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국제학석사학위논문

**China's Cultural Industry Strategy after
its Reform and Opening-up:
Focusing on Chinese TV drama**

개혁개방 이후 중국의 문화산업 전략:
TV 드라마를 중심으로

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이 지 연

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Abstract

China's Cultural Industry Strategy after its Reform and Opening-up: Focusing on Chinese TV drama

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Since 2000, China has been promoting Chinese media contents overseas. The government started to officially emphasize the importance of cultural advancement and soft power, therefore, related policies, agreements and various supports were proposed under the name “Going out strategy”. Recently, some characteristics are seen in the Chinese media industry: IT-based companies’ entry into the online media platform, merger and acquisitions of domestic and overseas companies, and China’s buying in IP with its enormous capital. These features also expand to the strategy for overseas expansion of cultural media contents.

This paper focuses on China’s cultural industry strategies to advance into overseas market, which China has been focusing on since 2000s. The paper examined how these strategies are applied to the Chinese TV drama industry. Furthermore, by conducting

media coverage analysis, the paper looked into how Chinese TV dramas have flowed into South Korea and how it has been accepted.

South Korea and China have started to trade in drama since the establishment of the Korea-China diplomatic relations in 1992. According to the media coverage analysis, China's drama export and its reporting attitude are sensitively affected by cultural, political, and diplomatic situations between the two countries. On the whole, relatively favorable reviews from South Korean audiences and related industry people have been reported, and export volume has maintained its growth, but Chinese drama export is still experiencing a severe adverse balance. China's social background, lack of skilled manpower, low quality of drama, and cultural discounts due to cultural differences are some of the reasons. South Korea in particular is a more difficult environment for Chinese dramas to succeed and settle because South Korea is a cultural powerhouse who has been leading the Korean Wave with dramas.

Keywords: China's cultural industry, China's cultural industry strategy, Going out strategy, Chinese drama

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I. Introduction

1. Research Background and purpose

In terms of the ripple effects of Chinese culture, the spread of video contents such as movies and TV drama is most effective in bringing progressive assimilation. TV drama has a higher cultural impact than any other Chinese cultural contents. Import and export of broadcasting contents between China and South Korea also started from TV drama. The reason why Chinese TV drama has to go abroad is not only to expand the market for Chinese TV drama, but also to create a new image of China (Song, 2014: 25). Overseas expansion of Chinese domestic drama is meaningful not only in creating economic effect but also in revealing China's cultural soft power. TV Drama is the most direct cultural product and has become an important route for cultural exports, and is the vanguard of cultural soft power. TV drama not only helps other countries to understand the history, culture, political values, and social phenomena of a country, but also helps to promote appeal and ideology of a country, public opinion and consensus building. The United States has already built the world's strongest soft power through the globalization of Hollywood movies and American dramas. This is one of the precedents that proves the influence of soft power. Video content has the characteristic that it is not destroyed by consumption, and it can generate profit in the situation where the input of extra cost is rarely needed (Bing, 2016: 2).

China has maintained a relatively protective position in publishing, filming and

broadcasting even after its accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) because of its strong cultural protection. However, with the strengthening of internal competencies in the cultural industry, efforts are being made to open up to the outside world and to expand its presence in the international arena. In the case of external openings, various safety measures are being taken to protect the domestic market while simultaneously implementing globalization strategies.

Under such circumstances, the paper starts from a hypothesis: China aims to improve economic profit and international image through globalization of media contents, including TV drama. Therefore, China is applying the globalization strategy called “Going out strategy”. Then a question rises, when it comes to the Chinese TV drama industry, are they being effectively accepted in South Korea?

China is cautious in the import and export of cultural products because it emphasizes the globalization of culture by promoting “Going out strategy” and at the same time tries to protect their own culture. Since soft power is closely related to a nation’s national image and competitiveness, Chinese government is deeply involved from producing, broadcasting and trade of domestic drama. Under such circumstances, some recent movements in Chinese media industry are quite noticeable. First, rise of IT-based companies such as BAT (Baidu, Alibaba and Tencent) which are the top leading IT companies in China. They are expanding their business areas by developing various contents focusing on web-search, e-commerce, social network service, new media platform and by actively investing in diverse businesses such as internet banking and O2O (Online to Offline) service. Due to the companies’ entry into new media business

based on the internet and mobile, the online video industry and web drama market has been rapidly developing. Representative companies are Iqiyi, Leshi, Youku, Tencent Video and Sohu Video. Second, Chinese cultural companies, especially internet new media companies have been on the mergers and acquisitions in order to expand their market influence of related industries and to promote overseas business. Third, thanks to China's powerful capital strength, Chinese cultural companies buy in foreign IP, acknowledging enormous potential of its derivatives and commercial spin-off to follow. China has less IP compared to its size, but in the case of South Korea, it has a lot of its own IP. Although being a belated runner, China is buying in IP shares with its huge capital gains. Therefore, its cultural industry and related market and companies are expanding at a surprising and sustainable rate.

Considering these characteristics of media industry, this paper focuses on the specific cultural contents "TV drama", which has a relatively high cultural influence. The paper examined how the Chinese cultural industry strategy has been applied to the TV drama industry, especially how the cultural "Going out strategy" for the globalization of contents is carried out in the field of TV drama industry. Also, the paper examined how and when Chinese dramas were exported to South Korea, what kind of contents were exported, and how Chinese dramas were accepted by South Korean viewers.

2. Research Method

This paper is based on the theoretical foundation mainly referring to previous literatures and open data sources. Research materials on Chinese cultural industry and TV drama market are based on the contents from papers, journals, and books at home and abroad. Data on recent Chinese media industry trends are based on the “Report on Development of China’s Media Industry”. This report analyzes and predicts development situation and trend of China’s media industry every year. The “Report on Development of China’s Media Industry” is an authoritative resource for Chinese media industry analysis, and was certified as the Chinese Social Sciences Citation Index (CSSCI) in 2012.

Chapter 1 introduces the research background and purpose of the paper, selection of research subjects, research methods, and preceding studies. In Chapter 2, the paper first defines and categorizes the Chinese cultural industry, and summarizes the development process of Chinese cultural industry is summarized by period. Chapter 3 examines China’s cultural industry strategy in three stages. In this part, the emphasis is on the characteristics of the Chinese cultural industry strategy, which has been shown through the strategy of overseas expansion since 2000s. The official announcement of the strategy for overseas expansion of Chinese culture is tabulated with reference to Chinese materials such as reports officially published in China. Chapter 4 examines how the Chinese cultural industry strategy is applied in the field of TV drama. The historical development of Chinese drama and the structure of the drama industry is described in

the chapter. There are not many studies related to Chinese drama in South Korea, therefore, the chapter mainly referred to Chinese sources. While doing literature review, the writer was able to derive three noticeable characteristics inside Chinese media industry. In Chapter 5, which exemplifies the case of South Korea, the paper examines how Chinese TV dramas have been spreading in South Korea. In this part, empirical analysis is conducted to analyze the contents, methods and situation of exporting Chinese drama to South Korea, and also to investigate how Chinese dramas have been accepted in South Korea by using media coverage analysis method. The articles reporting about “Chinese TV drama” are summarized by year and types of newspapers, then the contents of the articles are discussed. The analysis framework used in this study is a news analysis framework which has been used in the field of media research.

3. Literature Review

Chinese cultural industry strategy after its reform and opening-up has been studied by many researchers, often focusing on “Going out strategy” in 2000s. Son (2011), Kim (2012), Seo and Oh (2014) studied on the development stages of China’s cultural industry strategy. Besides, Bing (2016) focused on China’s overseas expansion strategy of culture and overseas propagation of Chinese cultural industry centered on China’s video industry. Song (2014) formerly pointed out the high cultural influence of drama among diverse Chinese cultural contents. However, systematic research on the Chinese drama industry is lacking in comparison with the Chinese film industry.

Therefore, in order to contribute to the continuation and expansion of drama exchanges between South Korea and China through information and analytic understanding of the Chinese drama industry, this paper considered Chinese drama as research subject.

Cho (2015), in his book called “Origins and development of Chinese TV drama”, described the changes of Chinese TV dramas before and after the reform and opening-up in 1978, and described the characteristics of Chinese TV drama from 1958 when Chinese TV drama first appeared. Jung (2016) investigated innovative strategies of Chinese media companies. She examined the overall Chinese media industry with brand-new information and examples of the companies’ innovative business strategies. Kim (2011), in his paper “Global Status of Korea’s Media Firms and Their Future Strategies”, paid attention to Chinese media companies that have developed into multi media groups and their greatly increasing overseas expansion. Furthermore, Sun (2016) studied the current status and problems of the Chinese film and drama industry, and further sought methods of external development and growth of Chinese film and drama industry.

Gao (2017) studied the acceptance and solutions for the promotion of Chinese TV dramas in South Korea. According to his paper, the advancement of Chinese drama overseas since 2010 is largely contributed by private video production companies. He also highlighted diversified routes of distributing Chinese drama. In particular, the Internet platform is expanding the channels for South Korean viewers to watch Chinese dramas, further promoting the entry of Chinese dramas into Korea.

Based on such background, the writer furthered the research by investigating more recent movements in Chinese drama industry such as the increase of IT-based

companies that are leading video contents development with the support of increasing internet platform and mobile device users. On top of that, the paper includes media coverage analysis with the purpose of investigating the acceptance of Chinese drama in South Korea. Many researchers adopt survey method as a way of investigating perception change and the acceptance. In Kim's (2015) study on South Korean's acceptance of Chinese drama, questionnaire survey was conducted to the South Korean viewers in Chinese drama community. However, small number of subject and lacking universality of the result were some limitations. The media report analysis chapter refers to the previous researches such as Sun (2006), Kim (2015), Liu (2016) and Nam (2017). Based on these researches, the writer set an article analysis framework with some changes so that it can be better applied to the study.

II. China's Cultural Industry

1. Definition and classification of cultural industry

The definition and classification of the cultural industry is not defined internationally probably because of the ambiguity of the concept of “culture”. Different countries use different terms, and depending on the economic situation and industrial structure of each country, aspects of focus in cultural industry are different. For example, the United States uses the term “entertainment industry”, Korea uses “cultural industry” or “cultural content industry”, and the UK uses “creative industry”. They put different priorities on creativity, mental aspects, and linkages with other industries.

Table 1. Definition of Cultural Industry by Chinese Ministry

Institute	Related document	Content
Ministry of Culture	Opinion on support and promotion of cultural industry development (文化部关于支持和促进文化产业发展的若干意见)	For-profit business engaged in cultural product production and cultural related services
National Bureau of Statistics	Report on the development of Chinese cultural industry (中国文化产业年度发展报告)	Related services engaged in cultural goods and services production and management activities
	Culture and related industry classification (文化及相关产业分类)	Public culture, entertainment goods and services and related activities

Source: Seo and Oh (2014)

The Ministry of Culture of China defines cultural industry as “For-profit business engaged in cultural product production and cultural related services”. On the other hand, the National Bureau of Statistics includes all activities related to the production and management of cultural goods and services, related service industries, public culture, and entertainment.

The cultural industry in China is based on the cultural and related industry categories announced by the National Bureau of Statistics in 2004. As the category of cultural industry has expanded, such as the creation of new fields, the National Bureau of Statistics revised and published the “Classification of Cultural Industries and Related Industries” in 2012. According to this criterion, China classifies the cultural industry into cinema, TV, music products, performing arts, books, newspapers, travel services, internet, and crafts. These industries are divided into core group, surrounding group, and extended group as shown in the following table.

Table 2. Cultural Industry Classification and Related Industries

Classification	Related key industry
Core group	Newspaper, books, music products, electronic publications, radio, TV, movies, art performances, cultural performances, Protection of cultural heritage and culture, museums, libraries, cultural study, etc.
Surrounding group	Internet, travel service, sightseeing service, indoor entertainment, amusement park, PC room, cultural brokerage, cultural goods rental and auction, exhibition, advertisement, etc.
Extended group	Manufacture and sale of stationery, musical instruments, toys, cassette tapes, CDs, printing equipment, TV broadcasting equipment, home-use visual equipment, crafts, etc.

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (2012)

Among them, newspapers, books, music products, electronic publications, radio, TV, movies and other cultural arts are classified as core group; Internet, travel service, sightseeing service and other cultural services are classified as surrounding group; and musical instruments, toys, cassette tapes, CDs and other cultural products are classified as extended group.

2. Development of cultural industry in China

The background of the development of the cultural industry in China is based on the period of rapid change in many parts of China since the reform and opening-up of the country in 1978. In the early 1980s when the reform and opening-up began, the development of China's cultural industry began with the reform of the political economy. The concept of "cultural industry" has not been used even in the developed countries not until 1940. In 2004, the Chinese National Bureau of Statistics announced the classification of cultural and related industries which defines the cultural industry and related industries as "a collection of activities related to the provision of cultural entertainment products and services to the public, and related activities" (Kim, 2011: 136). Since the 1990s, the Chinese Ministry of Culture has established a culture industry related department by establishing the concept of "Chinese cultural industry". China wished to avoid commercial image that cultural industry meaning the nature of socialism. It was determined that products that are produced and distributed under the planned economy are not products that can be exchanged in the market. Prior to the reform and

opening-up policy, the field of culture and art was thought to belong to a kind of commonweal industry¹ because the government invested a large amount of money and provided free public cultural services to the people. The concept of cultural industry was officially mentioned as a part of national development strategy at the 10th Five-Year Plan of the Central Communist Party of China on the national economic and social development (中共中央关于制定国民经济和社会发展第十个五年计划的建议) published in October 2000 (Bing, 2016: 4). In the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (August 8-14, 2002), the cultural industry started to be recognized as a means to satisfy the increasing demand of the mental culture of the public under the socialist market economy system. In the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (October 15-21, 2007), cultural industry started to be recognized as the main concept of “soft power” of the nation. China’s cultural industry has been growing rapidly since the 2000s with China’s accession to the WTO in 2001, which lent way to a full-fledged industrialization and change process. China started to cultivate the cultural industry in order to expand its historical and cultural influence throughout the world, and has been continuously announcing policies for the development of cultural industry.

¹ According to the cultural industry classification of the “Statistical Yearbook of Chinese Culture” presented by the Ministry of Culture, the cultural industry is divided into the management culture industry and the commonweal culture industry.

III. China's Cultural Industry Policy

1. Phase one (1978-1992)

When it comes to the development process of the Chinese cultural industry, it is generally divided into three stages. The first phase is from 1978 to 1992. This is the time when the importance of the cultural industry has been recognized with the start of the reform and opening-up policy. Before the reform and opening-up, the government's interest in the cultural sector was maintained by its political need rather than industrial aspect, and this resulted in the paradoxical result of Cultural Revolution. In 1987, the Ministry of Culture, Public Security, and the National Commerce and Economy announced the "Notice on the Management of Nonprofit Organizations (关于改进营业性舞会管理的通知)", thereby legally securing the market status of the cultural industry. However, since the market economy system was still in its early stage, demand and supply of cultural goods and services could not be formed properly (Kim, 2012: 138). In this sense, Sun (2011) summarizes this step as a "simple support phase."

2. Phase two (1993-2002)

The second phase, called "rudimentary stage of development", from 1993 to 2002 when China's cultural industry started to become more materialized. It is the time when China began to recognize the economic attributes and meaning of culture in the

process of reforming the economy. The Five-Year Plan of the central government economic development officially used the concept of cultural industry and cultural industry policy. In the Fifth Plenary Session of the 15th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held in late 2000 and the 10th Five-Year Plan in early 2001, the need for the development of the cultural industry was officially proposed. It means a lot that the Chinese government introduced “cultural industry” and “cultural industry policy” in the official document for the first time at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 15th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (Sun, 2011: 38). It is meaningful in that the Chinese government showed its policy orientation to strengthen the construction and management of cultural market through the cultural industry policy and to promote the development of related industries. It promoted the marketization and industrialization of cultural products, and major reforms took place in terms of management structure, management system and overall investment system of culture. In the 2000s, foreign capital’s interest in the Chinese cultural industry began to develop, which was centered on major growth areas such as Shanghai, Guangdong, Guangzhou and Shenzhen. Systematic economic policies and related laws were enacted, and the development system became more specialized and standardized, and efforts for internationalization were started to be made. Particularly in 2001, as China became a formal member of the WTO, international cultural competition became fierce, and the strategic status of the cultural industry seemed to be firmly recognized by the government and influential members.

3. Phase three (2003-)

The third stage is called the “full development phase” starting from 2003, which is a full-scale expansion of the Chinese cultural industry. During this period, China intentionally started to promote the development of cultural industry by operating “industrial policy”. In 1987, Deng Xiaoping announced the “Three Stages of China’s Economic Development”, which is called “Sanbuzhou (三步走)”, the process starting from “Wenbao (温饱)” to “Xiaokang (小康)” and to the final stage “Datong (大同)”. China completed the Wenbao stage by the end of the 1980s, and then at the 16th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in November 2002, Jiang Zemin officially declared in the political report that China now have entered the Xiaokang society. He officially announced that it is necessary to develop the socialist culture in order to build a complete Xiaokang society, and therefore Chinese government should actively support the development of the cultural industry (Seo and Oh, 2014: 13). Furthermore, emphasis was also put on the reform of the cultural system for the development of the socialist market economy. Therefore, during this period, the reform of the cultural system was accelerated and the cultural industrialization such as the management system, and the loan system became more full-fledged. As the capital investment in the cultural field has become regularized, there has been a rapid increase in the capital investment. Five culture-related enterprises were listed on the stock market, including Hunan Media (湖南广电传媒), Beijing Gehua Cable TV Network Co., Ltd (北京歌华有线), CCTV (中

央电视台中视传媒), Shaanxi Broadcast & TV Network Intermediary Co., Ltd (陕西的广电网络), Shanghai the Oriental Pearl Radio & TV Tower (上海东方明珠广播电视塔). In 2004, the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT, 国家新闻出版广电总局) approved 16 private enterprises' drama production , and this promoted private capital inflow in the film and TV drama production (Seo and Oh, 2014: 13).

China has developed various genres and cultural contents during the 10th Five-Year Plan and 11th Five-Year Plan. At the same time, the Chinese cultural products have started to expand overseas, and the cultural industry has reached its maximum growth period. Since 2004, the Chinese cultural industry has maintained a high annual growth rate of over 15 percent, and its contribution to China's economic growth has also increased (Seo and Oh, 2014: 13). In 2006, China initiated a policy approach to the cultural industry in the 11th Five-Year Plan for economic and social development, reclassifying the cultural industry into eight sub-sectors and establishing specific development plans for each sector (Kim, 2012: 139).

Table 3. Development Plan by Cultural Industry Area

Area	Development Plan
Film production	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Strengthen content industry development, TV drama, movie and animation production
Publication	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Industrial restructuring and industrial structure acceleration• Strengthen competitiveness of publishing companies
Printing	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Develop publication system between industry and region• Strengthen chain management development of publishing company
Copy	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Develop advanced printing technology, build printing base
Advertisement	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Establish performance production network• Foster large performance companies
Performing Arts	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Develop digital entertainment industry• Promote convergence of high technology and entertainment industry
Culture exhibition	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Successfully hold international exhibition and Beijing Olympics

Source: Incheon Development Institute (2012)

The fact that China included the “Cultural Industry Promotion Plan” among the top 10 industrial promotion plans announced in 2009 can be seen as the Chinese government’s will to develop the cultural industry. The “Cultural Industry Promotion Plan” has its significance in the development of Chinese cultural industry because China has recognized and has been emphasizing the importance of the cultural industry since its reform and opening-up, but it was the first time that a comprehensive plan has been established at the national level. The “Cultural Industry Promotion Plan” emphasizes the harmony between the sociality and economic efficiency of the cultural industry (Kim, 2012: 140).

Table 4. Main Contents of the Cultural Industry Promotion Plan (2009)

Classification	Main policy
Fundamental Principle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achieving both economic efficiency and social efficiency being key point • Reform of the system and development of science and technology are the driving force of the cultural industry development • Promote development of China’s distinct cultural industry • Increase the scale of the cultural industry and strengthen its competitiveness by accelerating the implementation of major projects based on restructuring • Actively explore domestic and foreign cultural market
Main purpose	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Further reinforce the cultural market by completing the system reform of state-run cultural enterprises • Promote structure improvement of cultural industry • Upgrade cultural innovation ability to a new level (Improvement of enterprise facility, science and technology level) • Complete modern cultural market system (Free movement of goods and elements, simultaneous development of urban and rural areas) • Expand export of cultural goods and services by fostering export-oriented core cultural enterprises and brands with international reputation
Main contents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raise opportunities for media industry development by fostering media industry related fields (culture creation, video production, publishing, print copy, advertising, entertainment, digital contents, animation, etc.) • Maximize media productivity by enabling a free management system • Explore the rural market of Chinese media industry through rural development • Promote globalization of the Chinese media industry by encouraging the expansion of industrial scale and export of foreign culture

Source: 《文化产业振兴规划》(2009)

In the 12th Five-Year Plan (2011-2015), the Chinese government recognized the importance of the development of the cultural industry and clarified that they will actively develop the cultural industry in the future (Kim, 2012: 140). In particular, China has set a long-term goal of completing its cultural reform by 2020.

The 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (November 8-14, 2012) emphasized the need to develop the creative aspects of culture in order to realize a “socialist cultural powerhouse”, and emphasized the need to enhance the international status and influence of Chinese culture.

In the 13th Five-Year Plan (2016-2020), China announced that it would build Xiaokang society through various industrial upgrade policy and social structure reform. The five goals for the realization of Xiaokang society include “industrialization of the cultural industry as a new pillar industry” and “expansion of the influence of Chinese culture”. The key policies for balanced development area include “construction of cultural powerhouse” and “export support for Chinese culture” (Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, 2015: 2).

4. Going out strategy

With China’s recognition of the importance of cultural strength, and consequent emphasis and support on its cultural industry, the Chinese government has been making great efforts to spread Chinese culture overseas. “Going out strategy” is what China devised for such purpose. Culture has become an important area of international trade

competition and the competition among countries is becoming more and more intense as it creates various profits. China aims to improve the international influence and comprehensive competitiveness of culture through “Going out strategy”, and to eliminate the Chinese threat theory and enhance its national image.

China’s “Going out strategy” was promoted by Jiang Zemin at the China Foreign Capital Work Conference in 1997 to encourage Chinese companies’ overseas advance. It was promoted to the national strategy at the third conference of the 9th National People’s Congress in 2000, then has been established as a major strategy for economic development in China. Jiang Zemin stressed that the implementation of the “Going out strategy” is a major step in the new stage of opening to the outside world. The culture construction should be based on the practice of reform and opening-up and modernization, and continuously try to enhance the attractiveness and appeal of the socialist culture with Chinese characteristics (Seo and Oh, 2014: 21-22).

Table 5. “Going out strategy” Related Plan

Year	Institute	Content
1997	National Foreign Investment Work Conference (全国外资工作会议)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jiang Zemin proposed a “global advancement strategy” by encouraging Chinese companies to enter the overseas market
2000	The 9th National People’s Congress 3rd Conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> World Advancement Strategy was promoted to national strategy, and later it was established as a main strategy of China’s economic development In pursuit of such economic strategy, Chinese culture “Going out strategy” was naturally formed

Year	Institute	Content
2003	National Propaganda and Ideology Work Conference (全国宣传思想工作会议)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hu Jintao ordered foreign cultural industry to actively participate in the international cultural competition • Li Changchun supported and encouraged the export of Chinese cultural products, establishing cultural brands in foreign cultural exchanges and increasing the share of international cultural market in Chinese cultural products • Typical state-led development model
2004	Ministry of Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The launch of international markets, active participation in international joint ventures and competition, and the promotion of large-scale cultural activities on the international stage • Based on the “China External Rendering Project” and the “China External Art Exhibition Center”, which were affiliated institutions, “China External Cultural Group” was set up to promote grouping of companies so that they can gain competitiveness in the global market • For the protection of domestic enterprises, the Chinese government mobilized strict regulatory means for foreign capital and enterprises to enter the Chinese cultural market
2005	Ministry of Finance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Established a special fund for the advancement of Chinese music video products into the world
2005.10.	Hu Jintao (Fifth Plenary Session of the 16th CPC Central Committee)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The construction of socialist advanced culture should speed up the implementation of cultural products “Going out strategy” to promote the Chinese culture to the world • Through the “CPC Central Committee on the formulation of national economic and social

Year	Institute	Content
		development of the 11th Five-Year Plan recommendations”, once again stressed that China should actively explore the international Cultural market and promote the Chinese culture to the world
2006	The 8th China National Literary Association	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Li Changchun said in his speech that “We should actively promote the strategy of entering into the world and promote the Chinese culture to the world. We should strengthen the linkage with the international literary and arts organization and win the international voice and defend the national interests.”
2007	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Commerce	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Export List of Cultural Products and Services” clearly shows the Chinese government’s intention to the “Going out strategy” of the cultural industry: • “Following Items should be recognized as the main export items of national culture: items that are advantageous for the development of excellent traditional culture of the Chinese people, advantageous for national unity, favorable for the friendship between people of China and the world, and have comparative advantages and distinctive national characteristics.” • The exported cultural products that are supported and encouraged by the Chinese government should be characterized by Chinese culture, not from a critical or negative viewpoint
2007	Department of Commerce	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Established “Export List of Cultural Goods and Services” in cooperation with relevant departments, strengthened support for cultural export-oriented enterprises and core projects

Year	Institute	Content
2007	The 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stressed the need to strengthen foreign cultural exchanges, narrow the cultural gap between China and foreign countries, absorb the outstanding achievements of national civilization, enhance the international influence of Chinese culture
2009.7.22	State Council executive meeting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Through the “Cultural Industry Revitalization Plan”, the formulation and implementation of the country fully reflects the state’s attention on the development of cultural industry. One of the key tasks is to expand foreign trade and develop policies and measures related to “Going out strategy”
2009	Ministry of Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Published the “Opinions on Accelerating the Development of Cultural Industry”, proposed to actively promote foreign trade, build foreign trade platform, strengthen the protection of intellectual property rights, guide the creation and production of cultural quality, accelerate the pace of cultural development
2009	State Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Cultural Industry Promotion Plan”: Cultural Industry System Reform & Cultural Industry Development was upgraded to national strategy
2010.7	Hu Jintao (The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “We must carefully build the cultural brand of the Chinese nation, improve the international competitiveness of China’s cultural industry, and promote the Chinese culture to the world.”
2011.3	The Outline of the 12th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Build an excellent national culture as the main body, absorb foreign cultural characteristics, actively explore the international cultural market, enhance the international competitiveness of Chinese culture and influence, enhance national soft power

Year	Institute	Content
2011.10	The Sixth Plenary Session of the 17th CPC Central Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Several Major Issues Concerning Deepening the Reform of Cultural System and Promoting the Great Prosperity and Development of Socialist Culture” stressed that it is necessary to • adhere to the development of multi-level and wide-ranging foreign cultural exchanges, learn from the achievements of outstanding human civilization • constantly enhance the international influence of Chinese culture to show the world a new image of China’s reform and opening-up, as well as Chinese people’s high spirit
2011	China Communist Party 17th Central Committee 6th General Meeting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Decision of Central Communist Party of China on some Serious Problems of Culture System Reform and Socialist Cultural Development Prosperity” was passed • For the first time in the history of the Communist Party of China, a general meeting of the Central Committee was convened with a single agenda of “culture” • Presented a new national vision of 21st century China as “Socialist Cultural Powerhouse” • By 2020, the goal is to foster the cultural industry as a holding industry for the national economy
2013.12.30	Xi Jinping (12th Collective Study of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stressed the need to strengthen the international communication capacity building • carefully build the external discourse system and enhance its creativity, appeal, credibility • spread favorable characteristics, voice, story of China

Year	Institute	Content
2014.4	State Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Published “Opinions on Accelerating the Development of Foreign Cultural Trade”, which pointed out that • To make substantial increase in the proportion of foreign trade in the total amount • To further expand international market share of Chinese cultural goods and services • To significantly improve the overall strength and competitiveness of Chinese culture
2015.10.26	18th Fifth General Meeting of the Central Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The 13th Five-Year Plan (2016-2020)” was passed: • Main goal is to build a modern cultural market system, to strengthen the protection and utilization of cultural heritage, to foster the convergence of culture and science technology, to cultivate the cultural industry as a key industry of the national economy, and to strengthen and improve national soft power

Source: Guo (2016), Yang (2012)

Hu Jintao has actively encouraged the development of cultural industry to participate in the international cultural competition. In October 2005, he pointed out at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 16th CPC Central Committee that the construction of advanced socialist culture should speed up the implementation of the “Going out strategy” of cultural products and promote the Chinese culture to the outside world. The meeting adopted the “CPC Central Committee on the Development of National Economic and Social Development of the 11th Five-Year Plan Proposal”, once gain stressing that China should actively explore the international cultural market in order to promote the Chinese culture to the world. These important discourses highlight the importance that the party

and the government put on the “Going out” of its culture (Yang, 2012: 106). Li Changchun, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, has also supported the export of cultural products to form cultural brands in foreign cultural exchange, and to expand international cultural market share of Chinese cultural products (President Hu Jintao’s 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China Report, 2007.10.24).

In July 22, 2009, the cultural industry revitalization plan was adopted at the State Council executive meeting. Its formation and implementation fully reflects the country’s attention to the development of cultural industries, also meaning that the cultural industry revitalization plan went into the national industrial restructuring and revitalization plan stage. In July 2010, Hu Jintao in the Politburo of the CPC stressed: “China need to speed up the development of cultural industries, earnestly execute major cultural projects including the cultural industry revitalization plan, and promote the cultural industry restructuring. We must carefully build the cultural brand of the Chinese nation, improve the international competitiveness of China’s cultural industry, and promote the Chinese culture to the world.” Hu Jintao further clarified and emphasized the importance of the development of cultural industry (People’s Daily, 2010).

As such, China’s strategy for overseas expansion was naturally formed in pursuit of economic development strategies. The initial focus of the “Going out strategy” lied in economy, cultural industry and cultural trade. Its strategic objectives used to be related to only cultural security and national image, but since 2011, it began to include cultural soft power, extensive participation in the dialogue of world civilization and

cooperation in maintaining cultural diversity.

At the 12th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development in March 2011, the Chinese government emphasized the need to build an excellent national culture, open up the international cultural market, and enhance the international competitiveness and influence of Chinese culture, which will consequently enhance the overall national soft power. The term “soft power” was coined in the late 1980s by Nye, Joseph S. to describe the ability of a country to persuade others to do what it wants without force or coercion. Cultural soft power has become an important factor in the national core competitiveness. In the era where the importance of soft power is growing, the world major powers put much value on constructing and strengthening national soft power, including it as their national strategy plan. This has become an important international background for China to promote “Going out strategy” of culture.

Hu Jintao’s successor, President Xi Jinping also has put great importance on China’s soft power. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, Xi Jinping has repeatedly stressed the importance of Chinese culture on many occasions. In December 30, 2013, at a group study session of members of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China Central Committee, Xi Jinping called for efforts to promote advanced socialist culture, to deepen reform in the cultural system, and to enhance people’s cultural creativity, the moves which he believes will raise China’s overall cultural strength and competitiveness. In order to build a solid foundation for the nation’s cultural soft power, Xi Jinping believes China needs to deepen the reform in its cultural system, promote socialist core values and push forward the cultural industry. “The stories of China should

be well told, voices of China well spread, and characteristics of China well explained,” he said. (Jiefang Daily, 2016)

China’s “Going out strategy” of cultural industry has been promoted from the outset, emphasizing expansion of Chinese culture, strengthening of cultural soft power together with its economic purpose. China tries to introduce the excellence of Chinese culture to the world, showing its nationalistic tendency of believing that the traditional values of China is enough to alternate the human future in the 21st century. Some people see it as another form of cultural expansionism, but it did not result in policy failure due to the fact that the world’s interest in China is growing. Not only China’s domestic market is expanding rapidly, but also Chinese market is being formed around many developed countries.

IV. Chinese TV drama Industry

This chapter consists of the development background of Chinese TV drama, formation of drama industry, and overseas export of Chinese TV drama to South Korea. Under the circumstances that soft power is gaining attention worldwide, China is also trying hard to improve its soft power by strengthening its cultural industry. As China has been active in doing so, many domestic and foreign researchers has worked at the topic of China's cultural industry strategy and soft power. It is not long since soft power emerged and it has ambiguity in definition and measurement method, so this seem to be the reason that Confucius Institute is frequently studied as a research subject. The reason for choosing "drama" as the subject of this study is because of the high cultural influence of video contents which has been proved by previous researches. In addition, research on Chinese drama is lacking in South Korea. Therefore, the following chapters writes about China's expanding universal values through drama, in line with the spread of Confucius Institute. The chapters examine what kind of globalization strategy is China pursuing in the drama sector, and further examine its acceptance in South Korea and outlook of their future cooperation.

1. Development Background of Chinese TV Drama Industry

Since the late 1970s, the liberalization movement of ideology, the construction of commodity economy and market economy, the emergence of civil society and the

whole development of cultural education business became the basis of the emergence and development of Chinese popular culture. With the development of the market economy, a cultural industry centering on the production, distribution and consumption of cultural products has begun to emerge. The Chinese TV drama industry has emerged under the development of such popular culture. As China's economic development and technological development have elevated its status in the international community, and the cultural soft power of the country is becoming more important, the Chinese government has introduced "Going out strategy" of culture. Under such circumstances, the environment in which Chinese TV drama can advance overseas has been created.

2. Analysis of various actors

Before and after China's reform and opening-up, characteristics of Chinese drama have changed. Before, drama was more like a national project which was used as a tool of political propaganda. The process of planning, filming, managing and broadcasting of drama was supervised by the country. However, the drama came to have the property of commodity economy, and the development of Chinese drama industry gained momentum of life as the Chinese government allowed the private capital to participate in (Gao, 2017: 14). So, under such changes who lead and foster the Chinese drama industry? Is it still the government or newly participating private enterprises? Following small chapters introduce various actors who are involved in Chinese drama industry from authorization, production, and to distribution process.

2-1. State

China, with its political intent to adhere to socialism and to introduce market economy system, has been expanding its broadcasting market and broadcasting content production base while restraining the international distribution of foreign broadcasting contents as much as possible. It has focused on meeting its own needs and making it internationally competitive (Liu, 2010: 5).

The activation of the cultural industry can satisfy people's explosively growing demand for culture, improve the quality of the residential space, enhance the creativity of the enterprise activity, and further contribute to the improvement of the national image (Choi, 2006: 40). In the international arena, culture has its influence by spreading its main values to the international community. Cultural soft power is to project a country's cultural resources to the international community through creativity, solidarity, and power to exert its own cultural resources in order to achieve its own interests and goals. The unique cultural base of a nation will contribute to the development and competitiveness of the nation by raising the dynamic image of the country and attracting talented people and investment from the outside (Zhang, 2012: 24). Among Chinese cultural contents, drama is recognized to have a high cultural influence than other Chinese contents. Import and export of broadcast contents between China and South Korea also started from video contents. The reason Chinese drama has to go overseas is not only to expand the market for Chinese drama, but also to create a new image frame of China (Song, 2014: 25). China acknowledges that the advancement of dramas has an

impact not only on economic effects but also on cultural soft power, therefore, drama is considered to be one of the most important cultural product for cultural exchange. In addition, the fact that SARFT established a drama sector shows that China attaches great importance to the TV drama industry. It can be seen that China's spread of TV dramas overseas is an important national issue that can not be explained by economic value alone. The propagation of the TV drama in China clearly contains the purpose of the nation other than the economic purpose.

For this reason, the state involves a lot in the import and export of Chinese TV drama. Once a drama is produced, it is then judged according to the regulations set by the state in order to be exported. In the case of Chinese TV drama, the Chinese Ministry of Culture, which is the national central organization, manages the import and export according to the law. The Ministry of Culture of China is the executive agency responsible for importing and exporting major broadcasting contents. Based on this, SARFT, the direct organization of the Ministry of Culture of China, is in charge of the execution of export and import of broadcasting contents. If the video screening committee of SARFT passes the screening, SARFT issues a license registration certificate. The policy on the import and export of broadcasting contents is made based on the instructions of the central government, and it is implemented in the import and export of the corresponding broadcasting contents. In this process, various actors' interests are often conflicting with the main actors and policy makers. However, they can not raise their voice because the Chinese Communist Party has absolute power to control state institutions.

In addition, China has many restrictions on the subject of to be exported drama because of its deep culture protection, especially in the broadcasting area such as drama and animation. Chinese government demands six Chinese elements as the domestic criterion for co-production programs. For example, it should include Chinese characteristics, Chinese story, Chinese image, Chinese style, Chinese spirit, and Chinese soul.

2-2. Production Company

In the 1990s, the development of private outsourcing companies was limited because the Chinese government did not open the production of TV dramas to the market, so there was no significant change in the production system of TV drama. Since the 1990s, the emergence of state-led market economy and consumerism have promoted the commercialization of Chinese TV drama. Some changes in the system of Chinese TV drama production have been made as the Chinese government opened the production of TV dramas to private producers. In 2000, with the launch of the Chinese Culture Industry Promotion Policy, and the issuance of license for production of TV drama by SARFT, Chinese TV drama industry experienced a qualitative change in the production of TV drama and the broadcasting system. The fact that the Chinese government allowed the TV drama production to private enterprises actualized real outsourcing production. Changes in regulatory policies related to these outsourcing companies have led to the diversification of production body. Furthermore, with the increase of digital

broadcasting and internet platform in the 2000s, broadcasting market expanded and the Chinese TV drama production market expanded rapidly (Hae, 2016: 139-141). More than 80 percent of TV drama was invested or produced by a private-capital-centered cultural enterprises. Generally, production company and the distributing company are separated, but there are also comprehensive corporations that undertake both production and distribution. Recently, online operators not only distribute existing broadcasting contents, but also produce broadcasting contents by themselves.

Table 6. Representative Companies that undertake both Production and Distribution

Company	In charge of	type
CCTV	production, distribution	State-owned
Huayi Brothers	production, distribution	Private
ENLIGHT Media	production, distribution	Private
Beijing Hualu Baina	production, distribution	State-owned
China Television Media	production, distribution	State-owned

Source: KOCCA (2015)

Table 7. Chinese Drama Production Organization

Category	Type	Representative
Internal broadcasting system	TV broadcasting station, broadcasting group affiliated or invested drama production organization	Chinese drama production center limited liability company
	Drama Production Organization / Company	Omnijoi Media Corporation Co.,Ltd (幸福蓝海)
	Filmmakers, group-owned or wholly-owned filmmakers	China Film Co.,Ltd (中国电影股份有限公司)
	Movie drama production organization / company	Shanghai Film Group Co.,Ltd (上海电影有限公司)

External broadcasting system	A film drama production organization as a shareholder or owned by a central organization of a non-broadcasting system	Hualu Baina (华录百纳影视有限公司)
	Movie drama production organization / company	JinDun Image Culture Center, Ministry of Public Security (公安部金盾影视文化中心)
	Military affiliated Drama Production Agency	Nanjing Military Region Political Department Television Art Center (南京军区政治部电视艺术中心)
		Air Force Politics TV Art Center
	Private enterprise	Huayi Brothers (华谊兄弟传媒股份有限公司)
		Huace Media (华策影视)
		Hailun Media (海润影视)
		Shanghai Xinwenhua (海新文化传媒集团)

Source: KOCCA (2015)

2-3. Distributing Agency

At the beginning of the reform and opening-up, the production and distribution of TV dramas were not marketed. The main body of production were state-owned television or radio station and broadcasting station. At that time, the overseas spread of TV drama was largely a kind of government action. Under the guidance of the government, method of Sino-foreign collaboration was mainly adopted in order to advertise Chinese TV drama outside of the country. With the continuous progress of

radio and television system reform, the state lowered the entry barrier in the field of radio and television. As social capital was allowed to enter the TV drama production, a large number of private enterprises were now able to participate in the production and distribution of TV dramas, and the level of marketization in the field of television have risen. Overseas spread of Chinese TV drama used to be the government-led official behavior, but its main body now includes both state-owned and private media companies in addition to the official government agencies.

3. Strategies in promoting Chinese TV drama

China is launching a series of policies and strategies for the spread of its domestic drama, that is, export growth. First is about Sino-foreign co-producing. In order to maximize profits, it is necessary to reduce the production cost while expanding the market. For this purpose, co-production is the most actively sought-after method. China intends to produce dramas with international characteristics by considering both domestic and foreign cultures through Sino-foreign joint dramas. This is one of good ways to overcome cultural differences and satisfy both domestic and international viewers. The Sino-foreign joint production is advantageous in terms of the diversity of drama material, development of drama production technology, and financial support.

Second is to relax restrictions on the subject of drama. As mentioned above, the Chinese government requires six Chinese elements, especially in the field of broadcasting. Chinese drama intended for export should include Chinese characteristics,

Chinese story, Chinese image, Chinese style, Chinese spirit, and Chinese soul. This is a great pressure for companies who prioritize marketability. Also, this has a side effect of preventing various creative works with monotonous material. China has argued that “Only if it is national, it can become a global one.” However, if the content reflects all ethnic things, viewers of other cultures will have a barrier of understanding when watching the drama. Cultural products produced in specific culture may be considered very appealing in the region where they are made, but if they cross over to other cultures, the difference in values, beliefs, lifestyles, etc. will inevitably degrade appeal and product value. The “cultural discount rate” is a concept proposed by Hoskins and Mirus (1988), according to which programs rooted in one culture are less appealing in other cultures. This is because viewers in other cultures are unable to share the language, style, values, belief systems, and customs they express. As a result, if all the conditions are the same, less people would prefer to watch foreign programs than domestic programs of the same style and quality, and will be less valuable to the broadcasters. In this sense, by easing the regulations on subject, Chinese producers will be able to satisfy the diverse tastes of overseas viewers and produce dramas that match their emotions better.

Third is a blend of localization and internationalization. When Chinese culture collides with foreign culture, China tries to accept new culture without draining the Chinese personality at the same time. When drama is exported abroad, it is necessary not to only propagate its own culture unconditionally but to consider factors such as lifestyle background and viewing habits of overseas viewers. Also, when drama is exported overseas, there must be a transition in the expression and narrative method. For

example, it needs to change to a suitable word for better emotion delivery, or to change political language into cultural language and national language into world language. Chinese drama should find a balance point between ethnicity and internationality, tradition and modernity in terms of subject, story, and narrative. In this way, overseas advancement can be effectively achieved.

Fourth is the government's policy for official support. For example, it provides subsidies to the companies exporting Chinese TV drama abroad. Fifth is the active use of Internet media. The number of internet platform has greatly increased, and it is being widely used since 2000s. Internet has become an important and influential route for the spread of Chinese TV drama. Internet made it easier to broadcast dramas overseas, and to have easier access for the foreign viewers. The advantage of using the Internet platform is that its distribution is free, easy, and broad, and is less capital intensive. Viewers are able to watch dramas without restriction of time and space. Also, a place of communication among viewers is easily formed. Internet platform worked as the backbone of the companies in such Internet culture industry. The traditional culture industry can broaden the scope of its influence based on the internet platform; can increase the acceptance target; and can enhance the competitiveness and overall value of the enterprises (Wang, 2016: 74).

In recent years, excellent on and offline contents are being revived along with the growing Internet-based culture industry. More and more cultural enterprises are placing great importance on excellent and unique resources and actively seeking them out. What is notable is that IT-based companies are collaborating with video production

companies or jumping into the video industry. The following small chapters are the three relatively recent movements that are shown in the Chinese media industry.

3-1. IT-based companies and web drama

The main characteristics of the Chinese Internet media industry since 2015 are first, the growth engine has changed from PC to mobile. Mobile online has already become an important factor in the daily lives of Chinese people, and more than 1.4 billion mobile devices are in use today. According to a survey conducted by the China Bureau of Statistics, the mobile and online network market size is expected to reach RMB 1 trillion by 2018 (Jeong, 2016: 22). As a result, many traditional industrial companies are entering the mobile and online market, and new business models and diversified development trends are expected to emerge. Leading companies in the information technology industry are already implementing businesses taking advantage of mobile and online, and they are expanding into emerging areas by using mobile online networking technologies.

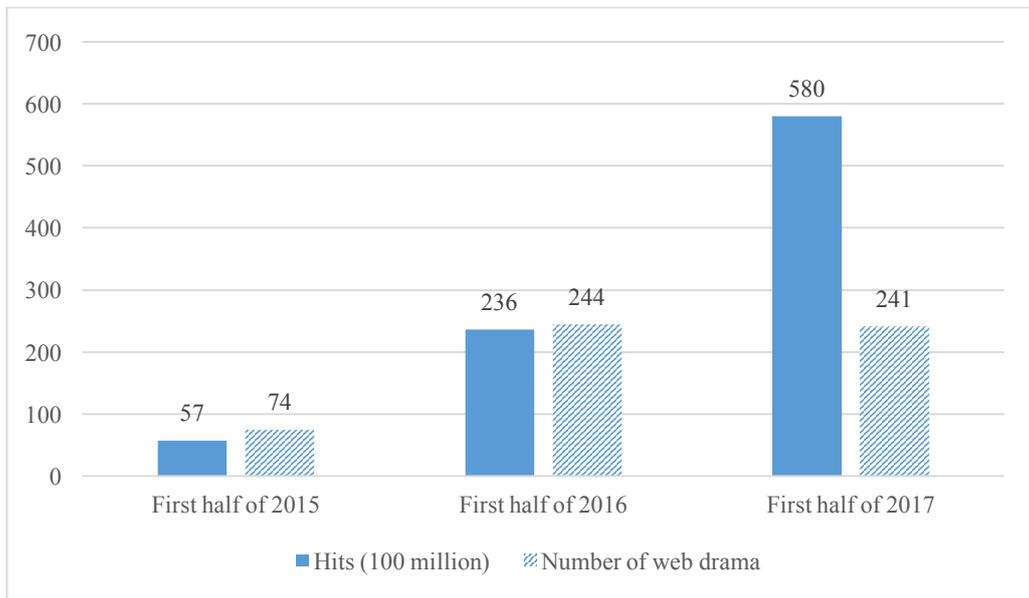
With the spread of the internet and the optimization of the device equipment, the online video industry has developed rapidly. Due to the netizens' diverse demand for drama, the web drama market has also developed rapidly. Between 2010 and 2014, the size of the online video industry surged from 313 million yuan (KRW 532.1 billion) to 24.5 billion yuan (KRW 4.15 trillion), and the annual growth rate reached 67.5 percent. In 2015, it was 36.8 billion yuan (about KRW 6.256 trillion) which is an increase of 50.2

percent compared with the previous year. Web drama production more than doubled from 2012 to 2014 due to the new media business based on the Internet and mobile and also due to companies' entry into new platform business. In 2015, web drama production increased by 7.7 times year on year. The Chinese web drama market is growing explosively and there are twelve web dramas with over a billion views (Jeong, 2015: 22). The largest video platforms include Iqiyi (爱奇艺), Leshi (乐视), Youku (优酷), Tencent Video (腾讯), and Sohu Video (搜狐). Youku, who first started producing contents itself, achieved the first-ever 100 million views. When it comes to the amount of production and competitiveness, Souhu video is steadily growing in its production volume, and Leshi is in the first place although it is a late starter. Competition among the video platforms are intensifying because the routes for the viewers' access to web drama tend to be concentrated (Korea China Contents Lab, 2016).

In the first half of 2017, the Chinese web drama market has shown steady development, and the quality of contents is getting better and better. Therefore, prospect of paid content is bright as well. A web drama market research institute called Guduo (骨朵) analyzed Chinese web drama market and related industries in detail for the first half of 2017. As shown in the **Figure 1**, A total of 241 web dramas were broadcasted in the first half of 2017, which is three less than the first half of 2016. However, the total number of views racked up an all time highest number of 58 billion, a 146% increase from the same period a year earlier (网剧年中小结, 2017).

Web drama was originally produced by an independent producer or an online video company, so the web drama market was small due to resource constraints. However, as the film and drama production companies started to participate in the production of the web drama market, it became larger and more specialized. As such, the web drama market is made up of cooperation and competition among video platforms and video production companies. If the existing video production companies and online platform companies cooperate, they will benefit from production team which is composed of experts with abundant experience. Therefore, the two entities would better closely work together in order to find commercial opportunities and develop various derivative products from web drama.

Figure 1. Number of Web Drama Broadcasts and Hits (first half of 2015, 2016, 2017)



Source: 网剧年中小结 (2017)

Regulatory policy of the government related to contents was rather favorable to the web drama market. For instance, “Yijuliangxing (一剧两星)” policy which is regulating that one drama can be broadcasted up to maximum two satellite channels, “restriction of advertisement” policy which prohibits mid-advertisement in drama broadcasting in national TV stations, and prohibition of importing Korean production, etc. This is because regulations for TV drama and entertainment programs have become so severe that web drama producers and online video platforms can grow rapidly under such circumstances. Biggest difference between web drama and TV drama is diversity in genre as there are less restrictions on web drama compared to TV drama. Web drama producers can skip the process of waiting for their drama to be approved by SARFT before going on the air. Online video is uploaded after self-examination whose censorship standards are relatively loose. However, in February 2016, the Chinese authorities announced that they would strengthen the standards of web drama screening to the level of TV drama. This can be seen as the state’s emphasis on the development of web contents which aims to promote better and sustainable development by improving existing problems such as poor production of web dramas, lack of management ability, etc.

Additionally, web drama is different from traditional TV drama in that it pursues peculiarity. Its strong points are the original plots and humorous elements that the viewers would be interested in. On the other hand, traditional TV drama must have approval of SARFT. Due to the policy of culture protection and the intention of spreading its culture, the genre and the material tend to be concentrated on certain subjects.

Accordingly, reality and history subject account for half of the TV drama subjects.

Web drama already secured viewers of stable viewing frequency and time zone. With IP effects, it is possible to secure a large amount of fans at a high speed and to develop various derivative products. Intellectual Property (IP) refers to the whole content created, transformed, and propagated on the Internet, beyond the common meaning of intellectual property rights. The total number of web dramas using IP in 2014 was 22, which accounted for 10.7 percent of the web dramas that were broadcasted in the year, but the number of clicks were 38.18 billion which accounted for 31 percent of the total number of clicks. In 2015, the number was a total of 31, accounting for 8.7 percent of the total aired web drama. Among the top 10 web dramas, there were seven web dramas using IP. In the future, more efforts will be made to improve the value of content by forming a value chain with independent IP for web drama (网剧年中小结, 2017).

3-2. Merger and Acquisition

The mergers and acquisitions between cultural companies have begun to take off since 2012. The mergers and acquisitions is divided into several large areas such as traditional media represented by TV, newspapers, magazines, and radio; animation and video; and Internet new media and online games, among which internet new media accounts for 33 mergers and acquisitions which accounts for 34.38 percent of total mergers and acquisitions. The least number of mergers and acquisitions of animation

and online games is 6, accounting for 6.25 percent of total mergers and acquisitions. In the twelve-year period from 2000 to 2012, the number of mergers and acquisitions of Internet new media and traditional media accounted for 72 percent of the total number, and 70 percent of the total amount of culture industry (Contents Industry Trend of China, 2013: 2). It can be seen that Internet companies have become competitive forces and the central force of China's merger and acquisition of cultural enterprises. Such inter-industry integration will create new industrial value chains that enables the expansion of the market influence of related industries.

According to a report by the Securities Daily on November 14, 2013, Chen Xiaopeng, deputy director of the Cultural Industry Research Institute of Peking University, said: "Since the Chinese government emphasizes merger and alliance through market competition and merger and acquisition, polarization of cultural enterprises will become clear in the future." "Merger and acquisition (M&A)" have emerged as a keyword for the cultural media industry in 2013. 55 mergers and acquisitions occurred in Shanghai and Shenzhen in 2013, including movies, dramas, publications, advertisements and game companies, whose accumulated fund was 39,356 million yuan. Examples of M&A deals include Huayi Brothers' (华谊兄弟) acquisition of Yinhankeji (银汉科技), Zhejiangchangsheng (浙江常升), Borui Media's (博瑞传播) acquisition of Manyogu (漫游谷), Leshi's (乐视网) acquisitions of Huaer yingshi (花儿影视), and acquisition of Kedun Media (克顿传媒) (KOCCA, 2013: 7-9). Media mergers and acquisitions are expected to accelerate mergers and acquisitions not only

for the same industry but also for heterogeneous industries. Besides, it is predicted that competition of resources within the cultural industry will become more intense due to the enormous size of enterprises (Securities Daily, 2013).

Chinese media groups are developing into a global complex media group by moving out of their domestic markets and actively promoting overseas business and overseas cooperation. Recently, BAT has been engaging in aggressive M&A, and there have been frequent mergers and acquisitions between the companies in the IT market. In May 2013, Baidu acquired the video division of online video operator PPS for \$370 million and announced the merger of PPS's video division and Baidu subsidiary Iqiyi (Contents Industry Trend of China, 2013: 3). The focus of Baidu's expansion was to build a large online video platform that could compete with Youku and Tudou through the merger of PPS and Iqiyi as an online video platform. Baidu's online video platform Aichi is mainly involved in the online transmission of video content. It used to be reluctant to produce its own content but it is actively engaging in video content production since 2013. It has published many successful works such as "Linghunbaidu (灵魂摆渡)", "Feichaixiongdi (废柴兄弟)", "Gaokejixiaonumao (高科技少女喵)", "Nihaowaixingren (你好外星人)". Among them, "Linghunbaidu (灵魂摆渡)" set a record of 200 million views in only 10 days (Contents Industry Trend of China, 2014: 3).

Alibaba's entry into the cultural industry sector is little bit lagging behind Baidu and Tencent, but it is taking an active stance. In January 2013, the Alibaba Group took over a music site "Xiami (虾米音乐网)". Alibaba's subsidiary "Taobao (淘宝网)"

launched a professional digital music category with Xiami, and began offering music and singer searching, previewing functions, as well as product and dealer search service on the Taobao e-commerce site. In the first half of 2014, the company invested in companies such as Youku and Tudou. At the end of June, it became the largest shareholder of the China Vision Media Group Limited (文化中国传播集团). It changed its name into “Ali Yingye (阿里影业)” and reaffirmed its willingness to enter the video industry (Contents Industry Trend of China, 2014: 5).

Tencent has a strong platform advantage with PC, mobile portal sites, QQ, and WeChat. Tencent has been active in online video content and literature in order to improve the quality of web drama. Since 2011, Tencent has been investing in video content production companies. In April, it invested 500 million yuan in video investment funds. It also produces its own content and is actively purchasing right of transmission for popular online contents. In September 2013, Tencent built a platform called “Tengxun Wenxue (腾讯文学)”. After Shanda Group’s (盛大) taking over Qidian Zhongwenwang (起点中文网), it has set up an artist community to express its intention to convert literature into online content and video content scenario or to make ACG (Animation, Comics, and Games). Tengxun wenxue formed the “Good Scenario Video Production Support Federation” with Tengxun, Huayi Brothers, Xinli Media (新丽传媒), Huaren Cultural Industry Investment Fund (中国华人文化产业投资基金) and established a video content production system of excellent works (Contents Industry Trend of China, 2014: 7).

As the market value of Internet and cultural companies has been set high in the A stock market² in China, interest in cultural enterprises has been increasing, and non-cultural companies are increasingly attempting to enter the Internet and cultural industries through mergers and acquisitions. Global cultural content companies are strengthening their strategic alliances by enhancing their market dominance through mergers and acquisitions and co-producing so that they can reduce risk. They are also actively seeking to maximize profits by engaging in related industries.

3-3. Buying in IP

With the development of Internet technology and domestic video works, web dramas are developing at an incredible speed. IP development is considered to be an important production and marketing method of drama. “IP” is an abbreviation of “Intellectual Property”, but it is not just an intangible abstract concept, it rather means “cross media content with long existence and business value” in China. It is generally used as a prefix to refer to a new content created by adapting the contents of other genres. For example, movies and dramas produced by adapting the copyright of web novels and web cartoons are called “IP play”; and when movies and dramas are adapted to games, they are called “IP games”. In a nutshell, IP is commercial ideology that integrates all the contents such as online literary works, games, animations, or Internet celebrities,

² Chinese stock market is divided into A stocks which domestic investors can invest, and B stocks which foreigners can trade. (“A-share/B-share of Chinese stock market,” terms.naver.com)

things that can consume fame and the products derived from them (Korea China Contents Lab, 2017). Then why do so many companies pay attention to IP development? The value of cultural industry copyright is very large. It is centrally located in the cultural industry value chain. Therefore, publishing industry, film industry, and Internet companies are interested in maximizing profit by utilizing and developing excellent IP.

Characteristics of IP are as follows. First, its origin is diverse. Previously, it was usually derived from literary works, but nowadays almost all kinds of media such as novels, comics, radio broadcasts, reality programs, music are IP. Among them, Internet is a major source of IP, for example, Internet novels or Internet games. Second characteristic is open interaction. Internet, mobile, and other new media platforms are becoming a place to create, distribute and enjoy. Thus, users can freely choose and enjoy desired platform. Many IPs are derived from Internet literature which has enormous business potential and industrial value. For example, “Huaqiangu (花千骨)” became a brand, and its derivatives earned approximately 2 billion yuan. Another example is an Internet novel called “Zhuxian (诛仙)”. It was made into a game and earned about 1 billion yuan. Chinese Internet literature leads the market of Internet literature platform in China with diverse contents and huge amount of works. The Chinese literary market is estimated to be about 7 billion yuan. Publication rights of an internet novel used to be 100,000 RMB, but its value is appreciated to over 1 million RMB (DataEye, 2015).

According to the State Council's announcement³ on March 18, 2014, Chinese government supports the expansion of cultural export platforms and channels, the establishment of enterprises in foreign countries, merger and acquisition, joint venture, etc. In addition, cultural companies are also supported to cultivate international markets by utilizing new trading models such as e-commerce. As such, it is noteworthy that the companies are ordered to diversify their overseas expansion plans by moving away from policies that focused only on the exports of cultural products.

Above movements that are shown in the Chinese media industry are all part of an overall strategy to promote overseas spread of Chinese contents. Before the Chinese government authorize private enterprises to participate in drama market, the Chinese government was deeply involved in the process of drama from production, distribution and to export. However, after more diverse actors started to take part in the drama market, private enterprises have been the main actor who are in charge of both producing and distributing. With the distribution of internet and internet-based mobile device, it seems IT-based companies are leading Chinese cultural industry with their powerful capital strength and diverse business strategies.

In the following chapter, with the curiosity about how China's such efforts have affected foreign countries' acceptance of Chinese drama, the writer investigated South Korean case to evaluate how Chinese dramas have been accepted in South Korea.

³ Opinions of the State Council on Accelerating the Development of Foreign Trade in Cultural Products (关于加快发展对外文化贸易的意见)

V. The spread of Chinese TV drama

Chinese TV dramas have started to be exported since the 1980s. The importing countries were mainly Southeast Asian and neighboring Asian countries such as Japan and Korea. It was because of the relatively high number of overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia where viewers were familiar with Chinese culture. It has pioneered the overseas market as a joint venture with overseas production companies. “Wangxiangzhixing (望乡之星)”, the Sino-Japanese co-produced drama in 1980 is told to be the first Chinese TV drama to be exported overseas. With the continuous improvement in the level and quality of Chinese TV drama, Chinese-made TV dramas continued to go abroad. In 1981, Guangdong Radio & Television Station created eight-episode TV drama called “Xiaqiuzhuan (虾球传)”, which was the first Chinese mainland drama to enter Hong Kong and Southeast Asian market. China held “Chinese drama week” from around the world to draw more overseas viewers and collaborated with global drama distributors. In the 2000s, SARFT presented the “Going out” project, and the Chinese drama industry gradually became privatized. As the flexibility of capital management method became secured and the methods of drama production changed, period of 2000 to 2005 is called the prime of Chinese TV drama exports. In 2007, the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China put forward a series of policies aimed at enhancing overseas expansion of Chinese dramas and its overseas influence. On this basis, a series of cultural industry support policies have been introduced, and facilitated the advancement of

Chinese dramas overseas.

When it comes to the global expansion of Chinese TV drama from 2010 onward, private video production companies have played a significant role in the advancement of Chinese TV dramas overseas. For example, companies such as Huace Media (华策影视) and ZhengwuYangguang (正午阳光) are setting their major management target to exporting Chinese dramas to foreign countries. Huace Media is the largest producing and distributing company of Chinese video content in the world. By August 2016, Huace Media had accumulated 9,000 hours of cumulative sales in over 180 countries around the world (Gao, 2017 :45-46).

Table 8. Overseas Export of Chinese Domestic Drama (2008-2015)
(Unit: 10,000 RMB)

Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Amount of export	7524.95	3583.59	7483.51	14648.95	15019.78	9249.77	20795.49	37704.63

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of People's Republic of China

Table 9. Number of Chinese Drama Exported abroad (2008-2015)
(Unit: copy)

Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Copies of export	149	128	288	298	326	243	296	381

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of People's Republic of China

1. The spread of Chinese TV drama in South Korea

The Chinese TV dramas were officially exported to South Korea after the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1992. The fact that the two countries formally established diplomatic relations in 1992 symbolizes the start of full-scale exchanges between the two countries (Gao, 2017: 72). In 1994, China and South Korea concluded an agreement on cultural cooperation, and it expanded exchanges and cooperation in broadcasting, film, TV and publishing sectors.

1-1. Current Situation

Table 10. Exports of Chinese Dramas to South Korea (2008-2015)
(unit: 10,000 yuan)

Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Amount of export	140.35	298.00	407.36	455.57	481.51	1126.49	767.12	1217.13

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of People's Republic of China

Table 11. Number of Chinese Drama Exported to South Korea (2008-2015)
(Unit: series)

Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Copies of export	9	10	13	17	14	19	14	20

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of People's Republic of China

Table 12. Export Time of Chinese Domestic Drama to South Korea (2008-2015) (Unit: hour)

Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Broadcasting hours	410	525	668	1039	695	763	505	784

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of People's Republic of China

1-2. Acceptance (Media Coverage Analysis)

Media reports reflect social trends. Thus, history, trends, and current status of Chinese dramas in South Korea can be grasped through the analysis of media coverage in South Korea. It is possible to know how Chinese drama is being accepted in South Korea by looking at how the South Korean media has changed its attitude over time since the Chinese drama began to be exported to South Korea. By examining the content, tone and news frame of the report, the study tries to find out how the overall process and acceptance attitude of the Chinese drama has been changing in South Korea.

News reports related to “Chinese drama” were collected with the range of articles from 1992 to 2017, from when Chinese dramas were first officially exported to Korea. The sources of collection include Chosun Ilbo, Joongang Ilbo, Donga Ilbo, Maeil Business Newspaper, Korea Economic Daily, Kyung Hyang Newspaper, and Hankyoreh Newspaper. Portal Naver is also included as well because portal news tends to find interesting articles and judges socially important events through the process of editing. On the other hand, sports newspaper is excluded because it includes commercial reports.

There are three main purposes of media coverage analysis. First, it is to understand the acceptance situation of Chinese drama in South Korea. Second, it is to understand the tendency of South Korean media’s report on Chinese dramas according to the changes in diplomatic variables, national policies, and changes in supplier and consumer. Diplomatic variables are the diplomatic events that have influenced bilateral relations since 1992 up to now. The paper examines whether the occurrence of these

events gives any impact on the South Korean media coverage about Chinese drama in terms of the content and the volume of the articles in the corresponding year. Also, it examines whether the actual increase and decrease in export volume are in line with the trend. The national policy will cover both China and South Korea's policies, including the policies which the state made for the development of its cultural industry, formal exchange agreements between the two countries, and broadcasting regulations on imports and exports. In the "changes in suppliers and consumer" part, China is regarded as the supplier, and South Korea as the consumer. This part examines what changes have increased the exports of Chinese drama and what changes have increased South Korea's import of Chinese drama. These variables are also analyzed in relation to the South Korean media reports on Chinese drama.

The first web site used to collect news articles related to Chinese drama is KINDS. KINDS provides news big data and analysis service. In the detailed search mode, the writer put "Chinese drama" as a keyword, and set the search period from January 1992 to April 2017. Among the selected newspapers, Kyung hyang Newspaper, Hankyoreh, Maeil Business and Korea economic Daily were the ones that KINDS is providing. According to the results of the search, 2214 articles were searched, and among the four press, Maeil Business Newspaper (1662 articles) reported the most, and followed by Korea Economic Daily (296 articles), Kyung Hyang Newspaper (171 articles) and Hankyoreh (85 articles). There were 2047 articles related to culture, and others were classified in order of international, economic, social and political articles. On a year-on-year basis, the increasing number of Chinese drama related reports was

seen.

Chosun Ilbo articles were collected from Chosun archive. After setting keyword and period, 64 articles were searched. Joongang Ilbo and Donga Ilbo were collected through Naver News Search. In Naver News Search, all the target newspapers of the study were available: Chosun Ilbo, Joongang Ilbo, Donga Ilbo, Kyung Hyang Newspaper, Hankyoreh, Maeil Economy, and Korea Economy, and Naver News. A total of 24,595 articles were searched. Before analyzing the contents of the article, it was easily seen by looking at the titles that large parts of the articles were related to the Korean Wave. Since there were too many articles regarding South Korean drama, South Korean star and South Korean drama industry, the writer set the detailed search service to exclude any articles with certain Korean stars who were frequently mentioned in many articles. After excluding those articles, the writer read all the articles one by one and selected the articles that meet the purpose of this study.

The most important thing in the content analysis research is to grasp the research problem and its characteristic, and to efficiently extract the data needed to solve the research problem. A total of 126 articles were collected after firsthand selection, which are in accordance with the purpose of this study. The study has significance and contributing point in that the writer organized raw data from news articles. The contents, the tone of articles, and the news frame are adopted as analysis factors in accordance with the purpose of the research. The articles are organized by year and tabulated with the categories of title, type of the newspaper, contents, tone and frame.

The analysis of the article's tone is to understand the attitude of the South

Korean press on the Chinese drama. The viewpoint and attitude toward the subject of a report are categorized into positive, negative, and neutral with reference to the articles of Yoo (2013). Articles of “positive tone” are those containing optimistic or positive language use, articles of “negative tone” are those using negative, hostile, conflictual, and cynical words. Articles that report objective facts apart from any value judgement are classified as articles of “neutral tone”.

The news frame analysis is largely classified according to the likeability under culture frame. In the reference to the frames used in the media analysis of Korean Wave by Sun (2009) and Yoo (2013), the writer reconstructed the frames by adding and deleting some items in context with this study. Positive frame is set as favorable frame; neutral frame is set as exchange frame, comparative frame and competitive frame; negative frame is set as suspicious/alert frame. A total of five news frames and their types are shown in the table below.

Table 13. Types of News Frame

Frame		Description	Keyword
Positive	Favorable	An article that shows favorable attitude toward Chinese dramas / An article that is well received about the quality and the level of drama	popular, sensation, favor, recommendation, attract attention, fad, fan, positive, spectacle, development
Neutral	Exchange	An article that shows neutral attitude toward Chinese dramas / A report on exchanges and collaborations between the two countries	collaboration, Korea-China exchange, cultural exchange, exchange agreement, be on the air, launch of a TV station

	Comparative	An article that shows neutral attitude toward Chinese dramas / An article that includes comparison between two cultures	trend, compare
	Competitive	An article that shows neutral attitude / A report on the change and reform of the drama industry and companies	Broadcasting review regulation, competition, target, policy
Negative	Suspicious/ Alert	An article that takes an attitude of accepting or rejecting from an objective standpoint rather than having unconditional favorability or unconditional rejection of Chinese drama / Critique of Chinese mass culture industry structure and operation / Opposition between favorable attitude and unfavorable attitude over Chinese dramas	Trade imbalance, problems, crisis, concern, recession

Source: Sun (2009) and Yoo (2013), restructured

1) Amount of news report

Table 14. Yearly News Amount

1992-1999: 29		2000-2009: 46		2010-2017 (April): 51	
1992	2	2000	2	2010	6
1993	1	2001	5	2011	4
1994	2	2002	6	2012	8
1995	15	2003	6	2013	4
1996	2	2004	1	2014	3
1997	3	2005	10	2015	7
1998	0	2006	6	2016	15
1999	4	2007	4	2017	4

		2008	5		
		2009	1		

As mentioned above, the number of news reports on Chinese drama showed steady increase from 1992 to 2017. The number of articles selected for this research is 126. Among them, 29 cases are reported in between 1992-1999, 46 cases are reported in between 2000-2009, and 51 cases are reported in between 2010-2017. Because the number of articles collected is small, the writer divided time period into three, so that it is easier to see the gradual increase in the amount of news related to Chinese drama in South Korean media.

In Gao's (2017) research on the spread of Chinese drama in South Korea, time period is divided into 1992-1999, 2000-2008, 2009-2015, based on the important events of each period such as the 1992 the establishment of Korea-China diplomatic relations and the 2008 Beijing Olympics. In Cho's (2015) book describing the development and the origins of Chinese TV dramas, time period is largely divided into before and after China's reform, and then looked into smaller periods: 1980s, 1990s, and after the 2000s. The years in which the number of reports were particularly large during the entire period were 1995, 2005, and 2016. The reasons behind the large number of reports during this period will be analyzed considering the changes in diplomatic variables, national policies, and changes in supplier and consumer. The tone of the articles by time period will also be explained in the later part.

Table 15. Distribution of Articles on Chinese Drama by Newspaper

Newspaper	Number of reports	Percentage
Chosun Ilbo	10	12.6%
Joongang Ilbo	1	1.26%
DongA Ilbo	31	39.06%
Maeil Business	20	25.2%
Korea Economic Daily	15	18.9%
Hankyoreh	17	21.42%
Kyunghyang	25	31.5%
Naver	7	8.82%
Total	126	100%

Of the total number of reports covered by the analysis, the Dong-A Ilbo was the largest with 31 cases, followed by Kyunghyang Newspaper, Maeil Business Newspaper, Hankyoreh, Korea Economic Daily, Chosun Ilbo, Naver and Joongang Ilbo. Most articles on Chinese dramas were reported in one of the major newspapers, the Dong-A Ilbo, but only 10 and 1 were reported in the other major newspapers Chosun Ilbo and Joongang Ilbo respectively. The number of subscribers of paper newspapers is in the order of Chosun Ilbo, Joongang Ilbo, and Donga Ilbo, but it had no relation with the number of reports regarding the subject of Chinese drama.

Table 16. Number of Certified Copies (2015)

Ranking	Newspaper	circulation	Paid circulation
1	Chosun Ilbo	1,545,819	1,266,763
2	Joongang Ilbo	960,530	750,314
3	Dong-A Ilbo	917,851	731,788
4	Maeil Business	705,322	552,363
5	Korean Economic Daily	527,782	352,184
6	Farmers Newspaper	284,309	278,015

7	Hankyoreh	241,060	200,725
8	Kyunghyang	205,259	166,749
9	Munhwa Ilbo	173,536	157,928
10	Sports Chosun	185,594	150,517

Source: Korea Audit Bureau of Certification (Korea ABC)

2) Analysis of the tone

The tone of an article is the reporting attitude of the article. The writer categorized each article by the report attitude of “positive”, “negative”, “neutral”, and “unclear”. “Positive” and “Negative” tone of an article is comparatively easy to be distinguished by looking at word usage. Besides, the articles that took an objective attitude are classified as “neutral”, and the articles that were difficult to classify due to their unclear attitude are classified as “unclear”.

The attitude of how South Korean media has been reporting Chinese dramas is analyzed by time and type of the newspaper. From 1992 to the present, there were 76 positive reports (61.1%) and 15 negative reports (11.9%). Other articles belonged to either “neutral” or “unclear” category.

2-1) Tone of article by time

Table 17. Tone of Article by Year

Year	Tone				Total
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Unclear	
1992	2	0	0	0	2
1993	1	0	0	0	1
1994	2	0	0	0	2

1995	<i>10</i>	3	2	0	<i>15</i>
1996	1	1	0	0	2
1997	1	1	0	1	3
1998	0	0	0	0	0
1999	2	2	0	0	4
2000	1	1	0	0	2
2001	2	3	0	0	5
2002	5	1	0	0	6
2003	5	0	1	0	6
2004	1	0	0	0	1
2005	3	5	1	1	<i>10</i>
2006	3	1	2	0	6
2007	3	0	1	0	4
2008	3	0	0	2	5
2009	1	0	0	0	1
2010	5	1	0	0	6
2011	1	3	0	0	4
2012	3	2	1	2	8
2013	3	1	0	0	4
2014	0	1	2	0	3
2015	4	1	2	0	7
2016	<i>11</i>	0	3	1	<i>15</i>
2017	3	0	0	1	4
Total	<i>76</i>	27	15	8	126

Table 18. Tone of Article by Time Period

Period	Tone				Total
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Unclear	
1992-1999	19	7	2	1	29
2000-2009	27	11	5	3	46
2010-2017(April)	30	9	8	4	51
Total	76	27	15	8	126

All of the five articles reported between 1992 and 1994, after when Korea and China established diplomatic relations, were categorized as positive tone. In 1995, a relatively large number of articles were reported, including 10 positive articles and 2

negative articles which were previously unseen.

Looking at the yearly trends in the number of articles related to Chinese drama, it can be seen that they are having context with the incidents happened in both countries. After the establishment of Korea-China diplomatic relations, three of Korea's major broadcasting companies came into contact with CCTV and started making broadcasting-related exchange agreements. This paved the way for increased exchange and collaboration of TV drama productions. For instance, in 1994, SBS and CCTV agreed on collaboration of the first Korea-China co-produced drama. In 1995, thanks to the big hit of Taiwanese drama "Bao Qing Tian (包青天)", there was a growing interest in the Chinese TV drama. Dramas produced in the mainland China were officially imported into South Korea since 1995. "A native of Beijing in New York" was the first drama to be broadcasted on the South Korean major television network SBS. "A native of Beijing in New York" received a positive response from Korean viewers and it was reported on various newspapers with a lot of positive comments. Therefore, the reported amount of 1995 was relatively higher than that of the other years.

In 2005, many articles related to Chinese drama were reported in comparison with other years. Judging from the texts of the articles, South Korean actors frequently appeared in Chinese dramas, and there was an increase in the number of jointly produced dramas at this time. It is also worth noting that on May 24, 2005, a specialized channel for Chinese programs called "Chunghwa TV" was launched. Positive outlook that China's broadcasting industry environment will be improved on the occasion of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games was also seen, but it was not reflected in the number of articles

in 2008. In 2005 and 2006, there emerged a few negative reports in accordance with anti-hallyu in China at the end of 2005.

Due to the 2008 Beijing Olympics, South Korean's interest in China has increased, and the exchange of cultural contents was active before and after this point. Although the number of article was small, the articles were reporting about the positive prospect that Chinese dramas are chasing South Korean dramas and Chinese dramas are expected to have global competitiveness.

Many articles were reported in 2016, especially during the period when "Lang Yabang (Nirvana in Fire)" was being broadcasted in South Korea. "Lang Yabang" was mentioned in the South Korean media 6 times between 2015 and 2016, and it is 27.3 percent of the total number of articles reported in the period. Besides, South Korean viewers became interested in the original Chinese drama "Bu Bu Jing Xin (Scarlet Heart)" and "Chinese style divorce", which has been remade in South Korea as "Moon Lovers: Scarlet Heart Ryeo" and "Rose War". As a result, the number of Chinese drama reports in 2016 jumped. In 2014 to 2016, articles of negative tone often appeared. Such articles were about concerns over the South Korean drama industry due to the developing Chinese drama industry, and over the bad influence that South Korea's decision to place THAAD will have upon Korea-China relationship and their drama imports and exports.

This chapter examines the trends in the acceptance of Chinese dramas in South Korea over time through the number of news reports per year. Also, the analysis includes the interpretations of the reasons for the year in which a large number of articles were reported in comparison with other years. Detailed analysis of diplomatic variables,

changes in national policies, changes of supplier and consumer which are thought to have affected the relations between the two countries will be discussed in the following sections.

2-2) Analysis of tone by newspaper

Table 19. Amount and Tone of Articles by Newspaper

Newspaper	Number of reports	Tone			
		Positive	Neutral	Negative	Unclear
Chosun Ilbo	10	2	3	2	3
Joongang Ilbo	1	1	0	0	0
DongA Ilbo	31	23	5	2	1
Maeil Business	20	9	6	4	1
Korea Economic Daily	15	11	3	1	0
Hankyoreh	17	6	8	3	0
Kyunghyang	25	18	2	3	2
Naver	7	6	0	0	1
Total	126	76 (61.1%)	27 (21.4%)	15 (11.9%)	8 (5.6%)

When organized by newspaper, it was seen that the number of articles with positive tone was 47 within conservative newspapers and 24 in progressive newspapers. Conservative newspapers reported more positive tone articles about Chinese dramas. The Maeil Business reported the largest number of 4 negative tone articles which is conservative newspaper. However, Kyunghyang and Hankyoreh which are progressive newspaper also reported 3 negative tone articles respectively. Therefore, the difference

in pro-China and anti-China tendency among the newspapers does not seem to be significant.

When analyzed according to the tone of articles both by time period and the types of newspaper, it is easy to see that positive attitude toward Chinese drama in Korea has been continued. This shows that the Koreans maintain a favorable acceptance attitude toward Chinese dramas.

3) Frame Analysis

Table 20. News Frame by Newspaper

Newspaper	Number of reports	Frame		
		Positive	Neutral	Negative
Chosun Ilbo	10	3	6	1
Joongang Ilbo	1	0	1	0
DongA Ilbo	31	18	11	2
Maeil Business	20	7	10	3
Korea Economic Daily	15	8	5	2
Hankyoreh	17	5	9	3
Kyunghyang	25	13	9	3
Naver	7	2	2	3
Total	126	56 (44.4%)	53 (42.1%)	17 (13.5%)

The news frame used in this research is based on the news frame used in the media analysis of Korean Wave in the research of Sun (2009) and Yoo (2013). Since most of the collected articles are from cultural field, they are not classified as policy or economic frames, rather they are classified into favorable frame, exchange frame, comparative frame, competitive frame, and suspicious/alert frame under the boundary of culture frame. Since the number of articles collected is not large, it is simplified rather

than being too much subdivided.

As shown in the **Table 13**, the reconstructed news frame is first, largely divided into “positive frame”, “neutral frame”, and “negative frame”. The “positive frame” is the “favorable frame”. The “neutral frame” is subdivided into “exchange frame”, “comparative frame” and “competitive frame”. The “negative frame” is “suspicious/alert frame”. As can be seen from the frame’s name, the favorable frame shows a favorable attitude toward the Chinese drama, and it include articles that shows favorable comments on the quality and the level of the drama. Three sub-types of neutral frame basically hold neutral attitudes toward Chinese dramas. The exchange frame refers to the news reports on exchanges and collaboration between the two countries. The comparative frame indicates the news reports that attempts to compare and analyze the situation of drama industry of the two countries. The competitive frame includes the articles reporting about the changes and reforms of the drama industry and companies. Lastly, the suspicious/alert frame include the articles that takes an attitude of accepting or rejecting from an objective standpoint rather than having unconditional favorability or unconditional rejection of Chinese drama. Articles with critiques of Chinese mass culture industry structure and operation and articles with opposition between favorable attitude and unfavorable attitude over Chinese dramas are also categorized as suspicious/alert frame.

When categorizing the articles into each frame, the method of judging and classifying the words is used. For example, the articles of favorable frame include words such as “popular”, “attention”, “positive”, “interest”, and the exchange frame includes

words such as “cooperation”, “exchange”, “agreement”. The fewest articles were categorized into the comparison frame, which uses words such as “trend” or “compare”. The articles of competitive frames were only a few as well, which contain words such as “target”, “policy”, and “regulation”. There also appeared quite a number of the suspicion/alert frame articles which includes words such as “trade imbalance”, “crisis” and “concern”.

As a whole, the dominant frame of the Chinese drama-related articles reported by the South Korean media appeared as “positive frame”. The positive frame had 56 cases, and the neutral frame had 53 cases which is almost similar number as the positive frame. Negative frames occupied a small amount of 17 cases.

Table 21. Number of Neutral Frame Articles by Time Period

Period	Neutral Frame		
	Exchange	Comparative	Competitive
1992-1999	12	0	1
2000-2009	18	1	4
2010-2017(April)	10	3	4
Total	40	4	9

As shown in the **Table 21**, in the neutral frame, the exchange frame was dominant with 40 cases, followed by the competitive frame and the comparative frame with 9 and 4, respectively. Most of the contents that belonged to the neutral frame were about the Chinese dramas that is going to be broadcasted or currently being broadcasted on South Korean channels. Seeing from the fact that 12, 18, and 10 cases were reported in each of the three periods in the **Table 21**, Chinese drama has been steadily flowing

into Korea since the establishment of Korea-China diplomatic relations in 1992.

The comparative frame, which includes the articles that attempt to compare and analyze the drama industry of both countries, had 1 case in 2000-2009, and 3 in 2010-2017. For the competitive frame, there was 1 case reported in 1992-1999, and 4 in both 2000-2009 and 2010-2017. It can be interpreted that recently, the level of Chinese drama has been increased compared to Korean drama and also that the two countries are making changes and reforms for the growth of the drama industry.

By analyzing the content of the articles of the negative frame, it is shown that the contexts of the negative frame articles are not negative about Chinese drama itself. Rather, they are about suspicions and alerts about the growth of Chinese drama, followed by the decline of Korean Wave.

Specific contents of the articles classified by each type of frame are as follows. The favorable frame, which showed the highest rate among the types of frame, interprets the spread of Chinese dramas in South Korea as a phenomenon of a popular culture called “Hualiu (Chinese Wave)”. It focuses on the popularity of Chinese dramas broadcasted in South Korea and its favorable comments from South Korean viewers, craze for popular Chinese dramas in South Korea, and the development of Chinese drama industry. Examples of the favorable frame articles are as follows.

“So far, TV programs that are produced in Taiwan or Hong Kong have been introduced in South Korea, but this is the first time that a drama produced in mainland China to be broadcasted in South Korea. Unlike the traditional Chinese film, which was felt bored,

SBS explained that action scenes such as kung fu are spectacular, and the plot line is cool and fast. Kim Woo-kwang, director of production at SBS, said, “Chinese works have been thought to be a level lower than those of ours in the meantime, but ‘A native of Beijing in New York’ is a masterwork that could exceed our domestic works.” (Kyunghyang, 1995.2.10)

“A South Korean drama writers who were present today said that Chinese drama have solidly matured contents thanks to its long history. Chinese drama will be able to have a world-class competitiveness if the appearance of dramas and the production ability equipped by its martial arts genre are demonstrated well. In order for South Korean dramas to prepare for the winds that Chinese dramas will bring, it is necessary for them to to rebuild the basic.” (Dong-A Ilbo, 2008)

“The prejudice about old-fashioned Chinese dramas with ridiculous levitations, and exaggerated reactions has become an old saying. ‘I have found a substitute for Japanese drama and American drama. It is Chinese drama that has a big scale and splendid costumes.’ Shin Hye sun, a researcher at Seoul National University Asia Center, said, “By accepting Korean dramas and American dramas, Chinese drama has improved its quality. Chinese cultural industry is growing on the basis of abundant human and material resources, so its potential is very significant. Also, it is easy for Korean viewers to accept Chinese dramas because there is little historical sense of distance.” (Chosun Ilbo, 2013)

The second most frequently reported frame was the neutral frame. 53 cases are categorized as neutral frame. Among them, 42 cases are the articles of exchange frame, and it accounts for 33.3 percent of all news reports. The exchange frame covers articles on cultural exchange between South Korea and China. Many of the articles introduce Chinese dramas scheduled to be broadcasted or currently being broadcasted in South Korea. Others report on the cases of Korea-China collaboration and co-produced dramas. Because it belongs to the neutral frame, it is reported in an objective attitude that does not include any value judgment. By looking at the amount of media coverage, it is seen that Chinese drama has been flowing into Korea since 1992, not much but steadily. Also, by looking at the contents of the articles, the kinds of dramas and the channels they were broadcasted are noticeable. In addition, it is possible to grasp the situation of concluding the broadcasting exchange agreements, the opening of the Chinese channels, and the cases of Korea-China co-production. Examples of the exchange frame articles are as follows.

“With the establishment of the Korea-China relations on August 24, exchanges in the broadcasting market will be held soon as well. KBS Foreign Relations Team visited Beijing in February and agreed with CCTV president to exchange broadcasting, and is also pursuing sisterhood relationship with Yanbian Korean Broadcasting. In April, MBC president Choi Chang bong discussed ways to cooperate with the Beijing Olympic Committee, CCTV and Yanbian Radio. It was also announced that in June, SBS and Beijing TV have agreed to conclude a cooperation agreement if they establish Korea-

China relations. In addition, KBS and MBC joined the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union (ABU) in 1989 and receive news on Chinese culture and arts through Asia Vision TV. As the establishment of Korea-China relations is realized, the three Korean major broadcasting companies are planning to establish a concrete plan for broadcasting exchange that has been promoted, and to conclude exchange agreements by early next year.” (Kyunghyang, 1992)

“A TV drama, which has been popular in China, is making its debut in the South Korea small screen. ‘A native of Beijing in New York’ will be broadcasted on SBS for 50 minutes starting at 11:55 pm every Tuesday from September 5th, whose story is about the life of male and female in their thirties who immigrated to the United States.” (Kyunghyang, 1995.08.31)

“The increasing number of overseas collaboration of dramas are attracting attention. KBS is preparing a joint drama with China with the aim of broadcasting in the summer of 2000. There were some cases of overseas collaboration in the movies and TV entertainment programs, but this is the first time for the case of drama. Choi Sang-sik, the director of KBS drama who recently visited China to discuss a collaboration work said, ‘The Chinese side has agreed in principle that they will support the location and performers, and South Korean side will have the right to broadcast in China.’” (Dong-A Ilbo, 1999)

“Cable channel ‘Hao TV’ (representative Choi Jung-woo), which provides comprehensive information on China including Chinese dramas, movies, food, travel information and language, will be launched from September 1. The programs will be supplied through C.P. Brothers which exclusively supplies overseas copyrights of CCTV. Hao TV have already signed 300 contracts with the Beijing Office of the Cultural Contents Agency in July, including “Heroin Empress”, which was popular throughout China. It plans to increase imports of Chinese programs for the years ahead.” (Maeil Business, 2002)

Comparative frame and competitive frames accounted for a small percentage in neutral frame. This type compares Korean Wave and Chinese Wave, or includes reports about changes and reforms of drama industry and companies of both countries. The examples of the comparative frame are as follows.

“The Korean wave that has been hot for a while is a bit of a pause. There are Japanese people who blatantly criticize South Korean culture, and China’s chase to overcome South Korean dramas is pretty tough. Some of the South Korean stars who have entered the US market with their ambitious dreams are coming back, discouraged. Until now, the heat of the culture that has arisen on the boom of the Korean Wave has only focused on advertising ours. However, it is only possible after understanding and embracing the cultures of others, in order to make them feel attracted and to make our culture a standard. To abandon the state means to overcome the nation-centered thinking and the state-led

policy paradigm. The culture of an attractive country should be ingenious and universal at the same time. It is good to digest the culture of the developed countries and then spread it again, but if originality is lacking, it is no match for the original one. Drama that only emphasizes its own position on the issue of history only adds to the anti-Korea phenomenon.” (Chosun Ilbo, 2008)

“The key word to pay attention this year in domestic drama prospect is the ‘counterattack of Chinese drama’. The Korean wave in China which is re-ignited with the syndrome of ‘My Love from the Star’ has also influenced the popularity of Chinese dramas in South Korea. “Moon Lovers: Scarlet Heart Ryeo”, which Lee Jun Ki and IU are chosen to act the main role, is a remake drama of Chinese drama “Bu Bu Jing Xin (Scarlet Heart)”. “Rose War”, written by Ju Chan Ok, is also a remake drama of Chinese drama “Chinese Style Divorce”. The remake dramas of Chinese dramas in South Korea have attracted interest in their respective original drama. Also, Chinese dramas starring Korean actors are increasingly being imported into Korea.” (Hankyoreh, 2016)

Examples of the competitive frame articles are as follows. “In 2001, the Chinese government created Shanghai Media Group by integrating five broadcasting stations, including Shanghai Radio Station and Shanghai TV Station. As of the end of November last year, the number of paid subscribers reached 1.5 million, ranking second in the world after France. In 2007, Shanghai Media Group announced its aggressive future vision of becoming a leading player, broadening its broadcasting system,

diversifying its broadcasting markets, and declaring its intention to target its own markets and overseas markets with marketable programs. ‘Popularity of South Korean dramas in China is not the same as last year. But South Korean dramas are still welcomed by the young and the white-collar class. By taking example of South Korean dramas, the Chinese drama industry was able to complement its shortages. Thanks to that, excellent Chinese dramas have increased. These factors seem to affect the imports of South Korean dramas.’ (Dong-A Ilbo, 2009)

“South Korean drama that has taken over East Asia is being processed into ‘Made in China’ and is returning to South Korea. South Korean producers have been trying to target local Chinese by making works with Chinese actors and staffs after purchasing the rights of South Korean dramas. Under this situation, some South Korean dramas made in China are being exported back to South Korea.” (Chosun Ilbo, 2008)

Table 22. Media Coverage of Neutral Frame by Newspaper

Newspaper	Frame			Total
	Exchange	Comparative	Competitive	
Chosun Ilbo	3	2	1	6
Joongang Ilbo	0	0	1	1
DongA Ilbo	9	0	2	11
Maeil Business	9	1	0	10
Korea Economic Daily	3	0	2	5
Hankyoreh	7	1	1	9
Kyunghyang	7	0	2	9
Naver	2	0	0	2
Total	40	4	9	53

According to the media coverage of each type of neutral frame, Donga Ilbo, Maeil Business, Hankyoreh, and Kyunghyang newspaper reported a relatively large number of articles on Korea-China drama exchanges and joint dramas. The Dong-A Ilbo reported 6 articles of introductions on Chinese drama that are broadcasted in South Korea, 1 article on the co-produced drama, and 1 article on the launch of Chinese channel and another article on broadcasting exchange. In other newspapers, the contents were similar, only the number of reported article differed.

In the comparative frame articles, they compared the downward trend of the Korean wave and the rise of Chinese drama by using the term “Chinese Wave” or “Hualiu”. For instance, an article reported in 2008 in the Chosun Ilbo, it reported that Chinese drama is chasing to overcome South Korean drama, while the Korean wave seems to be fading due to anti-Korea phenomenon. In addition, an article reported in 2016, reported that South Korean drama is decreasing in Chinese television due to worsened Korea-China relationship with THAAD problem. However, it contrasted with the increase of Chinese dramas such as “Bu Bu Jing Xin” in South Korean television.

One or two articles of the competitive frame were reported for each type of newspaper, except for the Maeil Business and Naver. For example, in the Dong-A Ilbo, two news articles were reported on the competition of South Korean broadcasting companies over importation of Chinese martial arts dramas in order to secure viewer ratings, and another article was about the declaration of the Chinese companies to attack overseas markets. The Korea Economic Daily reported on the policy changes regarding drama production and the government’s immense support. Other articles in the

competitive frame also included changes and reforms in the drama industry and companies.

There was no difference in the dominant frame according to the characteristics of the type of newspaper because the articles of the neutral frame are reported in an objective and neutral attitude. All eight newspaper companies had the largest share of articles in the exchange frame, among which Dong-A Ilbo, Maeil Business, Hankyoreh, and Kyunghyang Newspaper reported the most articles.

As a result of the analysis of the dominant frame of Chinese drama related articles, the favorable frame was the most frequently appeared one. It included the contents such as favorable comments on Chinese dramas, the phenomenon of Chinese Wave in South Korea, and the growth of Chinese drama industry. This shows that the Korean media has continued to report on the exchange of Chinese and South Korean dramas and the situation of collaboration while giving favorable comments about Chinese dramas. Also, the fact that there are many articles on exchanges and collaborations suggests that Korea has been continuously importing Chinese dramas and is willing to learn Chinese good points through cooperation with Chinese companies.

The comparative frame articles suggest that the South Korean media is not blindly praising or disparaging Chinese drama. They rather see it as an opportunity to reform the South Korean drama market by reviewing the Chinese drama with an objective standpoint.

The competitive frame shows that the Chinese and Korean drama market are competing through changes and reforms in the drama industry and companies, not

obvious but they are conscious of each other. China has a fast pace of media development, and since 2005, it has been organizing foreign studies, so it has been expected that it will be equipped with a broadcasting industry environment at the level of advanced countries. In addition, China has lowered the rate of Korean drama import and the percentage of broadcasting because of its serious concern over its cultural protection. The Shanghai Media Group, including other China's global media groups, declared their intentions in overseas markets, and the Chinese government also launched media policies related to establishing and supporting drama production.

The least number of articles were categorized into suspicious/alert frame. This shows that the South Korean media did not try to lead the media with restraint consciousness toward China. In particular, there were only 3 cases of suspicious/alert frame reported by three major South Korean newspapers. It can be interpreted that the articles of suspicious/alert frame are not completely negative about Chinese drama but rather more concerned about the possibility of development of Chinese drama.

When analyzed by news frames of each newspaper, Dong-A Ilbo, Korea Economy, and Kyunghyang Newspaper mostly reported positive frame articles. On the other hand, Chosun Ilbo, Joongang Ilbo, Mael Business and Hankyoreh mostly reported neutral frame articles.

It is noteworthy that Chosun Ilbo, Korea Economic Daily, and Kyunghyang Newspaper, which have a high proportion of positive frame, reported a lot of positive articles related to Chinese dramas despite the different characteristics of newspapers. On the contrary, in the study of the Korean Wave news coverage in Chinese media by Yan

and Jeong (2015), it was confirmed that the content and formational characteristics of the article about Korean Wave can not escape from the characteristics of the Chinese newspaper and the cultural and political situation of China. South Korean newspapers are usually divided into progressive tendency newspaper and conservative tendency newspaper, and each has its political tendency, which is not unique in South Korea. China has a structure to control the media on the basis of socialist politics and diplomatic ideology, but there are some differences in the purpose of publishing and different ideology in each newspaper. Therefore, Korean wave phenomenon that occurred in China was reported in different frames by different newspapers.

Most of the articles collected for this study are categorized as culture-related reports, so it is difficult to grasp the tendency of pro-China or anti-China according to conservative newspapers and progressive newspapers. In addition, it seems difficult to say that the tendency between newspapers is completely contradictory, because their points are sometimes similar and sometimes contradictory depending on the issues. The following article is related to a political issue reported in the Dong-A Ilbo on August 10, 1997.

“In relation to this, an official from the Chinese government said, ‘This drama is related to various diplomatic issues such as the United States, Russia, North Korea, the United Nations, and the United Nations, and it also relates to domestic and foreign politicians. It is difficult to estimate the impacts of many sensitive issues.’ This suggests that the drama production was canceled for political reasons.” (Dong-A Ilbo, 1997)

Dong-A Ilbo is one of the conservative newspapers. The article above is categorized as neutral tone and suspicious/alert frame article because the context is holding a cautious attitude toward diplomatic and political issues that are closely related to the relationship of the two countries. However, the saying is from an official from the Chinese government, meaning that the overall tone of the article is unclear, not negative. Therefore, it is difficult to say that conservative newspapers always have anti-China characteristic or the other way.

3-1) Diplomatic Variable

The writer first selected diplomatic events that would have affected cultural exchanges between South Korea and China in order to confirm whether the diplomatic variables affect media coverage. From 1992 to 2017, seven notable diplomatic events between South Korea and China are selected. Then, the articles related to Chinese drama that were reported in the South Korean media during the period are organized as the following table. Originally, 1997 Asian financial crisis and China's entry into the WTO in 2001 were set as diplomatic variables as well, but they were deleted because there was no related article. The reason for the original addition was that the program revenue of Korean terrestrial broadcasting dropped sharply due to the Asian financial crisis in 1997, so it was thought that there will be a decrease in the number of articles reporting the inflow of Chinese dramas. In 2001, China joined the WTO, which is a notable event. After China joined the WTO, China recognized the necessity of strengthening its cultural

contents industry in preparation for the opening of the cultural contents sector. Therefore, China have implemented various policies for cultivating the cultural contents industry. So it was expected to see articles about strengthening the policy and management system of the Chinese drama industry during this period, but there was none, contrary to the expectation.

Table 23. Diplomatic Variables and Related News Articles

Event	Title of the article
1992 Establishment of Korea-China diplomatic relations	Rapid increase in broadcasting exchange after the establishment of Korea-China diplomatic relations (Kyunghyang, 1992.8.27)
The 10th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Korea and China	Chinese actress starring in Korean drama (Naver, 2002.8.21) Interview with Chinese ambassador to South Korea Li Bin in commemoration of the 10 anniversary of Korea-China diplomatic relations (Naver, 2002.8.22) Korea-China co-produced drama “Beijing My Love”, first filming in Beijing (Naver, 2003.12.2)
China’s Northeast Asia Project	China’s anti-hallyu, regulation on Korean dramas due to trade imbalance (Kyunghyang, 2006.6.24) Government intervention to ban “King and the Clown” (Kyunghyang, 2006.7.6) Chinese drama Goguryeo, depicts Yeon Gaesomun as an ambiguous identity (Hankyoreh, 2007.3.19)
2008 Beijing Olympic Games	MBC broadcasts Chinese drama “The Last Stop” (Kyunghyang, 2008.8.30)
The 20th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Korea and China	Oriental Classics Three Kingdoms fever, fueled by the 20th anniversary of Korea-China diplomatic relations (Naver, 2012.5.18) Channel CHING, first to broadcast Chinese masterpiece drama “The Qin Empire 2012” (Naver, 2012.8.29) New technology of TV drama...big market for broadcasting contents (Korea Economic Daily, 2012.8.30)

2015 Conclusion of Korea-China FTA	Upgrade of Korean Wave...Let's make Korea-China "one trillion cultural fund" (Maeil Business, 2015.5.20) Korea-China FTA, takes effect on 20th...will cosmetic and media resurge? (Korea Economic Daily, 2015.12.11)
2016 South Korea's Decision of THAAD placement	China's sanction on Korean contents...“Revenge of THAAD” (Hankyoreh, 2016.8.2) Chinese Wave will create a synergy effect of Hallyu (Korea Economic Daily, 2016.8.31) Yoo In na released from a Chinese drama after filming two thirds of the drama. Is it the effect of THAAD? (Korea Economic Daily, 2016.8.31)

On August 24, 1992, South Korea and China signed the joint statement of the diplomatic relations. Since the establishment of Korea-China diplomatic relations, bilateral relations have made remarkable progress, and there have been active exchanges not only in politics, diplomacy, and security but also in economic, communication, social and cultural fields. Korea-China relations have also gained great success in the field of cultural exchanges. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, the contents of broadcasting exchanges have changed greatly both quantitatively and qualitatively. After the establishment of diplomatic relations, the three major South Korean broadcasting companies contacted Chinese broadcasting companies including CCTV, and concluded many broadcasting exchange agreements (Kyunghyang, 1992)

After the establishment of Korea-China diplomatic relations, KBS exchanged agreements with China's Shanghai TV on November 10, 1992, and with Yan Yan TV on November 25, 1992. Starting with this, local KBS affiliates promised to cooperate with various broadcasting companies of Chinese provinces. MBC affiliates also began to

enter into partnership agreements with various Chinese major broadcasting companies with the cooperation of the head office in accordance with the agreement of MBC headquarters. Starting with the agreement between Chuncheon MBC and Hangzhou TV in Zhejiang Province in December 1993, 12 local affiliates have been aligning with local broadcasting companies in China up to March 2001.

SBS also promoted cooperation projects in broadcasting with China from early 1992 and concluded a broadcasting agreement with Beijing TV on February 12. This agreement was the first formal agreement to be made in the broadcasting field after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. At that time, SBS was metropolitan area based television company, targeting Seoul and Gyeonggi area. Beijing TV had similar characteristics in that it was local broadcasting of direct-controlled municipalities of Beijing. Therefore, the national network such as KBS and MBC must conclude an agreement with China General Bureau of Broadcasting, but local broadcasting company SBS was able to conclude direct agreements with individual broadcasting companies (Korea Broadcasting Institute, 2001: 44).

Exchange of cultural contents between South Korea and China has become active on the basis of program exchanges, production cooperation and mutual exchange of visits promised between South Korean and Chinese broadcasting companies. In 1995, there were especially many articles reporting about the inflow of Chinese dramas into South Korea, which is the largest number of articles collected during the selected time period. Between 1992 and 1999, Chinese drama whose genre was mostly focused on martial arts was exported to South Korea and received favorable reviews from South

Korean viewers. Among the dramas that were aired during this period, “A native of Beijing in New York” and “Daughter of the Emperor” became very popular and many articles related to these dramas were reported. Most of the articles were reported belonged to the favorable frame with positive tone or the exchange frame with neutral tone.

Next, in the year of the 10th anniversary of Korea-China diplomatic relations in 2002, related articles were reported as well. On August 21, 2002, Naver News reported that the exchange between South Korea and China is active for the commemoration of 10th anniversary of the Korea-China diplomatic relations. Another article was about two Chinese actresses who were scheduled to appear in South Korean dramas. It was noticeable because it was the first time that Chinese actor appeared in South Korean drama. It seemed that both South Korea and China regarded the 10th anniversary of Korea-China diplomatic relations as a meaningful event. On August 22, Naver News published an interview report of the Chinese ambassador to South Korea. In response to the question of how to see the Korean Wave boom in China, Ambassador Li said, “The Korean Wave is a result of the close relationship between China and South Korea. South Korea is also interested in China. This explains that the people of the two countries are interested, curious, and friendly to each other. I think this will contribute to the development of bilateral relations and the promotion of friendship. Many Chinese people know many actors and singers in South Korea. I think South Korean TV dramas are welcomed in China because both countries have similar culture and feelings.” When asked about South Korean’s degree of interest in China, he said, “We are keeping an eye

on the 'Chinese Wave' in South Korea. Currently, the number of South Korean students is the highest among foreign students in China. The development of bilateral relations is fueling this heat. We will provide all the necessary help for the 'Chinese Wave' in South Korea. I hope many people use the Chinese Cultural Center which will be opened at the end of this year or early next year." Also, in 2002, 'Hao TV', a China-related comprehensive information cable, was opened. As a result, Chinese drama was expected to flow more into South Korea. With its launch, it concluded contracts for more than 300 dramas" (Maeil Business, 2002). Among the articles reported in 2002, there were articles reporting about the huge fan base for Chinese drama in South Korea. The articles introduced the popularity factors of Chinese dramas such as splendid spectacles, colorful traditional costumes, and martial arts scenes. The articles also informed about the existence of Chinese drama communities. The positive contents of the articles reported in 2002 show that South Korea and China have been putting a lot of effort to make the bilateral relations flow in a positive direction after the establishment of the diplomatic relations. It was also seen that the two countries are commemorating their 10th anniversary of the diplomatic relations, and more active exchange of cultural contents are expected thereafter.

The Northeast Project is a research project initiated by China since 2002 to incorporate all history developed within the Chinese border into Chinese history. China decided to promote research on the Northeast Project in June 2001, and on February 18 of the following year, it was approved by the government and officially started to promote the Northeast Project. Research period was set to be five years from 2001 to

2006, but the distortion of history for their purpose is still underway. The ultimate goal is to prevent the territorial disputes that may occur when the Korean Peninsula is unified by making the history of Northeast China and especially Goguryeo and Balhae which are strategic regions of China into China's history. Among the collected articles, from 2002 to 2006, 2 articles were found in 2006 and 1 article was found in 2007.

“The atmosphere of anti-Korean drama in China is something strange. The imports of South Korean drama declined sharply, and the drama deliberation was completely shelved for six months. The reason China's imports of South Korean dramas have decreased is because of the growing awareness that ‘Korean Wave is not a cultural exchange but a unilateral cultural invasion’ in China. There exist concerns among Chinese high-ranking officials and big distributors about South Korean drama boom regarding the topic of Goguryeo. In Korea, dramas dealing with Goguryeo and its descendant Balhae, such as MBC “Jumong”, KBS “Dae Jo-yong”, and SBS “Yeon Gaesomun” are being produced at the same time. China is taking this situation as a cultural response of the South Korean government to the Northeast project that China is promoting. (Kyunghyang, 2006.6.24)

“China has begun to build a ‘Great Wall’ to prevent the Korean Wave from flowing into China. The screening of the movie ‘King and the Clown’ in China has been frustrated, and regulatory movements for South Korean dramas are becoming conspicuous. If so, why is China building a shield against the Korean Wave? An official of the broadcasting

company said, “Firstly, Daejanggum was a huge success in China, while Chinese drama was not so popular in Korea. Secondly, it is analyzed that the recent Goguryeo-related dramas in South Korea contradict with the Northeast Project of China.” (Kyunghyang, 2006.7.6)

“A large historical drama called ‘Xue Rengui’, which is being aired on Chinese television these days, has raised concerns that it will become a ‘Northeast project drama’. This is because Xue Rengui is the person who took down Goguryeo and became the governor of Protectorate General to Pacify the East. In Xue Rengui, Goguryeo appears to be an unidentified country called ‘Balryo’. The name ‘Balryo’ is speculated to be made after the preceding letters of ‘Balhae’ and ‘Yodong’, and the country has not existed in China and East Asian history. At that time, the king of Goguryeo was ‘Balgun’, while Yeon Gaesomun is called ‘CheolSaemoon’, which are also non-existing names. On the other hand, Li Shi wen and other major characters of Dang dynasty appear in real names. Moreover, the drama is full of fictional devices that are far from historical facts.” (Hankyoreh, 2007)

All the articles which mentioned “Northeast Project” were articles of negative tone and suspicious/alert frame. It implies that Northeast Project has worsened Korea-China relationship, which directly affected drama exchanges between the two countries. By referring to the **Table 17**, the tone of the articles organized by year, it is noticeable that articles of negative tone were reported before and after 2006. There are three main

reasons for the tension between South Korea and China during this period.

First, it is the anti-Korea sentiment that was rising in China around 2005. In 2005, Daejanggum was broadcasted in China, which caused explosive popularity across the country and led to the Korean Wave in China. However, as a reaction to this, Chinese social leaders demanded for people's self-examination of blindly following Korean wave. Then there was a phenomenon of young netizens criticizing South Korean culture. The Chinese government was moving to strengthen its legislative regulation with the expectation that the Korean Wave will infringe on its culture. These kinds of actions were called "anti-Korean Wave" in the sense that the actions show resistance to the Korean Wave. It was intended to reject the Korean Wave to protect the cultural area of the country which was being encroached by the Korean Wave. Due to the severe imbalance in the drama trade, China has drastically reduced the imports of South Korean dramas and tightened broadcasting regulations to prevent the prevalence of Korean Wave.

Second is the Northeast Project as described above. The reaction of the South Koreans to the Northeast project has aggravated bilateral relations. Third is drama trade imbalance between South Korea and China. The amount of Chinese drama imported by South Korea is only one tenth of the amount of South Korean dramas imported by China. China has no choice but to watch out for the influx of South Korean drama into China, because China is very concerned about the protection of its culture.

2008 was the year when the very historic Beijing Olympic Games were held in China. As a result of the Beijing Olympic Games, China has been at the center of

attention from media and people all over the world. Upon this opportunity, China strived to establish friendly relationships and to have exchanges with other countries to raise its national image in the international community. However, among the collected Chinese drama-related articles, only two cases in 2005 and 2008 mentioned about the Beijing Olympic Games. An article reported on June 24, 2005 in Kyunghyang newspaper said that China have started its systematical foreign investigations, and will have advanced countries' level of broadcasting environment with the Beijing Olympic Games. On August 30, 2008, Kyunghyang newspaper reported an introductory article about a Chinese drama called "The Last Stop" which was aired on MBC. It introduced some of the spectacles of the drama in a positive tone, and forecasted that the exchange of cultural content between South Korea and China will become more active due to South Korea's increased interest in China with China's successful hosting of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. Even though there is no direct mention of the Beijing Olympics, in an article reported in 2008, the reporter wrote that Chinese drama is currently chasing South Korean dramas and some positive results are being shown.

2012 is a meaningful year because it is the 20th anniversary of Korea-China diplomatic relations. There are 8 Chinese drama-related articles reported by South Korean media, which is a greater number compared to other years. Three of the articles directly mentioned the "20th anniversary of Korea-China diplomatic relations". On May 18, 2012, Naver News reported on the 20th anniversary of the Korea-China diplomatic relations that the representative oriental classics "The Three Kingdoms" is newly attracting attentions of South Korean audiences. In addition, the cable channel CHING

operated by Hyundai Media is also broadcasting 95-episode masterpiece drama “Three Kingdoms” in celebration of the 20th anniversary of Korea-China diplomatic relations. According to the ratings survey company AGB Nielsen Media Research, the average viewer rating of “The Three Kingdoms” broadcasted on April 21 was 0.762, which was the highest among overseas dramas⁴. According to an article reported on May 28, 2012 in the Maeil Business newspaper, 10 billion-worth masterpiece Chinese dramas were exported to South Korea. On August 29, 2012, Naver News reported on the broadcasting of another Chinese masterpiece drama called “The Qin Empire 2012”. Besides, in an interview with CHING official, he said “In the commemoration of 20th anniversary of the Korea-China diplomatic relations, we would like to contribute to the development of cultural exchanges between the two countries by presenting the latest version of the ‘The Qin Empire (大秦帝国)’ . In addition, according to the article reported in the Korea Economic Daily on August 30, 2012, the number of Chinese buyers participated in the 12th International Broadcasting Contents Exhibition (BCWW) held in COEX on September 5 to 7 was three times higher than last year. It is seen as the effect of the 20th anniversary of diplomatic relations between South Korea and China.

On June 1, 2015, South Korea and China formally signed the Korea-China FTA. In the 11th round of negotiations held in May 2014, South Korea and China began to discuss on the market opening for broadcasting services. However, there were some difficulties in consultation between the two countries due to China’s own cultural

⁴ Because China has a large population and more than 1,300 TV channels, it is considered a big hit if the viewer ratings exceed 1% (KOCCA, 2015: 80).

protection policy. China has excluded the broadcasting sector from the negotiations in order to strengthen its broadcasting contents and to protect its cultural identity. After complaining of this problem, it was finally concluded with co-production agreement of broadcasting contents in the 13th round of negotiations in September, 2014. This was evaluated as an alternative to the full opening of the broadcasting sector and concluded that further agreements would be considered in the future negotiations (Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy, 2015). The cultural contents industry is considered to be the biggest beneficiary of the Korea-China FTA, and exchanges will become more active if the obstacles to bilateral exchanges are resolved.

On July 13, 2016, South Korea finalized its decision to place the THAAD in Seongsanpo, Sungsan-eup, GyeongSangbukdo. However, the Chinese government was resolutely opposed to it, and the tension between South Korea and China started to mount. This shows that the content and the format of the Chinese drama-related news reports can not escape the cultural and political situation between the two countries, thus confirming the hypothesis that “the export of Chinese drama to South Korea is affected by bilateral relations”.

3-2) National Policies

The second variable that is thought to affect South Korean media reports on Chinese dramas is “national policy”. This chapter have examined the policies related to the cultural industry and broadcasting in both South Korea and China. In the 2000s,

China started to develop its cultural industry. Since its accession to the WTO in December 2001, China began to gradually open its broadcasting industry, and it has provided institutional supports for the development of the cultural industry. In the early 2001, the Chinese Communist Party's the 10th Five-Year Plan (2001-2005) addressed the need for the development of cultural industry. Among the Chinese drama-related articles reported during this period, there was no article regarding Chinese policies, but 16 out of 28 articles were reported in a positive tone, while only two articles were reported in a negative tone.

As 11 reports on the exchanges and cooperation between the two countries were reported, it can be seen that China has aimed to globalize the Chinese media industry by promoting the export of Chinese drama. In 2010, the Chinese government's policy to cultivate the cultural industry is also noteworthy. For instance, the Chinese government has announced the "Financial Support of Cultural Industry to Promote the Prosperity and Development Guidance (关于金融支持文化产业振兴和发展繁荣的指导意见)". According to this policy, Chinese cultural industry received preferential treatment for tax revenue for three years starting from 2011. In the "12th Five-Year Plan (2011-2015)", China proposed to enhance international competitiveness of Chinese culture by promoting cultural broadcasting industry as core industry of national economy, strengthening public relations and cultural exchange on the basis of it, and implementing overseas expansion strategies for Chinese cultural contents.

In 2013, the Xi Jinping government suggested "Going out policy" as a major slogan of China's cultural policy. China has been developing cultural industries for the

purpose of enhancing the national image of the country since the late 1990s. In particular, China has become a powerful country in terms of political and economic, and now is trying to increase its position and influence in the international society through culture, value, and policy which are all together called “Soft Power”. China is striving for the development of foreign cultural trade through the development of various cultural contents and the overseas expansion strategy. China’s overseas expansion strategy was originally promoted by Jiang Zemin in 1997, promoting Chinese companies’ business abroad. It was promoted as a national strategy at the 3rd conference of the 9th National People’s Congress in 2000, and it was established as a major development strategy.

Since then, in 2003, Hu Jintao actively promoted the development of cultural industry, thus the strategy of overseas expansion of Chinese culture was naturally formed under the promotion of economic development strategy. Comparing the news frame organized by time, Chinese drama was more frequently broadcasted in South Korea, and the case of collaboration between South Korea and China increased in the 2000s than in the 1990s. Consequently, the number of articles in the comparative frame and suspicious/alert frame have also increased as the Chinese drama industry grew.

In the case of South Korea, the South Korean government stopped its diplomatic relations with Taiwan after the establishment of Korea-China diplomatic relations in 1992, and from that time, exchanges between South Korea and China started to vitalize. Since then, South Korea’s major broadcasting companies officially concluded various agreements on broadcasting exchanges. As a result, the number of regular meetings, human interchanges and program exchanges between the two countries have

increased. One of China's complaints about drama exchanges with South Korea is the severe drama trade imbalance. In order to solve this problem, the Korea International Cultural Foundation is importing Chinese dramas and supplying them to domestic channels, but it is still not a fundamental countermeasure.

3-3) Changes in supplier and consumer

In this chapter, China and South Korea is regarded as supplier and consumer respectively. This chapter examines what kind of changes have been made and how they influenced the spread of Chinese drama in South Korea. The SARFT is the official authority of China's most authoritative media, and is a direct institution under the State Council that oversees the radio and TV film industry. The SARFT set up a drama department to specialize in the management and monitoring of office work such as production, trading and broadcasting of Chinese drama. This was aimed at strengthening the regulation and management of this field, strengthening the norms of the market, establishing a sound market trading system, and expanding the market size through positive development of drama. In 2003, a license for production of TV drama was issued to private production companies, which is actually allowing the outsourcing production. As a result, the production subjects diversified into new media, video culture companies, general public, and advertisers.

After the establishment of Korea-China diplomatic relations, South Korea signed the SBS-Beijing TV broadcasting agreement on February 2, 1993, the first

official agreement on broadcasting. On September 1, 2002, starting with HAOTV, China TV, CHING TV, and ASIAN TV was launched. Among the collected articles, there are reports on HAOTV in 2002, China TV in 2003, and Zhonghua TV in 2005. These channels are the main routes and platforms for the Chinese drama to enter South Korea, and it has a pretty solid audience.

An important change for both Korea and China in the 2000s was the expansion of the Internet platform. China has been expanding its broadcasting market due to the increase of digital broadcasting and internet platform in the 2000s, and especially the TV drama production market has expanded rapidly. South Korea has also expanded its routes for the South Korean viewers to easily watch Chinese programs, for example by using YouTube, Naver Store, and Gom TV. Consequently, the number of reports by period increased from 29 in 1992-1999 to 46 in 2000-2009.

“Web drama” is the emerging cultural content of China, and the web drama market is growing rapidly due to the growth of mobile devices. Web drama is a video streaming service for viewing on mobile devices or web. Its running time vary from minimum 3 minutes to 50 minutes. Compared to movies and dramas, it has a wide range of creative works. Besides, most of the viewers are young, so the web dramas are very trendy and produced in diverse subjects and genres. Web dramas are popular in that they are easily accessed anywhere at anytime. On August 1, 2016, an article in the Korean Economic Daily reported a positive news about the Chinese web drama.

“The Chinese web drama “Mie Zui Shi (灭罪师)” is loved in South Korea. Recently,

this Chinese web drama has attracted mysterious drama enthusiasts in South Korea, and many viewers join the Iqiyi Web site of China to watch the drama. “Mie Zui Shi” is a mystery thriller, and it is the first time that Chinese drama of this genre making a hit in South Korea. “Mie Zui Shi” was much loved by South Korean viewers, and has deepened Korean-Chinese culture, which will have a positive impact on both countries.” (Korea Economic Daily, 2016)

The change in South Korea as a Chinese drama audience is the “formation of the Internet community” and the “Internet bulletin board phenomenon”. In 2002, 2003 and 2004, there were three reports on Chinese drama communities in total, one for respective year. According to the report of Chosun Ilbo on July 11, 2003, it can be seen that forming Chinese drama community is regarded as a new cultural trend. The Chinese drama community with the largest number of members in South Korea is “MJBox, martial arts Chinese drama” with 149,560 members by the search on April 27, 2017. Community members do not simply download dramas, share subtitles, and share information. Instead, they are actively asking broadcasters to rebroadcast or to import their favorite dramas (Kim, 2015: 19). As the writer is serving as a member of the community, it was interesting to see that the regular Chinese drama audiences were much more solid than expected, and that there were many active members in the community. Therefore, when it comes to the study of the acceptance of Chinese dramas in Korea, it is a good way to set Chinese drama community existing in Korea as research subject. In addition to the community-based sites, official bulletin boards of Chinese channels are

also becoming a window of communication. The main reason for the study of audiences in the communities and comments on bulletin boards is that they are a window to show straightforward and immediate reactions to the Chinese dramas unlike the existing media. Therefore, it is possible to grasp the whole situation of how Chinese drama is accepted in South Korea.

Above chapters have examined what policies have been implemented to develop China's cultural industry, and in particular, the focus was on the strategies to promote overseas export of cultural contents for globalization, which China has been focusing on in the TV drama industry after 2000s as well. Finally, the last chapter looked at how Chinese dramas have been accepted in South Korea, that is, whether the Chinese drama overseas strategy has been effectively adapted in South Korea. It is true that exporting drama through China's strategy of overseas expansion is an important way of cultural propagation and it is important not only for economic effect but also for informing the China to the world. Due to such benefits, China is trying to increase economic profit and improve international image by the power of media contents including drama. However, it is difficult to measure whether it is effectively accepted in South Korea due to some reasons. According to Xu (2015), looking at the South Korean drama market, 75 percent are domestic dramas, 25 percent are made up of dramas from the United States, and the rest are dramas from Hong Kong, Taiwan and mainland China. The amount of Chinese drama exported to South Korea is only about one tenth of South Korean dramas exported to China. There are some problems to be improved such as the quality of Chinese drama itself and the Chinese government's restriction on the materials

and contents of the to be exported dramas by emphasizing its culture protection policy. Thus, the exported Chinese dramas are monotonous in themes and plotlines, so they can not satisfy the diverse interests of overseas viewers. Beginning in 2002, South Korea opened the first specialized channel for Chinese programs, but viewers are still limited to Chinese drama enthusiasts. Since the demand is not so large, the broadcasting time is mostly the night time, and the broadcast frequency is also small. In addition, the South Korean government has implemented policies to protect its own culture, limiting the broadcasting of foreign contents. Furthermore, in terms of cultural discount, people can reasonably expect the cultural discount phenomenon might be insignificant between China and Korea because they are the same Confucian culture. However, after the Second World War, the influence of American and European culture has increased, and cultural difference with China has increased. For similar reasons, Chinese drama has never reached the box office level in terms of export volume nor popularity in other countries as well. Especially, since South Korea is a cultural powerhouse and is leading the Korean wave by drama, it seems much more difficult for Chinese drama to be loved and settled in South Korea.

VI. Conclusion

Cultural competition has become an important part of international competition, and as many countries recognize the importance of soft power, they are entering into international competition in the form of exporting cultural goods which contain their own values. China has also pursued a series of policies and strategies to cultivate the cultural industry. From the point of its reform and opening-up, China's cultural industry strategy is usually grouped into three stages: initial formation stage, rudimentary stage, and full development stage. Particularly from the 2000s, China has been making efforts to promote globalization of Chinese culture and soft power of the nation through the strategy of overseas expansion of culture, which is called "Going out strategy".

Among diverse areas of cultural industry, the paper looked into Chinese media industry. With the development of new media technology, many global media enterprises are being created throughout the world. Media enterprises in China are growing rapidly not only domestically but also internationally because they are on the alert for opportunities to expand its business area to foreign countries. In this sense, developing and strengthening media industry can be seen as a part of China's globalization strategy which aims to spread Chinese cultural media contents throughout the world. The characteristics of Chinese media industry which are shown recently can be listed as follows. First, the rise of IT-based companies and their entry into internet platform including web drama market. Second, related companies such as media enterprises or broadcasting companies seek merger and acquisition at home and abroad in order to

further expand their business along with the trend of increasing internet platform. Third, China buys in excellent IP with its powerful capital strength. Unlike South Korea who owns many IP, China has few, so they are eager to purchase great IP from foreign countries. Once they acquire IP, they develop them into more profitable contents, and then spread the derivatives both at home and abroad. South Korea is also a market of opportunities for China to secure IP because South Korean drama, which is represented by the so-called Korean Wave, already has many enthusiasts in China. By purchasing great Korean IP, it is relatively easier to earn recognition of the work, and is also possible to go for the effect of killing two birds with one stone by attracting the enthusiasts of the corresponding IP. There have already been many cases where China bought popular TV drama IP or movie IP of South Korea and remade it as Chinese drama or film, and these moves are still actively underway.

Subsequently, the paper looked into the Chinese TV drama market. Among Chinese cultural contents, TV drama has a great cultural influence, therefore plays an important role in spreading Chinese culture abroad, forming national image, and enhancing national competitiveness. This gave the reason to explore how the characteristics explained above and the globalization strategy is adapted in the Chinese TV drama market. Chinese TV drama is slow in overseas propagation and overseas acceptance because of the social background of China, shortage of skilled manpower, poor quality of the drama itself, and cultural differences etc. This is why China started to aim internet platform by promoting global IT-based enterprises such as BAT. More and more Chinese producers are self-creating contents, but at the same time, they are

keep doing mergers and acquisitions and buys in IP with their powerful capital strength.

In the media coverage analysis, the paper investigated South Korean case to see how the Chinese drama was accepted in South Korea by analyzing “Chinese TV drama” related news coverage since 1992 to present (April, 2017). According to the National Bureau of Statistics of the People’s Republic of China, the amount of overseas exports of Chinese TV drama has been steadily increasing from 2008 to present. The fact that the growth of Chinese TV drama export is maintained means that the demand for Chinese TV drama always existed since 1992, and also South Korea wished to be in a good relationship with China in the field of drama industry. Besides, South Korea had to import a certain amount of Chinese drama in order to avoid China’s growing complaints about adverse balance of drama trade. Through the press release, it was seen that Chinese drama has been flowing into South Korea steadily from the time of the establishment of diplomatic relations. Also, it was possible to know what kinds of drama was broadcasted on which channel at what time. Besides, it was possible to grasp the situation of concluding broadcasting exchange agreements, the opening of Chinese professional channels, and the cases of production of Korea-China joint dramas. Recently, articles reporting about Chinese web drama and opening of new online platforms were frequently seen. The yearly trends of Chinese drama contents and the number of articles showed that they are in line with the events in both countries. The events that affected news report are diplomatic variables, policy changes, and changes in supplier and consumer. It was seen that South Korean media reports on Chinese TV drama are influenced by bilateral relations of China and South Korea.

In fact, in order to conduct a research on the reaction of the actual viewers, questionnaire survey or interview method might be more appropriate method. However, the reason for not using this method was due to the lack of reliability of the results. At the beginning, a questionnaire was being conducted as one of the main methodology. However, because proper sampling was not done in the selection of subjects, and also because the number of the subjects was small, the reliability of the hypothesis was inferior. The reason for the difficulty in sampling was due to the fact that Chinese drama forms the mania group so that the result could not be generalized as the result of South Korean. So, in order to make the result more meaningful, the writer compared two groups of people: Chinese drama community members and non-Chinese drama community members. But this sample selection also had a problem that the general people outside the community are acquaintance of the writer, therefore the result still cannot be generalized. As a result, media coverage analysis was selected as the main methodology to examine South Korea's acceptance of Chinese drama considering the relative objectivity of the news report.

Also, with regard to "soft power," which has often appeared in the text, it is not easy to study because the concept and measurement are somewhat ambiguous. Unlike hard power, soft power is formed over a long period of time and gradually shows its effect. In addition, because soft power resources are derived from culture, it is not easy for harmony among countries to occur, resulting in a "cultural discount" phenomenon. Because of these reasons, it is difficult to evaluate the effects of Chinese dramas on the people of another nation.

By examining the developmental history of Chinese cultural industry, its policies and trends, it was able to understand what kinds of environmental changes and technological advances lie below the rapid growth of Chinese cultural media market. China's recent business strategies such as active mergers and acquisitions is expected to generate incredible level of synergy. If high-quality Chinese TV dramas are spread through overseas expansion strategy, that is an important export of cultural propagation, and will play an important role not only in economic effect but also in promoting China to the world. In short, drama export is of national import, both economically and culturally in that cultural contents export and the derivatives can create substantial economic benefits, and at the same time it can form favorable national image throughout the world. Although it is difficult to evaluate how and how much Chinese drama changes their international image and public recognition of foreign viewers, it was possible to see overall favorable acceptance in the case of South Korea by conducting media coverage analysis.

Chinese drama still has some problems in overseas expansion. China needs efforts to improve the quality of the drama itself, to strengthen the government's support for overseas expansion, and to diversify the ways to advertise and promote Chinese drama. In addition, the "cultural discounts" phenomenon that exist in the acceptance of Chinese drama in South Korea are inevitable due to the socio-cultural differences between the two countries. Under such circumstances, China should seek ways to better understand each other and narrow the gap by providing ways of exchanging and learning between the two countries. In this way, China would be able to reduce the cultural

discount phenomenon by transmitting universal values that matches with the values of the countries of the world.

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국문초록

중국은 2000년대 이후로 미디어 콘텐츠의 해외 진출을 장려하고 강화하는 정책을 펼쳐왔다. 정부가 공식적으로 문화의 해외진출 및 소프트파워의 중요성을 강조하였고, “조우추취 (走出去)”라는 전략 하에서 관련 정책, 협정, 지원이 마련되었다. 최근 중국 미디어 산업에서 보여지는 경영 전략의 특징은 크게 세 가지로 볼 수 있는데, IT 기업들의 온라인 미디어 플랫폼 진출과 이러한 기업들의 국내 및 해외 인수합병, 그리고 막대한 자본력을 통한 IP 매입이다. 이러한 특징들도 콘텐츠의 해외 진출 전략의 일환으로 볼 수 있다.

본 논문은 중국이 2000년대부터 주력하고 있는 중국의 해외 진출 전략에 초점을 맞추고 있다. 이러한 전략이 중국 드라마 산업에 어떻게 적용되는지를 살펴보고, 또한 미디어 기사 분석을 통해 중국 드라마가 한국에 유입되어 온 내용, 방법, 수용에 대해 연구한다.

한국과 중국은 1992년 한중수교를 기점으로 하여 드라마 교역을 꾸준히 해 왔다. 미디어 기사 분석에 따르면, 중국의 드라마 수출과 그 보도 태도는 양국 간의 문화, 정치, 외교적 상황에 민감하게 영향을 받는다. 대체적으로 한국 시청자들과 관련 업계 사람들에게 호의적인 평가를 얻어온 것으로 보도되며 수출량도 증가세를 유지해 왔으나, 그 정도가 미미하고 심한 무역

역조를 겪고 있다. 중국의 사회적 배경, 숙련된 인력의 부족, 드라마 자체의 질이 낮다는 문제와, 문화 차이로 인한 문화적 할인 현상이 일부 원인이 된다. 특히 문화 강국이며 드라마로 한류를 이끌어가고 있는 한국의 경우에는 그 수용이 더 어려운 것으로 보인다.

주요어: 중국 문화산업, 중국 문화산업 전략, 해외진출전략, 중국 드라마

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