-



Table 5.1. The interpretative positions of interview family members

	Family 1		Family 2		Family 3		Family 4		Family 5		Family 6		Family 7	
	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W
	Escape	Escape	Escape	Escape	Escape	Escape	Non-en	Ironie	Escape	Escape	Non-en	Escape	Ironie	Non-en
Interpretative position	Light	Light	Heavy	Heavy	Middle	Middle	Light	Middle	Middle	Heavy	Light	Light	Light	Non-en
Type of viewer	Refer.	Refer.	Refer.	Refer.	Refer.	Refer.	Refer.	R/C	Refer.	Refer.	Critic.	R/C	R/C	Critic.
Framings of reading														
Interpretative dimensions														
(1) Value-orientation	Free	Free	Free	Free	Free	Free	Free	Norm.	Free	Free	Norm.	Free	Norm.	Norm.
(2) The mode of reading														
Intent											-			-
Impact														-
Implications														
Analytical dimensions														
(1) Narrative														
Predictable	-	0	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Dragging	-	+	-	-	0	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Exaggerated	-	0	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
Formulaic	-	0	-	-	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+
Suspense	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
(2) Quality														
Screenwriter		+							-	-	-	-	-	-
Acting					+				-					
Technical form									-	-	-	-	-	-
(3) Interest of drama														
Character-oriented	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
Storyline-oriented	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Events-oriented	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
Context of viewing														
(1) With whom viewing	Family	Family	Alone	Alone	W	H/C	Alone	Alone	W	H	Family	Family	W	H
(2) With whom talking	None	F	W/F	H	None	None	None	None	W	H	None	F	None	None

(continued)

		Family 8		Family 9		Family 10		Family 11		Family 12		Family 13		Family 14	
		H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W
Interpretative position		Non-en	Ironc	Escape	Ironc	Habit	Escape	Habit	Escape	Ironc	Habit	Habit	Habit	Non-en	Ironc
Type of viewer		Middle	Middle	Middle	Heavy	Middle	Heavy	Middle	Heavy	Heavy	Heavy	Middle	Middle	Light	Heavy
Framings of reading		Critic	R/C	Refer.	R/C	Refer.	Refer.	R/C	Refer.	R/C	R/C	Refer.	Refer.	Critic	R/C
Interpretative dimensions															
(1) Value-orientation	Norm.														
	Norm.														
	Norm.														
(2) The mode of reading															
Intent															
Impact															
Implication															
Analytical dimensions															
(1) Narrative															
Predictable															
Dragging															
Exaggerated															
Formulaic															
Suspense															
(2) Quality															
Screenwriter															
Acting															
Technical form															
(3) Interest of drama															
Character-oriented															
Storyline-oriented															
Events-oriented															
Context of viewing															
(1) With whom viewing	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family
	W	H	W	W	H/F	W	W	H/F	H/F	W	H	H	None	H/F	H
(2) With whom talking	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family
	W	H	W	W	H/F	W	W	H/F	H/F	W	H	H	None	H/F	H

- Notes** (a) H (husband) W (wife) F (friends) C (children)  
(b) Interpretative position: Escape (escapist), Non-en (non-engaged), habit (habitual)  
(c) Value-orientations: Free (value-free), and Norm (normative)  
(d) Framings of reading: Ref (referential), Critic (critical) and R/C (referential and critical)  
(e) Empty cells (no statement)



engaged position. Though the habitual position is escapist, it is less likely than the escapist position to be selective, because its viewing is ritualised and is the domestic context of viewing where togetherness is an important element. The ironic position is more inclined to be critical than the escapist and the habitual position, but less critical than the non-engaged position, and at the same time is interested in such matters as screen writers and dramatic constructions.<sup>1)</sup>

It should be noted that even these four interpretative positions are not clearly divided, but a little complex and ambiguous. Nevertheless, shared interpretative positions can be found which are assumed to set limits of readings and patterns of involvement in television drama.

### **5-1 The Interpretative Dimensions: Value-orientation and the mode of reading**

While a thoughtless or mindless state did tend to feature in escapist viewers, a thoughtful or critical state seemed to characterise non-engaged viewers. The husband and wife of Family 1, 2 and 5, for example, had few substantive responses to the intent, impact and implications of television drama. The husband of Family 1, a butcher, responded, "I don't think any thing while watching drama. Really nothing". Similarly, the husband of Family 2, a gatekeeper, said, "I have no particular motives for watching drama, my mind was just blank. As I usually forget the story in a moment, I don't know how the story has been developed". These mindless viewers failed to recall the main-storyline, even though they regularly watch drama. They were well aware of their passivity and revealed no particular embarrassment about it. As they regard watching drama as just entertainment and relaxation, they do not need to watch drama thoughtfully, which would destroy their relaxation. It is the structuring of domestic time that contributes to making up the escapist who does not have any choice other than watching television drama. And turning off drama functions as a point of reference for fixed bed times. Some viewers show an escape from temporary burdens of problems, whereas others reveal an escape from mundane routines and labours.

It is certain that escapist viewers are less interested in intent and implications of television drama. There are few comments on the intent of producers or motivations

of television executives, and social or moral ramifications. Rather, they are inclined to respond with some affirmative impact, saying “I enjoy watching *Ambition*, in which love between brothers is interesting. I sometimes think about my brothers or love between brothers” (Husband of Family 1). They are to some degree affirmative in interpretations, following the preferred meanings. As it were, their readings were quite referential in that they feel television drama to be very realistic.

Radway (1987: 11) observes that women’s romance reading functions as ‘a declaration of independence’, as a way of refusing the demands associated with their social roles as wives and mothers. However, Korean wives belonging to the escapist position reveal only partial escapism, not giving up their domestic roles. They not only admit their husbands’ stress would be heavier than theirs, but also give priority to husbands’ and children’ choices for relaxation. The escapist husbands rarely talk about company work even to wives, since this would destroy the space of domestic leisure and would add more stress. Instead, they want a household which offers only a space and time of rest.

It is necessary to raise a question about what escapist viewers are escaping into. There are mainly three refuges older Korean audiences wish to escape into. Firstly, some audiences, especially aged over the 30s, tend to escape into nostalgia or the rural life from which they came. Most interviewed families may be, in a certain sense, immigrants originating in an agricultural area or small city. They are people who have lost their true native country, being likely to pine for traditional family and community values and morals such as togetherness, harmony, authority of parents and the like, identifying the dramatic world with their own youth.

Nature itself is the second place of refuge. Given that Seoul people live in an extremely messy metropolis and have few chances to enjoy nature, the countryside can be regarded as an inaccessible place. The third place is, ironically, to look back to the impoverished past with nostalgia, especially early marital lives or certain moments of the greatest difficulty. Comfort is achieved through characters overcoming harsh circumstances.

While male viewers aged over the 30s escape into such places of refuge outside drama, female and younger viewers are inclined to find it inside drama. Instead of talking about nature, native country and the impoverished past, they escape into the text with favourite characters, and the process of making true love. As they have not had the same experiences as their elders and were born in Seoul,



young viewers aged less than 30 have not escaped into traditional values, nature or the impoverished past. Nevertheless, escapist wives are unlikely to be involved in the luxurious or affluent world of drama. Their involvements are mainly concerned with true love and with temporarily forgetting domestic work or personal/family problems.

It seems to be that there are two types of escapist positions: one is the mindless or apathetic viewer who, in turn, shows few emotional reactions. The other is the motivated viewer who has strong emotional reactions and involvement, as a result of which the former is less selective than the latter.

Can it be said that the escapist viewers are simply naive? Insufficient findings here made it difficult to reach such a definite conclusion. Though these viewers appear fairly escapist, because they are well aware of their passivity, it is certainly a simplistic judgement to say that this position would just accept the dominant ideology or give up oppositional readings either of television drama or of social reality. It is more accurate to say that this position uses drama as a way of saving energy for tomorrow's work rather than enjoying fantasy itself. It should also be pointed out that their escape is temporary rather than sustained. As watching drama is only one among various discourses constructed in social formation, it is inappropriate to assert that these viewers would be politically or ideologically naive unless researchers explored how these discourses of feeling are articulated within common cultures. Of course, it is possible to say that mindless escapist viewers are more passive than other viewers taking the habitual, the ironic and the non-engaged position.

Contrary to the escapist viewer, the non-engaged viewer thinks television drama unrealistic, and it accepts that television drama is no more than the fictional world in which it can not be involved. Certainly, the non-engaged viewer is far away from drama, gaining limited pleasure on account of the presupposition that real-life problems are interwoven with unrealistic elements, perceiving drama as separate from reality. The husband of Family 14 is a good example of the non-engaged viewer.

#### Husband (Family 14)

Recent television dramas have serious problems in terms of morals and ethics. I do not even like titles such as *This Man's Way Of Living*, *Men Are Lonely* and *Men Over Women*. Judging from the titles, as you may expect, almost all the

stories are banal and immoral. I think that these kinds of titles and stories ignore viewers. The morals and ethics of our traditional society have been completely destroyed by these rubbish dramas. For people aged over 40 like me, the authority of the father is extremely important to make the family harmonised. But our valuable ethics of family are ruthlessly driven away. I don't understand the intent of the broadcaster, even public service broadcaster, KBS is the same as the commercial one.

This husband is fairly negative about the intent of broadcasters, impact of drama and implications in drama, as well as television drama itself. He did not understand why the public broadcaster, KBS, should broadcast almost the same immoral content as the commercial ones, in spite of being paid a licence fee. In addition, he perceived that too many melodramas or romantic drama are scheduled in Korean broadcasting. According to him, television drama is 'an enemy of the people' which results in destroying the spirit of Korea. His value orientation is quite normative on the ground that the world of drama is abnormal and deviant, not only by rejecting perceived values in a story, but also by maintaining a stand against the behaviour being interpreted. Interpretative dimensions such as the rejection of values, television drama as the representation of the abnormal world and the critical stand are characterised by the non-engaged viewer.

The non-engaged viewer's critical reading is sometimes related to his or her referential reading, when cognitively involved in the drama, even though television drama is considered to be fictional. Both such cognitive involvement and critical distance are mainly mediated by moral evaluation which is one of the most important factors in reading drama, especially concerning family values for the non-engaged viewer.

The non-engaged viewer takes oppositional reading. According to the husband of Family 14, what is being resisted is the broadcasting institution which is dominated by the culture industry. He conceives of television drama as a kind of trash which the culture industry has produced, whereas he adapts the oppositional reading to his subject position as a father, in favour of patriarchy which is frequently depicted in drama.

On the other hand, the wife of Family 7 replied that "most of the television dramas deal with the world of the high class or the rich. Their ways of life are really meaningless for our life, don't you think so. In *This Man's Ways Of Life*, the high class people, for example, Inhwa Cheon's [actress's name] husband is really tricky,



doing everything by using all methods and means". She rejects characters or materials in drama, for she is not able to share their experiences which are quite distant from her way of life. She is also not gratified with the ways in which the ordinary people's ways of life were reflected in current dramas, because their lives were depicted in a humble manner. Her oppositional reading is based on her class position in that the working class's life is more authentic than the high class's life.

In contrast to the clear distinction between the escapist and the non-engaged viewer, it is difficult to distinguish the habitual from the ironic in terms of interpretative dimensions. Both of them take the negotiated reading in that they acknowledge the legitimacy of the dominant codes, but they are referential and critical of television drama. In other words, they responded that "as broadcasting is a kind of industry and it has to make money, the flood of drama may be accepted. But I am not satisfied with programming and subject matters" (the husband of Family 7).

#### Husband (Family 13)

I play a crucial role in my company, bridging the relationship between many employees and higher-ranking people. I am always haunted by burdens of work. My household is only a place to rest. While watching television drama with my family, I often drink. For me, it is the best way of relaxation with my family members in my home. Thus, I usually prefer television drama which all family members are able to watch. I don't like watching serials such as melodramas which are not only uninteresting but also unsuitable to watch for all family members.

The habitual viewer has in much common with the escapist viewer in that he or she is determined by structured domestic times, motives being connected with diversion. Above all, habitual viewing is closely associated with familyhood. The structure of domestic time contributes to rendering watching television as an atmosphere generator. Family 13 is an example in which both the structure of domestic time and familyhood bring that family to watch television drama. The husband of Family 13 says that he watches television drama because his wife does so. His wife expresses the same reason for watching drama, since her husband and children do it. It is unclear who chooses television drama in this family.<sup>2)</sup> Its choice is sometimes made by their children except for a news programme. No one in this family says that he/she has chosen drama. In fact, just like the husband and wife

who runs an ice-cream shop in Family 13, they feel guilty about having had inadequate times with their two children aged 15 and 12 as well as each spouse, thinking their children are at an important stage of intellectual and physical development. It is certain that for this family watching television drama is used as time and space for togetherness. Though this habitual viewing is similar, in many ways, to the escapist viewing, the habitual viewer is more motivated than the mindless escapist viewer, but is less involved in drama than the mindful escapist viewer. The habitual viewer is also apt to watch television drama as a means of exploring reality or history and education as seeking for didactic information or knowledge about reality or history.

Wife (Family 10)

My husband asks me and my child to watch *Farm Diary*. As my husband is really a faithful son, we are always told to learn something from *Farm Diary*. In other words, we should follow daughter-in-law's and son's ethics and attitudes appearing in it, for example, respect to parents, love between brothers and child's etiquette to elder people. As we have four television sets, we are used to going to each room, if there is a channel conflict. But whenever *Farm Diary* is broadcast, my children and I are not allowed to go to each room. It is a kind of duty that all family members watch it together. Though my husband gives concessions to us about choice of television programme, he demands that we should watch it and learn etiquette and morals of family.

*Farm Diary* reflects traditional Korean values and ethics which have been driven away. In *Farm Diary* which depicts a large family's everyday life living in a small rural village, the main characters; a village chief, his wife and his three sons and daughters-in-law, are all devoted sons and daughters, and at the same time keep a good relationship with their neighbours. *Farm Diary* is used to reinforce traditional values for this family. In fact, though the husband of Family 10 is generally discontented with recent television light entertainment programmes in which singers or talents wearing queer clothes and using unusual language appear on the screen, he does not prevent the children from watching such programmes. Instead, he uses *Farm Diary* as a means of value-reinforcement for his children and wife. In a similar vein, the husband of Family 11 responded that "I enjoy watching *Myunghoe Han*, with a history book open. The name of an historical figure is screened through subtitle, is not it? If so, I look up his/her name in a history book



to know what he/she did at those times”. *Myunghoe Han* is the name of an historical figure who helped a younger prince to become a king in the ‘Chosun Dynasty’, about 500 years ago. While watching *Myunghoe Han*, the above husband pursues historical knowledge without any concern with a main storyline. For him, television drama is perceived as an information source as well as a reservoir of escapism or relaxation. As a consequence, the mode of habitual viewing is ritualised but instrumental in that it is inclined to be involved in the drama in pursuit of the exploration of history and reality. The habitual viewer does seem to show clear preference of genre. He/she tends to prefer historical drama or rural drama to melodrama, conceiving of these dramas as the suitable genre for togetherness and for exploring reality and information. This implies that he/she is, to some extent, negative as regards impact of television drama.

It is not clear how the ironic viewer is different from the habitual in terms of value-orientation and the mode of reading, except for the fact that the ironic viewer is less likely than the habitual to be family-oriented and informative in choosing television drama. Impressionistically, it may be assumed that the ironic viewer is more likely than the habitual to be critical and distant from the fictional world concerning intent, impact and implications. However, it is quite difficult to elucidate how much the ironic viewer is distant and critical, only by using interview materials. Distinction between the two can be better made in analytical and aesthetic dimensions which will be discussed in the following section.

## **5-2 The Analytical and Aesthetic Dimensions**

The escapist viewer did seem to disagree that the narrative is predictable, exaggerated, dragging and formulaic, as a result of which he/she gets, to some extent, suspense from television drama. This tendency is closely bound up not only with referential reading, but also with the naturalistic and imaginative horizons. As the escapist viewer generally perceived television drama as realistic, it is natural that narrative is thought to be less exaggerated. This does not imply that all escapist viewers evaluate the narrative in the same way. Some viewers agree that the narrative is predictable and formulaic, but they accept that Korean television drama is getting more unpredictable.

Among analytical dimensions, few escapist viewers negatively commented about the quality of drama involving screenwriter, acting and technical forms. Most of responses were either that they have not thought about them, or that they have no ideas about them. Given the fact that they are relatively mindless viewers, as has been shown in the interpretative dimensions, it is not surprising that they did not have any standard to evaluate the quality of drama. Most of them did not know the name of the screenwriter or producer who produced their favourite drama. Regardless of the audience's interpretative positions, there are few comments about technical forms such as editing, symbols, production etc.

The escapist viewer tended to be more events-oriented in the interest of drama. Here, events-oriented means that the escapist viewer follows the dominant strategies of production of drama. Most Korean dramas are planned to finish within six months, including Korean soaps or other drama genres. Owing to limited-run narrative, television producers have used humour strategy in which uncommon or comic characters have been emphasised so that humorous characters may increase the viewer's interest in the short term, rather than employing stylistically rich narrative strategy. Such a strategy has been regarded as the most attractive code to draw viewer's attention, together with star-centred development. It is general to see the disposition of several comic characters, regardless of genre or even serious dramas. Korean television drama has enlarged the roles of minor comic characters, even though the main one is sufficient to carry the series. For the escapist viewer, it is successful either to enlarge the roles of comic characters, or to develop drama in minor events-oriented way.

*The Moon Of Seoul* is a good example in which minor characters, such as an art teacher, a widow and an old playboy, were emphasised. It is certain that the escapist viewer is more interested in these character-involved events than in the main characters or the main storyline. As the role of minor characters is conceived of as one of the significant factors for entertainment, the escapist viewer is not critical of this dominant code. In addition, some issues as to whether or not minor characters are suitable for the process of development of the whole drama, or are realistic, are beyond the scope of their interest.

Contrary to the escapist's analytical responses, the non-engaged viewer agreed that the narrative is predictable, dragging, exaggerated and formulaic. It is quite critical for the development of the narrative which is considered to be banal, as



a result of which it did not feel suspense from television drama. Most of the non-engaged viewers responded that they know how an episode would be developed from the beginning to the end. Though they did not comment about specific genre conventions, they are aware of drama genre conventions.

#### Husband (Family 8)

Is there any Korean television drama which is unpredictable or not formulaic? Most television drama is the same in narrative and development. As it were, most of the television drama deals with love between a male and female who are going to marry, conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and extra-marital affairs. Here, two strangers meet and fall in love, and either a male or a female character is usually an unsuitable partner for one, as has been seen in *Hold Love In Your Bosom*. Thus there are lots of obstacles for their love, but finally they will overcome them and then get married. All narratives are really the same!

Certainly, this informant is very aware of generic conventions of romantic drama or family melodrama. In *Hold Love In Your Bosom*, there is love between Aera Shin (actress's name), a worker in a department store, and Inpyo Cha (actor's name), a son of the department owner. Despite a big difference of class, they successfully make love beyond their social position. Her comments are in a similar line with Bygrave's (1991) and Neale's (1992) arguments about romantic (comedy) drama. Romantic drama or family melodrama has general conventions, what is called 'the meet cute', as Bygrave puts it, meaning various ways of getting two strangers together so they fall in love. In a further account of such a convention, Neale (1992) suggests, what is more important is the focused points of view of the wrong partners — a would be suitor or a possible but unsuitable partner for one or other of the members of the couple. As Neale (1992) points out, the wrong partner common in romantic (comedy) drama is a device which is an inevitable formula. As the point of view of the wrong partner provides points of comparison with, and contrast to, one or other of the members of the couple, it induces the viewer into the two different points of view, so extending emotional intensity which is closely connected with fantasy. However, he is unlikely to get pleasure from the two different points of view which are seen as obvious.

Differing from the escapist viewer, the non-engaged viewer is less inclined to extend emotional intensity, handled mainly through fantasy which allows for a more

confident assertion of an imagined world. Rather, it feels these generic conventions banal or formulaic, because it is distant from the fictional world which is considered to be unrealistic and incompatible. It is, of course, naive to say that the escapist viewer is completely unaware of these generic conventions. Even though the escapist viewer knows them, it seems to extend relatively strong intensity through fantasy and emotional reaction.

In this point, the non-engaged viewer tends to offer a critical account of the quality of drama, saying that the quality of screenwriter is especially low. According to the husband of Family 14, he felt despised by melodrama screenwriters who wrote *This Man's Way Of Living* or *Men Are Lonely*. His criticism about narratives and screenwriters stems not so much from aesthetic evaluation as moral or ethic evaluation which is common for the non-engaged viewer. As a result, the non-engaged viewer did seem to show storyline-orientation from which it criticised for theme, ideology and the quality of drama such as screenwriters and dramatic constructions.

The habitual viewer is less critical of narratives and quality of drama than is the ironic viewer. As watching television drama is conceived of both as entertainment and familyhood, the habitual viewer is less critical of chosen drama for all family members, since it has already chosen television dramas which are appropriate for togetherness. Generally speaking, both the habitual and the ironic viewer pointed out that the speed of narrative development is moderate at the beginning of a drama, but that it is getting slower or faster according to whether or not a television drama is popular. In fact, as the habitual and the ironic viewer know the intention of broadcasters in the culture industry and more or less acknowledge its legitimacy, both of them are less negative than the non-engaged viewer in analytical dimensions.

The ironic viewer regards television drama as a little more realistic and is less inclined towards emotional escapism than the habitual viewer. Though it gets nearer to the reality of drama, it often makes statements about aesthetic dimensions (syntactic structure) in drama such as genre, dramatic conventions, composition of story and so on. It relates a little to the fictional world, but even so, it is more cognitive than the habitual and the escapist viewer, and less than the non-engaged viewer.



**Husband (Family 12)**

It is the reality itself, not trumped-up stories. I am well acquainted with some cases which are the same as drama's stories. I do not think that writers only abstractly make up certain immoral conduct. Now critics criticise such a reality as being overexaggerated. As far as I know, it is as it is. . .

*This Man's Way Of Living* is really a mess. Dramatic construction is spoiled, because sudden reversion is not relevant. In fact, it seems to me that the screen writer uses various dramatic elements in order to draw the viewer's attention, but they are not logical.

**Wife (Family 14)**

Most of the Korean dramas do not have speedy development so that we feel it to be boiling. . . I think that the writers should have clear consciousness of subject-matter, and they do not have it. Therefore, all dramas are the same! . . . I accept that watching drama is nothing but playing a game, even so writers should have responsibility, because television drama is also an art.

Both interviewees can be said to have some cultural capital to evaluate drama; the husband of Family 12 is a musician, and the wife of Family 14 is a music teacher attending a course of screen writing in continuous education. Though she was very interested in literature and screen writing, she could not start until her youngest son became a high school student.

It is interesting to see that their criticism is more concerned not only with the syntactic elements of the drama, but also with screen writers who are evaluated as bad. It is quite rare that producers, performers and other production staff members are blamed. Although the ironic viewer seems to think the role of the screen writer to be the most important in making quality drama, its criticism is not further developed to ideological issues.

During the Family 14 interview, the husband, belonging to the non-engaged position, talks about the semantic dimensions such as themes, ideology and message, while the wife argued that we do not need to see television drama as being so serious, but recognised television drama as a kind of art and watching drama as fun. Thus, her criticism is closely related to the position of television drama as scarcely recognised a popular art.

It is possible to assume that ironic viewers are quite autonomous. In simplistic terms, the escapist viewers are referential and playfully involved in the reality of

drama, showing that watching drama is only fun and entertainment, whilst the non-engaged viewers are cognitively involved in terms of distance from drama, moral judgement, ideological reading and so on. The habitual viewers reveal ritualised and instrumental viewing. To put that another way, each of the three kinds of viewers has constructed, to some degree, shared patterns of involvement and reception. However, the ironic viewers seem to be less consistent as to how to receive television drama as a whole. In this context, the ironic viewers are quite a differentiated group in that individual viewers have more divergent readings according to each genre and narrative, even though it is fairly critical of dramatic constructions. In contrast to the escapist and the non-engaged viewer, the ironic viewer seems to have less fixed preconceptions about the way in which television drama is positioned in its everyday life. As a result, the ironic viewer shows significant variations in interpreting narratives and evaluating each genre and so on.

Table 5.2. The audience's interpretive positions and modes of reception

Position of viewer	Reception	Frame	Involvement	Concern of drama	Value-orientation
Escapist	Preferred	Referential	Emotionally involved	Characters and events-oriented	Value-free/emotional arousal
Habitual	Negotiated	Ritualised/referential	Playfully involved	Story-oriented	Community/Value-free
Ironic	Negotiated	Referential/critical	Involved/distant	writer/dramatic constructions/syntactic	Normative
Non-engaged	Oppositional	Critical	Cognitively distant	Ideology/morality syntactic/semantic	Normative

Despite the danger of oversimplification from the foregoing discussions, it is possible to outline modes of reception based on each audience's interpretative position, following Liebes and Katz's (1993) suggestions with some variations (Table 5-2). The escapist viewer takes the preferred reading in that it is event-oriented, value-free and affirmative to evaluate television drama, considering



television drama as real. It watches drama to escape from everyday life for emotional release and as entertainment, showing no particular embarrassment about this tendency. Both the habitual and the ironic viewer are in a negotiated position, because both of them question some of the intent of broadcasting as culture industry and the impact of drama but still accept its dominant codes. The habitual is less critical of screenwriters, narratives and syntactic than is the ironic, considering watching television drama as a major means of togetherness, whereas the ironic is more concerned with aesthetic dimensions and is normative for reading drama, even though it regards drama as a little more realistic. It is not only less playfully involved but also more critical or varied in assessing dramatic constructions, characterisations and aesthetic dimensions. Finally, the non-engaged viewer shows awareness of the drama as separated from reality and is concerned with moral judgements and ideology, as a result of which it is negative about narratives and considers that the quality of drama is low.

In spite of these differences in the modes of reception, there is some consensus in Korean audience in answering what is a good drama: 'realistic drama' and 'the Korean spirit loaded drama'. The former refers to drama in which ordinary peoples' ways of life are represented, the latter is related to one which shows or reinforces Korean morality and ethics. Here ordinary peoples' ways of life are concerned not so much with social and political issues in drama as with the representation of the good-heartedness of ordinary people. More generally speaking, Korean viewers are morally oriented in assessing television drama, despite differences of extent among the four interpretative positions.

Few Korean viewers' comments were concerned with progressive discourse or serious drama or 'art television', as Caughie (1981: 31) suggested, which 'functions, both for the viewers and for the institutions, to make television as a whole more serious, and its appearance within the evening's viewing invite a different form of attention'. No Korean interviewee suggested progressive discourses or seriousness as the standards and the practices of 'good television drama'. The reason seemed to be that Korean television drama lacks the single play which shows serious or progressive discourses about social issues.

### 5-3 The Interpretative Position and Social Relations

Interview findings have offered us the outline of similarities and differences in each audience's interpretative position in terms of interpretative and analytical dimensions. However, it is quite difficult to explore the ways in which the each audience's interpretative positions are complicatedly related to demographic and socio-cultural backgrounds and how many viewers belong to each interpretative position, not only because the number of interviewed families was small, but also because there were analytical restrictions of qualitative data. Thus, these limitations may be, to some extent, overcome, by employing statistical analysis of the survey data.

As has been mentioned earlier, there is not just a single independent horizon of expectations which can determine an audience's positions and its reception. It is clear that the audience's horizons and positions are correlated or even contradictory. What appeals to the viewer is connected with his/her own individual life, social context and cultural competencies. In point of fact, the analysis of the relation of the audience's position to its socio-cultural factors is necessary, because the viewer is neither a completely autonomous nor determinate individual. It is worth tracing the ways in which the autonomy and determinacy of the audience is situated within demographic and socio-cultural backgrounds.

In order to find the viewer's interpretative position, this study employs agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis with complete linkage and Euclidean distance measure. The mean with each horizon of expectations for each cluster is shown in Table 5-3, together with the ANOVA results for each one-way independent ANOVA. <sup>3)</sup> Four interpretative positions were chosen, following the results of the pilot study and family interviews, and from dendrogram (Appendix 3: Agglomeration schedule and dendrogram).

*The escapist position* exhibits the highest inclination towards emotional escapism and imaginative realism, and relatively higher naturalistic realism. It shows the strongest agreement about emotional investments (item 9 'watching drama tends to make me forget the daily grind' ( $\bar{M} = 0.91$ ), item 10 'drama represents delicate emotional events and situations' ( $\bar{M} = 0.72$ ), item 7 'I am touched with pity for tragic characters' ( $\bar{M} = 1.07$ ), and about imaginative and realism, and (item 4 'I sometimes wish to be a hero or heroine in drama' ( $\bar{M} = 0.60$ ), item 8 'characters



accomplish what I would like to do' ( $\underline{M} = 0.62$ ), item 12 'I often imagine various events concerning my childhood, romance and difficult past, etc. while watching drama' ( $\underline{M} = 0.90$ ). It is evident that the escapist is most referential and emotionally involved in the fictional world, watching television drama to escape from the mundane routines and thereby achieves emotional release as its principle objective. 33.9 per cent of samples ( $\underline{N} = 68$ ) are categorised as the escapist viewer.

*The non-engaged position* constitutes the lowest emotional escapism and imaginative realism, clearly distinguished from the escapist position. It demonstrates strong disagreements about all items, except item 6 and 20 belonging to distancedness. It agrees that 'characters are far from my reality' ( $\underline{M} = 0.53$ ), and 'drama usually deals with immoral events' ( $\underline{M} = 0.30$ ). Basically, this position shows the lowest attention or lowest absorption and is marked by criticism and distraction in the reception of drama. 19.3 per cent of the total ( $\underline{N} = 40$ ) are grouped in this position.

*The habitual position* is characterised by moderate emotional escapism and naturalistic realism, but feels less imaginative reality from drama. These findings can imply that this position is disposed to view television drama habitually in that it watches it for relaxation and entertainment, but is not deeply involved in it. 26.1 per cent of samples ( $\underline{N} = 54$ ) belong to the habitual position. It can be said that these viewers are in a negotiated position in that they sustain, to some degree, distance from characters of drama, for they disagree with the statement that item 4 'I sometimes wish to be a hero or heroine in drama' ( $\underline{M} = -0.89$ ) and item 8 'characters accomplish what I would like to do' ( $\underline{M} = -0.46$ ), while being playfully involved.

*The ironic position*, to which 21.7 per cent of respondents ( $\underline{N} = 45$ ) belong, is a group which has lower emotional escapism, imaginative realism and naturalistic realism than both the escapist and the habitual position have. It seems to be nearer to the habitual position in that it is neither escapist nor distanced, but at the same time, to the non-engaged position, because it exhibits some disagreement about most items.<sup>4)</sup>

It is further necessary to explore empirically complex relations as to how each interpretative position is associated with other demographic and socio-cultural variables. In fact, it is naive to say that an interpretative position, though an

Table 5.3. The horizons of expectations and the interpretative positions

How do you feel about television drama?	Escapist (N = 68)	Habitual (N = 54)	Ironic (N = 45)	Non-engaged (N = 40)
Emotional Escapism	0.74	0.19	-0.06	-0.92 ***
7. I am touched with pity for tragic characters	1.07	0.52	0.44	-0.38 ***
9. Watching drama tends to make me forget the daily grind	0.91	-0.11	-0.29	-1.38 ***
10. Drama represents delicate emotional events and situations	0.72	0.15	-0.18	-1.08 ***
18. I feel familiarity with characters	0.50	0.24	-0.07	-0.93 ***
19. I feel comfortable while watching drama	0.50	0.15	-0.16	-0.86 ***
Distanceship	-0.02	0.05	-0.01	0.03
1. Drama portrays the full range of social reality	0.38	0.52	-0.27	-0.03 ***
2. Drama is not realistic but trumped-up story	-0.29	-0.35	0.18	-0.13 *
5. Drama reflects ordinary people's ways of life	-0.15	-0.06	-0.60	-0.55 *
6. Character are far from my reality	-0.03	0.26	0.40	0.53 *
20. Drama usually deals with immoral events	-0.02	-0.11	0.22	0.30
Imaginative Realism	0.53	-0.39	-0.11	-0.49 ***
4. I sometimes wish to be a hero or heroine in drama	0.60	-0.89	-0.33	-0.70 ***
8. Characters accomplish what I would like to do	0.62	-0.46	-0.29	-0.60 ***
12. I often imagine various events concerning my childhood, romance and difficulty past, etc. while watching drama	0.90	-0.15	0.16	-0.53 ***
17. Episodes are distanced from my reality	0.02	-0.06	0.04	-0.15
Naturalistic Realism	0.32	0.42	-0.60	-0.42 ***
3. Characters are people whom we are able to meet in real life	0.03	0.09	-0.80	-0.45 ***
15. Drama represents the conflicts or contradiction in our society	0.37	0.57	-0.47	-0.48 ***
16. Drama depicts an ideal life	0.56	0.59	-0.53	-0.33 ***

\* p < 0.05    \*\*\* p < 0.001



individual viewer belongs to it, would determine the mode of reception, because an interpretative position would be better explored within various and overlapped cultural and social factors.

The audience's interpretative position is associated with gender ( $\chi^2 = 9.68$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) and with the type of the viewer ( $\chi^2 = 16.11$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p = 0.01$ ), whereas there are no differences by class and job. The female sample is composed of forty escapist viewers (38.5%), twenty-six of both habitual and ironic viewers (25.0%), and twelve non-engaged viewers (11.5%). The male sample consists of twenty-eight of each escapist, habitual and non-engaged viewers (27.2%) with another nineteen ironic viewers (18.4%). With reference to the type of the viewer, 37.5 per cent of light viewers are non-engaged viewers, whereas 40.6 per cent and 27.5 per cent of heavy viewers belong to the escapist and the habitual position. 34.4 per cent and each of 25.6 per cent of middle viewers belong to the escapist, the habitual and the ironic position. As has been predicted, the female and the heavy viewers are more likely than the male and light viewers to be escapist or habitual. In addition, there are significant differences in age by the interpretative positions ( $F [3,203] = 3.88$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), in that the older viewer tends to be habitual, where the younger viewer seems to be ironic. But there are no differences in education and income by the interpretative position.

A series of two-way ANOVAs were used to determine differences in cultural capital, genre preference, the interest of narrative and quality evaluation by gender, the interpretative position and gendered interpretative position (interaction effects) (Table 5-4). The female viewer is more inclined than the male to reveal familiarity with drama (the extent of regularly watching drama), by usually watching two dramas a day, to talk about drama (cultural exchange), and to watch television drama. While the female viewer is more prone than the male to prefer family melodrama, romantic drama and situation comedy, the male viewer is more likely to prefer rural drama. There are no significant differences in the interest of narrative by gender, except the degree of suspense in which the female tends to feel more suspense than the male. The male viewer more negatively evaluates the quality of drama and screenwriter than the female viewer.

Differences are significant in cultural exchange, the amount of hours of watching television, romantic and rural drama, and quality evaluation by the

Table 5.4. Gender, the interpretative position and interaction effects

Source of Variance	Gender (A)		Interpretative Position (B)		Interaction effects (A x B)		Residual
	df	1	3	3	3	199	
	MS	F	MS	F	MS	F	
Cultural Capital							
Familiarity	119	26.39***	6.74	1.49	7.08	1.57	4.52
Cultural exchange	11.22	21.26***	1.90	3.57*	1.18	0.32	0.53
Drama-knowledge	1.68	2.91	1.04	1.80	1.94	3.36*	0.58
Watching TV(min.)	26763	7.49**	12050	3.37*	4453	1.25	3575
Genre Preference							
Family melodrama	19.62	17.49***	0.87	0.77	1.64	1.46	1.12
Romantic drama	16.28	14.86***	12.46	11.37***	0.16	0.15	1.09
Historical drama	0.15	0.10	2.75	1.90	0.89	0.62	1.44
Rural drama	6.78	7.40**	3.78	4.12*	1.32	1.44	0.92
Situation comedy	13.25	9.64**	1.94	1.41	0.46	0.33	1.37
Quality Evaluation							
Quality of drama	5.89	10.82***	4.72	8.67***	0.24	0.44	0.54
Screenwriter	2.52	4.57*	3.56	6.45***	0.41	0.75	0.55
Interest of Narrative							
Reality	0.27	0.45	1.77	2.90*	0.60	0.99	0.61
Morality	0.93	0.73	18.35	14.29***	1.41	1.10	1.28
Character-oriented	0.22	0.39	6.71	11.94***	2.47	4.40**	0.56
Events-oriented	0.52	0.73	5.40	7.49***	1.93	2.68*	0.81
Suspense	2.85	4.13*	2.15	3.65*	0.77	1.11	0.69
Complexity	2.10	2.48	1.61	1.90	1.37	1.62	0.85

\* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001



interpretative position. It is natural that the escapist viewer is the most prone to talk about drama, and to prefer all drama regardless of genre, while the non-engaged viewer is the least. It is interesting to see that the non-engaged viewer tends to most prefer rural drama out of five drama genres. Considering that the non-engaged viewer tends to be distanced from the world of drama, because he/she perceives drama to be unrealistic and exaggerated, and evaluates it in terms of moral judgement, this finding may be understandable in that rural drama does not greatly violate the non-engaged viewer's expectations. Moreover, the non-engaged viewer is the most negative about the quality of drama and screenwriter.

Concerning the interest of narrative, it is interesting to see that the habitual viewer is the most affirmative about the quality of drama and 'morality', meaning the perception that the good will triumph and the bad will be punished in drama, rather than in making moral judgement. These are probably related to the fact that the habitual viewer watches television drama for togetherness of all family members. The escapist viewer is the most character-oriented and events-oriented, as has been noted in the family interview findings, while the non-engaged viewer is the least. The ironic viewer is more critical of drama quality than the escapist and the habitual viewer, but less than the non-engaged viewer.

There are slight interaction effects in drama-knowledge, character-orientation and event-orientation, the Scheffé multiple-range test showing that there are differences by gendered interpretative positions, including eight groups. The male escapist ( $\bar{M} = 0.29$ ) and female habitual viewer ( $\bar{M} = 0.27$ ) possess more drama-knowledge than do other groups. The male escapist viewer is quite character-oriented ( $\bar{M} = 0.26$ ) and events-oriented ( $\bar{M} = 0.21$ ) while watching drama, and the female escapist viewer ( $\bar{M} = 0.58$ ) is also character-oriented than are the other groups. These findings imply that the male escapist viewer is most likely to be involved in the fictional world.

#### **5-4 Complexity Of Reception**

The audience's interpretative position, against backgrounds of demographics, social relations and cultural competencies have been explored. A further analysis of complexity of drama is needed to investigate differences within the female and the

male interpretative positions. Gendered audienceship could provide better insight into the way in which both female and male viewers differently take the interpretative position. In addition, this section determines complexity of reception which each interpretative position takes in terms of distance and involvement.

### **Gendered audienceship**

With regard to gender and media reception, some feminists (Ang and Hermes, 1991; Radway, 1987; Zoonen, 1991; 1994) have accepted that limiting themselves to female audiences and a specific genre such as soap opera or romance, assumed as female genres, has risked reproducing static and essentialist concepts. In fact, it is simplistic to say that the female or the male viewer's position would be similar, regardless of various socio-cultural backgrounds. Thus there are further needs to explore a plethora of relations as to how the female or the male viewer's interpretative position is different or influenced by a profusion of factors within each gender.

There are differences in age by the female interpretative position ( $F [3, 100] = 2.76, p < 0.05$ ), in which the female habitual viewer is older than other viewers. This is probably due to the fact that most of the female habitual viewer are married or have children, considering the habitual viewer stresses togetherness as a main purpose of watching drama. A series of two-way ANOVAs were employed to identify differences in cultural capital, genre preference, quality evaluation and the interest of narrative within each gendered position, using the interpretative position and job. There are no interaction effects (the interpretative position by job) in female viewers. As was expected, the female escapist viewer is the most prone to talk about drama, and to prefer romantic drama, while the female non-engaged viewer is the least. Differences are quite significant in character-orientation ( $F [3, 89] = 12.59, p < 0.001$ ) and in suspense ( $F [3, 89] = 4.12, p < 0.01$ ) by female interpretative positions. The female escapist viewer is the most character-oriented and feels suspense while watching drama.

In contrast, differences are discovered in morality ( $F [3, 91] = 13.42, p < 0.001$ ), event-orientation ( $F [3, 91] = 11.38, p < 0.001$ ) and complexity ( $F [3, 91] = 3.46, p < 0.05$ ) by the male interpretative positions involving the interest of narrative. To put it another way, the male escapist viewer is more likely than other



viewers to be events-oriented, and the male habitual and the escapist viewer is more inclined toward morality.

It is quite interesting to see differences in the interest of narrative within each female and male interpretative position. To rephrase that, the female escapist viewer is more storyline-involved in that she is more interested in characters and feels suspense, while the male escapist viewer is not only more events-oriented rather than the main storyline-oriented, but also gets pleasure when the good wins and the bad loses, meaning the importance of moral evaluation as a means of entertainment. The male habitual viewer is also more concerned with such a perception as entertainment, which implies that value-reinforcement is another factor of entertainment. However, female escapist and habitual viewers do not get pleasure from events-orientation or value-reinforcement. Contrary to differences in the female and the male escapist, the female and the male ironic and non-engaged viewer show quite similar modes of reception. In simpler terms, they are distanced from the world of drama and are negative towards drama and screenwriter quality. But the female non-engaged viewer is not considered to be a light viewer, watching almost two dramas a day.

### **Distanced involvement and involved distance**

Despite clear-cut distinctions between the non-engaged viewer and the escapist viewer, it cannot be said that the escapist viewer is completely involved in television drama, or that the non-engaged viewer is entirely distanced, as in fact there exists distanced involvement as well as involved distance.

In spite of having the smallest amount of drama viewing among the four interpretative positions, it is interesting to note that the non-engaged viewer regularly watches about three programmes of drama a week, meaning almost six times of watching drama a week. The non-engaged viewer may only be relatively regarded as a light viewer, as compared with other groups. It cannot, therefore, be said that the non-engaged viewer is uninterested in watching drama. This viewer is cognitively involved in television drama in two ways: one concerning the immorality of characters, the other regarding the unrealistic nature of drama.

*This Man's Way Of Living* provides us with an example of how audiences are interspersed with 'distanced-involvement' or 'involved-distance'. Non-engaged

viewers are inclined to be to some degree involved in *This Man's Way Of Living* in that they eagerly condemn the immorality of characters and unreality of drama, which partially means that non-engaged viewers treat characters as 'real' human beings, even though strongly perceiving drama as separate from the reality and as rubbish or nonsense. Non-engaged viewers are ones who sustain a general distance from television drama, interspersed with moments of fictional involvement. At this stage, it is worth noting that critical distance is not incompatible with general enjoyment of television drama, and indeed makes certain forms of pleasure possible, which the drama itself may not have invited.

In the meantime, the escapist viewer conceives of it as realistic or plausible, keeping involved-distance. At the extreme end of involvement are viewers who totally identify the fictional universe with real life. There are none of these among the respondents. The escapist viewers may be defined as ones who are emotionally involved in television drama, interspersed with moments of a little distance. In a similar context, Schrøder (1988: 77) points out:

The pleasure of *Dynasty* thus appears to be generated by a fundamental, convention-determined dynamo of alternating involvement in, and distance from, disturbing moral dilemmas of contemporary society. In some cases, one may even suspect that viewers are not commuting between the polar opposites, but that they have one foot in each camp, as it were. The experiences of involvement and distance may be *simultaneous* and interdependent, yet still separate.

It is certain that audiences fluctuate between involvement and distance, being unfixed in one position. Rather than commuting between the two without limit, audiences have certain conditions of switching which are based on interdependent horizons of expectations.

Differing from the non-engaged and escapist viewer, the ironic and habitual viewer seem to commute more ambivalently between distance and involvement. It is quite difficult to determine how these two interpretative positions are distanced from or involved in television drama. Instead, an hypothesis may be drawn upon that audienceship. They are more likely to depend on the context of viewing and the capability of specific drama for inviting their attention in terms of interaction with



drama, on the ground that they are less inclined to distance or involvement, as compared with the non-engaged and escapist viewer.

From the preceding discussions on the interpretative position through family interviews and survey research, it is possible to draw some comparative implications of how Korean viewers have taken their interpretative positions, and made sense of drama against socio-cultural backgrounds. Firstly, while gender and the type of the viewer are significant factors in constructing the audience's interpretative position, other factors such as class and job are less related to the audience position.

Secondly, it may be assumed that there are two kinds of the escapist and the non-engaged position; mindless escapist and non-engaged viewers, and mindful escapist and non-engaged viewers. Such distinction may be made on the family interview findings, though not determined through survey research findings. The mindless escapist viewer watches drama only for relaxation and entertainment, unconcerned with meanings or dramatic structures since this is literally a passive viewer, whereas the mindful escapist viewer is much more likely to think about meanings or be concerned with dramatic structures such as development of storyline, composition, acting and so on. In point of fact, this viewer is quite interested in television drama itself, as a result of which he/she is not simply regarded as a passive viewer, despite the escapist tendency. In a similar vein, as the mindless non-engaged viewer is not concerned with television drama itself, his/her distance or criticism is due to unconcern about television and is not involved in drama. In contrast, the mindful non-engaged viewer tends to be cognitively involved in drama.

Thirdly, it should be noted that there are differences in constructing pleasure from the narrative by the interpretative position. The habitual viewer seems to get pleasure from relaxation, togetherness and value-reinforcement. Moreover, even the viewer belonging to the same position differs in the way pleasure is obtained from the narrative. While the female escapist viewer gets pleasure from character-orientation and suspense of the narrative, the male escapist viewer gets it from morality and events-orientation.

Fourthly, there is consensus in evaluating the quality of drama, in spite of differences in reception by the interpretative positions. Korean viewers have similar

standards as to what is good television drama, morally oriented in assessing the quality of drama.

### **5-5 Concluding Remarks**

In general terms, there are two opposing hypotheses: the homogenisation hypothesis and the cultural experience hypothesis. The former suggests that popular culture functions as a common cultural form and is appraised in very similar ways, whereas the latter predicts that popular culture is read or received in very different ways by different audience groups. These two opposing hypotheses only give us a half of the picture in relation to drama reception. Neither the homogenisation nor the cultural experience hypothesis is enough to explain the ways in which Korean viewers interpret and analyse television drama. Korean viewers tend to be homogenised on the ground that they have similar standards for good television drama, in other words, realistic drama and traditional value loaded drama. In addition, education and class are less related to the interpretative position. However, this is not to imply that they are only a monolithic audience. The Korean viewers' thoughts about television drama's relevance to their own lives or broader issues of society and culture are different, according to their interpretative positions, even though class, job and education are not important factors.

In fact, the problematic term of 'interpretative community' has assumed that an interpretative community is composed of homogeneous members, though its readings are divergent from other interpretative communities. But this view has failed to explore differences and complexity of memberships within an interpretative community, by equating it with demographic factors. Rejecting the abused term, 'interpretative community', this research has suggested the interpretative position which is closely bound up with cultural and discursive modes of interpreting television drama, and which at the same time is related to shared experience of individual viewers. This research has argued that this term may be more useful for exploring consensus and differences in interpretations. This is not only because female or male viewers have constructed different interpretative positions within gender, but also because even viewers belonging to the same position are divergent in making sense of text or in getting pleasure, as has been seen in the female



escapist and the male escapist position. This implies that the interpretative position is not infinitely different, but is to some degree conditioned within discursive relations.

The importance of cultural competencies such as cultural capital, genre preference or interest of narrative should be more underlined in that the audience's interpretative positions have been constructed through these factors, rather than class or job in Korean viewers. Therefore, the reception of drama has been constructed or constitutive from interaction between text and audience.

In what follows, the ways in which drama invites the audience in terms of genre, popular aesthetics, pleasure and the like will be discussed. Although the audience approaches drama through pre-given knowledge or social and cultural backgrounds, the power of the text which draws its attention cannot be ignored, mainly because the process of reception occurs at a moment where the audience's intentions encounter the intention of the text.

## **Notes**

1. Under the definition of the interpretative position, this research indicates to which interpretative position each family member belongs, even though such a definition is problematic. By doing this, more interpretable relations between the family member's position, and interpretative and analytical dimensions may be found.
2. While interviewing all families, it was discovered that there are three kinds of family culture or domestic power relations in choosing and watching television drama: democratic, patriarchal and maternal family culture. The habitual position is closely connected with democratic family culture in that the consensus of family members is the most important element for watching television drama. However, news programmes are always father's choice regardless of these domestic cultures.
3. These viewers' interpretative positions in this research have much in common with those in Livingstone's analysis: the escapist correlating with the romantic, the non-engaged with the cynic, the habitual with the negotiated romantic, and the ironic with the negotiated cynic. However, there is a basic difference in that while her research finds interpretative positions in a romantic episode of *Coronation Street*, this study examines drama audience positions in broader terms.
4. It should be noted that there is a difference in the ironic position between the pilot survey and the final survey research, especially concerning naturalistic realism. According to the pilot survey findings, while the ironic position tends to regard television drama as naturalistically realistic, the final survey findings show that it feels less naturalistic realism.



## Chapter 6

### **Hermeneutic Pleasure, Genre and Context**

The thrust of the discussion in the previous analyses led to two connected conclusions: that the audience's reasons for being involved with television drama constitute the horizons of expectations which exert pressure on the process of reception and are closely correlated and complex; and that the audience's interpretative positions, based on horizons, may be valuable in exploring consensus in various readings and divergence within each position. By doing this, light could be shed on the audience's autonomy and determinacy in the encounter of text/audience.

This chapter explores the way in which the audience gains pleasure with reference to hermeneutic act, genres, narratives, and context. The hermeneutic code of drama is a significant element inviting the audience to speculate about future development and reconstruct past events. Genre sets limits on the audience's pleasures in that the audience is differently addressed through particular conventions, rules and narratives associated with each genre. The context of viewing offers us some clues about the audience's styles of viewing and pleasure in domestic circumstances. Thus the audience's pleasure is constituted within these connected textual and contextual relations. This chapter investigates three areas of inquiry: through what hermeneutic process does the audience obtain pleasures from drama? How do different audiences get involved with different genres? How is the audience's pleasure related to the context of viewing and cultural exchange?

This chapter suggests that, regarding textual invitations, drama narrative and the context of viewing, gender plays a crucial role in making the audience's pleasure. The audience's hermeneutic pleasure is due not so much to the unpredictability of drama as to 'an aesthetic of predictability' whereby the audience is invited to participate in the fictional world. Finally, there does not exist a simple division into distracted and fully concentrated viewing. In other words, doing something else while watching drama does not always result in inattentive viewing and vice versa.

## **6-1 Hermeneutic Pleasure of Television Drama**

The viewer is positioned as a participant in the process of making sense of the text, as a partner in an ongoing relationship in terms of narratives and characters. As the text possesses a varying degree of 'openness' or 'indeterminacy', the viewer fills in the places the text leaves vacant. In this sense, gap-filling is extremely important for the act of reading and obtaining pleasure from a text. No matter how open the text is, its meanings are not infinite in scope, but are created as the viewer fills in its gaps which are open on the one hand and are induced by the structure of the text on the other.

If we are to explore how the viewer is invited to engage in different acts of reading, we should take into consideration the politics of popular culture; what Cawelti (1971) calls 'conventions' and 'inventions'. The conventions ensure that the fictional world falls into a recognisable and comfortable category, while the inventions provide the break which differentiates this item from many others competing for the audience's attention. That is to say, that while television drama cannot stray too far from the recognisable formula, because the viewer will experience difficulty in relating to it, it must also constantly provide an interesting variation on the text. It is for this reason that television dramas are able to appeal to so many and diverse viewers. Television drama relies upon this duality in the politics of popular culture, what I call it 'conventional openness', as in other popular cultural products. In this regard, the viewer fills in gaps, not as infinitely various, but as differentiated in more or less systematic ways. By doing this, the viewer receives hermeneutic pleasures through protensions and retentions; co-authorship, puzzle-solving games, sharing secrets, a feeling of mastery and the like. These hermeneutic pleasures are not so much distinctive as integrated in the act of reading.

### **Protensions and retentions**

Protensions (anticipation) refer to a set of expectations through which the viewer is invited to speculate about future development, while retentions (retrospection or memory) mean the process of recall through which the viewer is invited to reconstruct past events. It is very similar to the process of question and answer inherent in the text. It is in fact difficult to distinguish protensions and



retentions in the process of reading, for retentions become open to new connections, and these in turn influence the expectations aroused by the individual correlations in the sequence of scenes. Iser (1978: 111) says:

the semantic pointers of individual sentences always imply an expectation of some kind — Husserl calls these expectations “protensions”. As this structure is inherent in *all* intentional sentence correlates, it follows that their interplay will lead not so much to the fulfilment of expectations as to their continual modification. The reader’s position in the text is at the point of intersection between retention and protension.

It is clear that throughout the reading process there is a continual modification of expectations. As Buckingham (1987: 50) puts it, one could divide these expectations into short-term and longer-term projections. While this may be the case, it is both difficult and unnecessary to identify how the viewer modifies each expectation and memory at a short-term level (each scene or sequence). Rather, analysis of the viewer’s expectations and memories at a longer term level serves to shed light on how the viewer makes sense of the drama and gains pleasure through these continuous processes.

Iser (1978: 191) also offers an interesting point on a special relationship between reader and the serial story, raising a question of why serial stories published in magazines or newspapers, for instance, Charles Dickens’s novels, were so popular in the nineteenth century. Readers in those days often found a novel read in instalments to be better than the very same novel in book form, for strategic interruption may ensure reliable communication or a ‘good continuation’. Iser goes on saying that ‘the interruption and consequent prolongation of tension is the basic function of the cut. The result is that we try to imagine how the story will unfold, and in this way we heighten our own participation in the course of events. Dickens was a master of the technique; his readers became his co-authors’. Indeed, strategic interruption will ensure the audience’s hermeneutic pleasures in the continuous act of protensions and retentions. Contrary to the pleasure of reading novel, it seems that the pleasure of watching drama is more inclined to be the predictability of narrative in which the process of protensions and retentions are functioned.

Most of the interviewed family members are in a similar line with survey findings, answering that it is rare that narratives fail to conform to their

expectations. <sup>1)</sup> For instance, the wife of Family 9 and the husband of Family 11 argue that about 70 - 80 percent of coming events could be guessed correctly. It can be said that the hermeneutic pleasure of television drama is, to a considerable extent, due to 'a popular aesthetic of predictability'. In this sense, narratives tend to depend upon more conventional openness than invention. This does not imply that the meanings of television drama are fixed or that narratives are not inventive, even though they are mainly dependent upon generic codes or conventions. These would fail to invite the viewer, only if the narratives were excessively conventional or predictable. The point which is suggested is that popular dramatic narratives are more inclined to be conventional, but at the same time to be open. However predictable the narratives are, this pull towards predictability is counterbalanced by the drama's fictional status in that its inherent and necessary openness is preserved. Thus they rely upon 'conventional openness', which is regarded as an essential part of textual invitations in television drama. Here, we should raise some questions about what hermeneutic process it is that the audience is invited to gain pleasure from.

Family 12

Interviewer

While you watch television drama, can you anticipate how the main story line will be ended or coming events will be resolved?

Husband

Yes, I can roughly foresee it. And, my wife knows exactly how a story will be developed more than I do. It is surprising!

Wife

Because it is self-evident.

Interviewer

If the narrative is rather predictable, I think that it would be boring, don't you think? Why do you continue to watch it?

Husband

The narrative is certainly predictable. Nevertheless, my wife enjoys watching it, because, I think, my wife becomes a sister of a writer. She is not impressed by the writer. My wife seems to watch television drama, projecting herself into the future development, and simultaneously expecting that the writer would develop



a story in a different way from her anticipation, for the writer is gifted. And my wife likes imagining whether her inference is wrong or not. (Wife agreed on this point)

Viewers are given some hints which invite them to memorise past events, to project into the future development and to connect and compare stories. Though the husband talks about co-authorship for his wife who agree on this point, this is his point of view rather than hers. The above statements reveal a source of pleasure in watching television drama; that is to say, the viewer becomes 'co-author' by conducting an 'imaginary conversation' with a writer or characters. Ironically, the predictable openness increases the opportunity of participation. The ability to read some signs or cues presupposes a familiarity with standard conventions by which television drama operates: with what is being offered and how it is presented. Of course, such a predictability of narrative is dependent upon the extent to which the viewer has a wider range of knowledge — knowledge of past narratives and of characters, familiarity with the conventions of each drama genre.

When the housewife in Family 12 admits that narratives are predictable, narratives means the ones in family melodrama or romantic drama. Contrary to her husband who is a historical drama fan, she seems to have lots of knowledge of melodrama or romantic drama, saying 'I am able to expect the future development, because each drama writer has his own styles as to how narratives will be developed. For instance, the dramas of Soohyun Kim, the most popular family melodrama writer, have similar tendencies. Among Younbyung Hoe's dramas, *This Man's Way Of Living* seems to be exceptional, considering the narratives or developments of his other dramas'. To be sure, she continuously conducts a conversation with writers using her dramatic knowledge as a co-author. Therefore, the fact that narratives are predictable does not forfeit her interest, for she enjoys inference itself, a continuous process of protensions and retentions.

#### Family 6

##### Husband

Are there any Korean dramas which cannot be predicted? But it is interesting to see that narratives are interwoven, despite the predictability of drama. A good example is *Together With You* in which Semi Hong and Soonae Park (actress names) were starring.

Wife

I don't understand Soonae Park's attitudes. She is so passive not to let her lover know that she has a daughter. I think that she should confess the fact as soon as possible. But she always hesitates to reveal her secret. It makes me anxious and uneasy.

It is by constantly deferring crucial information that television drama lures the viewer to continue watching. It is clear that television drama, especially family melodrama, has employed a device in which the narrative defers information. There are two kinds of information; firstly, information unknown both to characters and viewers, secondly, secrets shared by very few of the characters and by the viewer. The second secret is more important than the first information in that the viewer's expectation is concerned with the likely implications of the secrets being revealed — What will a future-mother-in-law (Semi Hong) do when she discovers that a bride (Soonae Park) already has an illegitimate daughter?

That the audience shares secrets implies that the viewer is offered privileged access to information which is denied to most characters. This may bring about its desire to know what will happen, for the viewer is placed not in a position of relative ignorance, but in a position of knowledge. In a similar context, Buckingham (1987: 65) properly points out, 'by allowing the viewer to share secrets, the text may invite us into a complicity with the characters concerned, yet it may also distance us from those who remain ignorant — enabling us to feel superior to them, or to take pity on them, or to become frustrated by their inability to realise the truth'. According to him, such possession of knowledge brings the viewer to experience 'a feeling of mastery'.

Though the housewife of Family 6 feels anxious and frustrated on account of slow development, she is ironically invited to speculate about coming events. Her speculation may be predictable as she has already known about secrets and other characters' personalities. Moreover, she actively participates in the protensive openness, suggesting that she would confess the secret as soon as possible if she were the character concerned, Soonae Park. Certainly, the deferring and predictable information is an aesthetic politics of dramatic narrative to increase the viewer's hermeneutic pleasure.



**Husband (Family 8)**

I am able to anticipate how the narrative will be developed, even if only watching one or two episodes. If a character does something wrong, it is obvious that he/she will be punished and his love or business will be broken up. Thus, I enjoy watching the process of how bad characters meet with punishment or how good characters finally win.

**Wife (Family 14)**

My prediction almost always goes right. Differing from other foreign dramas, Korean television drama has little plot twist. I assume that most ordinary viewers are also able to know coming events. Nevertheless, I like watching drama, because I feel comfortable. I always predict the narrative to be developed into a good or desirable direction. As my prediction is usually right, I feel comfort.

These two remarks refer to reasons why the predictability of the narrative invites the viewer to make sense of the text. In common with other foreign dramas, Korean drama also helps to maintain social integration and value consensus. Television discourses are constituted in 'consensus narrative' (Thorburn, 1988) which is common to most societies, despite a slight difference between factual programme and fictional programme. Consensus narrative in television drama is shared by all members of society, appealing across boundaries of class, age and gender. As it is produced in shared experiences and consensus values, television drama provides the viewer with familiarisation and confirmation of confident belief about social values. This marked tendency could be part of an ideology in that the viewer affirms the established values. As Adorno (1954) puts it, this is 'the longing for feeling on safe ground' which television offers to destroy the possibility of negation.<sup>2)</sup>

On the contrary, we can also regard such a characteristic of the narrative as a device of popular aesthetics which invites the viewer to be involved with the text, and as one function of retentions. Retentions could be divided into *intra-textual* and *extra-textual*. While the former is related to a process of textual memory whereby the viewer answers a certain question which is raised through protensions, depending upon cues which have been shown in previous stories, the latter is a process of contextual memory whereby the viewer also answers a question, positioning it into its cultural and social backgrounds. It is quite difficult to distinguish the two kinds of retentions on the ground that these are simultaneously

conducted as an act of reading. The husband of Family 8 and wife of Family 14 seem to get more pleasure from intra-textual retentions by seeking an answer which confirms acceptable values in the development of the narrative.

The result of retentions is to circulate the hermeneutic process at a textual level, providing an answer to a particular question, and at the same time, to confirm social and cultural values at an extra-textual level, as a result of which the audience feels comfortable. As it is very rare that Korean television drama betrays social and cultural values, the viewer's expectations and retentions are not beyond the common orbit. Ironically, such a textual convention contributes to the viewer's psychological assurance; for instance, the good wins and the bad loses, and true love is accomplished.

In effect, part of the enjoyment in a process of protensions and retentions is gained from the opportunity of participating in elaborate guessing and memorising as to which of several available routes the narrative will take. We could assume that in the production team there is a commitment to structure the entertainment in such a way that it conforms to an established set of viewer's expectations without becoming so predictable as to forfeit audience interest or involvement.

### **Invitations of the narrative**

As has been seen above, the viewer draws from a pool of hermeneutic pleasures in a continuous process of protensions and retentions which are mainly conducted within the politics of popular culture. However, the viewer is not just positioned in strategies of the text, rather he is inclined to make sense of the text between its openness and its determinacy. Apart from such a hermeneutic process, the viewer is invited to gain pleasures from the narrative itself.

Most family members are not satisfied with narrative pace, agreeing fairly well that narratives are slow. But some of them do not argue that the narrative pace runs slowly from the beginning of an episode. Their critique is that the narrative development gradually runs more slowly, as a drama becomes popular.

#### **Husband (Family 6)**

Certainly, narratives drag on. If a drama is very popular, the narrative pace suddenly becomes slow, and if a drama is unpopular, it is running with speed, because the broadcaster wants to finish an unpopular drama as soon as



possible. I think that it can not be avoided, for broadcasting is a kind of business.

#### Husband (Family 10)

If a drama is interesting, it tends to drag on. As far as I am concerned, a certain episode should be resolved within one or two weeks, but it runs up to seven or eight weeks. Almost all the popular drama shows such a tendency. *The Moon Of Seoul* is a recent example.

So, there is common acknowledgement that drama is prolonged if it becomes popular. In Korea, the broadcaster frequently changes his original plan by further prolonging the narrative. Though the audience already knows very well why the narrative is running slowly, it does not give up watching it continuously because the audience still has a desire to know how the narrative will end. On the other hand, strategies of the narrative tend to be a little changed when the narrative is prolonged. Apart from the main one, other storylines are further developed, because there is a difficulty in prolonging the main story. As a consequence, the audience continues to watch the drama in spite of its dissatisfaction about the main story.

*The Moon Of Seoul* offers a good example of the way in which the audience's pleasure is shifted from the main story to other storylines. At the first stage, the audience is concerned with the main story in which two young men coming from the country face lots of difficulties in living in Seoul. After it gets more popular, its main story is replaced by other storylines, such as a love story between a fine art teacher and a widow and the life of an old playboy, most of which have more far-reaching comic and dramatic consequences.

Table 6-1 demonstrates what kinds of narrative the audience is interested in. 'Family love and conflict' is chosen as the most interesting narrative, followed by 'true love'. Given that lots of narratives use such subject-matter, and that among ten daily serials eight are family melodrama during the surveying period, it is accepted that the audience is much concerned with issues of family and romantic love. Though the audience feels the main story to be banal, it is prepared to wait until its expectations go right and the truth is uncovered.

For the female audience, narratives about accomplishing true love in difficulty and family love or conflict are quite preferred. The fact that the female audience favours melodrama and romantic drama is connected with its favourite narratives such as true love and kinship. Though the male viewer also gets pleasure from

‘family love’ and ‘true love’, the male audience is more likely than the female to watch narratives about ‘various characterisation’, ‘pursuing power and wealth’ and ‘nostalgia’. Here, though characterisation is related not so much to the narrative as to the character’s performance and contrasts of the character’s personality, it is considered to be an element of the narrative. With reference to the favourite narrative, the female audience tends to gain pleasure from the narrative (content) itself, namely the main storyline, while the male audience is interested in discourse (expression), where characters are brought together in conflicts and relationships of various kinds.

Table 6.1. Interesting narratives by gender

Interesting narratives	Female	Male	Total
Family love and conflict	21 (23.9)	15 (18.3)	36 (21.2)
True love	19 (21.6)	13 (15.9)	32 (18.8)
Various characterisation	12 (13.6)	18 (22.0)	30 (17.6)
Everyday life	16 (18.2)	5 (6.1)	21 (12.4)
Nostalgia	4 (4.5)	7 (8.5)	11 (6.5)
Pursuing power and wealth	2 (2.3)	9 (11.0)	11 (6.5)
Making his or her own world	7 (8.0)	3 (3.7)	10 (5.9)
Various storylines	4 (4.5)	6 (7.3)	10 (5.9)
Humour	3 (3.4)	6 (7.3)	9 (5.3)
Total	88 (51.8)	82 (48.2)	170 (100.0)

$$x^2 = 17.17, df = 8, p < 0.05$$

To put that another way, the female audience’s attention is paid more to the development of the main storyline as shown in accomplishing true love in difficulty and family love, while the male audience’s pleasure is derived more from value judgement about the behaviour or attitudes of male and female characters. In the process of interview, the female viewer frequently says, ‘I like watching stories about true love or family love, even though these stories sometimes look silly or uncommon’. On the contrary, the male viewer frequently argues that ‘it is good or bad’ or ‘the quality of the story and the writer is low’ and so on.



Family 12

Husband

Korean drama's quality is really low and bad! Most stories are simple and delineate immoral events.

Wife

But, *This Man's Way Of Living* was interesting, wasn't it? It had a plot twist and was not simple.

Husband

It was not so simple, but it was nonsense! You know, the last episode could not be understood. I think the writer's quality is low. How could the older sister suddenly embrace her sister in the last scene!

Wife

Did they not say that they understood each other?

Husband

Understand each other! It is ridiculous. They fought each other brutally the previous week!

The husband in Family 12 is not satisfied with the narrative pace or composition, for dramatic transition occurs too suddenly. According to him, it is because the quality of the writer is low.<sup>2)</sup> These husbands talk about the composition of the narrative and various characterisation, while the wives are more strongly involved with the main storyline or seriality itself, recognising its limitations. It is related to genre preference.

Generally the main story focuses upon a couple of characters, that is to say, the process of getting possible but unsuitable partners and their falling in love finally. For instance, in *This Man's Way Of Living* and *With You*, unsuitable partners are female protagonists each of whom already has an illegitimate daughter. Therefore, the main story converges onto the relationship of these possible but unsuitable partners from which the dramatic conflicts spring, as a result of which other storylines are relatively less concentrated upon. On the contrary, it is not easy to find intensive delineation about one or two characters in rural drama and historical drama which are chiefly preferred by the male viewer. In rural drama, *Farm Diary* and *Love Hung On A Jujube Tree*, we cannot say who is the protagonist, because each of the characters in these dramas is given the same

weight. As other storylines are temporarily given more priority than the main story, the audience is introduced to the relationships among various characters. In addition, interwoven relationships among characters in historical drama are given more priority, because most viewers have already been well acquainted with the historical facts. Of course, this is not to dismiss the importance of the main story in rural drama and historical drama, but to say that other storylines in these dramas are given more weight.

Table 6.2. The textual invitations:  
Gender, the interpretative positions and interaction effects

	df	Seriality		Predictability		Co-authorship		Protensions	
		MS	F	MS	F	MS	F	MS	F
Gender (A)	1	8.31	6.00*	0.13	0.25	1.11	1.18	6.43	7.43**
Position (B)	3	2.79	2.01	1.43	2.60	6.65	7.05***	5.92	6.84***
A x B	3	5.70	4.13**	2.45	4.46**	0.35	0.38	0.83	0.95
Residual	199	1.38		0.55		0.94		0.87	

\* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01,\*\*\* p < 0.001

Table 6-2 presents how differently viewers are attracted by seriality, predictability, co-authorship and protensions, in relation to gender, the interpretative position and interaction effects, a total of eight gendered interpretative positions. There are significant differences in getting textual pleasure from seriality of narrative by gender and gendered interpretative positions. The female viewer is more prone than the male viewer to be invited by seriality, which is closely bound up with the female viewer’s preference for serials over series. While the female audience is more inclined to watch daily serials and weekday serials, the male audience views weekday series and Sunday series. In the relation of seriality with gendered interpretative positions, the female escapist, habitual and ironic viewer and the male escapist viewer are more likely to enjoy watching continuous story. Conversely, one possible interpretation is that the other groups such as the female non-engaged, and the male habitual, ironic and non-engaged viewer seem to prefer series to serials.



Concerning the predictability of narrative, most viewers agree that they are able to predict how a narrative will be finished ( $\underline{M} = 0.70$ ). There are no differences in the predictability of narrative by gender, class and job, but significant differences by gendered interpretative positions. It is quite interesting to see that the female non-engaged viewer and escapist viewer, and the male escapist viewer more strongly agree on the predictability of narrative. For the female and male escapist viewer, predictability does not forfeit pleasure of watching television, whereas for the female non-engaged viewer, it seems to be a factor by which they come to be distanced from drama. Co-authorship shows very significant differences according to interpretative position. It is natural that the escapist viewer reveals the strongest co-authorship, while the non-engaged viewer is the least, considering that the escapist viewer is deeply involved in the world of drama.

There are also significant differences by gender and interpretative position in getting pleasure from protensions. The female is more likely than the male to speculate about future development, the escapist and the habitual viewer being more likely than the others to imagine how the story will unfold. Given that protensions are not distinguished from retentions in the process of reading, these findings may be applied to retentions. <sup>4)</sup>

In summary, the female viewer is more inclined than the male to get pleasure from seriality in narrative and the process of protensions and retentions. The predictability of narrative is not considered to be just banal for the escapist viewer, but to be an element by which its attention may be attracted. There are differences in seriality and predictability by gendered interpretative positions, which imply how the viewer's pleasure is complex.

## **6-2 Television Drama Genre and Audience**

Questions of genre are crucial as much to television and film studies as to literary studies, not only as an institution and a discourse, but also as a form of subjectivity. Most literary studies that give the general definition of genre focus on textual or rhetorical specificities. Although not completely excluded by literary studies, the reader has been in fact positioned outside the scope of genre theory.

Genre provides us with insights about what dramas are (or should be) like, how they are created, and how they are related to the audience's involvement and pleasure. Different genres can be seen as specifying particular drama-audience relationships, thus implicating these resources in different ways. In this regard, genre not only constitutes one of the determinants of audience involvement, but also serves to discriminate between pleasure and reading.

Television drama genre studies have mostly been carried out by feminist critics who look at the relationship between the text and gender (the female audience), analysing the construction of masculine/feminine difference and the particular text's address for the female audience. Since the early 1980s, work on the soap opera as a genre has looked at why certain sets of texts are especially interesting to the female and how they construct female subjectivity through the particular narrative. Without question, genre studies are rather useful when investigating the audience's involvement and pleasure, not only because each genre has its own conventions and textual specificities which are especially interesting to particular groups of people (and not to others), but also because particular audiences have expectations of genre through a set of pre-given experiences such as genre knowledge, cultural capital and preference.

Despite feminist contributions to television genre studies, there are some drawbacks. Allen (1989) rightly argues that, firstly, as soap opera studies have tended to be gyno-centric, they have failed to explore how different audiences involve with a wide range of genre. Secondly, the definition of the soap opera is obscure. While some researchers regard the soap opera as one which is inclusive of the prime-time serials (Feuer, 1984; Geraghty, 1991; Gledhill, 1992; Kilborn, 1992; Newcomb, 1983), others explicitly exclude the prime-time serial from the scope of the soap opera in spite of resemblances between the two (Allen, 1985, 1989; Cantor and Pingree, 1983; Comstock, 1983; Kuhn, 1984).<sup>5)</sup> Thirdly, they are slanted to look simply into the female audience, ignoring other groups, even though the recent development of the soap opera does show an attempt to extend the range of the audience into youth as well as the male audience.

In Chapter 4, the relationship between the audience's horizon of expectations and genre has been explored. The audience's expectations of genre have framed its general involvement in the text and established certain inferential connections to be made. To put that another way, the audience expects emotional escapism,



imaginative realism and naturalistic realism from family melodrama and romantic drama, feels distancenesship between reality and the fictional world from historical drama, enjoys imaginative and naturalistic realism from situation comedy and rural drama.

Significant differences are found in favourite drama genre between female and male viewers ( $\chi^2 = 19.32$ ,  $df = 5$ ,  $p = 0.001$ ). <sup>6)</sup> Family melodrama is preferred as the favourite genre by both female and male viewers. The rank of the favourite drama genre by females is as follows: family melodrama (39.2%), romantic drama (38.2%), situation comedy (7.8%), single plays (*Best Theatre*) (6.9%), historical drama (5.9%) and rural drama (2.0%). The males state their favourite drama genre to be family melodrama (33.0%), then historical drama (25.8%) next romantic drama (23.7%) and both rural drama and single plays (6.2%).

This suggests support for some general assumptions, that the female viewer is more likely than the male viewer to watch melodrama and romantic drama, and the male viewer to watch more historical drama and rural drama than the female viewer. However, it should be pointed out that the male viewer does seem to enjoy watching family melodrama and romantic drama. Thus, both family melodrama and romantic drama are not simply regarded as ‘female genre’, even though these two genres are more preferred by the female. There are numerous factors in family melodrama which widen the appeal to the male viewer. First of all, as Liebes and Katz (1993: 140) have noted, both the universality of kinship of soap opera (or family melodrama) and seriality as a form of aesthetic pleasure are integral parts of involvement and make melodrama psychologically accessible. Whether or not it is sophisticated, or repetitive, the viewers are all connoisseurs of human relations such as family, business, desire and love, regardless of gender. This is not to deny that the female audience is more prone than the male audience to watch family melodrama, rather that the universality and seriality of melodrama are integral parts of gaining pleasure and making sense of the text. Moreover, greater emphasis has recently been put on male characters in terms of story lines and characterisation.

Table 6-3 demonstrates the way in which the audience gets pleasure through each drama genre. The audience mainly gains pleasure from ‘family love and conflict’, ‘various compositions’ and ‘nostalgia’ in family melodrama. As regards family melodrama, the audience is assumed to be narrative-engaged rather than by

Table 6.3. Television drama genre and the mode of pleasure

The mode of pleasure	Family Melodrama	Romantic drama	Historical drama	Single plays	Situation comedy	Rural drama	Total
Family love and conflict	29	10	1	3	2		45
Various composition	13	5	6	3			27
Nostalgia	9	9				6	24
Humour and comedy	7	7	1	1	3	1	20
Characterisation	3	6	4	1	6		20
Learning knowledge	1	1	14				16
Romantic love	1	11					12
Unpredictability	6	1	4		1		12
Solution of narrative		2		5			7
Others		5	1				6
Total	69	57	31	13	12	7	189

Note This Table is based on the findings of a question 9 and an open-ended question 10.



other factors, on the grounds that seriality and variety are two obvious invitations to involvement in the regular visits of familiar characters and it is a puzzle-solving game as to how the drama will develop next day or week.

The pleasure of romantic drama seems to be quite varied: 'romantic love', 'family love and conflict', 'nostalgia' 'humour and comedy' and so on, though 'romantic love' is the most important source of pleasure in romantic drama. These findings are concerned with *The First Love*, which ranks first in popularity during the surveying period, its ratings being about 50%. As the title *The First Love* has implied, nostalgia as well as romantic love is another appealing element for viewers. While it may be uncommon that 'humour and comedy' is an element of pleasure in romantic drama, there is a recent tendency to more comic narratives and characters than before.

The pleasure of historical drama predominantly springs from 'learning knowledge' which is related to both exploring the present reality and learning history. Historical drama provides a range of 'common-sense wisdom' or 'popular knowledge' about a range of contemporary problems, indirectly based on historical facts. Viewers find continuity between historical and present reality, acknowledging that 'a slice of life' is almost the same thing regardless of period. Learning knowledge can not be detached from didactic reflexivity here, as they are using historical drama as a means of exploring contemporary reality through historical facts and truth.

Viewers enjoy watching rural drama for nostalgia. For male viewers aged over 30, nostalgia is related to the memory of childhood or nature, no less than to the restoration of traditional morals such as authority of fatherhood and togetherness. On the other hand, nostalgia might signify yearning for patriarchal authority, as the middle aged man has various social positions as father, husband and son, which are becoming unstable. Indeed, *Farm Diary* delineates vertical and horizontal loyalty or harmony in family relations; fidelity to husband, loyalty to parents and love of siblings. Thus, the nostalgia may be an expression of desire to transcend unstable social and domestic positions. They are likely to become involved in the world of representation with more emotions and empathy in that they feel it to be realistic, despite an evident distance between the world of rural drama and contemporary reality. The rapid change of Korean society, relative absence of drama for middle

aged viewers and the importance of familyhood are crucial elements that draw their attention.

The pleasure of single plays such as *Best Seller Theatre* or *Television Literature Theatre* which have broadcast continuously since the 1980s to a minority audience, is gained out of their formal features, especially 'solution of narrative'.<sup>7)</sup> Most single plays have to be resolved within ninety minutes, viewers as well as critics considering them to be good television drama. They are television versions of original short stories which were respected or popular, dealing with more serious subject matter and artistic techniques. However, the viewer does not seem to get pleasure from the seriousness but from the form of single plays themselves.

Viewers like watching situation comedy for 'characterisation' and 'humour and comedy'. Korean situation comedy is dependent upon unusual situations or characters rather than realism or everydayness. *LA Arirang* (song), depicting an immigrant Korean family, is the most popular situation comedy, the background of which is not Korea but Los Angeles. Though its basic narrative structure is concerned with cultural shock between Korean and American culture, it cannot be said that *LA Arirang* is based on a Korean immigrant family's everyday life, because most characters, children, parents and even grandmother, are uncommon in their consciousness or behaviour.

We have explored the relations of genre to audiences' pleasure. It is certain that the female and male audience is interested in family melodrama and romantic drama, though the male viewer enjoys watching rural drama and historical drama. The audience tends mainly to gain pleasure from family love and conflicts in family melodrama and romantic drama, from learning common-sense wisdom in historical drama, from solution of narrative in single plays and from nostalgia in rural drama. Although the audience's pleasure is closely bound up with generic conventions, these findings cannot simply be interpreted as meaning that the audience takes pleasure from only one of these dramatic elements. In what follows, we need to further determine how the audience gains pleasure watching drama in the domestic context and from drama-related talk.



### **6-3 The Context of Viewing and Pleasure**

This study has looked at the ways in which the audience gains pleasure, by watching television drama, in terms of genres, narratives and the act of reading (protension and retention). It is impossible to ignore pleasure which is derived from the context of reception, with family members watching together, because watching television is made up of many integrated elements of context, not least the family environment, where family members help to punctuate daily life and make pleasure through conversation (Hobson, 1982; Lindlof, 1987; Lull, 1988; Morley, 1986). As these researchers have identified, watching television is itself a social act as well as an individual act in that it provides much of the conversational currency of family members' daily lives. Not only does it structure the time of domestic leisure, but also reflects domestic power relations.

#### **The context of drama reception**

Previous researches on the context of viewing have revealed distracted viewing. Charles Allen (1965) finds that the audience is inattentive to the screen while present for between 50 percent and 35 percent of the time. Lull (1980) emphasises the pivotal role of the television set itself; domestic activities are organised around it and it is in the background for many activities. Moreover, everyday family life is structured in time around television viewing routines, as the audience shows a high degree of concurrent activity during viewing. In a similar context, Svennevig and Wynberg (1986) argue that individuals in families do not view continuously but share their viewing with other activities. Between one-quarter and one-third of time in front of the television is spent doing other activities. Gunter and Svennevig (1987: 12-13) go on to suggest by quoting surveys that 'pure' television viewing is a relatively rare occurrence, for most people claim both to watch television and to do other things concurrently — between 50 percent and 64 percent of adults on average regardless of time of day or day of week. In fact, these findings, that the audience is doing something else at the same time as watching television, are not a new phenomenon.<sup>8)</sup>

Morley (1985: 150-152) determines the difference in styles of viewing between women and men. Men show a clear preference for viewing attentively, in silence,

without interruption in order not to miss anything, and do not understand the way their wives and daughters watch television. In contrast, women’s dominant viewing practice is much more ‘bitty’ and much less attentive. Morley (154-155) continues to argue that ‘this is partly because there are so few programmes on, apart from soap operas, which women really like, and partly because their sense of guilt about watching television while surrounded by their domestic obligations makes it hard for them to view attentively’. Though Morley’s argument is generally applicable, his observations cannot be applied to all genre programmes in the same way, because styles of viewing may differ according to genre and extent of preference. In addition, and importantly for this study, not only are there lots of dramas which women are more likely to watch in evening times in Korea, but also few Korean wives feel a sense of guilt about watching drama. Korean wives think that they are entitled to watch drama which is usually scheduled after 8 PM when most domestic work such as making dinner and washing dishes will have been finished. This does not say that women are less inclined to do domestic work. As in British households, women in Korean households tend to do more domestic work than men while watching. But doing something else does not always result in inattentive viewing.

Table 6.4. The context of drama viewing by gender

	N	Mean	SD	T	P
Concentration					
Female	104	0.35	1.05	2.21	0.03
Male	103	0.02	1.08		
Talking about drama					
Female	104	0.00	1.01	2.10	0.04
Male	103	-0.30	0.99		
Eating or drinking					
Female	104	0.43	1.10	1.42	N.S.
Male	103	0.21	1.11		
Doing domestic work					
Female	104	-0.41	1.13	2.82	0.005
Male	103	-0.84	1.07		
Channel zapping					
Female	104	0.06	1.13	-1.41	N.S.
Male	103	0.28	1.16		



Table 6-4 reveals differences by gender in the context of watching drama. While the female viewer is more inclined to concentrate on drama, she is more likely than the male viewer to do something else such as doing domestic work and talking about drama.

For the female viewer, doing something else is never incompatible with concentration during watching drama. Considering both her interest in drama and the practical domestic work with which she is surrounded in the home, the female viewer's engagement is not contradictory but understandable. For the female audience, talking about drama is not so much interruption as a mood-generator which makes them more attentive. Thus, conversation is a reflection of engagement and concentration in their styles of viewing. In point of fact, the male viewer shows a lower degree of concentration, in spite of doing little during watching drama. Tunstall (1983: 135) suggests that a distinction into 'primary', 'secondary' and 'tertiary' activity, needs to be made in media consumption. While such categories are justified, it does not follow that, for example, primary viewing will always lead to high level concentration.

It is worth noting that television drama has a position in the Korean household. Contrary to Morley's (1986) arguments that television viewing reflects domestic power relations, watching drama is used as a sphere of timesharing or togetherness, while watching news is regarded as a sphere of father or husband. Almost all the interviewed families recognised this without hesitation. Watching a news programme is a reflection of patriarchal power, but watching drama is conceived of as a sphere of togetherness in Korean households.

On the question of how television drama decisions are made if there is a channel conflict among family members, only 16.9 percent of the sample answered that they would 'hold fast to drama which I want to see'; 35.5 percent of respondents 'make a concession'; and 26.1 percent reply that they 'negotiate what programme to watch'. Here, there are no differences in drama decisions by social backgrounds. This implies that family members have a certain consensus about watching drama.

#### Husband (Family 11)

I enjoy watching *Love Hung On A Jujube Tree* (rural drama) and *Myung Hoe Han* (historical drama). And my two sons like *Feeling* which, I think, is meaningless and is far from my favourite style. Moreover, I do not understand

why my sons really like it. (There are many teenage characters !:Wife). While I watch news programmes, my sons usually study in their rooms. When *Feeling* is beginning, they come out to view it. I say, 'OK! You watch it!' I also watch it with my sons.

As Korean parents feel a sense of guilt in that they do not have enough time to talk and to go out together, children play a significant role in choosing drama, especially when their ages are over about ten years. It is general that parents make a concession to their children when there is a channel conflict. Even the husband of Family 11, who is called a dictator, does not insist on his choice.

### Drama related talk

Concerning the question of whom the audience talks with about drama in everyday life, the female audience response puts friends (28.8%) as the first, friends in the work place second (27.4%), then husband (14.4%) and sisters (5.3%). 14.9 percent of the female audience does not talk about drama, as compared to 21.7 percent of the male viewers' responses. Combining friends and friends in the work place, the female viewer chiefly talks about drama with her friends (56.2%). It is certain that drama related talk is a main topic in their everyday life. In the case of housewives, friends are 57.9%, husband is 15.5% and children are 5.3%, these being very similar to the total female's conversation partners.

Table 6.5. Talking about television drama by gender

What kinds of things do you talk about drama?	Female	Male	Total
Characters' personality	43 (15.8)	26 (13.8)	69 (15.0)
Characters' sexual attraction	34 (12.4)	13 (6.9)	47 (10.2)
The continuous main story	47 (17.2)	27 (14.4)	74 (16.1)
The drama episodes	41 (15.0)	32 (17.0)	73 (15.8)
Some real events similar to drama narratives	33 (12.1)	24 (12.8)	57 (12.4)
The composition or quality of drama	39 (14.3)	47 (25.0)	86 (18.7)
Fashion or furniture	24 (8.8)	7 (3.7)	31 (6.7)
Actors' or actresses' private lives	12 (4.4)	10 (5.3)	22 (4.8)
Others		2 (1.0)	2 (0.4)
Total	273 (100.0)	188 (100.0)	461 (100.0)

Note Multiple response



The male viewer answers that people whom they talk to about drama are wife (30.9%), friends in work place (23.2%) and friends (16.0%). It is interesting to see that the male viewer, like the female viewer, talks about drama with his friends (39.2%), meaning that watching drama is no small part of their daily life. But the male viewer is more likely than the female viewer to be reluctant to talk about drama with other people, as 21.7 percent do not talk about drama with anyone.

Topics of talking about television drama explain how the female and male audience not only obtain pleasure, but also are involved in drama. There are some characteristics by gender in the reception of drama, as shown in Table 6-5. Firstly, the female audience is more inclined to be involved with a character's personality. We are able to build up an assumption that the female audience is 'nearer' to characters, through which it creates fantasy as an essential pleasure of reception. Secondly, the female audience is more likely to be oriented to the main story. Regarding the findings that it tends to prefer daily serial and weekdays serial to weekday series and Sunday series, its concern is paid to the continuous flow of the main story. Thirdly, the female viewer is more interested in off-screen-worlds such as fashion or furniture presented in drama and in actors and actresses' private lives, because she is the main consumer and is more involved in characters' personalities.

Finally, the male viewer is more likely than the female viewer to talk about the composition or quality of drama. This means that he tends to be less emotional and more critical about television drama itself, in spite of enjoying watching drama. Most male viewers' judgements are summarised in three points; unreality, immorality and drama writer's quality. They seem to argue that the quality of drama is down to the screenwriter rather than the producer or other members of staff. In other words, their value-judgement is focused not so much on artistic dimensions as on narratives themselves.

## **6-4 Concluding Remarks**

This chapter has determined how the audience constructs pleasure from genres, narrative and aesthetic elements. Hermeneutic pleasure is based on 'an aesthetic of predictability' or 'conventional openness' whereby the audience constitutes co-

authorship, sharing secrets, a feeling of mastery and assurance in a continuous process of protensions and retentions. However predictable the audience feels the narrative to be, this predictability is counterbalanced by the fictional status, for its inherent openness is still preserved. In the relation of textual invitations such as seriality, predictability, co-authorship and protensions to gender, the interpretative position and gendered positions, the female viewer is more likely than the male to be involved in seriality and protensions. The escapist and the habitual viewer tend to imagine how the storyline will be developed more than other viewers. It is worth noting that both the female non-engaged viewer and the male escapist viewer agree on the predictability of narrative. One possible interpretation is that predictability may be an element which is distanced for the female non-engaged viewer, while it may be a factor which constructs pleasure of reading for the male escapist viewer.

The modes of pleasure from television drama genre are not beyond general assumptions in which each genre would address different modes of pleasure. The viewers gain pleasure from 'family love' in family melodrama and from 'family love' and 'romantic love' in romantic drama, from 'learning knowledge' in historical drama, from 'nostalgia' in rural drama and from 'characterisation' and 'humour' in situation comedy.

There is complexity with reference to the context of watching drama. Doing something else does not always bring about a low degree of spectator concentration. While the female viewer is more likely than the male to do something else, she still concentrates on drama and shows attentive viewing. In contrast to watching news, watching drama is conceived of as a domestic leisure for timesharing or togetherness in Korean households, as a result of which it has little to do with hierarchical domestic power relations.

Morley (1986: 148-150) would argue that masculine power is evident in a number of the families as the ultimate determinant on occasions of conflict over viewing choices, pointing out that the control device is the symbolic possession of the father. Further, he would go on to suggest that 'the position of power held by most of the men is based not simply on the biological fact of being men but rather on a social definition of a masculinity of which employment (that is, the 'breadwinner' role) is a necessary and constituent part'. His arguments only give half the picture as regards the Korean household, where power relations concerning watching television do not reflect such an economic relation. As far as the choice of



news is concerned, much of what Morley says is valid, because news is accepted as a space of the father by all family members. But watching television drama does not show domestic power relations, being recognised as an activity of all family members. More than 70 percent of fathers give up their choices on occasions of conflict over viewing drama, even though the rate of unemployment is less than 2 percent in Korea. Moreover the remote control is not the possession of the father but that of their children. As a result, it cannot be said that masculine power is exerted in the same way, regardless of programme genres. Domestic power over the choice of programme, even in Confucian and patriarchal Korean households, is inclined to be divided.

## Notes

1. Though the escapist viewers reply that narrative is relatively less predictable, this is not to imply that narrative is entirely unpredictable.
2. For Adorno, 'a feeling on safe ground' means the incorporation of the mass into the dominant ideology. Adorno conceives of television as 'the guise of false realism' which reproduces false consciousness and deceives the mass, stressing that pseudo-realism is reinforced in the production of the hidden meaning, stereotyping and 'presumptuousness' - moving the mass's expectation into a definite direction, as a result of which the mass is thought to maintain affirmation.
3. The husband and wife in Families 6, 11 and 14 are in line with the above remarks.
4. A question about retentions in reading was not included in the questionnaire. This is mainly because it was difficult to question how the viewer reconstructs past events. Nevertheless, one possible interpretation is that the findings of protensions may be applied to retentions.
5. There is a difficulty in defining the scope of soap opera and prime-time serial. As Neale (1980) puts it neatly, genre is regarded not only as textual codification but also as systems of orientations, expectations and conventions that circulate between industry, text and subject. Some researchers define soap opera in a broader sense, coining a different term 'television melodrama' (Feuder, 1984), 'supersoap' (Kilborn, 1992) and 'the continuous serial' (Geraghty, 1991). Cantor and Pingree (1983: 26-27) suggest that the prime-time serial in the United States differs from the soap opera in three ways: production (costs and control), the number of episodes produced and the content.
6. This study roughly classifies Korean television drama as follows; family melodrama, romantic drama, historical drama, rural drama, and others, depending both on broadcast dramas during the surveyed period and on genre preference of respondents. It should be noted that this classification could not be generalised on the ground that genre blending is not only increasing, but that a lot of elements overlapped in each genre exist (Table 6-6). Family melodrama contains daily melodramas (*Until We Love*, *White Dandelion*,



*Seduction, Wonjidong Blues, Sometimes A Stranger, Woman On The Road, Under The Sky Of Seoul, Mother's Flag, Brothers' River, A Small Train Station, When The Salmon Returns*). Romantic drama includes *The First Love, The Beginning Of Happiness, The Couples, Faraway Country* and *Man And Woman Living In A City*. Historical drama is *Dragon's Tear, The Great River, Gukjeung Lim* and *Unforgettable*. Rural drama is *Farm Diary* and *Love Hung On A Jujube Tree*. Situation comedies are *LA Arirang, My Father Is Major* and *Three Men Three Women*. Single plays are *The Best Theatre*. Police drama is *Police Department*. The 'others' category is composed of teenager drama (*Start, Myself, Adults Don't Know* and *Open Your Mind*). During the survey period, the ranking of ratings is as follows; *The First Love* (1st), *Brothers' River* (2nd), *Faraway Country* (3rd), *Gukjeung Lim* (4th), *The Great River* (5th), *Love Hung On A Jujube Tree* (6th).

7. It should be admitted that the term 'single plays' is not based on generic but formal definition, unlike other genres such as melodrama or romantic drama. It is quite difficult to define *Best Seller Theatre* or *TV Literature Theatre*, according to generic conventions, because they contain lots of single plays.

8. Concerning the low degree of concentration, other researchers point out the smallness of the television screen (Newcomb, 1979; Tarroni, 1979; Zettle, 1981; Ellis, 1982), which cannot be detached from familiarisation as the most noticeable feature. It should basically be considered at two levels; one concerning the domestic space of viewing and the position of the television set, the other involving technical codes. First of all, television appears as an object that can be part of everyday life in domestic surroundings like furniture or electric equipment. The domestic space of watching television has demanded the small size of the television screen and constituted modes of representation which are suited for the smallness of the screen. The smallness of the screen results in a lower degree of spectator concentration, diminishing the distance between the audience's everyday life and television. This has led to some major effects on the modes of representation; firstly, the role that sound plays in television is extremely important. Secondly, it engages the look and the glance rather than the gaze, and thus has a different relation to voyeurism from cinemas (Ellis, 1982: 128). What is more, television's lower level of concentration brings about the fragmentation of event, techniques of rapid cutting, background and context sketched rather than meaningfully detailed, and emphasis on the close-up in order to compensate for its technical limitations.

Table 6.6. Korean television drama genre conventions

	Family melodrama	Romantic drama	Historical drama	Rural drama	Romantic comedy	Police drama
The centrality of characters	female character and family involved	a couple	male character and king	father/mother and husband/wife	two or more couples	police
Concern of non-dominant groups	taken seriously	taken lightly	taken a little seriously	taken a little seriously	taken a little lightly	taken lightly
Point of view	multiple points of view	focused on two points of view	focused on one point of view	several points of view (parents and siblings)	several couples' point of view	focused on one point of view
Thematics	romantic love and family conflict	romantic love	loyalty and power struggle	togetherness, equating family with community	romantic love	laws and justice, social maintenance
Aesthetics	excess, emotion and morality and repetition	fantasy romance		pure realism	realism and comedy	fast pace of plot, suspense and enigma
Setting	home or some other place that functions as a home	home and other places	palace	home and village	home and other places	police station
Form	serial	serial/series	serial	series	serial	series



## Chapter 7

### Summary and Conclusion

The concern of this study has been the ways in which Korean audiences constitute horizons of expectations and reading positions, and gain hermeneutic pleasure, interest in these issues having arisen from two questions regarding the need for convergence on the study of reception both at a theoretical and a methodological level. Concerning convergence at a theoretical level, this study has attempted to seek for a balance point in the encounter of text and audience. Some researchers have studied the texts of popular culture, taking in the operation of the text, the dynamics of desire and looking and their relations to the construction of the subject, while others have researched the reading of the audience, that is to say, the production of resistant meaning and subcultural identity. Despite strong points in each approach, there is a growing convergence of interest among theoretical traditions, that rejects either extreme. What is central here is to trace the relations between audience autonomy and determinacy, because it is evident that the audience makes sense of meanings but is to some extent directed by the power of the text.

Rather than simply integrating areas of inquiry, this research has focused on mediated factors in relations of text to audience; horizons of expectations, interpretative positions and textual invitations. Concerning the audience's horizon of expectations, ignored by previous audience studies, it can be assumed that the audience's reading would be set by pre-given knowledge of what television drama is and how it is positioned not only within an individual viewer's consciousness, but also within a domestic context. This foreknowledge is one which has been constructed within cultural knowledge of discourses of feeling and conventions, generic knowledge and specific-drama knowledge. Thus we should take into consideration a set of foreknowledge, called the 'horizon of expectations', to use Jauss's terms. Though admitting the audience reads television drama in various ways, there is no doubt that its subjective responses are not infinite but are, to some degree, determined by the position of text. This is not only because the intention of the drama seems to define the boundary of reading, but also because the intention of the audience tends to determine the space of reading. This implies that the drama

audience's horizon of expectations may open a route to exploring intersubjectivity beyond mere individual subjective readings.

With reference to the horizon of expectations, the audience's interpretative positions can be inferred. Work on reading positions has focused on interpretative communities such as class, gender and subculture, analysing how female audiences, especially housewives, read soap operas or the prime-time serials. Though subculture and class are crucial factors in making sense of meanings, the interpretative positions should be located within more specific sites involving a wider range of experiences of watching drama and expectations of drama. This is due to the fact that the interpretative positions have been constructed in various experiences of drama, as it were, socio-cultural and discursive relations of interpreting text, rather than in a single subject position. By finding these positions, it would, in turn, be possible to examine differences and consensus in interpretations within each position, and at the same time to shed light on divergence in consensus. Though the audience takes a certain interpretative position, there are still various modes of reception which are related to the extent of involvement, distance from the fictional world and aesthetic and moral evaluations.

Regarding textual invitations, it can generally be postulated that the audience's pleasure is closely bound up with generic conventions, narratives and hermeneutic codes. In place of approaching the audience's pleasure in terms of resistant readings or hegemonic processes, this study has attempted to explore how different generic dramas and narratives address the audience's pleasure, and how the audience is invited by textual structures, filling gaps which the text leaves vacant.

Together with convergence of interest at a theoretical level, this study has also argued for the necessity of methodological integration between the positivist and the interpretative paradigm. Some researchers resist methodological convergence on the ground that there are still epistemological and ideological gaps between the two traditions (Allen, 1985; Ang, 1991; Carey, 1989; Schröder, 1987). They argue that, as the positivist studies are concerned with individual effects, attitude changes and interpersonal relations, they have failed to explore the multidimensional and complex. Strongly supporting the interpretative paradigm, Ang (1991: 164) argues that 'emphasis on the situational embeddedness of audience practices and experiences inevitably undercuts the search for generalizations that is often seen as the ultimate goal of scientific knowledge. In a sense, generalizations are necessarily



violations to the concrete specificity of all unique micro-situations'. This research does not agree that particulars will be found only using ethnographic methods. On the contrary, many recent researchers have supported the possibility of convergence, suggesting that a simple dichotomy or exclusion of the other results in failure to probe a much richer understanding as to the processes by which the audience experiences texts (Curran, 1990; Jensen and Rosengren, 1990; Livingstone, 1990). In this connection, Curran (1990: 150) points out succinctly:

It [the hermeneutic or phenomenological approach] represents at another level a backward step in its reluctance to quantify; its over-reliance on group discussions and consequent failure to probe adequately intra-group and individual differences; and its invocation of the loose concept of 'decoding' which some researchers in the effect traditions have more usefully broken down analytically in a form that distinguishes between attention, comprehension, acceptance and retention.

It is obvious that there exist theoretical and philosophical distances between the two traditions; objectivism/intersubjectivism, explanation/understanding, description/interpretation, law-bound/context-bound, hypothetico-deductive and inductive strategy and so on. However, there is enough room for convergence if the more rigorous procedures and concepts from the positivist tradition are properly connected with interpretative processes. Contrary to the critical perspective of methodological convergence, the positivist approach, using a pool of variables related to motives, audience activities and social backgrounds, has revealed how audience activities are multidimensional and not consistent.

Differing from the positivist approach, ethnographic audience studies, employing a combination of techniques such as individual or group interviews, participant observation, group discussions and personal documents, have demonstrated how actively the audience reads and resists the meanings of the text, and how its pleasure is related to cultural exchanges in everyday life, thus pointing out diversity in interpretations. But it suffers from some limits; over-relativism, a restrictive amount of information, mechanical application of discursive relations to social relations, relying on a researcher's point of view. Moreover, it fails to investigate the audience's reading in connection with a wider range of social relations, by only positioning it within class or subculture. As a consequence, it is

ironical that ethnographic studies stop short of exploring divergence in interpretations, and just repeat similar arguments with few variations.

Though this study has emphasised the importance of the convergence of methodology, this is not to say that it would be possible entirely to overcome the limits of each methodology. Rather, it has argued that quantitative and qualitative methods are not contradictory but complementary. In order to achieve methodological integration, this research has suggested three steps: surveys were executed before and after the focused interview which was used to determine the subjective experiences of informants exposed to the pre-analysed situation. Moreover, it has emphasised that, if more systematic and rigorous procedures such as a scientific sampling method and various variables from the quantitative tradition were accepted, a danger of over-relativism or subjective responses could be avoided. Similarly, specificities and differences in interpretations within generalised findings can also be found, by using qualitative methods such as interview and group discussions.

From the foregoing analyses and discussions, it is possible to draw several implications and interesting points as to how the audience takes a different reading position within socio-cultural and discursive relations; what kinds of audience horizons are related to its interpretative position; how textual elements and socio-cultural backgrounds play a role in gaining pleasure and making sense of meanings.

1. This study has assumed that a set of the horizons of expectations would preferentially be one of the crucial factors, producing differences and consensus in interpretations. According to the findings of the horizon of expectations, there are four dominant horizons which set limits on the audience's reading; 'naturalistic realism', 'imaginative realism', 'emotional escapism' and 'distanceship'.

Naturalistic realism has much to do with a plethora of perceptions such as apparent representation of ordinary people, reality as recognisably possible, familiarity with characters and good morals. Imaginative realism is more linked with the poetic (or emotional/associative) dimension which refers to indirect experiences or the associative process of bringing something vividly to life through the imagination. It is built up with distances between the position of the audience and the represented world of drama, nostalgia and past experiences, recognition of the



dramatised situations as imaginative representations of general living experiences: love/hate, happiness/misery, affluence/poverty, and so on. Emotional escapism means watching television drama as diversion or emotional release, a tool to facilitate domestic communication and togetherness. The male escapist audience tends to escape into nostalgia, the native country, nature and the harsh past while the female audience seems to involve itself in the affluent world and true love. Distanceship is constructed through incompatibility between 'their' or fictional world and 'our' world, moral judgement and the lack of serial-special knowledge. It is here worth noting that a viewer is influenced by other horizons, even though it takes a dominant horizon.

The horizons of expectations are associated with gender, job and the type of viewer, rather than with class and the extent of education. To rephrase that, the female is more likely than the male to be emotional escapist; manual workers' horizons have much in common with housewives' ones, while office workers' horizons are more akin to professionals'; there are significant differences between the heavy viewer and the light viewer in emotional escapism, imaginative realism and naturalistic realism. However, there are no differences in distanceship by gender, job and the type of the viewer.

2. This study has redefined the term, 'audience activity', which has broadly been understood as meaning that the audience makes a resistant or subversive reading of a text whose meaning is always open. Rejecting this kind of definition, it has argued that audience activity and reading can be better understood not only in a negotiated position, but also in complexity of reception. In addition, dismissing the use of the term 'interpretative communities' which equates it with demographic groups, this research has suggested interpretative position in order to seek for discursive experiences.

The findings of the interpretative positions have demonstrated how the audience takes a reading position. Both the habitual and the ironic viewers tend to make the negotiated reading in that they criticise the intent and impact of television drama, but still accept legitimacy in entertainment as well as the culture industry. The habitual viewers, to which belong 26.1 per cent of respondents, watch television drama for togetherness of all family members as well as for didactic information or knowledge about reality or history. The ironic viewers, containing

21.7 per cent of respondents, are more likely than the habitual to be less playfully involved in drama but more critical in assessing dramatic constructions, characterisations and aesthetics.

The escapist viewers, to which belong 33.9 per cent of samples, take the preferred reading in that they are events-oriented, value-free and affirmative in evaluating television drama, exhibiting the highest inclination towards emotional escapism and naturalistic and imaginative realism. Though the escapist viewers are relatively heavy viewers and are nearest to the fictional world, this does not imply that they identify the fictional world with real life, give up evaluating dramatic constructions and literally receive dominant ideologies. Their reading is more emotionally involved, but is interspersed with moments of a little distance, as a result of which involved-distance is maintained. The point that should be noted is that escape or distraction into drama or from reality does not always mean incorporation into a dominant ideology, because this perspective not only results in the danger of an overpoliticising of pleasure, but also disregards the position of drama as a fictional world. The non-engaged viewers, containing 19.3 per cent of samples, construct the lowest emotional escapism and imaginative realism, but the highest distanceness. They show awareness of the television drama as separated from reality and are concerned with moral judgement and ideology. They are negative towards the development of narrative, quality of drama and aesthetics.

Concerning the escapist and the non-engaged position, it is worth noting that distinction between mindless and mindful may be made. While the mindless escapist viewer is quite passive in that he/she has few substantive responses to the meaning of drama and dramatic conventions, the mindful escapist viewer is more likely to have them. However, both of them make referential readings and watch drama to escape from the mundane routine and thereby achieve emotional release. In a similar context, the mindless non-engaged viewer does not like watching drama itself, which makes it distanced and less involved, whereas the mindful non-engaged viewer is cognitively involved in drama, offering quite strong criticism.

3. The audience's interpretative position is mainly associated with gender, age and the type of viewer, but there are no differences in class, income and education; while the female viewer is more likely than the male to be escapist, the male viewer is more inclined than the female to be non-engaged; while the older viewer tends to



be habitual and escapist, the younger viewer seems to be more ironic; the heavy viewer tends to belong to the escapist and habitual position, whilst the light viewer seems to be non-engaged and ironic.

Concerning gendered interpretative positions, the female escapist viewer is more interested in characters and the main storyline, whereas the male escapist viewer is more events-oriented and gets pleasure from morality when the good wins and the bad loses. In other words, moral evaluation is conceived of as a means of entertainment. Differing from the female habitual viewer, the male habitual viewer tends to get pleasure from value-reinforcement. Finally, the female and the male ironic and non-engaged viewers show similar modes of reception.

4. This study has underlined consensus in interpretations which is based on interpretative positions. As Clifford (1986) notes, a shared experiential world is what is missing or problematic for ethnographic studies. Though ethnographic audience studies have partially explored such shared experiences of readings, they have tended to reduce them to class, gender and subcultural experiences. Of course, this study admits that these experiences contribute to making a consensus in reading, but discursive experiences should also be taken into consideration. Simultaneously, this study has suggested that divergence within consensus which has been ignored in the previous audience studies should be determined.

5. This work has empirically testified to the importance of cultural capital, albeit defined at a narrow level, under four headings; 'familiarity', derived from the frequency of watching drama each week, 'cultural exchanges' measured by the extent of conversation' and 'drama-knowledge' and 'the extent of watching television'. To put it another way, emotional escapism is significantly correlated with familiarity, cultural exchange and the extent of watching television, imaginative realism is correlated with familiarity and cultural exchange, and naturalistic realism with familiarity and the extent of watching television. In contrast, distancenesship is not correlated with cultural capital. Genre preference is also correlated with the horizons of expectations. Family melodrama, romantic drama and rural drama are closely bound up with emotional escapism, imaginative realism and naturalistic realism. However, historical drama is less related with these horizons than distancenesship.

As is generally assumed, genre is an essential factor in building up a varying range of pleasures. While the family melodrama audience gains pleasure from 'family love and conflict' and 'various composition', the romantic drama audience is more concerned with 'romantic love' and 'family love and conflict'. The pleasure of historical drama stems from 'learning knowledge' which contributes to understanding the present reality, because the audience acknowledges that there is continuity between the dramatised historical reality and the present reality. It is natural that the rural drama audience gets enjoyment from 'nostalgia'. Finally, the pleasure of situation comedy springs from unusual characters and situation rather than realism or everydayness.

6. Apart from the pleasure of reading that stems from cultural capital and genre, it should be noted that the audience's hermeneutic pleasure is attributable to 'conventional openness' or 'an aesthetic of predictability' whereby the audience is invited to participate in the fictional world. Like other popular cultural products, television drama sustains the recognisable formula, for the audience will otherwise experience difficulty in relating to it, but it also offers inventions for differentiation from others competing for the audience's attention. Most of the viewers admit that they can predict how the main story line will be finished or an event will be developed. Nevertheless, such predictability does not forfeit audience interest or involvement, because the position of text as fiction is still maintained

Hermeneutic pleasure is achieved through the process of reading: protensions and retentions. Protensions are related to a set of expectations whereby the audience is invited to speculate about future development, while retentions are the process of recall to answer the expectations aroused by the previous segment. In connection with such an act of reading, the audience receives hermeneutic pleasure as follows; firstly, the audience becomes 'co-author' by conducting an imaginary conversation with a writer or characters; secondly, sharing secrets or information known to the audience and very few characters brings about its desire to know what will happen; thirdly, possession of superior insight makes the audience experience a feeling of mastery; finally, puzzle-solving games is the other basic process in achieving pleasure.



7. This study has noted that the context of viewing drama is dual. Contrary to Tunstall's (1983) distinction of media consumption into primary, secondary and tertiary viewing, watching drama is complicated between primary and secondary, and primary and tertiary viewing, rather than being dominated by one viewing activity. Moreover, primary viewing does not always lead to high level concentration. For example, the female viewer is more inclined to concentrate on drama, but to do something else while watching drama. In contrast, the male viewer is less likely to concentrate, even though he tends to do little. Watching drama does not reflect patriarchal domestic power relations in that it is mainly regarded as a domestic leisure for togetherness in Korean households where children play a significant role in choosing drama. It is general that parents make a concession to their children when there is a channel conflict. As they think that they don't have enough time to stay with their children, watching drama is conceived of as an area of domestic communication.

Though this study has attempted a convergence between the audience-oriented and the text-oriented approach, and between the quantitative and qualitative method in the process of television drama reception, some limitations and suggestions for future research should be pointed out. Firstly, this study has been unable to explore the audience's hermeneutic process through protensions and retentions, mainly because it has not focused on a specific episode for revealing the reading process in which the audience anticipates and reconstructs preceding and following events. As Iser suggests, the act of reading is closely related not only to the wandering viewpoint resulting from a constantly changing position within the text, but also a consistency-building process, that is to say, the audience forms gestalt in the process of participating in the production of meaning, so that the audience tries to make things consistent when the constructed gestalt is at odds with an imaged gestalt. These processes of reading are integral parts in exploring the audience's production of meanings, but there are still practical problems as to how they could be investigated.

Secondly, though this study has underlined the fact that cultural capitals of television drama are as important as other social backgrounds, it has defined cultural capitals in a narrow sense. Following Brunsdon's (1981) suggestions, there is a need to define cultural capitals under three categories: (i) generic knowledge

(familiarity with the conventions of a drama as a genre); (ii) serial/series-specific knowledge (knowledge of past narratives and of characters); (iii) cultural knowledge of socially acceptable codes and conventions for the conduct of personal life. By paying more attention to cultural capitals, it would be possible to trace out the relations between autonomy and determinacy in the reception of drama.

Thirdly, as this study has only discussed the extent to which genre is associated with the audience's pleasure in a broad sense, it has fallen short of showing how various generic conventions and aesthetics mediate the audience's interpretations and pleasures. It is therefore necessary to investigate more intensively conventions and aesthetics within each genre. It is certain that taking account of textual dimensions can provide an essential clue where will enable light to be shed on the interaction between text and audience.

Fourthly, this study has empirically supported the claim that the female audience is more likely than the male to watch family melodrama and romantic drama, and the male audience to prefer historical drama, rural drama and police drama. However, since these findings neither mean that the female audience dislikes watching historical drama or rural drama, nor that the male audience is reluctant to watch family melodrama and romantic drama, it is now necessary rather than simply using a dichotomy of female-genre and male-genre, to explore how the female audience reads historical drama or police drama, and how the male audience makes sense of meanings from romantic drama or family melodrama.



## Appendix 1

### A Brief History of Korean Television Drama

Over the last four decades, the pendulum of Korean television drama has swung between ratings competition and government network control. Each network, from its outset, has seen the positioning of television drama as one of its most important scheduling strategies.<sup>1)</sup> Even when government intervention directly influenced genres or subject-matter, each network continued to regard drama as a battle for ratings.

From the overview of a brief history of Korean television drama, this chapter suggests three characteristics of Korean television drama in light of the change of genre, commercial strategies and narratives: firstly, television drama genres have been shifted from daily serials and anti-communism drama in the 1970s towards more various genres such as rural, medical, teenager drama and mini-series in the 1980s, the golden age of the Korean television industry, and then have concentratedly changed to daily serials or family melodrama, and romantic drama or romantic comedy called 'trendy drama'. Secondly, Korean television networks have used formatting strategies rather than buying Western dramas. Having continuously borrowed formats from Western and Japanese dramas, Korean networks have attempted to cater to the traditional Korean values and sensibilities, as a result of which the power of imported drama has gradually withered away since the early 1980s. Even *Dallas* and *The Cosby Show* had not been popular in Korea. Thirdly, short-running narrative has imposed restrictions on features of Korean television drama and the audience's experience. It is common for even daily serials to be finished within six months. This tendency has resulted in the dependence on famous stars and comics or humour in the development of narrative. In this regard, it is rare to find stylistically 'rich' dramas which evoke a whole range of reactions, a fuller sense of a world and realism.

Early television dramas were produced by a combination of theatre and radio drama. The first television drama was *The Road To Heaven* (1956), which depicted a story of two pilferers accidentally met in Heaven. This was screened by HLKZ-TV which was established by the RCA Distribution Company for selling television

sets, but was permanently ended by a fire in 1959. It was a play scenario, performed by two play actors. The second drama, *My Country* (1956), was produced by a theatre group, Shin Hyup, and some of the dramas were simply broadcasts of traditional Korean plays. Most of the early television dramas followed theatrical composition, development and performance. While actors and actresses came from theatrical groups, producers, screen writers and other technical staff members were moved from radio stations. This implies that the early drama lay in an ambiguous position between theatre and radio drama. It is worth noting that early television drama lacked any connection with cinema. There are several reasons why the early drama was closer to theatre than to films. Firstly, as the early networks had difficulty with finance, they had contacts with people from theatre whose salary was cheaper than a film star's. Accordingly, producers employed theatrical people, some of whom were students of theatre clubs at universities. Secondly, producers seemed to think that television drama was nearer to theatre than film because of technological limitations and insistence on a live transmission. Thirdly, in those times, film stars and directors were reluctant to participate in television drama, not only because it was the golden age of the Korean film industry, but also because they were suspicious of the role of television when there was a fairly low distribution of television sets, at most about 70,000 in 1967.

The early Korean television dramas were transmitted live up to as late as 1966, when TBC introduced an AMPEX 660-13 studio recorder, which did not have an editing function. If a performer made a mistake during the recording, all performers had to repeat the entire action from the beginning again. Despite the limited functions of an AMPEX recorder, the early producers could thus avoid the burden of live transmission. The genre range was extended and the number of dramas were increased in the wake of the introduction of the AMPEX recorder. Declaring 'the kingdom of drama', TBC started developing various genres such as weekend serials, home-drama, historical drama and police drama. This was an enormous and far reaching change. As Caughie (1991b: 39) points out in another context, what recording did was to lift television out of ephemerality and give it a commodity form. The shift from direct transmission to recording turned television from use value to exchange value, reforming television as a cultural good but also a tradeable good'. Certainly the introduction of a recorder brought television drama to a major commodity form, and at the same time increased the number of instalments from



around ten parts to more than thirty parts per series, even though television drama stopped short of becoming a tradeable good.

Table 1. Historical change of Korean television drama forms <sup>2)</sup>

Period	1964-	1969-	1973-	1976-	1981-	1986-	
Forms	1968	1972	1975	1980	1985	1991	Total
Daily serial	3	70	79	127	52	45	376
Weekday serial	53	92	29	19	51	30	274
Weekend serial <sup>3)</sup>	18	33	26	18	21	27	143
Weekday series	74	28	7	19	48	57	233
Mini-series					10	63	72
Special serial	2	16	5	70	122	116	331
Total	150	239	146	253	304	337	1,429

Source, Pyo (1995)

Table 1 shows how Korean television drama forms have changed over time. Until MBC began on August 1969, most television dramas were weekday serials, most of them historical dramas, one of the popular genres in radio drama, and weekday series including twenty-seven anti-communism dramas. This period was marked by a flood of historical dramas and anti-communism dramas which were produced according to the government's political purpose. Most historical dramas delineated figures who saved the nation in a great crisis, signifying the achievement of social and political harmony out of social conflicts, at a time when people were demanding democracy and liberation in all social sectors. So-called anti-communism dramas dealt with hunting North Korean agents, the activity of the Korean CIA or power struggles in North Korea. Anti-communism dramas were popular up to the mid 1980s, in spite of the fact that they were made to serve the government's dominant ideology and anti-communism education. Using generic conventions of police drama or detective drama, they managed to sustain dramatic suspense. Further, as most Koreans knew only a little about the reality of North Korea, they could be encouraged to see the situation as a matter of power struggles among the political elite. However, the frequency of these series has diminished with the improvement of relations with North Korea since the mid 1980s.

It was in the 1970s that daily serials came to the centre of ratings competition among the three networks. A heavy dose of daily serials inundated the prime time slots. They included 'family melodramas' and 'home-dramas' which presented the values of sound family love and humour without any impropriety. Three or four daily serials were programmed by each network for twenty or thirty minutes a day in the prime time in 1975. Under the Emergency Measure of May 1975, though the government reinforced the rules and regulations for determining programming schedules for networks, the number of daily serials was not reduced, because daily drama was established as the most important source of revenue for three networks, and was regarded as a chief means of distraction from political concern. However, KBS, the public service network, directly influenced by the government's policy, scheduled 'home-drama' rather than family melodrama which was criticised for its subject-matter dealing with immorality and the deconstruction of traditional values and ethics. As the government strengthened its control of programming and content, from 1976, all networks started producing special drama serials which were usually composed of three or five parts, and this led to the inundation of mini-series from the early 1980s.

Apart from anti-communism drama, lots of propaganda dramas were made to depict the development of the Korean economy and The New Village Movement. *Eight Blossoming Provinces In Korea* (daily serial) from KBS (1974) was a good example that reflects government publicity, presenting how Korea has developed economically. Old parents visit eight married daughters who live in eight provinces, where each girl's husband works in a major industry such as ship manufacturing, a construction company and so on. Though it was planned to give publicity to the image of the developing Korean economy — the increase of export, the opening of highways, the growth of heavy industry and so on — it was very popular for almost two years. Not only did it cast famous actors and actresses, but it also recorded the first national location shooting with the government's overwhelming support. More importantly, it succeeded in dealing with harmonised family life, differing from most melodramas. That is, *Eight Blossoming Provinces In Korea* was considered to be a genre-blending between home-drama and propaganda that made it a great success. In contrast, direct propaganda dramas such as *New Village Theatre*, *Hope Theatre* and *Theatre For People Education Charter* were not popular at all, because they presented, quite explicitly, the political purpose of the



government. Most of those just described cases of success in the New Village Movement without dramatic tensions and new angles. On this point, there were significant differences between *Eight Blossoming Provinces In Korea* and other explicit propaganda dramas in that the former was 'home-drama' based on government publicity. This means that while it diluted the direct propaganda with melodramatic and home-dramatic elements, it had explosive investment for its production.

In November 1980, the new military government attempted to monopolise broadcasting under the pretext of providing public services and improving the quality of television programming. Despite the strengthening of new government intervention, the 1980s were the golden age for the Korean television industry. Growth was phenomenal in every dimension from 1979 to 1989: the number of programming hours rose from 56 to nearly 88.5; the number of television stations increased from 12 to 78 ; the number of television sets grew from 4 million to nearly 6 million; colour television was introduced in 1981; there was a rapid increase of advertising market; VCR distribution was extended (Kim and Kim, 1994: 105-106). Such a rapid modification of the broadcasting environment also brought about a change in television drama.

First of all, what is most characteristic is the change of drama forms. The number of daily serials was sharply reduced from four or three to one in each network, while weekday serials, weekday series and mini-series were increased. This was because most daily serials were criticised for low quality and for controversial and immoral themes. Exception were MBC's long-running weekday single drama series *Best Seller Theatre*, KBS1's *TV Literature Theatre* and KBS2's *TV Novel* which were evaluated as quality drama and were quite popular with adults and the elderly. These weekday series were television versions of original novels which were highly respected. Moreover, mini-series, strictly speaking, mini-serials, were broadcast twice a week, usually composed of fifteen to twenty-five parts over for two months. Mini-series have become the most popular drama form from the beginning up to the present.

The 1980s also witnessed a surge in the popularity of realistic police dramas which replaced anti-communism drama in the 1970s. MBC produced the most successful police series, *The Chief Of The Police Department*, based on real cases on file at Korean Police Investigation Headquarters. The popularity of *The Chief Of*

*The Police Department* prompted the networks to offer other police dramas such as KBS2's *Detective 25 Hours*. However, police series disappeared on all networks in the early 1990s, with the exception of a newly started police drama, *The Policemen*, which is composed of four reconstructed stories of real crimes, but is not so popular as other previous police dramas. Likewise, a medical drama, *A Little Hope* (1981), a teenager drama, *A High School Student's Diary* (1983) on KBS, a legal drama, *Hong Lawyer* (1981) and a rural drama, *Farm Diary* (1981) on MBC were introduced.

Such an enormous change of drama genres resulted in the reconstruction of drama production and consumption. Studio production largely gave way to location filming. As late as the early 1980s, most television drama was produced in studios, with the exception of special dramas which were made to celebrate national holidays such as the Korean War on 25 June, Independence Day, New Year's Day etc. and the foundation day of each network. Regarding form and content, mini-series show the combination of melodramatic elements with greater use of action and suspense. There was a lot of genre-blending, successfully drawing on a wider range of audiences including teenagers and male viewers. High-budget dramas, most of which are mini-series, were more frequently produced. Since the extension of the television advertising-market, the introduction of colour television and ratings competition encouraged the production of high-budget dramas. Colour television replaced newspaper and radio as the nation's number one advertising medium, achieving great success with advertisers.

The rapid development of infrastructures in the television industry during the 1980s has continued to the present as for example with the introduction of cable television and the increase in the number of local television companies. As the government's network domination weakened, the third commercial station, the Seoul Broadcasting System (SBS) was launched on 9 December 1991. Like other commercial television networks, SBS has used a drama-oriented programming strategy in which the strongest drama has been positioned between 9 and 9:30 PM when other networks are broadcasting *News At Nine*. In 1991, SBS produced seven dramas (two daily serials, two weekend series, two weekday series and one weekday serial). As daily serials are programmed in the morning between 9 and 10 AM and in the prime-time slots, drama has become an area of greater ratings competition than ever before.



Television dramas in the 1990s are similar, in many ways, to those in the 1980s in terms of programming and forms. Two genres, however, political documentary drama and romantic comedy, are strongly preferred by the audience. Documentary dramas usually recreate an actual incident, situation and individual in the modern history of Korea, especially related to contemporary politics. Until the early 1990s, television producers hardly made political-oriented dramas on account of government intervention. Those which were produced were mainly connected with military and tragic political incidents, such as the Kwangchu massacre in 1980 and a military coup d'état in which two previous presidents were deeply involved. Since the first president coming from the public was elected in 1992, documentary dramas which deal with contemporary politics have increased substantially. This is due to two factors; first, as government network domination ceased, producers have more freedom to depict varying subject matter related to politics. More importantly, there has been an explosive demand from the audience, particularly the older generations. Thus politics-oriented documentary dramas have become a major part of ratings competition between three networks.

There has been a burgeoning of the romantic comedy genre, some examples of which are known as 'trendy drama' a term coined in Japan, when *Tokyo Love Story* was extremely popular in the late 1980s. It has become the most popular drama genre after the explosive success of *Jealousy* (1992) produced by MBC, a commercial broadcaster, which was followed by *Final March* (1993), *Hold Love In Your Bosom* (1994), *Korean General Hospital* (1994), *Hotel* (1995) by MBC and *Love Is Blue* (1995) by SBS, another commercial network.

The emergence of 'trendy drama' is closely associated with a heated debate about the Korean new generation. They are called 'generation X', meaning it resists or rejects deep-rooted and established morals and values. Generation X, whose name was coined in Korea by a shampoo television commercial, generally refers to people in their early 20s who were born after the early 1970s. They have a different consciousness from previous generations, because they are not concerned with political ideology and have not experienced poverty. As people over the age of 30 under the military dictatorship were mainly concerned with gaining political democracy, they gave less priority to individualism and pluralism, their main purpose being to destroy the military dictatorship. People over the age of 40 were themselves devoted to economic development to escape from a deep-rooted

poverty. Contrary to the older generation's world vision, generation X is to a greater extent free from ideological pressures and the demands of economic development, arguing for individualism and its own world, even at the extreme, to the extent of defending homosexuality which has hitherto been regarded as taboo in Korea. They are also the emerging consumer stratum in mass culture, fashion, new technologies and so on. Furthermore, there was a political movement of 'The Foundation of New Korea' in 1992. It has been the main policy of the new government to break from the corruption of whole social sectors which had been formed under the military governments, focusing on new zeitgeist and reformation. Given such cultural and political backgrounds, Korean television networks have sought for new kinds of drama which could reflect a zeitgeist fitted for a new generation. One such attempt was making trendy drama as a reflection of these social formations, under the influence of Japanese television drama. Trendy drama delineates the romantic love of a couple, with comic treatments and a relatively fast development of the story, ignoring traditional ethics and morals.

While the proportion of television drama programming per week had increased from the early days to 1980; 9.0% (1962 - 1964), 15.1% (1965 - 1968), 21.1% (1969 - 1972), 22.9% (1973 - 1975) and 24.3% (1976 - 1980), it has decreased to 14.3% (1981 - 1988) and 13.2% (January 1994) (Pyo, 1995: 111). From the early 1980s, as the number of daily serials was reduced, the total amount of hours also declined. Though the total proportion of drama hours has been diminished, the ratio that drama occupies in the prime-time between 7 PM and 10:30 PM has hardly changed.

Concerning Korean television drama genres, it is here worth elucidating some characteristics which are different from those in Western television drama. First of all, it is quite problematic to put under the one heading of 'soap opera', Korean television serials which include both daily serials broadcast in the morning between 9 and 10 AM, prime-time serials and family melodrama.

There are lots of differences between Korean prime-time and day-time serials and soap opera or prime-time serials such as *Dallas* or *Dynasty*. Korean soaps do not have a never-ending story, but are usually planned to finish within six months. This results in crucial differences, in terms of modes of address, characterisation and the structure of narrative, from those of Western soaps or prime-time serials. The limited-run narrative as opposed to the continuous narrative means that concerns of



non-dominant characters are taken less seriously than those in Western soap operas. It is rare that new characters change dramatic structures or developments, and the centrality of main characters is more emphasised, as a result of which the storyline is focused on one or two couples. Focusing on the handling of detail in soap operas, Newcomb (1979: 430) notes, 'soap opera can offer a far greater sense of density. Details take on importance slowly, and within repeated patterns of action, rather than with the immediacy of other visual forms. It is this sense of density, built over a continuing period of time, that offers us a fuller sense of a world fully created by the artist'. However, Korean daily serials tend to concentrate on the actions of only a few main characters rather than on a continuing period of time or a full sense of density. This is a way to create suspense or absorb viewers in Korean daily and prime-time serials. To rephrase that, the idea of continuity, as creating the possibility for a much stronger sense of audience involvement, a sense of becoming a part of the lives and actions of the characters they see, is less emphasised, because there is no sense of continuous involvement with these characters who don't have histories themselves. It is difficult for the audience to expect a fuller sense of density in the short-running serials. The continuous nature of the narrative, even with the distortions, offers a value system that may be closer to that of the viewer on the ground that a character is neither completely good nor bad. As a consequence, what is emphasised in the short-running daily serials is a clear-cut distinction of the good and the bad.

At the same time, they do have some similarities with Western counterparts in terms of diegesis; melodramatic treatments, prominent female characters, emphasis on the family circle and the slow-moving narrative. In this regard, this study designates Korean soaps as family melodrama to describe a genre that mainly refers to dramatic concerns with romantic love, family relationship and less perceived narrative seriality.

There is a genre which is called 'comic home drama' such as *Three Families Under A Roof* and *Never On Sunday*. It has much in common with a situation comedy such as *The Cosby Show* in terms of comic narratives, familyhood, more focused children's roles and the exclusion of any impropriety, but realism is less emphasised. Comic home drama is a Korean version of situation comedy which is adjusted to Korean culture. It has been constantly popular since the middle of the 1980s, even though it hardly ranks in the Top Five.

Rural drama (series) such as *Farm Diary* and *Love Hung On A Jujube Tree* has remained a popular genre, its rating unchanged. While dramas tend to end within one year at most, *Farm Diary* has been broadcast for more than fifteen years, having a special position in Korean television drama history. It has been conceived of as 'a drama of Korea' on the ground that it depicts traditional morals and values, scarcely criticised by journalists or critics at all.

Away from these aspects of genre, it should be noted that imported dramas have been unpopular since the middle of the 1980s with significant differences.<sup>4)</sup> In the 1970s, imported drama such as *Combat*, *Hawaii 5-0*, *Colombo* etc. ranked in the Top 5 in that they had more action, suspense and detailed composition, than Korean drama. *The Waltons* and *Little House On The Prairie* also were popular, because they showed the world with which Korean viewers could feel sympathy. On the other hand, *The Cosby Show* or even *Dallas* were not particularly popular since Korean viewers apparently found it difficult to get involved with the characters or to be moved by the presented world. At the pragmatic level, Korean viewers are troubled by incompatibilities between the American narrative and the perception of their own culture and socio-historical situation.

It was common for Korean viewers not to laugh at incidents in *The Cosby Show* which were comic for American viewers. This may be related to linguistic problems, but more importantly, there were lots of factors that Korean viewers could not accept in the American middle class's domestic life; the relationship between parents and children, children's attitudes and the like.

*Dallas* violates Korean sensibilities about how people would interact in order to maintain harmonious relationships, because its central values are individualism, ambition and materialism. It is ironical that, even though contemporary Korean society is characterised by competition, Korean viewers are reluctant to watch drama in which these values are explicitly represented. Further, Korean viewers seem to feel frustrated over the incompatibility between *Dallas* and daily serial or weekday serial. There is resentment that the episode is not complete in itself and does not end on a harmonious note, not only because they are not familiar with the conventions of such a long-running drama, but also because they tend to wish for a happy-ending, expecting warm feeling or humanism in television drama. This is the main reason why *Little House On The Prairie* and *The Waltons* were so popular, in contrast to *Dallas*. These television dramas achieved compatibility between the



programme and fundamental Korean values, and consistency with Korean expectations of family melodrama or home-drama.

Whether imported drama is popular or not depends on three factors. The first is the extent to which there is compatibility between the imported drama and basic primordial Korean values. This is obvious in relation to family melodrama, as can be seen the cases of *Dallas* and *Little House On The Prairie*. The second issue is the extent to which the imported drama offers new sensibilities to Korean viewers. For example, *Roots*, *Colombo*, *V* and *Long Tour* (Vietnam war drama) were successful, because they provided a sense of freshness for Korean viewers who were accustomed to limited drama genres. Further, Korean television networks had not had enough staff or technology and budget up to as late as the mid 1980s, even though high-budget dramas and various genre dramas have been produced with the rapid development of the television industry.

It is worth noting that Korean now networks have developed Korean-style dramas, instead of simply buying expensive and incompatible Western dramas. It is in fact not difficult to follow Western television melodrama or situation comedy. What is more, networks are able to reproduce such dramas which, with some variations, are fitted to Korean feelings and values with some variations. Western prime-time serials and situation comedy have been supplanted by Korean-style daily melodrama and home-drama. Korean networks have also produced Korean mini-series after the explosive popularity of *Roots* in 1978.

These include rural drama such as *Farm Diary* from *The Waltons* and *Little House On The Prairie*, comic home-drama such as *Three Families Under A Roof* from *The Cosby Show*, omnibus-documentary drama such as *The Policemen* from recent reconstruction drama such as *999 Lifesavers*. In addition, they have borrowed the form of trendy drama and drama programming strategy such as the Monday-Thursday serial and the Wednesday-Thursday serial from Japanese television drama. For instance, *Jealousy*, (1992) a trendy drama, was a Korean version of *Tokyo Love Story* in 1989 and *A Little Girl* (1981), home-drama, was also very similar to *Oshin* in terms of format and content. As Korean networks could not imitate science-fiction and wartime-drama on account of lack of staff, technology and know-how, they have attempted to buy these kinds of genre dramas rather than follow formats.

The absence of independent production should also be pointed out in looking at the Korean television drama industry. Whereas independents tend to have a function as research and development in Western television, looking for new angles and niche audiences, Korean independents have not had a chance of development, for three networks have monopolised television drama production including producers, actors, actresses and technologies.

There were over two hundred independents in 1995, most of which employed only a handful of people and did not have enough staff members and facilities. Only three independents, Seoul Telecomm, Jeill Communications and Samhwa Video employ more than twenty staff members including producers, technicians and writers (KBI, 1995: 16). At most four or five independents have the capability to produce single dramas and certainly not series or serials. In spite of the introduction of cable television and lots of local commercial television stations, the amount of drama production from independents has not increased, for many producers moved into these television stations from independents and these television stations are syndicated with a major network. In 1995, independents only produced less than 5 per cent of total television programmes, most of which were documentaries or public affairs rather than television drama.

Most drama producers tend to be reluctant to move into independents, because, in spite of the restricted autonomy of production, they recognise that the conditions of drama production in networks are far better than in independents. Networks have preferred following formats to buying dramas from independents, which is regarded as the most guaranteed way to catch lots of viewers. Producing at most one or two dramas a week, most of which are single dramas, independents have been in quite poor conditions. This has resulted from the stability of genres such as family melodrama, home-drama, historical drama, romantic drama and romantic comedy, the scarcity of new angles and the absence of drama for niche audiences. As networks concentrated on dramas which would be expected to be popular, they have also failed to satisfy particular viewers. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that there has been no avant-garde or experimental drama at all in Korean television drama until now.

It is interesting to see the star-system in Korean television drama. As has been noted, in the early days of drama, most actors and actresses were recruited from the theatrical world. As the television industry was being developed, some film stars



moved to drama away from films in the 1970s. Korean television networks recruited drama talents through an exclusive contract system, as a result of which an actor or actress could not appear on drama produced by other networks and independents. Since TBC started the exclusive contract with a network as a product of ratings competition in 1964, other networks have maintained it. Though partially demolished in the early 1990s, it is still effective except for a small number of big stars. This institution cannot be detached from the fact that almost all television dramas are produced by networks rather than being independent productions.

From the introduction of mini-series, as television drama became a reservoir of star birth, it has become common that a television drama star participates in the music and film industry. On the other hand, television drama tends to be more dependent on only a few famous stars. As dramas are planned to end in six months, the presence of a main actor or actress has played a more crucial role in drama production than the personalities of characters. What is important here is authorship or star quality: the personality of characters is less important than the name value of a famous star.

To sum up, the history of Korean television drama has fluctuated between commercialism and political control. Government network domination peaked during the 1970s, resulting in the production of anti-communism drama and propaganda dramas. The 1980s were the golden age in the Korean television industry not only for the production of drama, but witnessing the introduction of new genres and forms such as rural, medical, legal, teenager drama and mini-series. Following on from that, the 1990s are characterised by burgeoning romantic comedy and politically-oriented documentary drama with the decline of government control. In contrast to the Korean film industry which has been overwhelmingly dominated by Hollywood films since the early 1980s, the Korean experience of television drama is mainly based on home-production. This is due to the fact that networks have catered to the primordial Korean values and feelings, even though they have followed formats from Western and Japanese dramas. Imported dramas have failed to draw the Korean viewer's attention on account of incompatibility with traditional Korean values and inconsistency with Korean expectations of television drama. Moreover, though networks have overcome the domination of Western drama, their monopoly of drama production has brought about the absence of experimental drama and of drama for niche audiences.

## Notes

- 1 The first full-scale television station, Korean Broadcasting System (KBS), was established on 31 December 1961, beginning operations under the Ministry of Culture and Public Information. Three commercial broadcasting companies were subsequently launched: Tongyang Broadcasting Company (TBC) in 1964, which was absorbed by KBS (KBS2) in 1980, Munwha Broadcasting Company (MBC) in 1969 and Seoul Broadcasting System (SBS) in 1991.
2. Because of difficulty in definition, there is a miscalculation concerning the frequency of mini-series in this original Table, if we define mini-series as follows: mini-series are serialised adaptations of novels whose episodes, generally four to ten in all, are broadcast over successive nights, and are much more expensive than regular programming because of their high production values, location shooting, and star casting (Hagedorn, 1995). All 'special dramas' should be contained into 'mini-series'. In the early 1980s, most of the mini-series can be calculated under the above definition, while, from the mid 1980s, mini-series have a position different from the previous ones. They are regularly broadcast twice a week for forty-five minutes for about two months and are produced through an original scenario rather than being adaptations of novels with less expensive production casts. In this sense, there is no difference between mini-series and weekday serials. As MBC has used the term, 'mini-series' as the title of drama, other networks have not used the term 'mini-series', instead calling dramas Monday-Tuesday serial and Wednesday-Thursday serials whose episodes, fifteen to twenty-five parts, are broadcast twice a week. However, Pyo (1995) calculated the number of mini-series according to MBC's usage, rather than depending on the definition of mini-series. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the number of mini-series, even if including special drama, has sharply increased since the early 1980s.
3. There is no significant difference between weekday serial and weekend serial with the exception of the programming slot and subject-matter. As a weekend serial is screened twice a week on Saturday and Sunday between 8:00 PM and 9:00 PM which is conceived of as 'the family viewing times', it is generally 'home-drama' which presents the sound life and love of ordinary people.



4. Contrary to the Korean television industry in which imported drama has hardly ranked in the Top 10 since the mid 1980s, the film market has been overwhelmingly dominated by Hollywood films. While the television industry has satisfied the taste of the audience, by borrowing formats and sustaining the Korean values through high-budgets, the film industry has failed to overcome the domination of Hollywood because of economic problems and lack of staff and technology.

Appendix 2-A  
Pilot Survey Research Questionnaire

I would appreciate it if you would take a brief time to answer the questions on this form. I am conducting a survey to investigate the ways in which Korean television audiences watch television drama. This questionnaire is designed to determine your own personal opinion and feeling about television drama. This survey will only be used for academic purposes. I appreciate your co-operation very much.

July 1994  
Chang-Yun Joo

**Section 1**

1. How many televisions do you have ? (    )
2. What do you usually do for domestic leisure activity ? (select two answers)
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 1) Listening to music
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Watching videos
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 3) Watching television
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 4) Reading books or newspapers
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 5) Drawing pictures or playing musical instrument
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 6) Playing computer game, chess, cards
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 7) Taking a walk
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 8) Conversation with other family members
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 9) Others (please specify \_\_\_\_\_ )
- 3 When do you mainly watch television ? (select two answers)
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 1) 6 AM - 7 AM
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 2) 7 AM - 8 AM
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 3) 8 AM - 9 AM
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 4) 6 PM - 7 PM
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 5) 7 PM - 8 PM
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 6) 8 PM - 9 PM
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 7) 9 PM - 10 PM
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 8) 10 PM - 11 PM
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 9) 11 PM - 12 PM



**Section 2**

4. How often do you watch television drama ?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) More than two dramas a day
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Once a day
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3) Five dramas a week
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) Four dramas a week
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5) Three dramas a week
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6) Two dramas a week
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7) Once a week
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8) Never

5. With whom do you watch television drama ? (select two answers)

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) Alone      \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Husband or Wife      \_\_\_\_\_ 3) Children
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) Brothers or Sisters      \_\_\_\_\_ 5) Parents      \_\_\_\_\_ 6) Friends
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7) Others

6. How often do you discuss drama with others ?

very often   often   sometimes   seldom   never

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------	-------	-------

7. With whom do you usually discuss if you talk about drama ? (select two answers)

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) Husband and Wife      \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Children      \_\_\_\_\_ 3) Friends in work place
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) Brothers or Sisters      \_\_\_\_\_ 5) Parents      \_\_\_\_\_ 6) Friends
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7) None

8. What kinds of things do you talk about regarding television dramas? (select as many as you like)

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) Characters' personality
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Characters' sexual attraction
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3) The continuous story lines
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) The drama episode
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5) Some real events similar to drama narratives
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6) The composition or quality of drama
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7) Furniture, clothes and fashion shown in drama
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8) Actors or actresses' private lives

\_\_\_\_\_ 9) Others (please specify \_\_\_\_\_ )

9. How television drama decisions are made if there is a channel conflict among family members ?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) Holding fast to drama I want to watch  
\_\_\_\_\_ 2) Making a concession  
\_\_\_\_\_ 3) Watching drama alternately  
\_\_\_\_\_ 4) Recording drama which family members or I want to watch  
\_\_\_\_\_ 5) Negotiating what drama to watch  
\_\_\_\_\_ 6) Others

10. What are you mainly doing while watching television drama ?

1) I tend to watch a drama concentratedly.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree

2) I watch a drama while talking about it.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree

3) I watch a drama while talking about everyday life.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree

4) I tend to watch a drama while eating food, fruit, coffee and so on.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree

5) I tend to watch a drama while doing domestic work.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree

6) I often change channels while watching a drama.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree



### **Section 3**

The following dramas are now on the air. Please answer questions taking into consideration these television dramas.

#### **Daily serials**

(1) Missing You (2) The Wind Blowing Outside the Window (3) Heavenly Wayfarer (4) A Woman in a Matchbox (5) Close Your Eyes

#### **Weekend Serials**

(6) Men Are Lonely (7) The Mood of Seoul (8) Scent of Love

#### **Weekdays Serials**

(9) Myunghoe Han (10) M (11) Three Men Three Women  
(12) Leave-Taking (13) Ambition (14) Adolescence  
(15) This Man's Way of Living (16) Feelings (17) Can't Help Liking

#### **Weekday Series**

(18) Farm Diary (19) Mystery Melodrama (20) The Best Theatre  
(21) Dinosaur Teacher

#### **Sunday Series**

(22) Three Families Under a Roof (23) Love Hung on a Jujube Tree  
(24) Korean General Hospital (25) Never on Sunday  
(26) Documentary Theatre (27) Lawyer Park (28) Drama Game  
(29) Tomorrow Love (30) Magpie Family (31) Human Drama  
(32) Encore Literary Theatre

#### **Foreign Series**

(33) Colombo (34) Dr. Quinn (35) Time Treks

11. What is the most interesting drama ?

---

12. Why is the drama which you chose in the above question interesting ?

---

13. Are there events in dramas resembling those which occur in your real life ?

14. What kind of narratives are interesting in the drama which you find the most amusing ?

15. Could you please select as possible that you regularly watch (as many)?

( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

**Section 4**

16. The following questions are concerned with your perception and feeling about television drama.

1) Drama portrays the full range of social reality.

Strongly agree					Strongly disagree

2) Drama deals with love or adventure.

Strongly agree					Strongly disagree

3) Characters are people whom we are able to meet in real life.

Strongly agree					Strongly disagree

4) Drama is realistic but recognisably fictitious.

Strongly agree					Strongly disagree

5) Drama reflects ordinary peoples' ways of life.

Strongly agree					Strongly disagree



6) Drama shows the ways in which various classes live.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7) Characters are far from my reality.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8) Characters accomplish what I would like to do.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9) Drama is composed of events which are likely to occur in society.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10) Drama represents the conflict or contradiction in our society.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11) Drama depicts an ideal life.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12) Drama is a lifelike story

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13) Watching drama tends to make me forget the daily grind.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14) Drama represents delicate emotional events and situations.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

15) I am touched with pity for tragic characters.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16) Drama is a romantic story.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17) I feel comfortable while watching drama.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. The following questions are related to the drama narrative.

1) I am likely to know how the next story would develop.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2) Drama narrative is exaggerated.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3) Drama narrative is similar to that of another drama.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4) Characters' personalities are clear in each drama.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5) Drama narrative is simple.

Strongly agree				Strongly disagree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



6) Drama narrative drags on.

Strongly agree					Strongly disagree

7) Drama narrative is developed with speed.

Strongly agree					Strongly disagree

8) Drama narrative has a degree of suspense.

Strongly agree					Strongly disagree

9) Drama narrative is composed of unpredictable events.

Strongly agree					Strongly disagree

10) Episodes are more interesting than a main story.

Strongly agree					Strongly disagree

11) Drama narrative consists of accidental events.

Strongly agree					Strongly disagree

## Section 5

18. About how many hours per day do you spend on leisure activities ?

- 1) Weekdays: \_\_\_\_\_ hours
- 2) Saturday: \_\_\_\_\_ hours
- 3) Sunday: \_\_\_\_\_ hours

19. About how many hours per day do you watch television ?

- 1) Weekdays: \_\_\_\_\_ hours
- 2) Saturday: \_\_\_\_\_ hours
- 3) Sunday: \_\_\_\_\_ hours

20. What is your gender ? \_\_\_\_\_ 1) female \_\_\_\_\_ 2) male

21. In what age group are you ?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) under 20
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2) 20 - 29
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3) 30 - 39
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) 40 - 49
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5) 50 - 59
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6) over 60

22. What is your job ?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) Wholesale & retail trade, restaurants
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Sales or service workers
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3) Production & related workers, labourers
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) Clerical & related workers
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5) Adm. & managerial workers
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6) Professionals
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7) Housewives
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8) Others (please specify \_\_\_\_\_)

23. How many years were you educated ?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) under 9 years
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2) 12 years
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3) 14 years
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) 16 years
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5) over 18 years

24. What is your total monthly household income ?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) £ 400 - 799
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2) £ 800 - 1449
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3) £ 1450 - 2049
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) £ 2050 or more



## Appendix 2-B

### Interview Questionnaire

#### **Section 1**

1. Number possessing television set and VCR
2. Domestic leisure activities
  - 1) Weekdays
  - 2) Weekends
3. The slot when mainly watching television
  - 1) Reason for watching television
  - 2) Context of watching television
4. The extent of watching television drama and conversation
  - 1) With whom do you watch?
  - 2) With whom do you talk about drama?
  - 3) Kinds of things talked about in home and workplace
  - 4) Channel choice concerning watching drama
5. The domestic context while watching drama

#### **Section 2**

6. Favourite and regularly watched drama
  - 1) Ranking of favourite drama
  - 2) Reason for liking better than others
  - 3) Genre preference
7. Evaluation or feeling about these dramas
  - 1) Narratives
  - 2) Characters
  - 3) Discourse
8. Homology between the world of drama and interviewee's experiences
9. The ways of pleasure

### **Section 3**

#### **10. Perception or feeling about drama with concrete examples**

##### **1) Naturalistic Realism**

- (1) Representing conflicts or contradictions in our society**
- (2) Reflecting ordinary peoples' ways of life**
- (3) Portraying the reality**
- (4) Is drama composed of events which are likely to occur in society?**
- (5) Are characters the people whom we are able to meet in the real life?**
- (6) Showing various classes' ways of life**

##### **2) Imaginative Realism**

- (1) Do characters accomplish what You would like to do?**
- (2) Drawing your ideal life**
- (3) Delineating delicate emotional events and situations**
- (4) Lifelike story**
- (5) Dealing with love or adventure**

##### **3) Emotional escapism**

- (1) Feeling comfortable while watching drama**
- (2) Forgetting the daily grind**
- (3) Touched with pity for tragic characters**

##### **4) Distanceship**

- (1) Romantic story**
- (2) Being far from my reality**
- (3) Realistic but fictitious**

#### **11. Evaluation about popular aesthetics in drama narrative**

- 1) Protension (predictability and unpredictability)**
- 2) Exaggeration**
- 3) Formula**
- 4) Contrast between characters**
- 5) Simplicity**
- 6) Development of narrative (slow and fast)**
- 7) Suspense**
- 8) Event-orientation**



## 9) Coincidence

### **Section 4**

1. Ages
2. Number and ages of children
3. Home status
4. Educated years
5. Occupation
6. Monthly family income

Appendix 2-C  
Final Survey Research Questionnaire

I would appreciate it if you would take a brief time to answer the questions on this form. I am conducting a survey to investigate the ways in which Korean television audiences watch television drama. This questionnaire is designed to determine your own personal opinion and feeling about television drama, and will only be used for academic purposes. I appreciate your co-operation very much.

December 1996  
Chang-Yun Joo

**Section 1**

1. How many televisions do you have ? (    )

2. What is your favourite television programme ? (select two answers)

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) News
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Drama
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3) Music shows
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) Documentaries
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5) Public affairs
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6) Quiz shows
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7) Movies
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8) Sports
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9) Varieties
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10) Others (please specify \_\_\_\_\_ )

3 When do you mainly watch television ? (select two answers)

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) 6 AM - 7 AM
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2) 7 AM - 8 AM
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3) 8 AM - 9 AM
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) 6 PM - 7 PM



- \_\_\_\_\_ 5) 7 PM - 8 PM
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6) 8 PM - 9 PM
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7) 9 PM - 10 PM
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8) 10 PM - 11 PM
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9) 11 PM - 12 PM

## **Section 2**

4. With whom do you watch television drama ? (select two answers)

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) Alone      \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Husband or Wife      \_\_\_\_\_ 3) Children
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) Brothers or Sisters      \_\_\_\_\_ 5) Parents      \_\_\_\_\_ 6) Friends
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7) Others

5. With whom do you usually discuss drama if you talk about it ?

(select two answers)

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) Husband and Wife      \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Children      \_\_\_\_\_ 3) Friends in work place
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) Brothers or Sisters      \_\_\_\_\_ 5) Parents      \_\_\_\_\_ 6) Friends
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7) None

6. What kinds of things do you talk about regarding television dramas?

(select as many as you like)

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) Characters' personality
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Characters' sexual attraction
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3) The continuous story lines
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) The drama episode
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5) Some real events similar to drama narratives
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6) The composition or quality of drama
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7) Furniture, clothes and fashion shown in drama
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8) Actors' or actresses' private lives
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9) Others (please specify \_\_\_\_\_ )

7. How are television drama decisions made if there is a channel conflict among family members ?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1) By holding fast to drama I want to watch
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2) By making a concession
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3) By watching drama alternately
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4) By recording any drama which family members or I want to watch
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5) By negotiating what drama to watch
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6) Others

8. What are you mainly doing while watching television drama ?

If you **strongly agree** with the question, circle a 5.  
 If you **agree** with it, circle a 4.  
 If you **agree with some & disagree with others**, circle a 3.  
 If you **disagree** with it, circle a 2.  
 If you **strongly disagree** with it, circle a 1.

	Strongly agree 5	Agree 4	Agree some & disagree some 3	Disagree 2	Strongly disagree 1
1) I tend to watch a drama concentratedly .....	5	4	3	2	1
2) I watch a drama while talking about it .....	5	4	3	2	1
3) I tend to watch a drama while eating food, coffee and so on .....	5	4	3	2	1
4) I tend to watch a drama while doing domestic work ..	5	4	3	2	1
5) I often change channels while watching a drama .....	5	4	3	2	1



### Section 3

The following dramas are now on the air. Please answer the questions taking into consideration these television dramas.

#### Daily serials

- (1) Until We Love (2) White Dandelion (3) Seduction (4) Wonjidong Blues  
(5) Sometimes A Stranger (6) Woman On The Road  
(7) Under The Sky Of Seoul (8) Three Men Three Women  
(9) My Father Is A Mayor (10) Mother's Flag

#### Weekend Serials

- (11) The First Love (12) The Beginning Of Happiness (13) Dragon's Tear  
(14) Open Your Mind (15) Gukjeung Lim

#### Weekdays Serials

- (16) The Great River (17) Wife In My Landscape (18) Faraway Country  
(19) Brothers' River (20) Unforgettable (21) Mother Is Going On Business  
(22) When The Salmon Returns

#### Weekday Series

- (23) Love Hung on a Jujube Tree (24) Police Department  
(25) The Best Theatre (26) Myself (27) Adults Don't Know (28) Start  
(29) Pretty Woman

#### Sunday Series

- (30) Farm Diary (31) LA Arirang (32) The Couples (33) Fantasy Travel  
(34) Man and Woman Living In A City (35) A Small Train Station

9. What is the most interesting drama ?

---

10. Why is the drama which you chose in the above question interesting ?

---

11. What kind of narratives are interesting in the drama which you find the most amusing ?

\_\_\_\_\_

12. How often do you discuss your favourite drama with others ?

very often    often    sometimes    seldom    not at all

(5)            (4)            (3)            (2)            (1)

--	--	--	--	--

13. How well informed are you about characters' personalities, narratives and the screen writer in the drama you find the most amusing ?

very well    well    a little    rarely    not at all

(5)            (4)            (3)            (2)            (1)

--	--	--	--	--

14. Please indicate which of the programmes you watch regularly?

(    ) (    ) (    ) (    ) (    ) (    ) (    ) (    ) (    ) (    ) (    )

**Section 4**

15. The following statements are concerned with your perception and feeling about television drama.

- If you **strongly agree** with the question, circle a 5.
- If you **agree** with it, circle a 4.
- If you **agree with some & disagree with others**, circle a 3.
- If you **disagree** with it, circle a 2.
- If you **strongly disagree** with it, circle a 1.

Strongly agree	Agree	Agree some & disagree some	Disagree	Strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

1. Drama portrays the full range of social reality ..... 5      4      3      2      1



2. Drama is not realistic but trumped-up story.....	5	4	3	2	1
3. Characters are people whom we are able to meet in real life .....	5	4	3	2	1
4. I sometimes wish to be a hero or heroine in drama .....	5	4	3	2	1
5. Drama reflects ordinary peoples' ways of life.....	5	4	3	2	1
6. Characters are far from my reality .....	5	4	3	2	1
7. I am touched with pity for tragic characters .....	5	4	3	2	1
8. Characters accomplished what I would like to do.....	5	4	3	2	1
9. Watching drama tends to make me to forget the daily grind .....	5	4	3	2	1
10. Drama represents delicate emotional events and situations.....	5	4	3	2	1
11. I am often moved to tears while watching drama.....	5	4	3	2	1
12. I often imagine various events concerning my childhood, romance and difficult past, etc. while watching drama .....	5	4	3	2	1
13. Drama is a romantic story .....	5	4	3	2	1
14. Dramatic events may occur in my life.....	5	4	3	2	1
15. Drama represents the conflict or contradiction in our society.....	5	4	3	2	1
16. Drama depicts an ideal life .....	5	4	3	2	1
17. Episodes are distanced from my experience.....	5	4	3	2	1
18. I feel familiarity with characters .....	5	4	3	2	1
19. I feel comfortable while watching drama .....	5	4	3	2	1
20. Drama usually deals with immoral events .....	5	4	3	2	1

16. The following statements are related to the interest of narrative.

- |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. The realistic drama is interesting .....   | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 2. When the good will triumph and the bad will be<br>punished in the final episode, drama is interesting..... | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 3. I am interested in characters, not the main story.....   | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 4. Having various subplots is more interesting than<br>the main storyline .....                               | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 5. Narrative has a degree of suspense.....  | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 6. The composition of drama is complex.....   | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

17. Below are four items about what attracts you to television drama and narratives.

- |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. I prefer the continuous story (serials)<br>to series or single dramas..... | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 2. I am likely to know how the next story would<br>be developed .....         | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 3. I often feel as if I became a screen writer .....                          | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 4. I project myself into the future development .....                         | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

18. How do you evaluate the quality of Korean dramas and screen writers?

- |  |   |   |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. The quality of drama is high.....           | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 2. The quality of a screen writer is high..... | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

19. The following items are related to genre preference.

- If you really like watching genre, circle a 5.
- If you like watching it, circle a 4.
- If you are undecided, circle a 3.
- If you don't like it, circle a 2.
- If you really don't like it, circle a 1.



Really like	Like	Undecided	Don't like	Really don't like
5	4	3	2	1

1. Family melodrama  
(e.g. Until we love, Woman on the road) ..... 5      4      3      2      1
2. Romantic drama  
(e.g. The first love, The couples) ..... 5      4      3      2      1
3. Historical drama  
(e.g. Unforgettable, The great river) ..... 5      4      3      2      1
4. Rural drama  
(e.g. Farm diary, Love hung on a jujube tree)..... 5      4      3      2      1
5. Situation comedy  
(e.g. My father is a mayor, LA Arrirang)..... 5      4      3      2      1

## **Section 5**

20. For about how many hours per day do you watch television ?  
 1) Weekdays: \_\_\_\_\_ hours  
 2) Sunday: \_\_\_\_\_ hours
21. What is your gender ?      \_\_\_\_\_ 1) female      \_\_\_\_\_ 2) male
22. How old are you? (      )
23. What is your job ?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 1) Wholesale & retail trade, restaurants  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2) Sales or service workers  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3) Production & related workers, labourers  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 4) Clerical & related workers  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 5) Adm. & managerial workers  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 6) Professionals  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 7) Housewives  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 8) Others (please specify \_\_\_\_\_)
24. For how many years were you educated ? (      )
25. How much is your total monthly household income ? (      )

# Appendix 3 Cluster Analysis Results: Agglomeration Schedule and Dendrogram

SPSS/PC+  
Agglomeration Schedule using Complete Linkage

Stage	Clusters Cluster 1	Combined Cluster 2	Coefficient	Stage Cluster Cluster 1	1st Appears Cluster 2	Next Stage
1	191	194	.000000	0	0	95
2	168	193	.000000	0	0	85
3	96	99	.000000	0	0	180
4	80	95	.000000	0	0	55
5	1	43	.000000	0	0	70
6	178	200	.200000	0	0	39
7	131	196	.200000	0	0	28
8	94	175	.200000	0	0	84
9	88	172	.200000	0	0	86
10	139	162	.200000	0	0	78
11	145	160	.200000	0	0	97
12	70	157	.200000	0	0	74
13	81	154	.200000	0	0	91
14	24	134	.200000	0	0	43
15	75	133	.200000	0	0	105
16	97	125	.200000	0	0	83
17	41	123	.200000	0	0	49
18	16	112	.200000	0	0	83
19	92	106	.200000	0	0	63
20	20	91	.200000	0	0	50
21	7	64	.200000	0	0	114
22	28	55	.200000	0	0	72
23	98	111	.250000	0	0	78
24	35	44	.250000	0	0	87
25	33	206	.282843	0	0	113
26	25	167	.282843	0	0	84
27	136	155	.282843	0	0	62
28	130	131	.282843	0	7	131
29	93	108	.282843	0	0	45
30	54	78	.282843	0	0	104
31	51	69	.282843	0	0	103
32	18	205	.320156	0	0	93
33	77	198	.320156	0	0	66
34	15	187	.320156	0	0	89
35	13	184	.320156	0	0	107
36	59	183	.320156	0	0	142
37	4	182	.320156	0	0	77
38	87	179	.320156	0	0	117
39	50	178	.320156	0	6	82
40	141	169	.320156	0	0	61
41	47	148	.320156	0	0	100
42	76	129	.320156	0	0	120
43	24	127	.320156	14	0	92



44	73	121	.320156	0	0	146
45	93	120	.320156	29	0	129
46	27	114	.320156	0	0	110
47	30	85	.320156	0	0	91
48	5	74	.320156	0	0	132
49	41	56	.320156	17	0	128
50	20	22	.320156	20	0	120
51	2	84	.333333	0	0	102
52	48	189	.377492	0	0	101
53	45	149	.377492	0	0	173
54	57	83	.377492	0	0	99
55	72	80	.377492	0	4	71
56	159	170	.388730	0	0	137
57	52	166	.388730	0	0	114
58	79	118	.388730	0	0	118
59	49	65	.388730	0	0	121
60	113	195	.400000	0	0	122
61	141	158	.400000	40	0	118
62	62	136	.400000	0	27	100
63	92	103	.400000	19	0	127
64	40	207	.416667	0	0	123
65	61	186	.416667	0	0	125
66	71	77	.416667	0	33	152
67	90	199	.437163	0	0	140
68	37	177	.437163	0	0	93
69	23	142	.437163	0	0	161
70	1	110	.437163	5	0	109
71	72	102	.437163	55	0	126
72	8	28	.437163	0	22	144
73	12	165	.447214	0	0	130
74	38	70	.447214	0	12	123
75	3	14	.447214	0	0	135
76	174	201	.462181	0	0	151
77	4	192	.462181	37	0	138
78	98	139	.462181	23	10	131
79	122	124	.462181	0	0	150
80	89	107	.462181	0	0	133
81	17	105	.462181	0	0	147
82	50	137	.471699	39	0	124
83	16	97	.471699	18	16	134
84	25	94	.471699	26	8	126
85	34	168	.500000	0	2	88
86	88	197	.503598	9	0	145
87	35	153	.503598	24	0	170
88	34	151	.503598	85	0	129
89	15	147	.503598	34	0	130
90	9	143	.503598	0	0	173
91	30	81	.503598	47	13	143
92	24	63	.503598	43	0	143
93	18	37	.503598	32	68	134
94	173	204	.512348	0	0	160
95	11	191	.512348	0	1	119
96	132	164	.512348	0	0	115
97	101	145	.512348	0	11	133

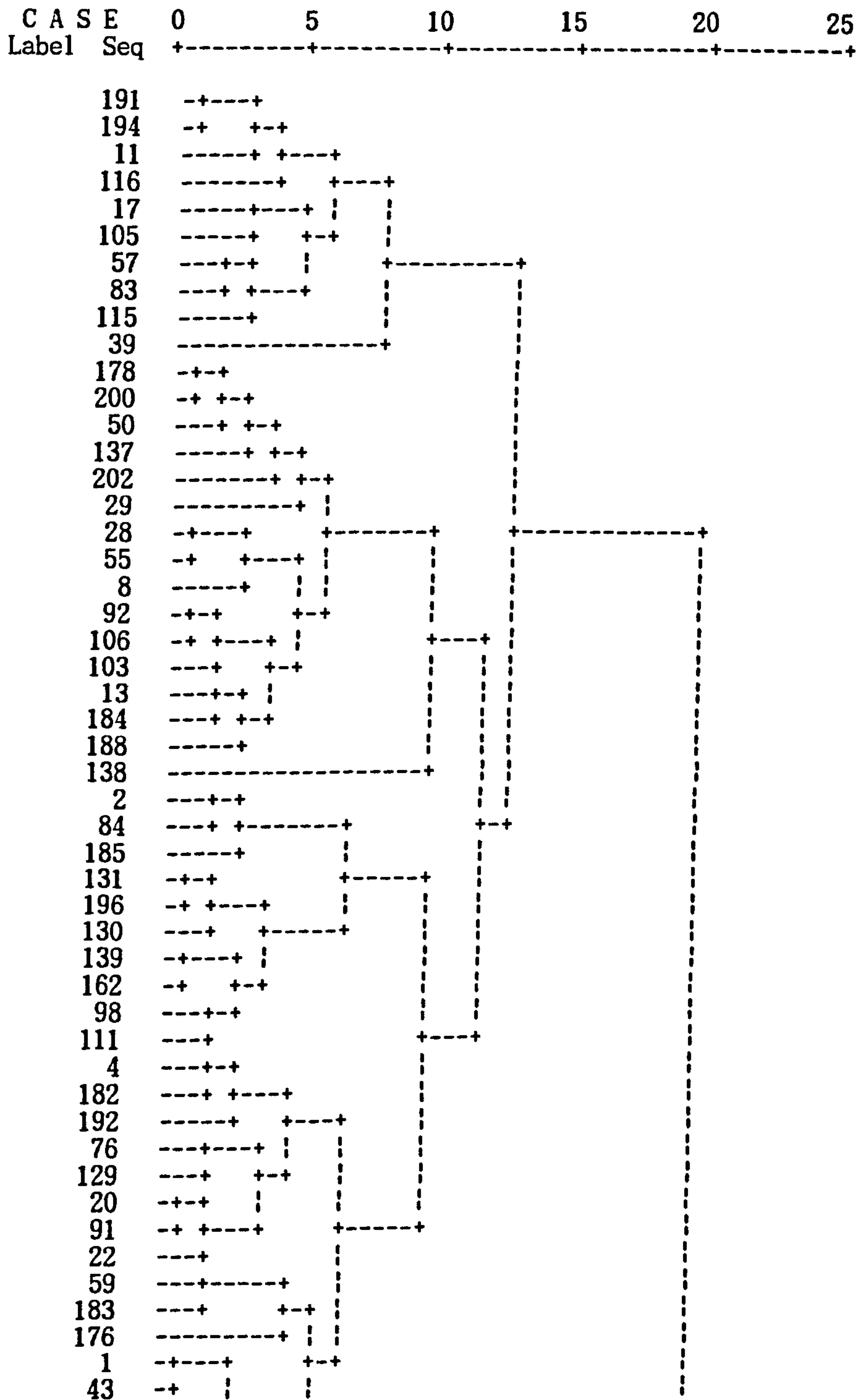
98	19	126	.512348	0	0	146
99	57	115	.512348	54	0	147
100	47	62	.520683	41	62	148
101	6	48	.520683	0	52	172
102	2	185	.557773	51	0	171
103	51	180	.557773	31	0	159
104	54	86	.557773	30	0	132
105	31	75	.557773	0	15	128
106	10	58	.557773	0	0	158
107	13	188	.574456	35	0	127
108	140	146	.577591	0	0	140
109	1	82	.600000	70	0	149
110	27	128	.600925	46	0	149
111	53	190	.611237	0	0	154
112	135	181	.611237	0	0	153
113	33	152	.611237	25	0	162
114	7	52	.611237	21	57	152
115	132	163	.632456	96	0	159
116	46	60	.633333	0	0	164
117	68	87	.650000	0	38	160
118	79	141	.656591	58	61	157
119	11	116	.664162	95	0	168
120	20	76	.664162	50	42	138
121	42	49	.664162	0	59	164
122	100	113	.670820	0	60	192
123	38	40	.670820	74	64	150
124	50	202	.714920	82	0	141
125	61	109	.714920	65	0	148
126	25	72	.714920	84	71	155
127	13	92	.721110	107	63	144
128	31	41	.721110	105	49	165
129	34	93	.721880	88	45	167
130	12	15	.721880	73	89	153
131	98	130	.730487	78	28	171
132	5	54	.730487	48	104	155
133	89	101	.739557	80	97	169
134	16	18	.749074	83	93	172
135	3	161	.757371	75	0	163
136	26	144	.776209	0	0	182
137	66	159	.802773	0	56	165
138	4	20	.816667	77	120	176
139	36	203	.820738	0	0	175
140	90	140	.840800	67	108	167
141	29	50	.840800	0	124	166
142	59	176	.844755	36	0	156
143	24	30	.856997	92	91	163
144	8	13	.861684	72	127	166
145	88	150	.877496	86	0	188
146	19	73	.877496	98	44	184
147	17	57	.896908	81	99	168
148	47	61	.902004	100	125	157
149	1	27	.918937	109	110	156
150	38	122	.934672	123	79	162
151	171	174	.938675	0	76	188
152	7	71	.964365	114	66	169
153	12	135	1.000000	130	112	181
154	53	156	1.013383	111	0	174



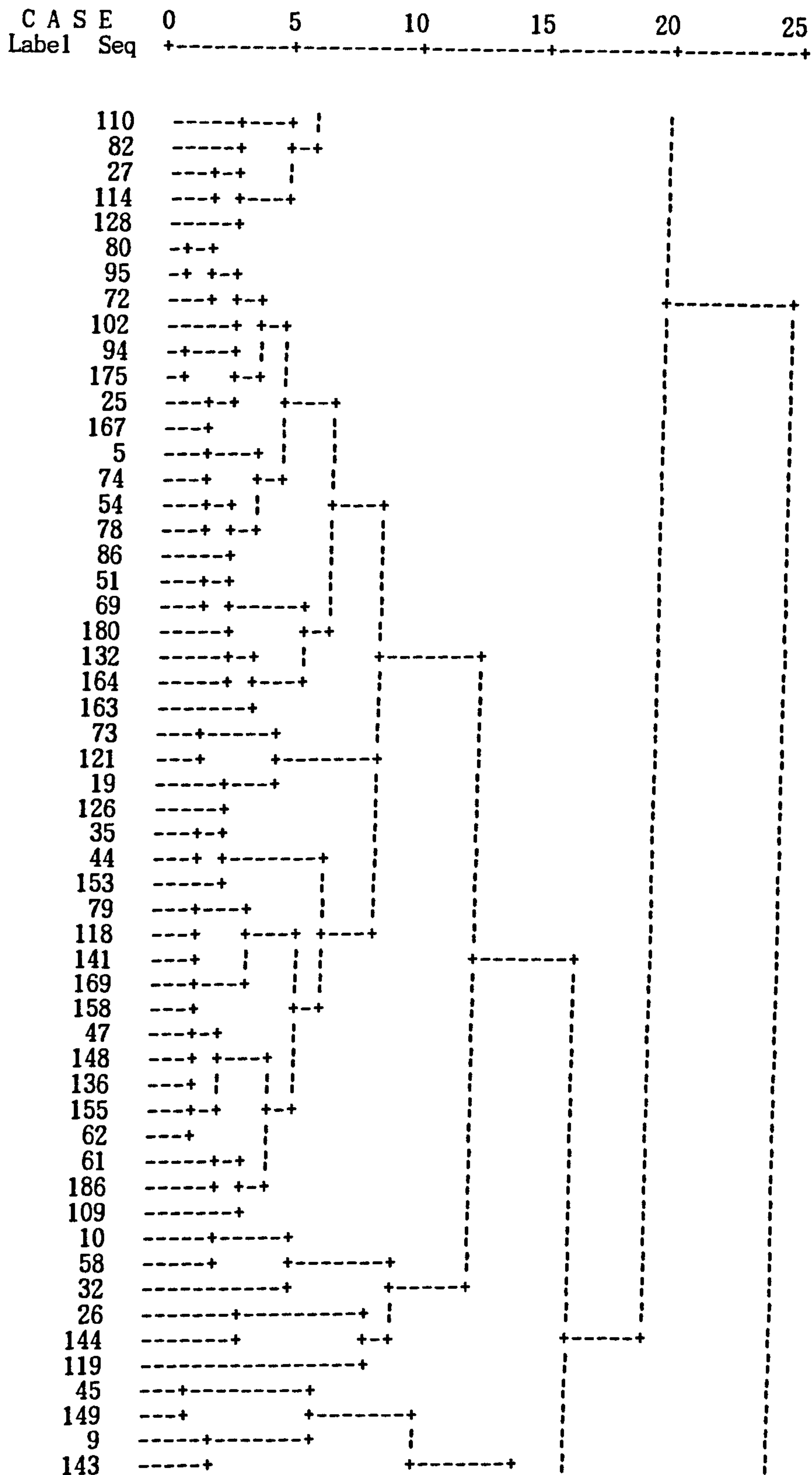
155	5	25	1.013383	132	126	177
156	1	59	1.036152	149	142	176
157	47	79	1.039765	148	118	170
158	10	32	1.040433	106	0	189
159	51	132	1.046157	103	115	177
160	68	173	1.077549	117	94	181
161	23	67	1.089470	69	0	178
162	33	38	1.092525	113	150	178
163	3	24	1.102018	135	143	186
164	42	46	1.148913	121	116	175
165	31	66	1.166190	128	137	183
166	8	29	1.166190	144	141	190
167	34	90	1.180513	129	140	183
168	11	17	1.183216	119	147	179
169	7	89	1.183685	152	133	186
170	35	47	1.232883	87	157	184
171	2	98	1.233333	102	131	193
172	6	16	1.234684	101	134	180
173	9	45	1.265899	90	53	194
174	21	53	1.289380	0	154	191
175	36	42	1.293681	139	164	192
176	1	4	1.309050	156	138	193
177	5	51	1.311911	155	159	185
178	23	33	1.330413	161	162	195
179	11	39	1.460974	168	0	200
180	6	96	1.470544	172	3	194
181	12	68	1.559202	153	160	187
182	26	119	1.637834	136	0	189
183	31	34	1.641476	165	167	197
184	19	35	1.675394	146	170	185
185	5	19	1.720788	177	184	199
186	3	7	1.749365	163	169	197
187	12	104	1.754993	181	0	191
188	88	171	1.768317	145	151	196
189	10	26	1.887459	158	182	199
190	8	138	1.910497	166	0	198
191	12	21	1.926424	187	174	203
192	36	100	1.937424	175	122	195
193	1	2	2.013358	176	171	198
194	6	9	2.039608	180	173	202
195	23	36	2.059126	178	192	202
196	88	117	2.081733	188	0	201
197	3	31	2.218358	186	183	201
198	1	8	2.239295	193	190	200
199	5	10	2.441823	185	189	204
200	1	11	2.621757	198	179	205
201	3	88	2.788867	197	196	203
202	6	23	2.856571	194	195	204
203	3	12	3.004626	201	191	206
204	5	6	3.275668	199	202	205
205	1	5	3.892015	200	204	206
206	1	3	5.070612	205	203	0

# Dendrogram using Complete Linkage

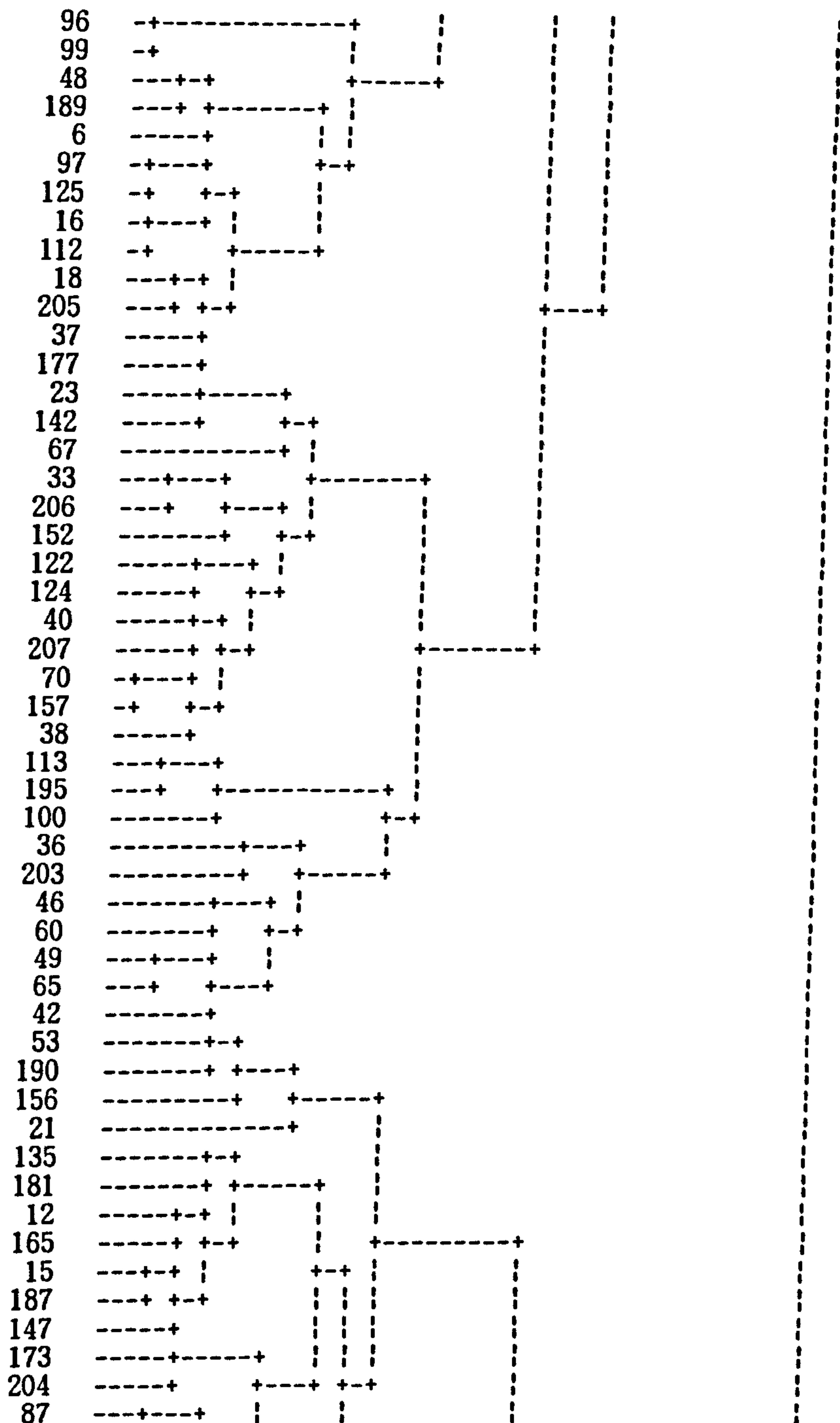
## Rescaled Distance Cluster Combine







C A S E	0	5	10	15	20	25
Label Seq	+-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+					





C A S E	0	5	10	15	20	25
Label Seq	+-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+					
179	----+	+----+				
68	-----+					
104	-----+					
88	-+----+					
172	-+ +----+					
197	-----+	+-----+				
150	-----+		+-----+	+-----+	-----+	
174	-----+-----+					
201	-----+	+-----+	+-----+			
171	-----+					
117	-----+					
41	-+-+					
123	-+ +----+					
56	----+	+----+				
75	-+----+					
133	-+ +--+	+-----+				
31	-----+					
159	-----+					
170	----+	+-----+				
66	-----+			+--+		
93	----+		+-----+			
108	-----+					
120	----+					
168	-+----+	+-----+				
193	-+					
34	-----+	+-----+				
151	-----+					
90	-----+					
199	-----+	+--+				
140	-----+					
146	-----+		+-----+			
3	-----+					
14	-----+	+-----+				
161	-----+					
81	-+----+	+-----+				
154	-+ +----+					
30	-----+					
85	----+	+--+				
24	-+-+					
134	-+ +--+					
127	-----+	+-----+	+-----+			
63	-----+					
89	-----+					
107	-----+	+-----+				
145	-+----+					
160	-+ +--+					
101	-----+	+-----+				
77	-----+					
198	-----+	+-----+				
71	-----+	+--+				
7	-+-----+					
64	-+ +--+					
52	-----+					
166	-----+					

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