International Television Broadcasting in East Asia: Current Situation and Challenges

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International broadcasting intended for overseas audiences was long conducted via shortwave radio. Since the 1990s, however, rapid technological innovations such as digitization and the spread of satellite broadcasting have led international broadcasting stations around the world to shift their focus from shortwave radio to satellite television as the more powerful media for propagating information. Broadcasters not only in the West but in East Asia have made strenuous efforts to overcome the various challenges faced in the rapidly changing arena of worldwide international broadcasting.

The subjects of this study are South Korea’s Arirang TV and KBS World, China’s CCTV-9, and Japan’s NHK World TV. I will present an overview of each broadcaster and analyze the main features of their operations. As discussed in fuller detail below, Arirang TV focuses much of its efforts on cultural programs, and, in its efforts to carry out operations on a low budget, has streamlined its programming by outsourcing production. KBS World emphasizes entertainment programs, particularly dramas, rather than cultural programs. Instead of producing programs targeted specifically for international audiences, it rebroadcasts programs originally produced for domestic viewers. CCTV-9, on the other hand, has worked together with the state to create reception conditions conducive to spreading China’s views in the world.

The purpose of this study is to investigate and analyze the current state of East Asian broadcasters’ English-language international television broadcasting services designed for viewers overseas, and the issues they face. With the advance of globalization, countries in the West, Asia, and the Middle East have stepped up efforts to transmit information abroad. In Japan as well, specific policies to promote international broadcasting have been deliberated since 2006. Much remains to be discussed regarding international broadcasting, such as who should carry it out, what should be broadcast, who the target audience should be, and how it should be funded.

1 For six months beginning in early 2006, reforms for communications and broadcasting were deliberated by a private panel set up by then Internal Affairs and Communications Minister
Several studies have been conducted thus far on international broadcasting in East Asia. A representative example is that conducted by Hwang Seongbin on the internationalization and globalization of broadcasting in the region. Hwang observed that to compete with foreign media, governments in East Asia are taking a leading role in the globalization of broadcasting, and that to understand the trend, it is necessary to direct our attention to the shaping of broadcasting laws and policies at the state level. Hwang’s study came out in 1998, and since then, significant changes have taken place in Korea (in some cases broadcasting companies taking over the initiative in globalization of broadcasting from the state), but the study is still extremely useful in understanding broadcasting conditions in the 1990s. Another example is a 2004 study by Lee Eunmi on the state of international broadcasting in several major countries, focusing particularly on Korea. Lee organizes the results of an investigation of six other countries (U.S., U.K., Germany, France, Japan, and China, in that order), which is useful in attaining a basic understanding of international broadcasting in those nations. However, international broadcasting has undergone major changes since the paper was written, necessitating an update to the study. Lastly, there is James White’s comparative study of the globalization process at three Asian broadcasters. The study analyzes Japan’s NHK, China’s CCTV, and Hong Kong-based STAR TV as case studies of a public broadcaster, state broadcaster, and commercial broadcaster, respective-

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ly, and is valuable in considering how broadcasting services are provided by international broadcasters of differing types. However, no Korean case is mentioned in that study.

Taking these previous works into consideration, the present study covers South Korea in lieu of Hong Kong, as a case of the transmission of information originating in a non-English-speaking region in East Asia. Furthermore, because of dramatic changes taking place at international broadcasters in China, South Korea, and Japan, such as the succession of new management policies being drawn up, it is important that this investigation and analysis be based on the latest data obtainable. Such information has been acquired from internal reports of the broadcasting companies, or, in case such information has not been published, through interviews with the appropriate personnel involved at each company.

INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING: FROM RADIO TO TV

International broadcasting is defined as broadcasting that transcends national borders and is aimed for audiences abroad. Article 2 of Japan’s Broadcast Law describes international broadcasting as “broadcasting intended for reception in other countries.” However, as the focus of international broadcasting shifted from radio to television, the definition of international broadcasting has also evolved. Instead of producing and editing programs specifically for foreign audiences as originally defined, programs from film, entertainment, and sports channels created for domestic viewing are increasingly being broadcast abroad as “television transcending national boundaries.” Today, as “program supply” channels based on agreements between broadcasting countries and the receiving countries, such broadcasting is considered a form of international broadcasting. Such programs are commonly broadcast in English, regardless of the language used in the country where they are aired.

Objectives
In the late 1950s, George Codding described four objectives of international broadcasting: “(a) to present the best of the culture and ideas of the broadcasting country; (b) to present world news objectively; (c) to explain the broadcasting country’s viewpoint on important world problems; and (d) to promote international understanding.” Today, half a century later, there have

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been no major changes to these objectives. An agreement the BBC signed with the British government in 2006 stated the BBC's long-term goals as “a) the provision of an accurate, unbiased and independent news service covering international and national developments, b) the presentation of a balanced British view of those developments, and c) the accurate and effective representation of British life, institutions and achievements.” However, the term international broadcasting covers a wide range of broadcasting, and their objectives are not limited to the abovementioned. Sydney Head classifies broadcasting into seven categories based on content: 1) spillover signals, both domestic and military; 2) official external services; 3) surrogate domestic services (on the assumption that actual domestic broadcasting conceals the truth from its own audiences, a foreign surrogate service offers substitute, uncensored home news and information); 4) unofficial political services; 5) military services; 6) external commercial stations, including peripheral, long-distance, and pirate stations; and 7) religious stations.” Except for non-official broadcasting, objectives differ somewhat according to each category.

During the Cold War, international broadcasting, mostly conducted via shortwave radio, was a common propaganda tool employed by both the communist and noncommunist camps. After the end of the Cold War, satellite television became the primary vehicle of international broadcasting, and international broadcasting came to play a larger role in economic affairs.

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7 See Department of Culture, Media and Sport, *Broadcasting: An Agreement Between Her Majesty’s Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport and the British Broadcasting Corporation* (London, July 2006), Article 64, Section 6. According to Minoha Nobuhiro’s “BBC tokkyojo wa do kawattaka” [How the BBC Charter Has Changed], *NHK Hoso Bunka Chosa Kenkyu nenpo* 42 (1997), pp. 114–15, new guidelines on worldwide service included quality of service, goals, and performance for the first time in the agreement that went into effect in May 1996. Minami Toshiyuki’s “Ei-Futsu ni okeru kokusai hoso no genjo ni tsuite” [The Current State of International Broadcasting in the U.K. and France] (reference material distributed at the second meeting of the Study Group on Framework for International Television Broadcasting on September 15, 2006), points out (page 7) that although the BBC’s international radio broadcasts are considered public services, and international television broadcasts, which are carried out by subsidiaries, are considered commercial services, because of a need for an integrated operation, in practice, all international services are operated integrally.


9 Lee 2004, pp. 14–15, points out, as the objectives of international broadcasting, the expansion of overseas markets, along with publicity promoting national image, international cultural exchange, and services for overseas compatriots.
INTERNATIONAL TELEVISION BROADCASTING IN EAST ASIA

Changes
International broadcasting has been carried out on radio for a very long time. The first international broadcast took place in March 1927, with a Dutch shortwave radio broadcast for the Netherlands’s colonies in the Dutch East Indies. In May 1931, France began broadcasting to its territories overseas, and in December the following year, the BBC began ten-hour daily English-language broadcasts to its overseas dominions and colonies. In Germany, broadcasting of domestic programs abroad using non-directional antennas began with the establishment of the Zeesen broadcasting facility in August 1929. Regular broadcasts aimed at the United States started when the Nazi Party came into power in April 1933, and Italian broadcasts directed at its colonies began in December 1934. In Japan, international broadcasting was launched on June 1, 1935. During World War II and the subsequent Cold War, international broadcasts were transmitted for the most part by shortwave radio. In the ensuing propaganda war, the Soviet Union engaged in large-scale international broadcasting through Moscow Radio with the United States retaliating through Voice of America.

As the Cold War came to an end, the main mode of international broadcasting shifted from shortwave radio to satellite television. Between the latter half of the 1980s and the early 1990s, satellite broadcasting over national boundaries emerged in Europe and Asia. In 1991, Hong Kong’s STAR TV appeared as the first commercial satellite broadcaster on the Asian scene, providing daily, 24-hour, non-scrambled broadcasting on five channels to 2.7 billion viewers in 38 countries of the region. Sakurai Motoo likens the advent of STAR TV in Asia to the arrival in secluded premodern Japan of Commodore Matthew Perry’s “black ships,” suggesting that the impact of cross-border broadcasting on the broadcasting industry of each country, allowing access to five free channels, was tremendous. Indeed, various

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12 STAR TV was broadcast on c-band, which required a large parabolic antenna for reception. Moreover, since every country has its own regulations on antenna use, STAR TV’s emergence did not result in uniform multi-channelization in every country. Sakurai Motoo, “‘Tachanneruka’ ga susumu Ajia no terebi hoso” [The Advance of Multi-Channelization in Asia’s Television Broadcasting], Hoso kenkyu to chosa 43-1 (January 1993), p. 7.
governments in the region voiced objections to the “cultural invasion” mounted by the new service.

In Japan, NHK commenced international television broadcasting of news and news-related programs in April 1995 for the purpose of promoting understanding of Japan in the international community and providing information to Japanese nationals living abroad. In August 1999, Korea’s Arirang TV began international broadcasting services in the Asia-Pacific region, and in July 2003, KBS also launched a channel dedicated to overseas viewers. In China, CCTV conducted international television broadcasts in Chinese in October 1992, and after that broadcast English programs to some countries. In September 2000, CCTV officially launched its English-language channel designed specifically for overseas viewers.

TRANSMISSION ORIGINATING IN JAPAN

Japan’s efforts in the external transmission of information include 1) English-language NHK World TV (broadcasting), 2) NHK World Premium (program distribution), 3) Japanese-language program distribution for Japanese nationals living overseas by commercial television stations via foreign broadcasting services, 4) drama, entertainment, and anime program sales to the West and Asia by NHK and commercial television stations, and 5) operation of portal sites and video distribution via Internet by private, non-broadcasting companies. In addition, there are Japanese organizations based in Western countries that deliver a combination of programs from NHK World TV, NHK World Premium, and commercial television stations via satellite and cable television on channels for Japanese nationals.13

Among these international broadcasting efforts, NHK World TV has taken on a central role in the transmission of information for overseas audiences. This chapter will focus on NHK World TV, an international English-language broadcasting service.

Overview of NHK’s International Broadcasting

Japan’s first international radio broadcast took place on June 1, 1935, aimed for the Pacific coast of North America and Hawai‘i as part of a series of commemorative events marking the tenth anniversary of the Corporate Juridical

International broadcasting by radio continued for many years. The 1990s marked a new era, however, in which both radio and televised broadcasts were carried out side by side. In 1994, partial revisions were made to the Broadcast Law in Japan with the goal of boosting Japan’s information transmission capabilities and promoting international exchange. As a result, international television broadcasts became a part of NHK’s mandatory operations. In response to this directive, NHK began international television broadcasting to North America and Europe in 1995. In April 1998, it established the digitalized international broadcasting service NHK World TV aimed for the Asia-Pacific region. NHK continued to expand its broadcasts and broadcasting regions, beginning 24-hour broadcasts in October 1999. Moreover, in August 2001, NHK World TV reception became available in southern Africa, and in effect, NHK was now providing reception throughout the world.

**Legal Status**

International broadcasting in Japan is categorized into “independent broadcasts” (jishu hoso) and “request broadcasts” (yosei hoso). In April 2007, the Japanese government submitted to the Diet a draft revision to the Broadcast Law for the purpose of promoting reform in the field of communications and broadcasting. In December, a modified version of the revisions was approved by a majority—supported by the Liberal Democratic Party, the Democratic Party of Japan, and the New Komeito. Enacted on April 1, 2008, the Broadcast Law amendments stipulate that international television and radio broadcasts be clearly classified into those for foreign audiences and those for Japanese audiences abroad, and that a portion of the international television broadcasts to overseas viewers be commissioned to legally designated NHK subsidiaries. Furthermore, what prior to the revisions were called “mandated

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15 Alongside “international broadcasting” that NHK had been conducting, the revisions now included “commissioning of international broadcasting” in NHK’s mandatory operations. This refers to the commissioning of satellite service providers to carry out broadcasts aimed for foreign viewsherships, and it is officially stipulated that NHK will continue to carry out international television broadcasts. See NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, ed., *20 seiki hososhi: shiryo hen* [The History of Broadcasting in the 20th Century: References], 2003, p. 650.


broadcasts” (*meirei hoso*) in the Broadcast Law were changed to “request broadcasts.” These “requests” are limited to broadcasts of “important national matters” that impinge on the protection of the lives, physical safety, and assets of Japanese people living or traveling overseas, and on important national policies, national culture, tradition, society, and economy, and NHK is required to do its best to respond to such requests.

**Developments Since the Enactment of the Amended Broadcast Law**

In line with the April 1, 2008 enactment of the Broadcast Law amendment, NHK established a new subsidiary to carry out English-language international television broadcasts worldwide. Here I will give an outline of the company and its policies on international broadcasting operations based on NHK documents.

The new subsidiary, Japan International Broadcasting, Inc., is headquartered in Shibuya ward, Tokyo, with 50 million yen (approximately US$460,000, calculated at an exchange rate of ¥109 to $1.00 as of September 2008) at the time of its founding, financed 100 percent by NHK. Takashima Hatsuhisa, former chief news commentator at NHK, was appointed as president and CEO on September 1. To lay the groundwork for the launch of Japan’s first 24-hour all-English broadcasting service in February 2009, the company began operations including preparation for program production and construction of a distribution network using broadband and other media. NHK made an additional investment of 150 million yen to bolster the new company’s financial basis, bringing total capital to 200 million yen.

To strengthen international television broadcasts, NHK allocated 6.88 billion yen of its FY2008 budget (a 2.8 billion yen increase from the previous fiscal year) to international television broadcasting. Of this budget, 1.28 billion yen was to be spent on improvement of reception conditions, enabling 110 million households in North America, Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, and Southeast Asia to have access to NHK reception by the end of FY2008. By October 2008, 100 percent of international television broadcasting would be in English. (Note: All-English broadcasting service began on September 29.) By the beginning of 2009, international television broadcasting for foreign audiences via the new subsidiary will commence.

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TRANSMISSION ORIGINATING IN KOREA

While Korea’s main international broadcasters are the English-language broadcaster Arirang TV and KBS World, a channel within Korea’s principal broadcasting company KBS that broadcasts programs for foreign viewers, other broadcasters such as Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), Seoul Broadcasting System (SBS), and Yonhap Television News (YTN) are also engaged in international broadcasting in some capacity, such as program supplier. However, international television broadcasting in Korea, unlike international radio broadcasting, is not regulated by law. As a result, Arirang TV is granted public funds in addition to independent sources of income, but other broadcasters operate solely on independent revenue. This chapter focuses on Arirang TV and KBS World.

Overview of Arirang TV

Arirang TV is operated by the Korea International Broadcasting, a nonprofit foundation established by the Korean government. Arirang TV was launched in line with the context of the Five-Year Plan for Advanced Broadcasting, introduced by the Korean government in July 1995. Showing the direction of mid- to long-term broadcasting policies, the plan advocates the goal of making Korea into a world leader in broadcasting by the year 2000 and the mission of improving the public benefits and competitiveness of Korean broadcasting. Items of priority include the active development of international satellite broadcasting to overseas viewers for the purpose of improving Korea’s national image abroad.

The main task of Arirang TV, established by the government on April 10, 1996, is to disseminate information on Korean policies and culture via television and radio. On February 3 the following year, Arirang TV commenced operations as the country’s first foreign language station on cable television, limiting its target audience to foreigners living in Korea.19 When the Asian financial crisis hit Korea in late 1997, however, Korea had no choice but to adopt IMF measures, and as the economy deteriorated, efforts to promote international broadcasting languished. In the fall of 1998, signs that the Korean economy would recover began to emerge, and on October 22 of that year, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (now the Ministry of Culture, 19 According to Korean Cable TV Association, ed., Keibeul TV 10nyeonsa [A Ten-Year History of Korean Cable Television] (Seoul: Communication Books, 2005, p. 161), initial broadcasting times were six hours each in the morning and afternoon for a total of 12 hours on weekdays, and 18 hours from 6:00–24:00 on weekends.
Sports and Tourism) designated Arirang TV an entity in charge of broadcast-
ing for public relations overseas. As the economy turned toward full-scale
recovery in 1999, Arirang TV started international broadcasting to the Asia-
Pacific region via AsiaSat 3S on August 12, 1999. On September 26, 2000,
reception was expanded to Europe and the Americas. Arirang TV also began
supplying programs to SkyLife, a domestic satellite broadcasting service, and
on October 1, 2004, launched international broadcasting services in Arabic.

Legal Status
Although the Ministry of Culture and Tourism has designated Arirang TV the
broadcasting entity for public relations overseas, legally it has not been made
Korea’s official international television broadcasting service. Article 32 of the
Korean Civil Code (“Incorporation of Nonprofit-marking Juristic Person and
Permission Thereof”), which states that “an association or foundation relating
to science, religion, charity, art, or social intercourse or otherwise relating to
enterprises not engaged for profit or gain may be made a legal person subject
to the permission of the relevant ministries,” provides the grounds for the
establishment of the foundation that operates Arirang TV. In addition, Article
2 of the Korea International Broadcasting’s charter identifies its goals as “the
promotion of international goodwill and correct understanding of the
Republic of Korea by the international community through international
cooperation in broadcasting and, at the same time, a contribution to the
advancement of the broadcasting/film/advertising industries and the enhance-
ment of culture and arts by implementing and supporting business operations
aimed at qualitative improvement of broadcasting content.”

In theory, according to Article 20 of the Basic Law for Cultural Industry
Promotion enacted in January 2002, Arirang TV is eligible for “assistance for
international exchange and expansion into overseas markets,” but such fund-
ing is virtually non-existent. Instead, Arirang TV depends on independent rev-
ue and the Broadcasting Development Fund, which is in large part supplied
by the advertisement revenue of terrestrial broadcasters. Article 36 of the
Korean Broadcasting Law states that the Broadcasting Development Fund is
designated for the promotion of broadcasting, arts, and culture projects.
Article 38 identifies specific uses for these funds, such as the establishment of
broadcasters and the production of programs for public purposes.

Organization
Arirang TV’s policies are formulated and its management supervised by the
Board of Directors. The Board, which makes decisions on matters of high
importance, is comprised of ten members. It has the right to select the Arirang
On June 9, 2008, a new Arirang TV administration was installed as Chung Kuk-Lok, formerly of MBC, assumed the post of president. As of July 2008, the broadcaster had 166 employees. See Figure 1 for Arirang TV’s organizational structure.

Objectives of Program Production

The objective espoused by Arirang TV, whose motto is “Korea for the World, the World for Korea,” is to build a leading global broadcasting network in Asia. In its FY2008 business plan, Arirang TV listed its international television broadcasting objectives as improvement of the national brand image and
boosting of the nation’s competitiveness, leadership in international public opinion on global issues, encouragement of accurate understanding of Korea and increased interest in Korean culture, development of the broadcasting industry by producing and broadcasting programs that represent Korean culture, and promotion of Korean companies and products overseas.

**Funding**

According to Arirang TV’s budget for FY2008, total revenues are 50.45 billion won (approximately $50 million, calculated at an exchange rate of 1.010 won to $1.00 as of August 2008), of which 15.348 billion won (30.4 percent) comes from operating revenue, 2.636 billion won (5.2 percent) from non-operating revenue, and 26.566 billion won (52.6 percent) from the Broadcasting Development Fund.

Total expenditures are 50.45 billion won, of which 13.244 billion won (26.2 percent) goes for operating expenses, 33.712 billion won (66.8 percent) for business expenses, 0.689 billion won (1.3 percent) for reserve funds, and 2.85 billion won (5.5 percent) for capital budgeting. Of business expenses, financial assistance from the Broadcasting Development Fund comprises 14.516 billion won of television production expenses, all radio production expenses, 1.73 billion won of channel operating expenses, 3.971 billion won of satellite expenses, and 2.615 billion won of the capital budget used to repair and improve fixed assets.

**Transmission System**

As of August 2008, Arirang consists of three channels: Arirang World, Arirang Korea, and Arirang Arab. Residents of other countries, ethnic Koreans, and Korean nationals living abroad are Arirang World’s target audience, while Arirang Korea is geared towards foreign nationals living in Korea. Both deliver English-language programs 24 hours a day, and a portion of the programs, including dramas, are subtitled in Chinese and Spanish. Arirang Arab is aimed for a viewership in 22 Arab countries and surrounding countries in the Middle East and North Africa, and in addition to English and Korean programming, it offers six hours of Arabic broadcasts per day.20 Figure 2 outlines Arirang TV’s broadcast satellite use.21

Service to Europe had been conducted via the HotBird satellite, but with

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20 Arabic programs consist of two hours of first broadcasts and two reruns for a total of six hours.

21 Compiled from information from the Korea International Broadcasting pamphlet “Satellite Coverage and Parameters.”
the addition of the satellite service Astra in April 2006, reception conditions in Western Europe have improved. As of June 2008, Arirang uses eight satellites and can be viewed by 62.6 million households in 188 countries around the world.

**Overview of Arirang TV Programs**

As of October 2007, the breakdown of the types of programs broadcast by Arirang World was 27.4 percent news, 44.5 percent cultural, and 28.1 percent entertainment.

“News” programs are divided into news and news shows. To inform audiences on the various faces of Korea, the latter do not limit content to current issues, but deal with a wide range of topics that include politics, economics, society, culture, and sports. Programs are broken up into several segments; some present major news in easy-to-understand formats, and others introduce Korean culture, arts, and events, among other topics.

There is a wider selection of cultural programs than there are news or entertainment programs. For example, one program features visits to mountains, islands, and temples, introducing Korea’s outstanding landscapes and distinctive cultures to attract tourists to Korea. Another program takes a look at Korea through the interactions of local Koreans and non-Korean nationals from various backgrounds living in Korea. Other programs range from those

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<td>AsiaSat 3S</td>
<td>Asia, Oceania, Middle East</td>
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dealing with Korean lifestyles and social issues to Korean language lessons, constituting a lineup that contributes to the promotion of a better understanding of Korea and the Korean people. In addition to entertainment programs (films, dramas, music, and sports), special programs are broadcast at various times throughout the year.

**Characteristics of Program Production**

Arirang TV, a 24-hour English-language broadcaster, has under 170 employees including those in the radio division. Since its establishment Arirang TV has sought to achieve efficient operations with a small number of people. When compared with terrestrial broadcasters, Arirang TV’s method of program production resembles that of commercial broadcaster SBS more than that of the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) or Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC). However, because Arirang is an English-language international broadcasting service, it has been unable to collect adequate advertising revenue, resulting in a chronic shortage of funds. Under these circumstances, Arirang has developed a unique programming and production system. The system has the following three traits.

First, a very small proportion of Arirang programs are self-produced, with program remakes constituting a majority of the program lineup. Programs can be categorized into self-produced programs whose production is carried out by Arirang employees, outsourced programs, which are produced completely by external production companies, and remakes, which are programs produced by MBC, other terrestrial broadcasters, or independent production companies, to which Arirang adds subtitles. Of the programs broadcast between January and June of 2007, 47.5 percent were self-produced programs, 16.6 percent were outsourced programs, and 35.9 percent were remakes. The commercial broadcaster SBS has a relatively low self-production rate among terrestrial broadcasters and produces 52.6 percent of its broadcasts (47.4 percent are outsourced), which makes Arirang’s self-production rate strikingly low. In addition, so-called self-produced programs are produced by a primarily outsourced staff, with the exception of several team members. Furthermore, Arirang TV lacks a stock of program content, which terrestrial broadcasting companies have in abundance. Thus, the high rate of remakes at Arirang is the result of a dearth of both human and financial resources.

A second characteristic of Arirang TV programs, both self-produced and outsourced, is that many are low-budget productions. Examples include talk

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shows taped in studios and music programs that keep costs down by leasing popular content.

Thirdly, Arirang TV takes the approach of having the same staff member cover a single news item throughout the process of reporting, writing, video editing, and audio recording. To cut back on time spent on this process, Arirang has adopted the latest equipment and employed non-linear editing since its founding.

The abovementioned illuminates Arirang TV’s efforts to run an efficient operation as necessitated by its limited human and material resources.

Overview of KBS World
Before its launch as the public broadcaster Korean Broadcasting System in March 1973, KBS had been, since the 1950s, engaged in international broadcasting via radio. In July 2003, it began full-scale television broadcasting to audiences overseas as well. Prior to these developments, in September 2001, KBS launched TV Korea, an international satellite broadcasting service geared towards Korean nationals and ethnic Koreans living overseas, supplying KBS news and drama content to foreign broadcasters at low prices. TV Korea was not a 24-hour service, but received praise from overseas Koreans as an effective tool in acquiring information about Korea, and attracted a large audience. As a result, KBS succeeded in breaking into foreign markets and generating profits from content sales.

Meanwhile, several problems emerged. For example, TV Korea had not initially secured a satellite that could transmit programs directly to Europe. As a result, all content had to be sent to the region by air, making simultaneous news broadcasts impossible. KBS decided that it was necessary to broadcast 24 hours a day worldwide, and to that end, securing satellites and channels dedicated to international broadcasts would be imperative. Consequently, TV Korea was dissolved, and on July 1, 2003, KBS World was launched as a 24-hour channel aimed at overseas audiences.

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25 Kim Sangkeun 2003, p. 35.
Until then, KBS had supplied its contents to overseas broadcasters by program units, depending on the number of minutes needed, but KBS World now provided content by channel.\textsuperscript{26} Having a channel dedicated to overseas broadcasting has allowed KBS to organize its own programming including news, as well as previously aired documentaries and dramas. By transmitting these contents via satellite and broadcasting them through overseas broadcasters, KBS has been promoting its brand image.

In addition, KBS World has stepped up production of English-subtitled programs in an effort to acquire audiences beyond the Korean expatriate demographic. At the time of its launch, KBS World’s primary audience, as with TV Korea, was Korean nationals living abroad. However, in acknowledgment of ethnic Koreans who do not understand Korean as well as people of non-Korean descent, in July 2004, KBS World began broadcasting programs with English subtitles, and has gradually increased the proportion of such programs. As of July 2008, programs with English subtitles account for 68 percent of all broadcasting time.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{26} Lee 2004, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{27} Of English-subtitled programming (68 percent), 61 percent are first broadcasts and 39 percent are reruns. When live news broadcasts are omitted from the figures, the percentage of English-subtitled programs climbs to 85 percent.
**Broadcasting Objectives**
The Korean Broadcasting Act does not provide any legal basis for international television broadcasting, including broadcasting entities. Article 44, Section 4 of the law states that KBS has the public responsibility to develop and broadcast programs for domestic and international audiences that nurture Korean culture and protect ethnic homogeneity. Article 54, Section 1, Clause 5, describes KBS operations as external broadcasting (for the purpose of international goodwill, enhanced understanding, and cultural and economic exchange) required by the state and social education broadcasting (geared towards Korean expatriates and for the purpose of promoting ethnic homo-
“External broadcasting” mentioned in Article 54 of the Korean Broadcasting Law has been interpreted as a synonym for “international broadcasting.” On August 15, 2007, “Social Education Broadcasting” was renamed “Global Korean Network.”

Organization
KBS World is operated by the Global Center at KBS Headquarters. The Global Center is composed of four teams, of which the Global Strategy Team plays a central role. This 20-member team’s main responsibilities include channel expansion operations, from the development of overseas expansion plans to their execution, KBS content sales in overseas markets, and KBS World planning, production, and programming. The news head office’s international team produces 20-minute English language news (aired Monday through Friday) and 30-minute programs (aired Wednesday) for KBS World. Moreover, KBS World commissions subsidiary KBS N to transmit its broadcasts.

Funding
Since KBS World is a KBS enterprise, it is covered, as are other KBS channels, by the KBS budget, which is financed by license fees and advertising revenue. Operating costs for 2007 came out to 2.8 billion won (approximately $2.8 million, calculated at 1.010 won to $1.00 as of August 2008) for direct costs such as transmission-related fees, satellite fees, and overseas marketing fees. However, the cost of English subtitle production has not been made public, and therefore is not included in these figures.

Transmission System
KBS World is broadcast via three different satellites. See Figure 4 for the satellites used for KBS World’s broadcasts. Transmission is conducted via Intelsat, and retransmissions via EchoStar, Sinosat, or Arabsat, depending on the country.

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28 “External broadcasting” mentioned in Article 54 of the Korean Broadcasting Law has been interpreted as a synonym for “international broadcasting.” On August 15, 2007, “Social Education Broadcasting” was renamed “Global Korean Network.”
**Increasing Activity of KBS World’s Overseas Pursuits**

On April 21, 2008, KBS World carried out a spring overhaul of its programming, and announced two guidelines for programming: “Globalization and localization of KBS World toward a more competitive global channel” and “Taking on a greater role as a conduit through which to expand the reach of the ‘Korean Wave.’” In accordance with the former, KBS shifted from a program schedule set on Seoul time to that of Kuala Lumpur time when it became a basic channel available in Malaysia, Latin America, and India. In addition, KBS World increased its hours of English subtitled programming in light of its expansion into India and other English-language markets. Furthermore, following its launch of Spanish- and Indonesian-language broadcasts in South America and Indonesia respectively, KBS intensified its efforts in subtitle-production in local languages, commencing Chinese-language broadcasting in Southeast Asia and China. To address the second guideline of reinforcing its role as a conduit through which to boost the reach of the “Korean Wave,” KBS has focused its attention on Southeast Asia, planning to concentrate broadcasts of its most popular programs during prime time.29

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**Program Content**

With the exception of English-language news and some other programs, KBS programming generally consists of English-subtitled versions of programs made originally for the domestic audience. KBS World has a wide range of programs, from dramas and documentaries to anime, sports, and music. Fifteen percent are news, 32 percent are cultural, 29 percent are dramas, and 24 percent are entertainment programs.

**Expansion into Basic Channels**

The number of KBS-viewing households has sharply increased in the past few years. In December 2005, the number of households with access to KBS viewing is approximately 10 million.

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World was 4.52 million in ten different countries; by July 2008, it had reached 40.77 million in 61 countries including Japan, the United States, and France.

The fundamental KBS approach to overseas expansion is through the establishment of its own basic channels, available at a basic rate via satellite or cable television. Platform service providers select basic channels according to viewer demands, and for the services supplying the programs, being able to secure a basic channel is crucial in expanding viewership. Except for a number of channels like CNN or BBC, gaining access to basic channels is not easy for foreign broadcasters. Nonetheless, KBS has forged ahead with its acquisition of basic channels by riding the “Korean Wave” and through marketing efforts. In order to promote the KBS brand and establish favorable conditions in which to sell content, KBS World has taken measures to amass as many viewers as possible.

As a result, KBS World has gained access to basic channels overseas, an example of which is its October 2005 launch via the major American satellite service, EchoStar. In November 2005, KBS World commenced satellite broadcasting in France.

In March 2006, KBS World began satellite broadcasting in Japan. In June, it kicked off satellite broadcasts to Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and 20 other countries in the Middle East, covering approximately 20 million households. Also in June 2006 it started cable television broadcasting in Thailand and in October in Japan, Singapore, and Hong Kong. In 2007, KBS World turned its attention to Latin America, where KBS cable television broadcasts got underway in Costa Rica in January, Peru and Bolivia in April, Chile and Guatemala in August, and Colombia in September.

Focus on the U.S., Japan, and China
In addition to the KBS policy of overseas expansion via basic channels is its policy of handling the U.S., Japan, and China through measures tailored to markets in each country. All three countries are characterized by a large population of ethnic Korean residents who have close ties to Korea. There is a particularly large market for Korean program content in Japan, and the Chinese market is attractive not only for its size, but also for its future potential.

To manage its operations in the U.S., KBS founded an affiliate, KBS America, in Los Angeles in July 2004, launching content sales and embarking on an expansion into American cable television. In Japan, KBS founded KBS Japan, Ltd. in Minato ward, Tokyo, in October 2005. Since May 30, 2005, when transmission of KBS World to China began, reception has been available in hotels with three stars or more, as well as in areas with substantial numbers of foreign residents.30

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TRANSMISSION ORIGINATING IN CHINA

Broadcasting in China is carried out under the supervision of the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT), an organization controlled by the State Council. Along with China Central Television (CCTV), China National Radio and China Radio International constitute China’s main broadcasters, and CCTV bears responsibility for external television transmission. Of the 20 channels CCTV operates, the Chinese-language CCTV-4, CCTV-4 (Europe), CCTV-4 (the Americas), English-language CCTV-9, French-language CCTV-F, and Spanish-language CCTV-E are aimed for overseas viewers. The following offers an assessment and analysis of CCTV’s overseas broadcasting efforts, with particular attention to its English-language international broadcasting channel CCTV-9.

Overview of CCTV-9

The state-run broadcasting station CCTV first began broadcasts in 1958. Regarded as a mainstay of Chinese public opinion on important news, CCTV is also the main mouthpiece for the Communist Party, government, and the people. It has general, business, arts, sports, and film channels.

In China, all externally directed information, including international broadcasting, plays a vital role in the diplomatic strategy of the Communist Party and the state. The Chinese-language channel CCTV-4 was launched in October 1992, at that time allotting 18 of its daily 24 hours of broadcasting to Chinese-language programming and six to English. In June 1997, just prior to the handover of Hong Kong to the mainland, CCTV set up provisional English-language channel CCTV-9 and started broadcasting 17 hours of English-language programs per day in September that year. On September 31, broadcasts began on October 1, 1992. Target audiences are ethnic Chinese abroad, and in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan. Li Bin, Guoji dianshi qianyan jujiao [The Focus of International Television Broadcasting’s Front Lines], Beijing: Communication University of China Press, 2007, p. 121.

CCTV-9 has also been called CCTV International from the time of its establishment.

31 Broadcasts began on October 1, 1992. Target audiences are ethnic Chinese abroad, and in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan. Li Bin, Guoji dianshi qianyan jujiao [The Focus of International Television Broadcasting’s Front Lines], Beijing: Communication University of China Press, 2007, p. 121.

32 CCTV-9 has also been called CCTV International from the time of its establishment.


25, 2000, CCTV-9 commenced 24-hour English-language broadcasts. At the
time of its launch, CCTV-9 promoted itself as a general channel primarily pre-
senting news, with a mission to be “Your Window on China” through which
the world could gain an understanding of China and China could look at the
world. On May 3, 2004, however, CCTV-9 redefined its function from a gen-
eral channel to a news channel. Its mission was now to be “Your Window on
China and the World,” with a Chinese perspective on global matters.36

36 “CCTV-9 Yingwen guoji pindao” [CCTV-9 International English Channel],
Legal Status
In China, as is widely known, broadcasting, including international broadcasting, functions as a propaganda tool of the Communist Party and the government. This premise can be gleaned from what may be considered China’s first broadcast law, the “Regulations on Broadcasting and Television...
Administration,\textsuperscript{38} which was promulgated by the State Council in 1997. Article 1 states that “these regulations are formulated for the purpose of enhancing broadcasting and television administration, developing the cause of broadcasting and television, and promoting the building of a socialist spiritual and material civilization,” and according to Article 3, “the cause of broadcasting and television should adhere to the orientation of serving the people and socialism and persevere in correct media guidance.” In addition, the responsibilities of broadcasting parties are clearly established in Article 6: “national social organizations involved in radio and television broadcasting on a nationwide scale shall practice self-disciplined management in accordance with their constitutions and conduct activities under the guidance of the department of broadcasting and television administration under the State Council.”

Though there are no stipulations regarding international broadcasting in the “Regulations on Broadcasting and Television Administration,” on December 24, 2001, SARFT announced the provisional guidelines for its radio/film/television “going abroad” policy. This topic will be dealt with further below.

\textbf{Organization}

The six CCTV channels for overseas viewers, which include CCTV-9, are operated by CCTV’s Overseas Service. Program production for CCTV-9 is carried out by the Overseas Service’s English Channel section. Of the approximately 800 employees in the Overseas Service, 300 work in the English Channel section, of whom two-thirds deal with the production of news programs and one-third with documentaries. Among these staff, 30 are foreign nationals of countries such as the U.K., the U.S., and Canada. (See Figure 5.)

CCTV is in the midst of promoting organizational reforms that will simplify its chain of command and improve operational efficiency. Numerous departments originally existed within each center, but there has been a movement to streamline the organization by combining departments. As a result of such restructuring, the English Channel Editorial Department, which has played a central role in CCTV-9 operations, was recently merged and renamed the English Channel.

\textbf{Funding}

The Chinese economy has shown dramatic growth, as evidenced by China’s entry into the WTO in 2001 and the 2008 Beijing Olympics. With the country

\textsuperscript{38} Adopted at the 61st Executive Meeting of the State Council on August 1, 1997. It was promulgated by Decree No. 228 of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China on August 11, and went into effect on September 1 that year.
making the transition to a market economy, CCTV is no longer dependent on
government funding, instead supporting its operations from funds secured
through advertising and other independent sources.

CCTV is faring well financially; it is the highest tax-paying company in
Beijing,\(^{39}\) and has broken records for both total revenue from advertising and
the largest bid by a single company for ad placement at a bidding conference
for prime time advertising spots held once every year by CCTV.\(^{40}\) CCTV’s
revenue in 2005 totalled 12.4 billion RMB (approximately $1.8 billion, calcu-
lated at 6.86 yuan to $1.00 as of August 2008; income from broadcasting
operations accounted for 9.4 billion RMB, and income from affiliates
accounted for 3 billion RMB).\(^ {41}\) In theory, CCTV’s revenue would be used to
feed the state budget because of its status as a state-run organization, but in
practice, CCTV profits are used to finance its own operating expenses.\(^ {42}\)
CCTV-9 is run as one of CCTV’s business operations, and according to the
Overseas Service, annual operating expenses such as those for content pro-
duction add up to 140 million RMB (approximately $20 million). These
expenses are covered by CCTV’s budget, mainly from advertising revenue.
CCTV-9 aired no commercials until 2007, when it began running advertise-
ments for major state-run corporations whose names included “China,” such
as the Bank of China and Air China, on the grounds that they would contribute
to the promotion of China’s image.

**Transmission System**

CCTV-9 is transmitted via four satellites. (See Figure 6.) AsiaSat adminis-
tered CCTV-9 transmission to the Asia-Pacific region until the switch to
Chinasat was made on August 1, 2007. Transmissions to the Americas are
sent through Intelsat 9 via international undersea cables. Intelsat 10 is used for
transmissions to Europe and Africa, but Intelsat 1R has additionally been put
into use because of poor reception conditions in West Africa. For the United
States, which is home to a large population of viewers, CCTV-9 employs

\(^{39}\) Announced by the Beijing Local Tax Bureau on March 29, 2007.

\(^{40}\) According to “Nit-Chu gurobaru keizai tsushin” [Japan-China Global Economy Newsletter]
(November 21, 2006), the total revenue from advertising bids made at the conference held in
Beijing was 6,795.62 million RMB, up 16 percent from the previous year, and the largest bid
from a single company was 420.43 million RMB. Both were record-breaking figures.

\(^{41}\) China Central Television, ed., “Zhongguo Zhongyang Dianshitai” [China Central Television],
Beijing: China Central Television, p. 14. CCTV’s publicity material that primarily deals with
information about the broadcaster through 2005 (with some information on 2006).

\(^{42}\) Infrastructure maintenance is initiated by CCTV, and funds from the state budget are allocat-
ed to projects that CCTV has completed.
EchoStar, Galaxy, and DirecTV. As shown above, CCTV-9 has developed new retransmission systems specific to each country or region, and as a result, it is broadcast throughout nearly the entire world. Fifty million households had access to CCTV-9 in September 2007; this figure has not fluctuated for the most part since 2005.

Overview of CCTV-9 Programs
CCTV-9 programs are closely linked to China’s diplomatic strategy, and the main characteristic of CCTV-9’s programming centers around news programs. Seventy percent of the basic programming consists of news and news shows, 20 percent consists of programs mostly featuring documentaries, and the rest are cultural or entertainment programs. Forty percent are programs self-produced by CCTV-9, and the rest are CCTV-4 or other channel programs made for overseas viewers, or programs made by CCTV’s channels for domestic audiences.

In a reorganization of programming in May 2004, first broadcasts were increased from six to eight hours (the number of reruns was reduced from three to two) per day. In addition, CCTV-9 stepped up its coverage of international issues, on which it reports China’s position and viewpoints, while also increasing coverage of financial, cultural, and sports-related news. By enlisting native English-speaking specialists as newscasters or program hosts, CCTV-9 is striving to gain viewer confidence not only as an international English-language channel, but also for the trustworthiness of its programs.

Overview of Major Programs
Below is an overview of CCTV-9’s major programs, focusing primarily on news content.

News and News Shows
CCTV News: CCTV-9’s signature news program, aired four times a day at 0:00–0:30, 3:00–3:15, 9:00–9:15, and 17:00–17:30 Beijing time.
**BizChina:** A 30-minute financial news program aired six times a day. The show is composed of three segments, one of which deals with the finance industry and corporate news both domestic and international, another of interviews on insights, opinions, and predictions related to the economy, business trends, and industry analyses, and the last, which features commentary by analysts on trends in the global financial market.

**Dialogue:** The talk show that has the most authority and influence of all CCTV-9 programs. It is a 30-minute show aired four times everyday, dealing with relatively sensitive themes in political and economic news, and provides analyses from a Chinese standpoint. It is influential among political, business, and academic figures with decision-making authority. **Dialogue** was introduced in an NHK anniversary special aired on March 22, 2007 entitled “The World’s Scramble for Information Transmission: A New Era of International Broadcasting,” as a representation of China’s stance towards international broadcasting. According to the program, **Dialogue** production is coordinated with the Chinese government’s diplomatic schedule. In November 2006, for example, interviews with African presidents were aired for five days in conjunction with the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Summit that took place in Beijing, and in February 2007, a special was aired to coincide with President Hu Jintao’s visit to Africa. While **Dialogue** has elaborated on the helpfulness of China’s economic aid to Africa, the NHK program suggested that securing Africa’s oil, minerals, and other natural resources is China’s true motivation for maintaining close relations with African nations.

**World Insight:** A 30-minute program aired on Sundays, **World Insight** probes major news items from abroad. Through interviews, commentary, and analyses, it explores ideal outcomes, while offering the Chinese government’s stand on the issues.

**World Wide Watch:** A daily 30-minute program introducing news and events from around the world. The show deals with relatively soft topics compared to **World Insight.**

**Travelogue:** A 30-minute travel show in which a reporter visits various parts of China, introducing the attractions of each region.

**Up Close:** A talk show featuring prominent figures from various fields of expertise, taped in front of a live audience. A wide variety of guests are invited to appear on the show, including influential politicians, business leaders, entrepreneurs, athletes, researchers, and overseas Chinese. Aired every Sunday for 45 minutes.

In addition to news-related programs, the CCTV-9 program lineup includes cultural programs such as Chinese language lessons and entertainment programs on Chinese music and theater arts, among others.
Overseas Expansion
The Chinese government takes the position that the dominance of Western media in overseas transmission of information must be overcome, and to that end, it places an emphasis on improving reception conditions. This is a main course of action taken by CCTV in expanding overseas.

Promotion of the “Going Abroad” Policy
“Zouchuqu,” or “going abroad” is a term that refers to overseas expansion. The “going abroad” policy encouraging the overseas expansion of Chinese companies has been adopted by CCTV in its business operations.

On January 16–17, 2001, SARFT held a nationwide conference in Beijing to discuss its radio and television “going abroad” project. A total of 150 participants mostly from the field of broadcasting convened for the meeting, which identified the path and steps of Chinese broadcasting’s overseas expansion in fulfilling the 10th Five-Year Plan for broadcasting (2001–2005). Important instructions from then General Secretary Jiang Zemin and other central leaders were announced, and the spirit of the national council of public relations managers, the overseas public relations council, and the radio and television operations council was conveyed. The key operations of radio and television during the five-year-plan’s timeframe were examined, and proposals for implementation of the 2001 “going abroad” approach were discussed. Xu Guangchun, the Department Secretary for SARFT at the time, stated that he would strictly observe and actively promote Jiang Zemin’s directive that all comrades must understand the significance of external propaganda as SARFT’s most important duty during the five-year period, and reflect the voices of all the people in the voice of the party and the state, transmitting China’s voice to all areas of the world. Xu declared that domestically, SARFT will publicize the Party’s policies, mobilizing citizens to work for “reform and openness” and socialism-building, while communicating China’s voice abroad to counter negative images in the international community of China’s “reform and openness” policy.

The operations council emphasized the importance of a flexible approach uninhibited by conventional research methods and improving external propaganda approaches. It pushed for the improvement of quality and attractiveness, and attention to program marketing, as well as participation in international competitions to enhance Chinese broadcasting’s international competitiveness and capability to provide a focal point for international opinion.43

In December 2001, SARFT announced implementation regulations for the “going abroad” project. The ten items provide basic guidelines not only for
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CCTV-9, but overseas expansions for all Chinese broadcasting and film.

According to these regulations, China will aim to remedy the “strong West, weak China” situation in the field of international broadcasting by achieving the same level of competitiveness as major Western media within the next decade, particularly through the CCTV’s development of multilingual regional broadcasting channels. To this end, SARFT adds, there is a need for a deliberate approach in which Beijing will take the lead with the support of other regions of the country, encouraging further exchange with overseas parties in radio, television, and film. In addition, it calls for the broadcasting industry to strive for effective broadcasting of Chinese programs abroad via satellite, cable, and various other means. Other objectives include improving program quality, gaining a sense of international audiences’ understanding and sentiments towards China, and SARFT’s cultivation of capabilities and organizations to enhance the external propagandist power of radio, film, television, and the Internet.44

Expansion of Regions with CCTV-9 Reception

In accordance with the “going abroad” scheme, CCTV-9 and other Chinese broadcasting services for overseas viewers have been expanding abroad. In cooperation with CCTV-4, CCTV-9 has increased the number of overseas households with reception, which has remained more or less constant since reaching 50 million households in 2005. The U.S. has the largest number of households with access to CCTV-9 at 15 million, followed by the U.K. with 8 million. Satellite services serving the largest number of households with CCTV-9 access are EchoStar with 13 million (U.S.), BSkyB with 7.4 million (U.K.), and Sky Italia with 3.82 million (Italy). CCTV-9 also broadcasts to developing countries via satellite and cable television. In addition to satellite and cable broadcasting, CCTV has furthered “going abroad” efforts through such measures as channel leasing and program co-production.

According to a report by Japan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of 12 major international broadcasting services worldwide, CCTV (including CCTV-9) ranks sixth in the number of households with reception, and is first in Asia.45 A Korean study, which was conducted from August through October, 2006, focused on name recognition of specific broadcasters and whether subjects

44 “Guojia guangbo dianying dianshi zongju guanyu guangbo yingshi ‘zouchuqu gongcheng’ de shishi xize (shixing)” [State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT)’s Tentative Implementing Guidelines for Its Radio/Film/Television “Going Abroad” Project].
had ever viewed those broadcasters’ programs in eight countries (Arirang TV in Korea, BBC World in the U.K., KBS World in Korea, CCTV-9 in China, NHK World in Japan, YTN International in Korea, Deutsche Welle in Germany, and TV5 in France). Relatively speaking, Korean broadcasters earned high rankings, but CCTV-9 also did well, coming in fourth out of eight in both name recognition and viewing experience. In particular, it ranked second in Vietnam for both categories, and second in France for viewing experience.46

CONCLUSIONS

International broadcasting bears the role of disseminating information to nationals living overseas and to foreign audiences in other countries. An example of the former is China’s CCTV-4, a Chinese-language channel that targets ethnic Chinese living abroad, and Korea’s KBS World prior to 2005, which was primarily for Korean nationals living overseas. However, with the advance of globalization, efforts to secure foreign viewers abroad have increased. This is seen in China’s English-language channel CCTV-9 and development of other channels geared towards foreign viewers in major languages, the launch of Korea’s English-language Arirang TV, and a rise in the number of English-subtitled programs on Korea’s KBS.

Of the cases examined thus far, Japan’s situation is still in a state of flux. Therefore, the following discussion on the relationship between the objectives of international broadcasting and its actual operations will be limited to that of Korea and China.

First, both South Korea and China view the improvement of national image as the first and foremost objective of international broadcasting, although financial incentives are taken into consideration. In China’s case, the responsibility for reflecting the state’s positions in promoting China’s international status belongs to international broadcasting by virtue of the media’s status in

45 Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Public Diplomacy Department Planning Division, “Kakkoku ni okeru terebi kokusai hoso to no shicho jokyo” [Viewing Situation of International Television Broadcasts in Various Countries], March 2006. There is need for further investigation of the data in this study, since the subjects were not necessarily broadcasting experts. Still, it is a very useful survey in obtaining a rough idea of each broadcaster’s status.

that country as the mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party and government, a situation that is fundamentally different from that of Japanese or Korean media. International broadcasting in China is carried out by a state-run organization and has the function of communicating the ruling party and government viewpoints to the world. A consequent advantage is program content that is easily grasped because of a clear-cut point of view. Moreover, in addition to CCTV’s careful production of its programs to minimize their overt appearance as propaganda, China enjoys a wealth of attractive material for its programs because of its status as a highly influential nation with economic promise, its vastness, and its long history. Still, the fact remains that Chinese broadcasting is controlled by the state.

In contrast, international broadcasting in Korea is conducted by public or commercial broadcasters. While this study deals with two public broadcasters that are central to Korean international broadcasting, the press enjoys relative freedom in Korea. Each broadcaster carries out broadcasting operations in line with their own objectives, and Korean international broadcasts are not necessarily required to reflect the views of the state as they are in China. It is said, however, that when the voice of Korea—if not the voice of the state—is transmitted to the international community, such transmission is inefficient due to lack of an “all Korea” system.\textsuperscript{47}

State-run or public broadcasters, rather than commercial broadcasters, tend to be involved in international broadcasting, but in either case, financial merits are taken into consideration, at least to some extent. CCTV is seeking to expand its influence in Africa and Latin America through CCTV-F (French-language channel) and CCTV-E (Spanish-language channel). While these measures are in line with the Chinese mid- to long-term diplomatic policies of securing the energy resources and friendship of developing countries, it is evident that CCTV has economic incentives for promoting expansion into new markets. In the case of Korea, while KBS World’s penetration of Japanese and Chinese markets is a sign of improvement of Korea’s national image resulting from the Korean Wave, it is also an indication of economic impetus. There are, of course, channels like Arirang TV’s Arabic channel, which was established

\textsuperscript{47} For more on the diversification of international broadcasters, see Lee Eunmi’s abovementioned paper and Yang Munseok’s “Arirang TV-ui wisange gwanhan daean mosaek” [Search for an Alternative to Arirang TV’s Status]. The paper was included in reference materials at a seminar hosted by the National Assembly’s Culture and Tourism Committee member Yoon Wonho entitled “Ariranggukjebangsongui beopjeok wisang eotteoke hal geosinga? —Hyanghu gukga hongbobangsongui yeokhalgwa gwaje” [What Should Be Done about Arirang TV’s Legal Status?: Future Role and Challenges of Publicity Broadcasting for the State].
when the Korean military was dispatched to Iraq. While the launch of this channel was politically prompted, the interests of market expansion in the Middle East cannot be discounted in their consideration. While each broadcaster conducts English and non-English broadcasts, their choice of languages reveals their respective orientation and objectives.

Stable funding for international broadcasting is available in cases like China, where the broadcaster itself is state-run and an integral part of related-government agencies. In practice, however, CCTV does not rely on government funding, since, as a state-run broadcaster covering the whole of China, CCTV is able to earn enormous revenue from advertisements to cover its operating costs. However, in Korea where public broadcasters carry out the country’s international broadcasts, greater efficiency is demanded of each broadcaster. KBS World, for example, does not invest human or material resources in the production of programs specifically for foreign viewers, but strives for efficiency in its operations by carefully selecting and subtitling programs originally produced for domestic consumption. Though there is the question of how well such programs will be received by viewers not only in Asia but also in Western countries, KBS World continues its efforts to secure more viewers by using the “Korean Wave” to its advantage, primarily by marketing its dramas. This has the added advantage of generating increased revenue from content sales in overseas markets. However, for non-terrestrial broadcasters like Arirang TV that do not own their own content, this is a difficult tack to pursue. In the past, Arirang TV purchased drama broadcasting rights from other broadcasters and frequently aired these programs. It has since cut back on drama broadcasts due to a sudden jump in content prices as a result of the “Korean Wave,” and has focused on promoting outsourced program production and creating low-budget programs to increase efficiency in its operations.

Program lineups also reveal differences in the circumstances surrounding each of these broadcasters. In China, international broadcasting is dominated by news-related programs that present the country’s viewpoints. In Korea, however, there is little political color to its broadcasts, where state publicity may be an indirect effect of media activities, and promoting each broadcaster’s brand image is considered a much higher priority. KBS World, while maintaining its status as a public broadcaster, possesses high quality news-related, cultural, and entertainment content, but mainly promotes its dramas to

secure more viewers. On the other hand, Arirang TV may prefer to make use of its expertise in the production of programs for foreigners or to broadcast the latest popular dramas to secure regular viewers, but it mostly broadcasts cultural programs. This is a consequence of limited finances; as an English-language channel, Arirang TV cannot expect substantial advertising revenue. Thus, it has no choice but to assemble a lineup of mostly cultural programs that can be produced on a relatively low budget.

The different measures taken by various international broadcasters in East Asia, and the issue of how broadcasting services and countries deal with reception conditions to secure foreign viewers abroad are full of insights into the state of international broadcasting.

(Translated by Kobayashi Chikako)