

Mediated Contact and Intergroup Relations:
When Koreans Met Americans through U.S. TV Dramas

By

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Abstract

This study tested and compared two structural models (i.e., the mediated and the mediated and direct contact) for examining the relationships between the Korean young adults' ($N = 288$) consumption of American television dramas and direct contact with an American person and their attitudes toward Americans. Overall, findings have demonstrated that both mediated (e.g., parasocial interaction) and personal contact (e.g., contact quality) had a positive effect on intergroup attitudes, albeit contact frequency was a negative contributor. In addition, results indicated that media had different and stronger influences on participants' intergroup attitudes when they did not have any personal contact with Americans. Furthermore, results revealed that intergroup anxiety was a partial mediator of the contact and attitudes link. Implications of the findings and future research are discussed in light of prior literature on media effects and intercultural communication and in the theoretical domains of the intergroup contact hypothesis and cultivation theory.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Despite over the three decade-long history of Koreans' exposure to U.S. American television dramas, the current trend of Korean young generations' fascination with American TV dramas has been noted as unprecedented (e.g., Kang et al., 2008; Kim, 2007; Kim, B., 2007; Lee, 2008; Yang, 2007). Among Korean viewers, American dramas have gained a nickname, "Mid" (abbreviation of 'American drama' expressed in Korean language), and so called "Mid tribe" refers to the hard-core Korean fans who not only love but also greatly contribute to popularizing American dramas in Korea (Kim, Y. C., 2007). Especially for many of the Korean young generation, watching American dramas has become an ordinary part of their media behaviors. In a survey conducted in Korea in November 2007, 84% of the 3,671 participants responded that they watched at least one complete episode of American drama, and over 67% of the participants answered that they remember main characters and stories of at least three different drams (Kang, 2007). With regard to the viewers' age, 20s and 30s accounted for 85% of the participants.

Along with this Korean viewers' high demand for American dramas, Korean cable companies are competing against each other to import newly-released television drama series form the U.S. (Kim, Y. C., 2007). While cable and satellite companies have allocated a substantial amount of money to competitively import television dramas from the U.S., television is not the only medium that Korean fans rely on. The advancement of Internet technology combined with digitalized media content has provided full access to the American television dramas for Korean viewers without any delay or much cost. Current

Internet media technology allows the lightning speed distribution of U.S. media contents, which in turn generated a swift success among young Korean viewers.

This exponential growth of American dramas' share in the Korean media market for the last few years has attracted much attention from Korean communication and media scholars. One of the major questions of this sensational cultural phenomenon has been why Koreans like to watch American dramas. For example, Kang et al. (2008) conducted in-depth interviews with 12 Korean college students to understand why they prefer to watch American dramas rather than Korean dramas and how they evaluate American cultural elements in the dramas. Lee (2008) analyzed online fandom in Internet fan cafes of the American drama *Prison Break* to examine why Koreans are attracted to American dramas and the functions of Internet fan cafes. Prior research in this area has converged in a rich literature centering on why American dramas have gained so much popularity among Koreans despite the cultural differences and language barrier between these two cultures. Studies and media reports in general have identified that American dramas are perceived as superior to domestic productions in terms of storylines, creativity, realism, production scale, and diverse topics (Kang, 2007; Park, 2007). Korean audiences who have been tired of family or romance oriented Korean dramas find American dramas with Hollywood movie qualities much more entertaining.

Another notable question is how Korean viewers interpret American culture portrayed in the dramas. The participants' narratives in Kang et al.'s (2008) study provide insights on this question. The interviewees commented on the prevalence of racism and U.S. ethnocentrism across the dramas, which were deemed to be negative evaluations. On the other hand, the interviewees gave positive evaluations of American dramas that feature

career women, women in higher social status, and the use of direct communication styles by the American actors/actresses. What appears to be more interesting is that participants are fascinated by and get used to these cultural differences as they watch more American dramas. Heavy viewing allowed the viewers to be more understanding and receptive of the contents and scenes (e.g., portrayals of gays and lesbians, racial conflicts, violence, sex etc.) which were shocking at first. It becomes apparent that Korean viewers are getting accustomed to the contents of American dramas as their consumption increases.

This sudden expansion and popularity of American dramas in Korea raises a question about how Koreans' heavy exposure to American media products influences their beliefs of social reality of Americans or American culture as a whole. Although some Koreans have been exposed to Americans and American culture through diverse direct personal contacts (e.g., studying abroad and traveling), viewing American dramas is the most common and popular way to meet Americans for most Korean people. The main focus of this study is to examine whether Koreans' exposure to American dramas contributes to positive attitudes toward Americans. This overarching research question is approached through the lenses of the Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954), mass media theories such as cultivation theory (Gerbner, 1969), and parasocial interaction (Horton & Wohl, 1956).

Allport's (1954) Contact Hypothesis is the foundation of intergroup contact research. The main premise is that direct interpersonal contact is one of the most effective ways to reduce prejudice and enhance positive attitudes toward other social or cultural groups when this contact meets certain conditions (e.g., equal status, shared values, cooperation, institutional support, voluntary contact, potential for future interaction, equal number of members, and individuation). Further, intergroup scholars developed models which explicate

the mechanism between the contact conditions and the expected outcomes, and have shown that frequent and positive contact experience is conducive to enhancing intergroup relations. Although direct contact has been the key factor to generate positive attitudes toward outgroups in intergroup contact research, a couple of studies have been conducted to test similar intergroup effects through mediated contact. For example, Schiappa, Gregg, and Hewes (2005, 2006) have applied intergroup contact theory to mediated settings and have referred to this approach as the Parasocial Contact Hypothesis (PCH). Their studies have shown that viewers' level of exposure to gay men on the television drama *Will & Grace* was negatively related to the viewers' sexual prejudice. With the same television show, Ortiz and Harwood's (2007) also demonstrated that exposure to positive intergroup contact between gay and straight persons on television could generate positive attitudes toward the outgroup as a whole. Although these studies focused on the gay-straight intergroup relations in the United States, they have added mediated intergroup contact as a promising contact mode to enhance intergroup relations. These studies provide an initial foray from an intergroup perspective in examining the effects of American media on the Korean audience.

In applying intergroup contact theory to mass media setting, Gerbner's (1969; see also Gerbner et al., 2002) cultivation theory proposes a mechanism of how the contact effects were generated. The major premise of cultivation theory is that extensive exposure to television over time gradually shapes our view of the world to become similar to what is portrayed on television. From this theoretical perspective, it is reasonable to infer that heavy Korean viewers of American dramas are more likely to believe that Americans and American culture are similar to what is depicted in the media than light viewers. Such belief that the American dramas are typical representations of American people or of reality plays a

significant role in shaping Korean viewers' attitudes toward Americans as a whole.

According to Hewstone and Brown's (1986) intergroup contact model, positive changes in outgroup perceptions occur when the contact members are regarded as typical or representative of the group. Therefore, cultivation theory can inform how Koreans' mediated contact with Americans influences their perceptions of and attitudes toward Americans in general.

Another useful media literature guiding this study is parasocial interaction (Horton & Wohl, 1956). Parasocial interaction (PSI) or parasocial relationship (PSR) is one of the extensively researched topics in audience's affective involvement with television characters. It has been argued that parasocial interaction is similar to social interaction in that viewers' attachment develops over repeated viewing, and eventually the television character becomes a part of one's social network (e.g., Perse & Rubin, 1989; Rubin & McHugh, 1987). Dealing with active audience, there are other important aspects that need to be considered in their media behaviors, such as viewing motivations or perceived realism. However, applying direct contact theory into the media setting, parasocial interaction, which resembles many aspects of direct contact, seems to a key variable in media behaviors. Moreover, Schiappa and his colleagues (2005, 2006) have demonstrated the positive effects of parasocial interaction on intergroup attitudes. This provides a strong rationale for examining Korean viewers' parasocial interaction with American drama characters in relation to their attitudes toward Americans. Using cultivation theory alone may overlook the possibility of differing media effects related to individual perspective of media use. Therefore, both the viewing quantity and the varying degree of audience engagement quality will influence viewers'

cognitive and affective involvement with the media contents, and in turn may result in varying degree of media effects.

The Internet has been acknowledged to offer an immense range of communication opportunities (Ruggiero, 2000). For many Korean viewers, as mentioned earlier, their media activities related to American dramas are highly reliant on the Internet, such as using P2P (Peer to Peer) programs to download media contents, blogging to share the information and reviews, social networking with virtual members of Internet fan café, etc. For example, Lee (2008) examined the function of on-line Korean fan forum of *Prison Break*. His analysis identified some of the functions of this Internet café, which are viewing/downloading the contents, information exchange (e.g., episode, characters, schedule, etc.), sharing reviews (e.g., episode critique, personal preference, story development, etc.), sharing media images (e.g., main scenes, actor images, etc.), etc. These diverse media activities suggest that audience gratification is not only associated with exposure to the content itself but also to the choice of a medium and follow-up activities. Levy and Windahl (1984) broke down the concept of an “active” audience based on audience orientation (selective, involved, and using), which corresponds to communication sequence (before, during, and after exposure). In the era the convergence of mass media and digital technology, media users are enjoying an unprecedented array of media activities. For the Korean audiences, many of those activities evolve around Internet channels. Thus, it is reasonable to include Internet as another media channel for Korean viewers’ diverse mediated communication activities related to American dramas, and to treat it as part of their mediated contact channel to watch American dramas.

This introductory chapter has outlined the purpose and theoretical frameworks of the study. The second chapter starts with overview of media environment in Korea, followed by

a review of the relevant literature on intergroup contact theory, including its application to the mediated intergroup contact, cultivation theory, and parasocial interaction. Chapter 3 describes the methodology employed in the study in detail and chapter 4 presents the results. Finally, chapter 5 discusses the findings and implications of this study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The U.S. has been the dominant exporter of media contents to different parts of the world, and the current media environment allows international audience to have easy access to American media products. Through diverse cable channels and Internet media technology, Korean viewers have been enjoying American media content and engaging in various forms of media behaviors, especially for the last couple of years. Despite the geographic, linguistic, and cultural distance, Koreans have very close contact with Americans and American culture through the media products, television drama series in particular. In examining the media effects of Koreans' high consumption of American television dramas, the intergroup contact hypothesis is used as an overarching theoretical framework. Although intergroup contact research has evolved around direct contact as the key factor in enhancing intergroup relations, media literature on parasocial relationship with media characters and cultivation theory (Gerbner, 1969) provide theoretical support to examine mediated contact effects on intergroup relations. Shiappa and his colleagues (2005, 2006) found that mediated contact had a positive effect on the gay-straight intergroup relations in the U.S. context, indicating promises in examining similar mediated contact effects in the cross-cultural contexts. For most Koreans, the chances of direct and meaningful contact with Americans are relatively limited compared with mediated contact. This intergroup contact environment indicates that Koreans' mediated contact with Americans is expected to be the major source of forming their perceptions of and attitudes toward Americans.

In this chapter, the review of literature focuses on four areas. First, the contextual background of Korea is introduced, including the media environment and Koreans'

sentiments toward America. This section provides the overall picture of the broadcasting system, availability of American dramas, Korean audience's viewing behaviors of the American dramas, and the trend of Koreans' attitude toward America. Second, the intergroup contact approach is applied to Koreans' mediated contact with Americans. Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, intergroup contact models, and their studies in intercultural context are introduced. In addition, mediated intergroup contact studies are discussed in detail. Third, cultivation theory (Gerbner, 1969) is reviewed. Although the original theory measures aggregate television viewing, recent cultivation theory emphasizes genre specific cultivation effects (e.g., Bilandzic & Rössler, 2004). In addition, television viewing alone cannot accurately measure Koreans' exposure to American dramas. According to the theory, heavy Korean viewers will have a stronger belief that American dramas mirror American social reality than light viewers. This strong influence of American drama viewing may lead to real contact effects. Finally, literature on parasocial relationship (Horton & Wohl, 1956) will be reviewed. In examining media effects, the audience's varying degree of engagement with the American television characters needs to be incorporated. Therefore, this audience-oriented approach illuminates further how mediated contact shapes Korean viewers' attitude attitudes toward Americans in general.

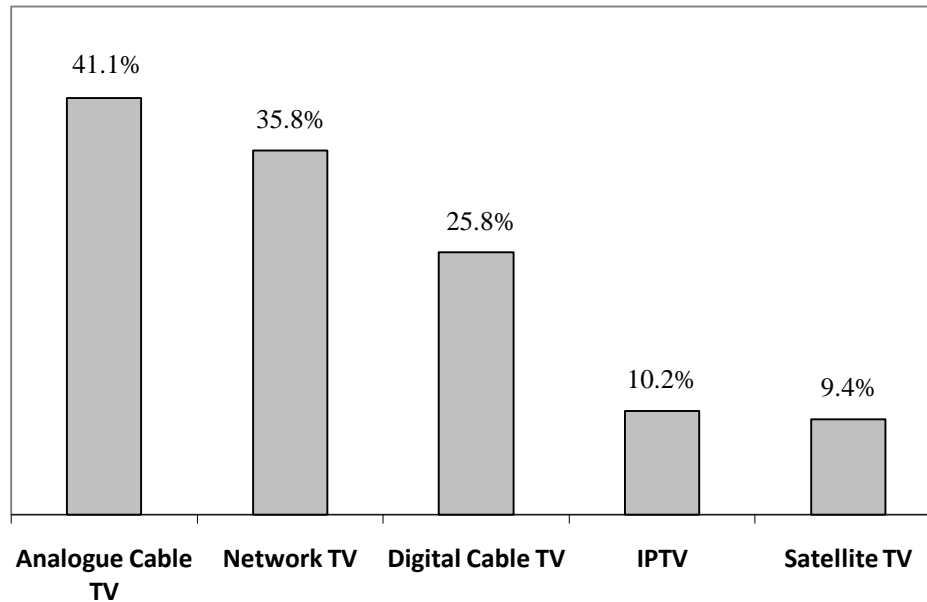
Contextual Understanding of South Korea

Media Environment in South Korea. American dramas' success in Korea has a long history starting from 1970s. For instance, *Columbo*, *The Six Million Dollar Man*, *Wonderwoman*, *Hulk*, *V*, and *X-file* were some of the dramas that made a big hit between the 70s and early 90s in Korea. However, during the same period, the popularity of the local dramas was overwhelming, which did not make American dramas eminent in the Korean media

landscape. The first change in the Korean environment that paved way for American dramas' entrance was the inception of cable TV services in 1995. In addition to the four network channels, the new 20 cable channels were allocated, diversifying the content of their service (Shim, 2002). Cable channel companies started to import foreign media materials to fill their service time. Although the Korean government regulated foreign-produced media content not to exceed 30% of cablecast time (Shim, 2002), the volume of imported programs has increased tremendously compared with the pre-cable era. Consequently, Koreans' exposure to American dramas has also increased. Through the cable channels, some of the American dramas, such as *Friends*, *Seinfeld*, *Sex and the City*, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, *Will & Grace*, were introduced and created a steady fan base, especially among young adults. Currently there are more than 100 cable channels, and IPTV and satellite TV services are expanding their media market share. As shown in Table 1, about 86% of the participants in the survey conducted by Park et al. (2008) uses at least one of the private network operators.

In addition, Korean cable companies gained more freedom in their use of foreign programs when Korean media market had to remove all the barriers in importing American media products as a result of FTA (Free Trade Agreement) between the U.S. and Korea, June, 2006. So far, over 200 American television dramas have been introduced through the nationwide network, cable, and satellite television channels, and the majority of them were imported to Korea during the last couple of years. As of April 2010, on average 60 different American dramas are available in a week across the television channels. Although cable industry played the initial role for American dramas' popularity in Korea, the young viewers' recent fascination with the American TV series can be attributed to the Internet which

Table 1. Media Network Service in Use (%)



Source: Park et al. (2008): Survey during Aug. 7-Aug. 27, 2008,
 N = 500, Age range: 15-59

enabled the audience to have easier and fast access to the digitalized media materials.

Technology- and Internet-savvy young Korean viewers find ways to consume the dramas through diverse Internet routes, such as P2P, or blog downloading. Therefore, within a day after the first release of a new episode of *Grey's Anatomy* in the U.S., Korean viewers can watch it even with Korean language subtitle. Simply put, they can watch any episode anytime. Lee and Rho's (2008) study on the effect of viewing motivations on Korean viewers' media choice and use of American dramas has shown that almost 60% of the participants use Internet to watch American dramas while 38% of them use television. There is no doubt that the current Internet media technology has greatly contributed to the soaring popularity of American dramas in the Korean territory.

The reason why most Korean fans of American dramas are concentrated in the 20s and 30s can be greatly attributed to the fact that those age groups are the most active Internet users in Korea. Although South Korea is known for its rapid Internet adoption, a widespread disparity in Internet use across age and education level exists (Rhee & Kim, 2004). So called *2030 generation* (frequently used term in Korea referring to the people who are in their 20s and 30s) represents heavy viewers of and the leading group to popularize American dramas. Through the diverse Internet clubs or fan cafes related to American dramas, young Korean viewers engage in diverse media activities including sharing information and reviews, downloading, creating Korean subtitles, etc. Such easy access to the dramas also resulted in the increased of American dramas for many viewers (Jin, 2007). However, heavy reliance on the Internet does not mean that Internet replaces Koreans' conventional media use. Rhee and Kim (2004) identified that the hours of Internet use at home were positively associated with the TV viewing amount. This finding implies that the Internet and television are not necessarily competitive media outlets for audience. As further noted by Lee and Rho (2008), each medium offers its unique benefits to the users. For young Korean viewers, the Internet offers another venue of media activities, and these activities in turn may benefit their television use. Overall, young Koreans' heavy Internet use is highly related to their consumption of American dramas more than other age groups.

Koreans' sentiments toward Americans. Koreans have had ambivalent sentiments toward the U.S., especially in its role in the relationship between South and North Korea; where the U.S. is seen as a facilitator and impeder (Cha, 2007). Koreans accept that America is an important ally for the peace in the Korean peninsula, yet they are also concerned about the role of America that deters the unification of the two Koreas. Koreans' feelings toward the U.S.,

however, took a downturn from the year 2002. The Nation-wide anti-Americanism and its continuous growth in the following years in South Korea raised national and international attention. In explaining the major reason causing the negative sentiment, Kim (2003) pointed out that “Bush’s denunciation of North Korea as part of an “axis of evil” and his threat to take preemptive actions against Pyongyang have angered many in South Korea” (p. 110). As he explains, Koreans believed that this announcement escalated the tension in the peninsula and discouraged South Korea’s effort to work together with the North. Another notable incident that exacerbated the anti-American sentiment was that two middle-school girls were struck and killed by a U.S.-armored personal carrier in training. However, no one was punished by the U.S. military court, and this decision triggered a nationwide anti-American protest movement (Bong & Moon, 2007). Especially, the Korean government had little influence over the investigation, and Koreans saw the situation as indicative of an unequal relationship between the two countries. Although this incident happened in 2002, Won’s (2005) study again confirmed that Koreans’ negative sentiment was still prevalent for the following years. In describing Americans, Koreans highly endorsed negative stereotypes (e.g., contempt for small nations, national interest, and individualist) rather than positive ones (e.g., respect individuals, rational). In addition, America was ranked as a less friendly country than China, Russia, Japan, and Germany (Won, 2005).

In fact, during the Bush years, Korea was not the only country that had negative sentiment toward America. The positive national image of the U.S. sharply declined during those eight years across the world (Pew, 2008). Table 2 shows the trend of favorable views of the U.S. across 23 countries. Overall, America’s favorable view began declined starting from the year 2000, and South Korea followed the same trend. Interestingly enough, however,

Table 2. Favorable Views of the U.S.

Favorable Views of the U.S.								
	1999/ 2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Britain	83	75	70	58	55	56	51	53
France	62	62	42	37	43	39	39	42
Spain	50	--	38	--	41	23	34	33
Germany	78	60	45	38	42	37	30	31
Poland	86	79	--	--	62	--	61	68
Russia	37	61	37	46	52	43	41	46
Turkey	52	30	15	30	23	12	9	12
Lebanon	--	36	27	--	42	--	47	51
Egypt	--	--	--	--	--	30	21	22
Jordan	--	25	1	5	21	15	20	19
South Korea	58	52	46	--	--	--	58	70
India	--	66	--	--	71	56	59	66
Japan	77	72	--	--	--	63	61	50
Australia	--	--	59	--	--	--	--	46
China	--	--	--	--	42	47	34	41
Indonesia	75	61	15	--	38	30	29	37
Pakistan	23	10	13	21	23	27	15	19
Brazil	56	51	35	--	--	--	44	47
Mexico	68	64	--	--	--	--	56	47
Argentina	50	34	--	--	--	--	16	22
Tanzania	--	53	--	--	--	--	46	65
Nigeria	46	76	61	--	--	62	70	64
South Africa	--	65	--	--	--	--	--	60

1999/2000 survey trends provided by the Office of Research,
U.S. Department of State.

Source: Global public opinion in the Bush years (2001-2008), Pew global attitude project, <http://pewglobal.org/reports/pdf/263.pdf>

Korea's favorable views of the U.S. were fully recovered by 2007 and recorded the highest among all the surveyed countries in the year 2008 (Pew, 2008a). As Pew (2008b) reported, the belief that the new government in the U.S. may have changed U.S. foreign policy for the better could be one of the major contributing factors that have alleviated the negative image

of the U.S. in many countries including South Korea. Yet, it does not fully explain why Koreans' view of the U.S. made such a sharp turn, and more than any other countries. Along with the positive messages of the new political movement in the U.S., the surge of U.S. media in Korea has been noted as a significant change since 2006 (e.g., Baek, 2007; Kang, 2006; Lee, 2008). Whether this sudden change among Korean young individuals' media behavior has contributed to their positive attitude toward America has not been investigated yet. Considering that media plays a significant role in shaping one's perception of the less familiar world, it is highly plausible to make a connection between Korean young generation's high consumption of American media products and the change of their attitude toward America.

In this part, two areas of background information have been discussed: Korean media environment and Koreans' sentiment toward America. First, American dramas' popularity in Korea has taken place with the change of the media environment in Korea. The expansion of the cable television industry and digitalized media products circulated through Internet enabled Korean viewers' full access to American dramas. Consequently, heavy viewers of American dramas are concentrated in young Korean adults who also heavily rely on the Internet in their overall media use. Secondly, it is helpful to understand the overall trend of Koreans' sentiment toward America. There was a serious concern of Koreans' anti-Americanism prevalent starting from 2002 (e.g., Bong & Moon, 2007; Larson et al., 2004; Steinberg, 2005). However, according to the Global Attitude Project reports (Pew, 2008a), Korea was recorded as the country with the most favorable view of America in the year 2008. How such change took place among young Koreans who were once at the frontline in the

anti-American movement needs further investigation at the individual level. Hence, Koreans' high consumption of American dramas can be examined from the intergroup perspective.

Intergroup Contact Theory

The efforts to find out ways to reduce prejudice that social groups have against each other have put intergroup contact theory as one of the useful theoretical framework in unraveling the persistent and prevalent issues of intergroup relations particularly since the 1950s. After a number of predecessors who proposed intergroup contact as a means to reduce prejudice (e.g., Watson, 1947; Williams, 1947; Wilner, Walkley, & Cook, 1952; see also Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), Allport (1954) theorized intergroup contact theory in his book, *The Nature of Prejudice*, which has become a foundation of intergroup contact research. With the valid assumption that outgroup prejudice exists, Allport's Contact Hypothesis emphasizes direct contact as an effective way to reduce prejudice and enhance positive attitudes toward other social or cultural groups, when this intergroup contact meets certain conditions, such as equal status, cooperative interaction, acquaintance potential, and institutional support. Although the hypothesis started with interracial focus in the U.S., Allport's hypothesis has inspired extensive research in diverse intergroup contexts and has received substantial empirical support in the last few decades.

Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) a meta-analysis to assess the overall effect of intergroup contact on prejudice based on the 515 empirical studies of the 20th century. Findings in their study clearly indicated that intergroup contact itself reduces intergroup prejudice. More specifically, individual contact effects could be generalized to the entire outgroup, and further extended to outgroup members in other situations and to other outgroups not involved in the contact. As the authors noted, these results strongly support the usefulness and

practicality of the intergroup contact theory in its research on intergroup relations research across diverse social contexts beyond its original focus on ethnic relations in the U.S.

Although contact itself is a sufficient condition to generate the positive effects, stronger effects were found when the contact context met Allport's optimal contact conditions. Hence, it was suggested that Allport's contact conditions are best conceptualized as facilitating conditions rather than essential conditions of intergroup contact.

Along with reduced outgroup prejudice, increased outgroup variability or reduced outgroup homogeneity has been identified as another notable outcome of intergroup contact in the literature. Outgroup homogeneity, which refers to the judgment of outgroup members as similar and lacking in variability, is an important construct in studying typical intergroup behaviors (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This cognitive mechanism sets the stage for stereotyping as it hinders an interactant from seeing the outgroup member as an individual. In addition, Ryan, Park, and Judd's (1996) study showed that people who believed that there was little outgroup variance made stereotypic judgments about outgroup members with greater confidence than those who believed there was more outgroup variance. Clearly perceived outgroup variability was associated with more positive intergroup relations. Islam and Hewstone's (1993) study found that the quantity of contact had a significant effect on perceived outgroup variability for both Hindus and Muslims in Bangladesh. In addition, their study identified that intergroup anxiety was a strong negative predictor of outgroup variability. Voci and Hewstone's (2003) study investigated Italian participants' intergroup contact with African immigrants. Their findings indicated that contact had direct positive effects on perceived outgroup variability, which was also positively related to the attitudes toward the outgroup. Therefore, it is highly plausible that frequent mediated contact via

dramas which portray diverse characters and life styles of the outgroup members may induce viewers' perceptions of more variability in the outgroup.

Furthermore, researchers have strived to explicate the mechanism between contact and contact outcome. Especially Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory allowed the researchers to further explore the processes of how and why specific intergroup contact could influence perceptions of and attitudes toward outgroups as a whole. For example, Brewer and Miller's (1986) decategorization model emphasizes that Allport's contact conditions help interactants decategorize group membership and personalize interactions with outgroup members and further reduce prejudice. Gaertner and Dovidio's (2000) common ingroup identity model proposes that Allport's favorable conditions of contact allow interactants to dissolve the group boundary and to view the other party as a part of the ingroup. Such change in the cognitive representations creates common ingroup identity and subsequently favorable attitudes. Another model, Hewstone and Brown's (1986) intergroup contact model, posits that favorable contact with sufficiently typical or representative outgroup members is likely to be generalized to the outgroup as a whole. In addition to these three models, Pettigrew (1997, 1998) has shown that cross-group friendship yields optimal intergroup effects through the process of learning about outgroup, changing behavior, generating affective ties, and ingroup reappraisal.

With the continuing interests and hopes to improve intergroup relations in diverse social contexts in the 21st century, intergroup contact research is carrying on the legacy from the 20th century and expanding its research directions. In particular, it would be useful to look at one of the new areas of intergroup research, which focuses on non-direct contact (e.g., extended contact, imagined contact, or mediated contact) as another means to improve

intergroup relations. Turner, Crisp, and Lambert (2007) noted “One of the most significant recent advances in contact research is the finding that perceivers need not have actually experienced contact with the outgroup themselves to develop more positive intergroup attitudes” (p. 429). According to several scholars, intergroup anxiety is much less involved, if not at all, in non-direct contact (Ortiz & Harwood, 2007; Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci, 2004; Turner, et al., 2007). Previous studies have found that intergroup anxiety mediates the relationship between contact and outgroup attitude (e.g., Greenland & Brown, 1999; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephen & Stephen, 1985), indicating that positive outcome is closely related to the extent that anxiety is reduced. By having the advantage of reduced intergroup anxiety, non-direct ways of intergroup contact have been examined and demonstrated interesting findings.

One of the non-direct ways of intergroup contact is vicarious or extended contact with an outgroup member through an ingroup member (e.g., Korean person has a Korean friend who has an American friend). Prior research has shown that vicarious contact could induce positive intergroup attitudes. Paolini et al. (2004) have demonstrated that both direct and indirect friendship between Catholics and Protestants were significant predictors of reduced prejudice toward the religious outgroup and increased perceptions of outgroup variability. In addition, imagined intergroup contact was also shown to improve intergroup attitudes. Turner et al. (2007) conducted three experiments to see whether simply imagining contact with outgroup members (e.g., talking to elderly person, talking to a homosexual man) would enhance young participants’ intergroup attitudes. Findings indicated that participants who were asked to imagine interaction with an elderly person showed reduced intergroup bias, and male heterosexual participants who were asked to imagine contact with a gay man

demonstrated more positive attitude toward gay people in general and also greater perceived outgroup variability than participants in the control condition. These studies have demonstrated that vicarious intergroup contact can yield effects similar to direct contact and that intergroup anxiety functions as a mediator in the contact-attitude link.

Lastly, the research on mediated contact, which involves exposure to outgroup members in media products, has also demonstrated intergroup contact effects similar to direct contact. Ortiz and Harwood (2007) suggested that exposure to positive intergroup contact (gay-straight and white-black) on television was associated with less social distance and less anxiety towards gay and black people. They used Bandura's (1986) social cognitive theory to explain the mechanism and argued "Repeated exposure to positive intergroup interactions potentially provides a model who can be imitated when people find themselves in a similar intergroup setting" (p. 626). In particular, participants who strongly identify with their ingroup character (Grace in *Will & Grace*) in the television show were more inclined to adopt the character's orientation towards gay people, which is quite positive. Therefore, the focus of Ortiz and Harwood's study is on the effects of vicarious learning of ingroup television characters' perspectives and behaviors. Another example of the mediated contact effect can be seen in Schiappa and his colleagues' (2005, 2006) studies of parasocial contact hypothesis (PCH). They argue that mediated contact with outgroup television character yields effects similar to direct contact – reduced prejudice. The basis of this argument is that viewers process mass-mediated parasocial interaction in a way similar to interpersonal interaction. Thus, parasocial contact has the potential to decrease prejudice when viewers are exposed repeatedly to diverse, likable, and clearly identifiable representatives of outgroup (Schiappa et al., 2005, p. 98). Both of their studies have demonstrated that increased viewing

frequency and parasocial interaction with the gay characters (in *Will & Grace*) were negatively correlated with sexual prejudice. In their later study, this effect was more pronounced for the participants with the least amount of real life contact experience with homosexuals.

Having positive media contact effects on intergroup relations indicates a significant role of intergroup media exposure in intergroup relations. Especially, the findings of Schiappa and his colleagues' study (2006) on parasocial contact hypothesis in the context of gay-straight relations encourage further explication of mediated intergroup contact in intercultural context. The eminent role of mass media in intercultural communication is undeniable. People rely more heavily on media contents for obtaining and often confirming the knowledge or stereotypes of other cultures and their members. Besides, popular media products are the primary way of constructing the social reality of another culture. Korean young adults have shown high dependency on media products in their social activities (e.g., Kim et al., 2006; Rhee & Kim, 2004). Given the current circumstances, it is highly plausible that Korean viewers' heavy exposure to American dramas may have a significant impact on their attitudes toward Americans, and further such media experience may influence them in similar positive ways, as illustrated by prior studies.

Compared with other intergroup contexts, intercultural communication creates a high level of anxiety in general. Considering the common issues inherent to intercultural contact – such as high degree of uncertainty, less frequent contact opportunities, language differences, and so on –, intergroup anxiety is the prominent factor that makes the situation more challenging than other intergroup situations. This is the reason that many intergroup scholars point out intergroup anxiety as one of the key variables that is highly influential in cognitive,

affective, and behavioral outcomes of intercultural communication. For example, Voci and Hewstone (2003) investigated Italians' intergroup attitude and prejudice towards African immigrants. In their study, intergroup anxiety functioned as a mediating variable that reduced positive attitudes and enhanced prejudice. These findings corroborate with many other intergroup studies that tested the role of intergroup anxiety in intercultural contexts. Another interesting result of Voci and Hewstone's study was that anxiety was reduced by quality of contact, not by quantity. This means that when people develop a certain level of meaningful and positive intercultural relationship, we can expect reduced anxiety with other intercultural encounters. Pettigrew (1997) also emphasized friendship potential as a critical condition for optimal intergroup contact.

Yet, developing a meaningful relationship with a person from a different culture is not an easy task for many people. Intergroup anxiety is also a debilitating factor across the different stages of developing an intercultural friendship. From Koreans' perspective, developing a meaningful relationship with Americans is a daunting task. For most cases, the linguistic burden is usually on the Korean's side, which heightens the anxiety level and further hinders Koreans' initiatives in building personal relationships with Americans. Therefore, American media products provide a substantial source for many Koreans to form their cognitive representations of the American people, albeit sometimes erroneous and stereotyped. For example, Yang et al.'s (2008) study revealed that Korean viewers' overestimation of Americans' affluence was significantly related to their viewing behaviors of U.S. television programs that are populated with wealthy characters or images of materialism. For international audience, U.S. media products constitute a significant source of their knowledge about Americans and American life. As for Korean audience who live

across the ocean, the role of U.S. media is even more heightened. Hetsronic et al.'s (2007) study demonstrated the significance of geographical proximity with regard to the interpretation of the U.S. media programs in Israel. The results showed that heavy viewers tended to hold a biased estimation of the prevalence of certain occupations in America in a manner that resembles imported U.S. programs. This effect did not happen for heavy viewers of Israeli programs. Consistent with Adoni and Mane's (1984) argument, the lack of direct contact opportunities increases Koreans' dependence on imported media as a source of information.

To summarize, intergroup contact theory has been the backbone of research on intergroup relations, and the theory has been applied to diverse social contexts and extended in many new directions. Guided by the intergroup contact theory, research in general has informed us that frequent and positive contact is one of the most effective ways of reducing outgroup prejudice. However, when the opportunity for direct contact is low and the contact itself poses high anxiety, it is meaningful to find other practical yet effective ways of enhancing intergroup relations. Given the current situation of Koreans' high consumption of American television dramas, intergroup contact theory can be applied to a mediated intercultural contact setting. Recent studies of parasocial contact hypothesis (Schiappa et al., 2005, 2006) demonstrated high potential for positive intergroup affect through mediated contact. Therefore, this study uses the intergroup contact theory as the overarching framework for the investigation of the relationship between Korean viewers' mediated contact with Americans in American dramas and their attitudes toward Americans.

Cultivation Theory

Cultivation theory (Gerbner, 1969; Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, Signorielli, & Shanahan, 2002) suggests that extensive exposure to television over time gradually shapes our view of the world to be similar to what is portrayed on television. Based on this premise, cultivation analysis examines “the independent contributions that television viewing makes to viewer conceptions of social reality” (p. 47, Gerbner et al., 2002). This theory is based on two major assumptions; first, television send coherent messages or images to its viewers; second, people watch television more or less ritualistically. The underlying mechanism of cultivation is explained by mainstreaming and resonance effects. Mainstreaming occurs as television homogenizes its audience in a way that heavy viewers come to share similar perspectives. This mainstreaming effect varies among individuals depending on their real life circumstances, which result in different level of resonance. People whose life experiences are more congruent with the television experiences will have amplified cultivation effects. These are the major ideas of the Gerbner’s original cultivation theory. Although cultivation theory and its early studies evolved from interests surrounding the effects of viewing violence or crime on television, the theory has been applied to diverse television messages/contents.

One type of effects of television viewing has been conducted by examining viewers’ beliefs about certain facts about the world, such as demographic characteristics or the prevalence of violence. For example heavy viewers of soap opera perceived greater numbers of doctors, lawyers, divorced people, illegitimate children, and criminals than did light viewers (Buerkel-Rothfuss & Mayes, 1981; Carveth & Alexander, 1985). This type of study can be observed more in the early days of cultivation research. Another effect to which researchers paid more attention is the impact of television on viewers’ attitudes or values,

such as whether we live in a mean/just world, moral judgments, or perceptions of certain social groups. For example, heavy viewers of television perceived that the world is mean (Appel, 2008) and showed lower expectations of idealistic marriage (Segrin & Nabi, 2002). In particular, Mastro et al.'s (2007) study on the cultivation of social perceptions of Latinos provides a valid account of how heavy viewing increases the influence of viewers' perceptions of real world. The findings demonstrated that the relationship between the perceptions of television portrayals of Latinos and real world evaluations of Latinos is stronger for heavier viewers. Especially, this cultivation effect was more pronounced for the participants with lower level of close contact with Latinos in real life. This study strongly indicates that heavy viewers' perceptions are shaped more by television than light viewers' perceptions.

As the U.S. has been the major exporter of television programs to different parts of the world, studies of international cultivation analysis which mainly focus on American television programs' impact on foreign viewers have been conducted. Although television serves as a central and mediated source of constructing perceptions and stereotypes about American social reality for the international audience, each local context presents a unique set of variables that yield varying degrees of cultivation effects. There is a wide range of variation in each country in terms of the types of programs imported from America, local broadcasting system, airing time and proportion of imported programs in relation to the local programs, and many other local media factors. Nonetheless, one noticeable emerging pattern across the analysis of American television's impact on international audiences is that the television drama genre appears to be a very powerful source for shaping perception of Americans and American life. Heavy viewers of American dramas strongly believe the life in

America is close to what is portrayed in the television. For example Weimann's (1984) pioneer work investigated young Israelis' perceptions of American reality. It revealed that heavy viewers of American programs overestimated the wealth and standard of living of Americans. Interestingly, most American programs they watched were television drama miniseries and comedies. Also, "Dallas" was found to have the highest viewing rate (81%) amongst all. Tan and Suarchavarat's (1988) study in Thailand also showed similar results in that the same drama was ranked as the program that depicted the United States most accurately. In particular, Tan, Tan, and Gibson's (2003) study in Russia illustrates the cultivating power that the American drama genre has on the international audience. Results indicated that Russian viewer's acceptance of American values was predicted by their frequency of viewing American television dramas, not by the aggregate measure of American television viewing. Therefore, there is certainly a genre specific influence on international viewers, and American dramas have shown to have substantial impact on shaping overseas audiences' perception of American social reality.

Indeed, recent cultivation research tends to investigate the impact of genre-specific television use on the viewers' world views. This trend has been mainly motivated by the changes in viewers' media behaviors which become more selective in choosing program types and contents. Thus, genre-specific cultivation research looks at the effects of viewers' exposure to a particular genre rather than overall television viewing. Among many genres that have been investigated through a cultivation perspective, crime drama, soap opera, and talk show are the genres that have drawn scholars' attention most (Bilandzic & Rössler, 2004). Their popularity, including controversy and criticism, provide ample reasons for scholars to investigate the viewing effects of those program forms. In addition, there is an

assumption that each genre contains particular content features: fear of crime is more related to crime drama viewing rather than soap opera viewing. Genre-specific cultivation studies have demonstrated that genre viewing is a better predictor than overall viewing for the belief related to the recurring messages or images within the genre. For example, Woo and Dominick (2001) identified that viewers' overestimation of the frequency of deviant/inappropriate behaviors (e.g., running away from home, bringing guns to school, teen pregnancy, adultery, etc.) was predicted by participants' daytime television talk show viewing time rather than the total television viewing time. The significance of genre-specific cultivation effect is also demonstrated in Appel's (2008) study, which showed contradicting cultivation effect between genre viewing and total television viewing in Germany. The results demonstrated that watching fiction (e.g., soap operas, television series/serials, crime dramas) on television was positively related to the belief in a just world, whereas the total amount of television viewing was positively related to mean-world belief. These studies suggest viewers' beliefs about the real world may vary depending on their media consumption behaviors.

For Korean viewers, "Mid" (abbreviated Korean word for American dramas) refers to not just American television drama series but to drama-type programs which include soap opera (e.g. *Grey's Anatomy*, *Desperate Housewives*), crime dramas (e.g., *CSI*, *Law & Order*), and situation comedies (e.g., *Friends*, *The Office*). Although each of these drama-type programs portrays its own unique structure and story, Korean viewers perceive them as "dramas," which are all very entertaining storytellers. As introduced earlier, studies of international cultivation analysis have demonstrated the powerful role of American dramas in shaping overseas viewers' perception of American social life. The current study examines the

unique effect of Korean viewers' consumption of these drama-type American programs on their perceptions of Americans. Previous international cultivation empirical studies support the genre that this study focuses on. Viewing behaviors of drama programs entail strong influence on the viewers' perceptions about Americans and their lives. Most of all, viewers' interaction with the drama characters is more intimate and continuous than other television genres or mediated contact channels, such as movies, news, magazines, etc. Provided that the soap opera is one of the major forms of drama, literature on soap opera viewing will provide further insights on how viewers engage in drama-type programs.

Soap opera is a genre whose audience is marked by devoted viewing over the years and loyal audience (Perse, 1986). The nature of soap opera is quite different from other genres in terms of how the audience engages in the viewing process. Livingstone (1998) emphasizes the considerable role of soap opera viewers through their vicarious interactions and active sense-making processes:

In soap opera, there is no simple speaker-hearer relationship although nor is the relationship simply one of passive reception: viewers are engaged in 'parasocial interactions', as if engaging with real people, they participate without passive identification, they blur boundaries between viewing and living by endless 'what happened then' discussions and by bringing their everyday experience to judge the drama....Moreover, 'the message' is inevitably made plural, open to interpretation. (p. 3)

Her argument is that through these processes, viewers learn the everyday social knowledge shared by the actors and use it to interpret the messages combined with their own perspectives. Baym (2000) also pointed out "personalization" as the core practice of the

viewers' interpretation of the dramas, which can be done by "putting themselves in the drama and identifying with its situation" (p. 71). Over the episodes, viewers learn the norms that actors play by, and this accumulated viewing experience becomes a crucial groundwork for viewers' sense making process. Furthermore, such knowledge invites viewers' active engagement with the dramas. Thus, for Korean viewers, consuming American dramas has different effects than receiving information about American life from other media genres. Each program type (e.g., soap opera, situation drama, crime drama, etc.) has a unique plot and a different focus of social life. Yet, the viewing behaviors across these program types share commonality; while engaging in the stories, viewers reason together with the characters based on their cultural values, social norms, common issues or conflicts, and so on, that underlie the narrative. Consequently, the unique nature of drama-type programs opens a wide venue for the viewers to vicariously experience another culture and its members.

To summarize, the overarching goal of cultivation analysis is to determine the unique effects of television viewing on the viewers' construction of social reality. As television accounts for a significant part of our symbolic environment, the connection between media behaviors and perception of the world has been one of the most popular inquiries in mass communication research (Bryant & Miron, 2004). In the intercultural communication context in particular, the cultivation effect of foreign media products plays a crucial role in understanding intercultural communication and relations. Numerous studies of international cultivation analysis have shown that international audience's perceptions of American social reality are much derived from their exposure to American media products, especially dramas. The genre-specific cultivation analysis can be marked as one of the major changes in cultivation research. The new trend reflects the changes in the viewers' media use, in

particular genre-specific television use. In particular, the viewing nature of dramas, such as continuous and intimate engagement with the stories and characters, entails unique cultivation effects. Therefore, cultivation theory can be applied in the investigation of the unique effects of Koreans' viewing of American dramas on their perceptions of and attitudes toward Americans.

Parasocial Interaction

Given the current media environment where television viewers can actively choose their preferred programs based on their needs, it is critical to approach media effects based on different individual engagement with the media contents. Such audience-oriented approach in the research of media effects called for the keen attention to the individual processes in mediated communication. Blumler and Katz' (1974) uses and gratification approach sparked the notion of active audience and further informed the mechanism of media effects. For example, understanding *why* cultivation effects occur, not just *if* or *to what extent*, requires examining media behaviors from viewers' perspective, such as viewing motives, processes, and activities (Bilandzic & Rössler, 2004). Although Gerbner included the differential effects among individuals who have different real-life experience by resonance process in his cultivation theory, the overarching theoretical focus is more general and on the pervasive consequences of cumulative exposure to media products. The assumption that people watch television unselectively and ritualistically overlooked the possibility of treating audience's initiative and activeness as significant variables (Blumler, 1979). Accordingly, a myriad of studies have examined audience activities and involvement from diverse angles, including viewing motives, perceived realism, cognitive involvement (e.g., elaboration likelihood model with media messages), affective involvement (e.g., parasocial interaction), behavioral

involvement (e.g., before, during, and after-viewing activities), etc. Among those variables, parasocial interaction presents much relevance to the current study due to its close simulation of social interaction.

Parasocial interaction (PSI) or parasocial relationship (PSR) is one of the highly researched topics in audience's affective involvement with television characters. Horton and Wohl (1956) first introduced the concept and argued that viewers can develop an imagined friendship with a mediated persona and form an interpersonal relationship. In conjunction with the uses and gratification perspective in media studies, PSI received much more attention in media studies. As viewers become highly selective in choosing media contents, they tend to expose themselves to the preferred programs. This repeated viewing allows the audience to develop a favorable relationship with media characters, and viewers' emotional ties to the media figures become stronger over time (Perse & Rubin, 1989; Rubin & McHugh, 1987). Such relationship with media personae in a way simulates social interaction, in turn, viewers' feel that they "know" the characters as if they know their friends (Rubin & Perse, 1987, p. 248). Media figures range from newscasters, celebrities, show hosts, and soap characters. Especially, viewers' parasocial relationship with soap opera characters has been noted as one of the appeals of drama viewing (Giles, 2003; McQuail et al., 1972). Indeed, attractive television personalities greatly contribute to the continued viewing week after week.

In one of the early studies of soap operas, Rubin and Perse (1987) examined the role of motives, attitudes, and audience activity in explaining parasocial interaction, perceived realism among soap opera viewers. Parasocial interaction was closely related to perceived realism, viewing intention, and viewing attention. More specifically, those viewers who strongly formed a parasocial relationship with soap characters demonstrated affinity towards

soap opera programs, and used the characters' behaviors to understand their real life situations. Rubin and McHugh (1987) found that parasocial interaction was positively correlated with viewing amount, and attraction (social, physical, and task) to the characters. The major finding of that study is the high association between parasocial interaction and the importance of viewers' relationship with the characters. Therefore, it was suggested that the viewers who are strongly attached to the television characters perceive their parasocial relationship as a significant part of their social relationship. Turner (1993) also found that viewers formed a strong parasocial interaction with characters who shared similar attitudes, so called attitude homophily, with them. This study suggests that viewers are likely to develop relationship with media figures that they can identify with. On the other hand, Rosengren and Windahl (1972) and Nordlund (1978) argued that parasocial interaction offers alternative companionships to the viewers and therefore fulfills their social needs to some extent. Many of the studies in parasocial interaction literature suggest that media users evaluate media figures based on criteria those they use in their real life encounters (Giles, 2002, p. 282). In fact, scholars have argued that parasocial interaction mirrors social interaction (e.g., Kanazawa, 2002; Perse & Rubin, 1989; Reeves & Nass, 1996; Turner, 1993). For this reason, they have often adopted interpersonal communication perspectives into the media context and demonstrated the similarities of the processes and similar effects as a result.

One of the shared attributes between parasocial and social interactions is the uncertainty reduction process: repeated viewing and perceived self-disclosure of media figure may lead the viewers to feel intimacy and to like the mediated characters (Rubin & McHugh, 1987). For example, Perse and Rubin (1989) tested the applicability of uncertainty reduction

theory (URT; Berger & Calabrese, 1975) to mediated contexts. URT posits that individuals actively seek information to reduce uncertainty, and liking increases as uncertainty is reduced. Results showed that parasocial relationships with favorite soap opera characters were based, to some extent, on viewers' ability to predict the feelings and attitudes of the character. As is the case in real life, uncertainty reduction constitutes as a basic process of parasocial relationship development. In a similar study, Rubin and McHugh (1987) showed the importance of social attraction in the development of parasocial relationship, and further argued that interpersonal and mediated relationships appear to follow a similar process of development. In addition, Eyal and Cohen (2006) argued that the feelings toward television characters in PSR are much like the ones from ordinary friendships which serve to provide people with social enjoyment and learning (p. 504). Their parasocial breakup study demonstrates viewers' emotional reaction to their favorite media characters, which shows a great resemblance to their social relationship. Parasocial breakup (Cohen, 2003) refers to a situation where a character with a viewer had parasocial relationship goes off the air. Eyal and Cohen examined the emotional experiences (e.g., distress) of the viewers who experienced the ending of the popular television sitcom, *Friends*. They found that the intensity of the parasocial relationship with the favorite character was the strongest predictor of the viewers' breakup distress. These findings illustrate that viewers' relationship with the characters actually affects their mood or emotions, which shows that mediated relationships are part of their social life.

From the evolutionary psychological perspective, Kanazawa (2002) argued that humans actually do not distinguish between real friends and the imaginary ones they see on television. This seemingly provocative idea is based on the premise that human brain and its

psychological mechanisms do not distinguish real entities and the realistic images of the entities. Using the US General Social Survey, he illustrated that human brain does not distinguish real friends and media friends and our subjective satisfaction with friendships increases as viewing increases. In the similar vein, Reeves and Nass (1996) proposed the concept of “media equation,” which refers to equating mediated and real life (p. 5). Their argument is based on the research on how humans respond to diverse communication technologies. They found that individuals’ interactions with media technologies are innately social and natural, just like their interactions in real life. Thus, media interaction is automatically and unconsciously processed in the same manner as simulations of social actors and natural objects. These arguments strongly support that parasocial interaction is sufficiently analogous to social interaction, and it is expected to invoke similar effects as a consequence.

The literature reviewed so far suggests that parasocial interaction resembles social interaction. Looking at more practical side, the focus is how parasocial interaction is actually operationalized in the studies. Scholars do not necessarily agree on the core aspects of parasocial interaction, and also it varies depending on which type of media figure is used. Nonetheless, Schiappa et al.’s (2007) meta-analysis of parasocial relationship presented major aspects used in the literature. First of all, the perceived realism of media character constituted an important part of the measurement. Especially in the studies dealing with fictional programs, perceived realism of the characters comprised an essential part of the measurement. Another aspect that emerged in the literature was perception of television characters as physically or socially attractive. Usually, it is the case that viewers are likely to develop a relationship with a media character with whom they like or feel comfortable. For

example, Rubin and Perse's (1987) PSI measurement included the aforementioned aspects in measuring viewers' interaction with soap opera characters. Schiappa et al. (2005, 2006) specifically used perceived attractiveness and realism of the characters measuring parasocial interaction. Therefore, viewers tend to build strong relational bond with media personae when they perceive the characters as sufficiently realistic and likeable.

Considering the dominating position of media figures in most entertainment media, viewers' involvement with media characters is a critical factor in examining media effects. The literature of parasocial interaction strongly suggests similar psychological processes between relationship with mediated person and social relationship in real life. For Korean viewers, American characters in the dramas might be much more approachable figures than real Americans. Thus, it might be easier to develop a relationship with drama characters than with Americans in real life. Against this backdrop, Korean viewers' parasocial relationship with American television characters may function as a key factor in shaping their attitudes toward Americans. In intergroup research, developing a friendship and further affective tie has shown to contribute to enhancing intergroup attitudes tremendously (Pettigrew, 1997, 1998). Therefore, not only the aggregate viewing of American dramas, but also Korean viewers' affective involvement with a particular American drama character needs separate attention in examining their mediated contact effects.

With the increasing power and autonomy of audience in their media experiences, it is inevitable to use an audience-centered approach. Therefore, understanding how and why media consumption cultivates viewers' perception of a certain social reality that is similar to television portrayals needs to integrate the investigation of the actions and interpretations of individuals. Although active audience is such a broad notion covering diverse aspects of

individuals' media use, this study focuses on parasocial interaction as quality aspect of media use. This variable has been vigorously studied in media literature, and also poses a great potential in the investigation of intergroup attitudes as the outcome of mediated contact.

The Current Study

Based on the above analysis of literature, the following conclusion can be made. Intergroup contact research in the 20th century made a clear conclusion that direct contact is the most effective way to enhance intergroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Recently, intergroup contact scholars are expanding their research directions to shed a new light on the effects of mediated contact (e.g., Paolini, 2004; Schiappa, 2005, 2006; Turner et al., 2007). They explored non-direct ways of intergroup contact, and found positive outcomes of intergroup attitudes. In the process of forming outgroup perceptions and attitudes, foreign media products play a significant role, and the current media technology facilitates many more frequent mediated intercultural contact opportunities. The high potential of intergroup effects in the mediated setting can be explained by media theories – cultivation theory and the uses and gratifications approach. Cultivation theory (Gerbner, 1969; Gerbner et al., 2002) illustrates that heavy viewing of television increases the influence of television reality on viewers' real world evaluation. This theory suggests that heavy viewers will tend to perceive the world portrayed on television and their perception of the real world as similar. In addition, the mainstreaming effect predicts that television homogenizes its audience in a way that heavy viewers share similar perspectives on a given social reality. While cultivation theory focuses on the relationship between the amount of television viewing and its effect, parasocial interaction (Horton & Wohl, 1956) deals with the quality aspect of audience's media activities. Since much media use can be conceived as an active or goal-oriented

activity, individual variables have become a more critical factor in examining media effects. The literature review suggests that parasocial interaction intersects mediated contact and direct contact as it is analogous to social interaction to a great extent. Based on the literature, following hypotheses are posed.

H1. Korean participants' viewing amount of American dramas will be positively associated with their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans.

H2. Korean participants' viewing diversity of American dramas will be positively associated with their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans.

H3. Korean participants' parasocial relationship with their favorite American drama characters will be positively related to their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans.

H4. Intergroup anxiety will mediate the relationship between Korean participants' viewing behaviors of American dramas (viewing amount, viewing diversity, parasocial interaction) and their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans.

For the participants who also have a direct contact experience with American persons,

H5. The number of American friends will be positively associated with Korean participants' affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans.

H6. Korean participants' communication frequency with an American individual whom they have the closest relationship with will be positively associated with their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans.

H7. Korean participants' direct contact quality with an American individual with whom they have a close relationship will be positively associated with their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans.

H8. Intergroup anxiety will mediate the relationship between Korean participants' direct contact with American persons (number of American friends, communication frequency, and direct contact quality) and their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between Korean participants' consumption of American dramas and their attitudes toward Americans in general.

Participants individually completed a survey questionnaire composed of four sections, demographic background, media behaviors, and attitudes toward Americans, and experiences of direct contact with Americans.

Participants

Three hundred participants were recruited from six universities in South Korea. Among those, 288 participants who had watched American dramas were included for the current study. Further, they were divided into two groups: Group 1 ($N = 181$) included the participants who had watched American dramas but did not have direct contact with American persons; Group 2 ($N = 107$) included the rest of the participants who had watched American dramas and had direct contact with at least one American person. Among the 181 participants in Group 1, 44 were males, and 137 were females with age range from 19 to 40 (M age = 23.58, $SD = 4.75$). For the 107 participants in Group 2, 57 were males, and 50 were females with age range from 19 to 39 (M age = 25.68, $SD = 4.71$). They finished the Korean version of the survey independently at either a small group setting or individually. The survey was originally created in English. It was then translated into Korean. Back translation from Korean to English was conducted by three Korean nationals who are fluent in English to ensure the semantic accuracy between the two languages.

Measures

Viewing Amount. Participants were asked to provide their best estimate of their viewing amount (minutes) of American television dramas during a typical week ($M = 81.37$, $SD = 128.77$ for Group 1; $M = 90.51$, $SD = 180.99$ for Group 2).

Viewing Diversity. To measure viewing diversity, a list of 60 American drama titles was provided in the survey. Participants were asked to check the dramas which they have watched regardless of the amount. The total number of different American dramas watched was measured for viewing diversity ($M = 7.17$, $SD = 6.17$ for Group 1; $M = 9.59$, $SD = 8.99$ for Group 2).

Parasocial Interaction. Participants were asked to consider their favorite American drama character, and their parasocial interaction with the character was measured. In this study, there are a total of six items measuring social attractiveness and perceived realism of participants' most favorite character (e.g., "I find the character to be attractive," "The character is like a real person to me" etc.) (Schiappa et al., 2006a). Participants were asked to indicate how strongly they agreed with each of the six statements on 7-point scales (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree; $M = 4.35$, $SD = 1.26$, Cronbach $\alpha = .85$ for Group 1; $M = 4.58$, $SD = 1.35$, Cronbach $\alpha = .83$ for Group 2).

Number of American friends. Participants who had a direct contact experience with American persons were asked to indicate the number of American friends on a 7-point scale (1 = None to 1, 7 = more than 10; $M = 1.89$, $SD = 1.26$ for Group 2).

Communication frequency. As a quantity dimension of direct contact, participants were asked to indicate how often they communicate with the American individual with whom they had the closest relationship. Items were adopted from Biernat and Crandall (1994)

and Spencer-Rodgers and McGovern (2002). There are three items (e.g., “How often do you talk to and engage in informal conversation with this person?,” “How often do you do things socially with this person (e.g., sharing meals, going to movies, etc.)?”), etc.), and participants were asked to indicate how frequently they communicated with the closest American person on 7-point scales (1 = not frequently at all and 7 = very frequently; $M = 2.05$, $SD = 1.31$, Cronbach $\alpha = .86$ for Group 2). Higher scores indicate frequent communication with the American person with whom the participant has the closest relationship.

Direct contact quality. Participants who had a direct contact experience with American persons were asked to evaluate the quality of their contact with an American person that they had the closest relationship with. Items were adopted from Ortiz and Harwood (2007). There are three items (e.g., “How much do you value the time that you have spent with this person?,” “In general, how pleasant your contact has been with this person?,” etc.), and participants were asked to indicate the level of the contact quality on 7-point scales (1 = not at all and 7 = a great deal; $M = 4.46$, $SD = 1.35$, Cronbach $\alpha = .85$ for Group 2). Higher scores indicate positive contact with the American person with whom a participant had the closest relationship.

Intergroup anxiety. To measure intergroup anxiety, participants were asked to identify their feelings in a hypothetical contact situation with an American person in the future (Turner et al., 2007; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). There were six items (e.g., “I might feel awkward if I were to meet an American person,” etc.), and participants were asked to indicate how strongly they agreed with each of the six statements on 7-point scales (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree; $M = 4.26$, $SD = .87$, Cronbach $\alpha = .69$ for Group 1;

$M = 3.71$, $SD = .87$, Cronbach $\alpha = .69$ for Group 2). Higher scores indicate high level of anxiety in the interaction with Americans.

Affective attitudes. To assess the affective attitudes toward Americans, participants were asked to indicate their feelings toward Americans. This scale was adopted from Wright et al. (1997) and Tropp and Pettigrew (2005a). There were six items (e.g., “When I think of Americans, I feel warm,” etc.), and participants were asked to indicate how strongly they agreed with each of the six statements on 7-point scales (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree; $M = 4.03$, $SD = .82$, Cronbach $\alpha = .71$ for Group 1; $M = 4.46$, $SD = .68$, Cronbach $\alpha = .59$ for Group 2). Higher scores indicate positive feelings toward Americans.

Behavioral attitudes. Participants were asked to indicate how much they were willing to engage in behaviors and activities with Americans if given opportunities. Items were adopted from Cooke’s (1978) attitudes scale and Tropp’s (2003) investigation on the psychological impact of prejudice. There were six items (e.g., “I am willing to choose to marry Americans,” “I am willing to work with Americans in the same team,” etc.), and participants were asked to indicate how willing they were to engage in the behavior stated in each of the six statements on 7-point scales (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree; $M = 4.79$, $SD = 1.35$, Cronbach $\alpha = .89$ for Group 1; $M = 5.29$, $SD = 1.06$, Cronbach $\alpha = .82$ for Group 2). Higher scores indicate high level of willingness to engage with Americans in diverse activities.

Summary

This survey aimed to examine the association between mediated intergroup contact and intergroup attitudes. Survey questions consisted of four sections; demographic information: attitudes toward Americans; media behaviors related to American television

dramas; and direct contact experience with American persons. The participants were divided into two groups based on their direct contact experience with American persons. Accordingly, the association between mediated intergroup contact and intergroup attitudes was examined in the mediated contact group (participants who had watched American dramas but did not have direct contact with American persons), and the direct contact variables were included in examining the association in the direct contact group (participants who had watched American dramas and had direct contact with American persons).

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

This study examined the associations between Korean young adults' mediated intergroup contact with Americans and their intergroup attitudes. The participants were divided into two groups based on their direct contact experience with American persons. Group 1 ($N = 181$) included the participants who had only mediated contact and did not have direct contact with American persons, and Group 2 ($N = 107$) consisted of those who had both mediated and direct contact with American persons.

This study tested eight hypotheses. The first four hypotheses were tested for both groups, and the other four (pertaining to the association between direct intergroup contact and intergroup attitudes) were tested for Group 2. With regard to the association between mediated contact and intergroup attitudes, Korean participants' viewing amount (H1), viewing diversity (H2), and parasocial interaction (H3) were examined in their association with their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans. In addition, the mediating role of intergroup anxiety (H4) in this association between mediated contact variables and intergroup attitudes was examined. For Group 2, the number of American friends (H5), communication frequency (H6), and direct contact quality (H7) were examined in their association with the participants' affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans. The mediating role of intergroup anxiety (H8) was also examined in the association between direct contact variables and intergroup attitudes.

Using the structural equation model techniques, these hypotheses were tested simultaneously in each model. The hypothesized model for Group 1 included variables of mediated contact and intergroup attitudes, and the one for Group 2 included variables of

mediated contact, direct contact, and intergroup attitudes. Additionally, *t*-tests were conducted to compare mean differences in mediated contact and intergroup attitude variables between the two groups.

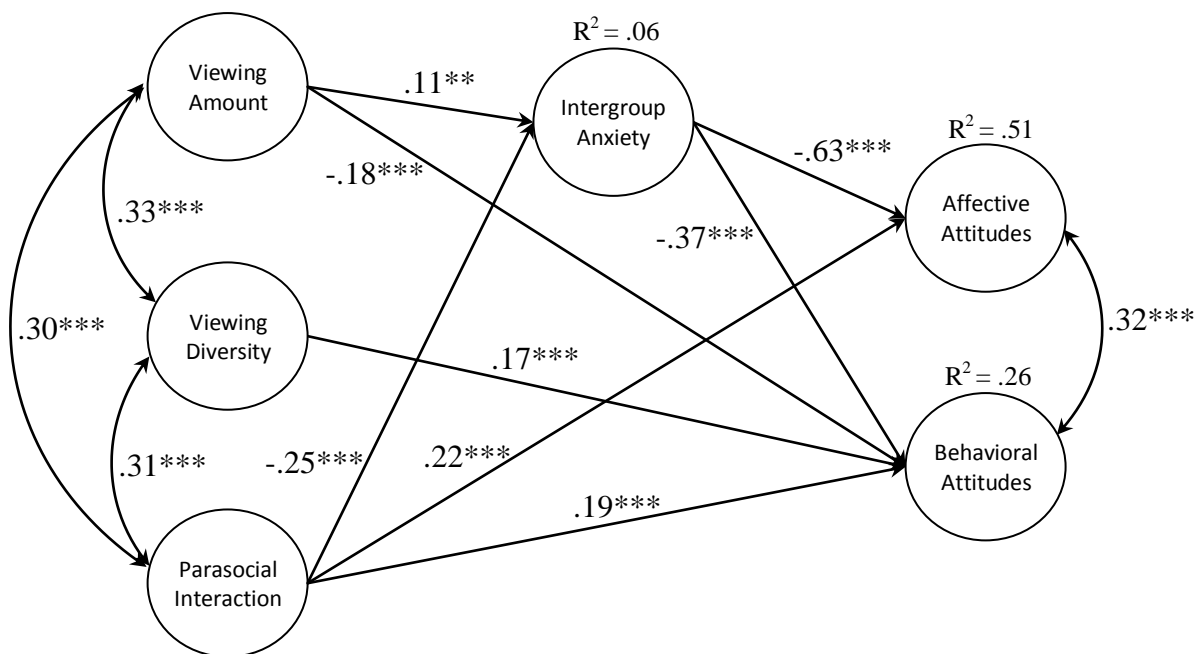
Group 1 – Mediated Contact Only

Using SEM framework, the measurement model and structural model were tested. As the test of measurement model, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted. The initial freely estimated model demonstrated acceptable model fit ($\chi^2(64, n = 181) = 448.19, p = <.001, RMSEA = .077, NNFI = 0.94, CFI = 0.96$). Subsequently, the hypothesized structural model was tested and non-significant regression paths were sequentially removed from the model ($\chi^2(67, n = 181) = 450.729, p = <.001, RMSEA = .076, NNFI = 0.94, CFI = 0.95$) (see Figure 1). The final structural model addresses the research hypotheses posed in this study.

Research Hypothesis1, which predicted a positive association between Korean participants' viewing amount of American dramas and their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans, was not supported. On the contrary, viewing amount was a significant negative predictor of the behavioral attitudes ($\beta = -.18, p <.001$), and failed to predict the affective attitudes ($\beta = -.01, p > .05$).

Research Hypothesis2, which predicted a positive association between Korean participants' viewing diversity of American dramas and their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans, was partially supported. Viewing diversity had a significant direct positive association with the behavioral attitudes ($\beta = .17, p <.001$), but did not predict the affective attitudes ($\beta = .02, p > .05$).

Figure 1: Structural Model of Mediated Contact (Standardized Solution)



Model Fit: $\chi^2(67, n = 181) = 450.729, p < .001, RMSEA = .076, NNFI = 0.94, CFI = 0.95$

Note: Values reported are standardized, and only significant paths are reported.

** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Research Hypothesis 3, which predicted a positive association between Korean participants' parasocial relationship with their favorite American drama character and their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans, was supported. Supporting the hypothesis, parasocial interaction was a significant positive predictor of the affective attitudes ($\beta = .22, p < .001$) and behavioral attitudes ($\beta = .19, p < .001$).

Research Hypothesis 4 predicted the mediation role of intergroup anxiety in the relationships between Korean participants' viewing behaviors of American dramas (viewing amount, viewing diversity, parasocial interaction) and their affective and behavioral attitudes

toward Americans. Viewing amount and parasocial interaction showed significant indirect paths mediated by intergroup anxiety to the outcome variables: intergroup anxiety increased as viewing amount increased ($\beta = .11, p < .01$). Intergroup anxiety decreased as parasocial interaction increased ($\beta = -.25, p < .001$); in turn, intergroup anxiety had negative effects on the affective ($\beta = -.63, p < .001$) and behavioral attitudes ($\beta = -.37, p < .001$). Although parasocial interaction explained only 6% of variance in intergroup anxiety, together parasocial interaction and intergroup anxiety accounted for 51% of variance in the affective attitudes. For the behavioral attitudes, viewing amount, viewing diversity, parasocial interaction, and intergroup anxiety explained a total of 26% of its variance. Hence, Hypothesis 4 was partially supported. The intergroup anxiety variable was a significant partial mediator of the relationships between the media behaviors (viewing amount and parasocial interaction) and intergroup attitudes (behavioral and affective attitudes). Controlling for the effects of intergroup anxiety, the direct paths between media behaviors (viewing amount and parasocial interaction) and the intergroup attitudes measures were still significant.

Group 2 – Mediated and Direct Contact

Based on data from participants who had both mediated and direct contact with American persons, an intergroup contact model which includes direct and mediated contact variables was hypothesized. Using SEM framework, the measurement model and structural model were tested. As the test of measurement model, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted. The initial, freely estimated model demonstrated acceptable model fit ($\chi^2(156, n = 107) = 722.35, p < .001, RMSEA = .079, NNFI = 0.91, CFI = 0.93$). Subsequently, the hypothesized structural model was tested and non-significant regression paths were

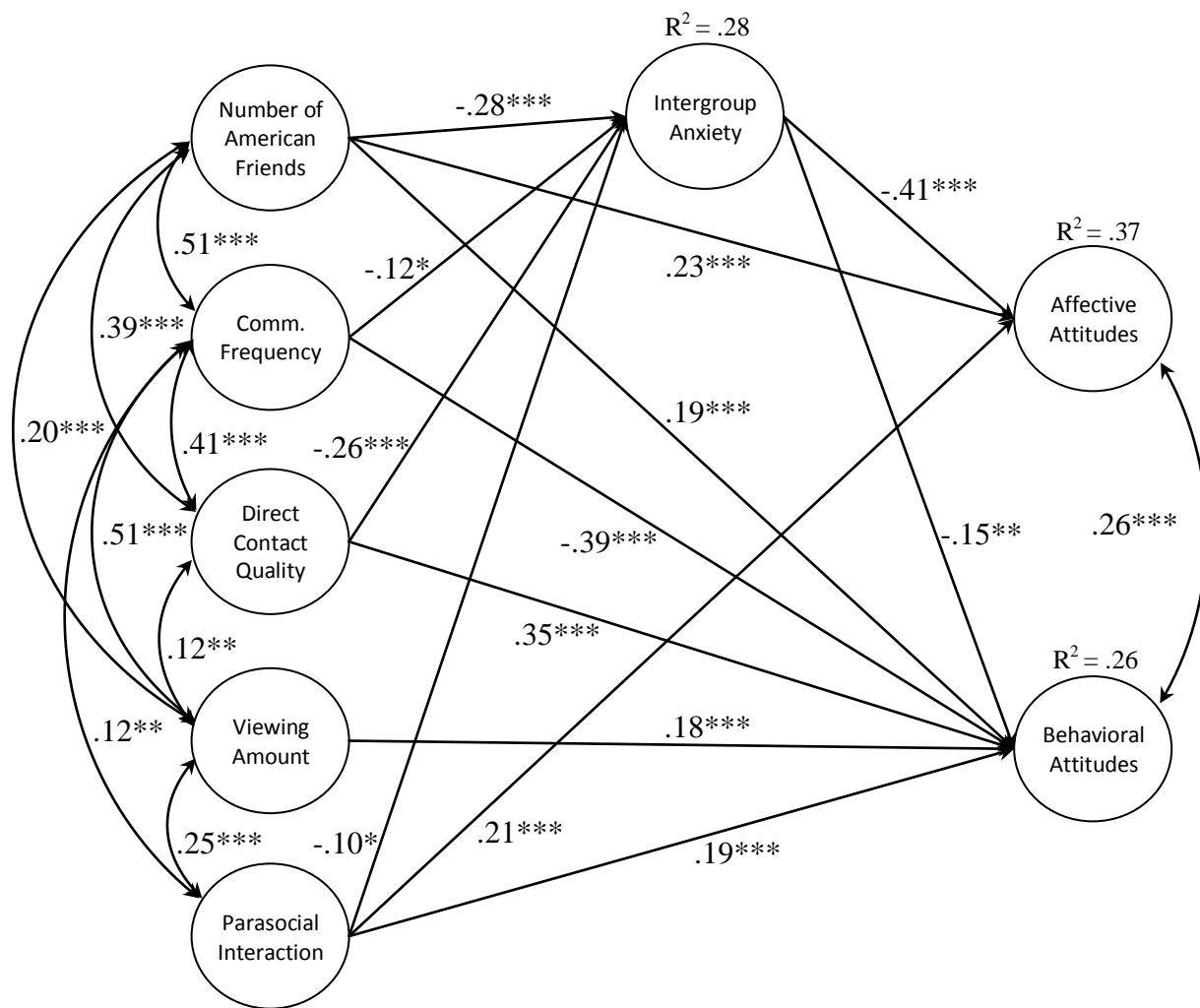
sequentially removed from the model. The structural model showed that viewing diversity was not significantly associated with the intergroup anxiety ($\beta = -.06, p > .05$) nor with intergroup attitudes ($\beta = .05, p > .05$ for the affective attitude; $\beta = -.05, p > .05$ for the behavioral attitude). Thus, viewing diversity was eliminated the model parsimony. The final model showed acceptable model fit ($\chi^2(150, n = 107) = 649.502, p = <.001, RMSEA = .075, NNFI = 0.93, CFI = 0.94$) (see Figure 2). The final structural model addresses the research hypotheses posed in this study.

Research Hypothesis1, which predicted a positive association between Korean participants' viewing amount of American dramas and their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans, was partially supported. Viewing amount was a significant positive predictor of the behavioral attitudes ($\beta = .18, p <.001$), but failed to predict the affective attitudes ($\beta = -.07, p > .05$).

Research Hypothesis2, which predicted a positive association between Korean participants' viewing diversity of American dramas and their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans, was not supported. Viewing diversity did not show any significant association with either of the intergroup attitudes ($\beta = .05, p > .05$ for the affective attitude; $\beta = -.05, p > .05$ for the behavioral attitude). Consequently, this variable was eliminated from the model.

Research Hypothesis3, which predicted a positive association between Korean participants' parasocial relationship with their favorite American drama character and their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans, was supported. Supporting the hypothesis, parasocial interaction was a significant positive predictor of the affective attitudes ($\beta = .21, p <.001$) and behavioral attitudes ($\beta = .19, p <.001$).

Figure 2: Structural Model of Direct and Mediated Contact (Standardized Solution)



Model Fit: $\chi^2(150, n = 107) = 649.502, p < .001, RMSEA = .075, NNFI = 0.93, CFI = 0.94$

Note: Values reported are standardized, and only significant paths are reported.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Research Hypothesis 4 predicted the mediation role of intergroup anxiety in the relationships between Korean participants' viewing behaviors of American dramas (viewing amount, parasocial interaction) and their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans.

Parasocial interaction was the only predictor variable that showed significant indirect paths mediated by intergroup anxiety to the outcome variables: intergroup anxiety decreased as parasocial interaction increased ($\beta = -.10, p < .05$); in turn, intergroup anxiety had negative effects on the affective ($\beta = -.41, p < .001$) and behavioral attitudes ($\beta = -.15, p < .01$).

Research Hypothesis 5 predicted a positive association between the number of American friends and Korean participants' affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans. Supporting Hypothesis 5, results indicated that the number of American friends had a significant positive association with the affective attitudes ($\beta = .23, p < .001$) and behavioral attitudes ($\beta = .19, p < .001$).

Research Hypothesis 6, which predicted a positive association between Korean participants' communication frequency with an American individual with whom they had the closest relationship and the affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans, was not supported. Communication frequency was not a significant predictor of the affective attitudes ($\beta = -.001, p > .05$), and showed a negative association with the behavioral attitudes ($\beta = -.39, p < .001$).

Research Hypothesis 7, which predicted a positive association between Korean participants' direct contact quality with an American individual with whom they had the closest relationship and their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans, was partially supported. Direct contact quality did not have any significant relationship with the affective attitudes ($\beta = .09, p > .05$) but showed a positive association with the behavioral attitudes ($\beta = .35, p < .001$).

Research Hypothesis 8 predicted the mediation role of intergroup anxiety in the relationships between Korean participants' direct contact variables (number of American

friends, communication frequency, and contact quality) and their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans. All of the direct contact variables showed significant indirect paths mediated by intergroup anxiety to the outcome variables: intergroup anxiety decreased as the number of American friends increased ($\beta = -.28, p < .001$), as the direct contact quality increased ($\beta = -.26, p < .001$), and as the communication frequency increased ($\beta = -.12, p < .05$); in turn, intergroup anxiety had negative effects on the affective ($\beta = -.41, p < .001$) and behavioral attitudes ($\beta = -.15, p < .01$). Overall, direct contact variables and parasocial interaction explained 28% of variance in intergroup anxiety; intergroup anxiety, the number of American friends, and parasocial interaction accounted for 37% of variance in the affective attitude; and all the direct and mediated contact variables together with intergroup anxiety explained 26% of variance of behavioral attitude. Therefore, Hypothesis 8 was partially supported. The intergroup anxiety variable was a significant, but partial mediator of the relationships between direct contact variables and intergroup attitudes.

Group Comparisons of Descriptive Statistics

In order to compare mean differences of the mediated contact and intergroup attitudes variables across the two groups (mediated and direct), independent samples *t*-tests were conducted (see Table 3). Mediated contact group ($N = 181$) refers to the participants who had watched American television dramas but did not have direct contact with American persons, and direct contact group ($N = 107$) refers to the participants who had watched American dramas and had direct contact with American persons.

Among the three mediated contact variables, viewing amount ($t(265) = -.48, p > .05$) and parasocial interaction ($t(284) = -1.49, p > .05$) were not significantly different between the two groups. However, viewing diversity showed a significant difference, $t(283) = -2.69,$

Table 3

Mediated Contact and Intergroup Attitudes Means for Mediated and Direct Contact Groups

	Group		<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
	Mediated only	Direct + Mediated		
Viewing Amount (minutes/week)	81.37 (128.77)	90.51 (180.99)	-.48	265
Viewing Diversity	7.17 (6.17)	9.59 (8.99)	-2.69**	283
Parasocial Interaction	4.35 (1.26)	4.58 (1.35)	-1.49	284
Intergroup Anxiety	4.26 (.87)	3.71 (.87)	5.16***	280
Affective Attitudes	4.03 (.82)	4.46 (.68)	-4.53***	285
Behavioral Attitudes	4.79 (1.35)	5.29 (1.06)	-3.26**	285

Note. Standard deviations appear in parentheses below means.

** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

$p < .01$: direct contact participants ($M = 9.59$, $SD = 8.99$) watched a greater variety of American television dramas than mediated contact participants ($M = 7.17$, $SD = 6.17$).

In addition, the two groups showed significantly different means for the variables of intergroup anxiety and intergroup attitudes. Mediated contact participants ($M = 4.26$, $SD = .87$) showed significantly higher level of intergroup anxiety than direct contact participants ($M = 3.71$, $SD = .87$), $t(280) = 5.16$, $p < .001$. For both affective and behavioral attitudes, direct contact group ($M = 4.46$, $SD = .68$; $M = 5.29$, $SD = 1.06$) showed more positive attitudes toward Americans ($t(285) = -4.53$, $p < .001$; $t(285) = -3.26$, $p < .001$) than mediated contact group ($M = 4.03$, $SD = .82$; $M = 4.79$, $SD = 1.35$).

Summary

The first four hypotheses were tested for both groups, and the last four hypotheses were examined in Group 2. For the mediated contact group, Korean participants' viewing amount of American television dramas showed a negative association with their behavioral attitudes toward Americans, while viewing diversity had a positive association with their behavioral attitudes. Korean participants' parasocial interaction with their favorite American television character was identified as a significant positive predictor of the affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans. In addition, intergroup anxiety functioned as a partial mediator between mediated contact variables (viewing amount, and parasocial interaction) and intergroup attitudes: viewing amount had a positive association with intergroup anxiety; parasocial interaction had a negative association with intergroup anxiety; in turn, intergroup anxiety had negative effects on the affective and behavioral attitudes.

For the direct contact group, Korean participants' viewing amount of American television dramas showed a positive association with their behavioral attitudes toward Americans, and viewing diversity did not show any significant association with the intergroup attitudes. Participants' parasocial interaction with their favorite American television drama character was a significant positive predictor of their affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans. Regarding the mediating role of intergroup anxiety, it functioned as a partial mediator in the association between parasocial interaction and the intergroup attitudes: intergroup anxiety decreased as parasocial interaction increased; in turn, intergroup anxiety had negative effects on the intergroup attitudes.

In conjunction with the mediated contact effects, the hypothesized model of Group 2 tested the association between direct contact and intergroup attitudes (H5, H6, H7, & H8).

The number of American friends had significant positive associations with the intergroup attitudes. Communication frequency with an American individual showed a negative association with the behavioral attitudes. However, contact quality with an American individual showed a positive association with behavioral attitudes. With regard to the association between direct contact variables and intergroup attitudes, intergroup anxiety played as a partial mediator in this relationship.

Finally, the means of the major variables of mediated contact and intergroup attitudes were compared between the two groups. The direct contact group watched a greater variety of American television dramas and had much lower intergroup anxiety than the mediated contact group. In addition, the direct contact participants showed more positive attitudes toward Americans than did the mediated contact participants.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the associations between Korean viewers' mediated contact with Americans through U.S. television dramas and their attitudes toward Americans in general. Grounded in the intergroup contact perspective, a mediated intergroup contact model was hypothesized and the relationships between the mediated contacts and intergroup attitudes variables were tested. In addition, an intergroup contact model, which included mediated contact variables, was hypothesized for the participants who had experience of both direct and mediated contact modes and the relationships between the intergroup contact and intergroup attitudes variables were tested. The mediated intergroup contact model showed how Koreans' media consumption of American dramas was associated with their attitudes toward Americans in general. Furthermore, the intergroup contact model, which included both contact modes, presented how the variables related to direct and mediated contact were associated with the intergroup attitudes. This model showed the relative predictive power of mediated contact variables vis-à-vis direct contact variables. As illustrated by the two models, the Korean young adults' mediated contact with Americans was identified as a significant predictor of intergroup attitudes, yet each dimension of mediated contact showed a unique path to the affective and behavioral attitudes. The significance of the mediated contact was also prominent for the participants who had direct contact with American persons. In particular, parasocial interaction was identified as a solid predictor of the participants' intergroup attitudes. This chapter addresses the major findings, implications of each model, and the two-model comparison.

Mediated Intergroup Contact Model

Viewing Amount

Contrary to the prediction, viewing amount showed a negative relationship with the behavioral attitudes, indicating that the more the Korean viewers watched American dramas, the less likely they were to engage in diverse activities with Americans. In order to understand this negative relationship, it is necessary to look at the variables from multiple angles, such as different interaction dynamics between mediated contact and direct contact, viewing motivation, or drama contents heavily watched by Korean viewers. It has been argued that entertainment is at the core of media behaviors (e.g., Oliver & Nabi, 2004; Vorderer et al., 2004). Although previous studies (e.g., Rubin, 1981, 1983; Rubin & Perse, 1987) have introduced “entertainment” as one of the motives of media consumption, the current view is that *being entertained* or *enjoyment* is the fundamental or the most popular motive of media experience. Although it needs further explication, it is not hard to imagine that heavy viewers of American dramas find them more entertaining than light viewers do. Prior studies (e.g., Im, 2008; Lee & Rho, 2008) that examined Korean audience’s viewing motivations of American dramas indicated that Korean viewers find American dramas entertaining due to the creative and unique features that are rarely presented in Korean dramas. For example, *Sex and the City* is one of the popular American dramas in Korea (see Appendix C). As frequently reported in popular media in Korea, the idea of having the episodes revolving around women’s sexuality and the blunt discussion of it is very unconventional in typical Korean dramas or Korean social norms in general. These unconventional and sometimes exotic themes attract Korean viewers. However, this viewing behavior does not necessarily translate into their attachment to the characters or positive

evaluation of them. Often evil or mischievous characters enhance entertainment value in drama type programs by adding more contrast or thrilling effects. Kang et al.'s (2008) study also showed that the viewers evaluated that racism was prevalent across American dramas, which made them feel uncomfortable and elicited negative emotions. However, such evaluation or feeling did not make the viewers stop watching the dramas. Their study implies that Korean viewers' negative evaluations of some of the elements of the dramas may lead to negative attitudes toward Americans, but such negative evaluations do not necessarily discourage them from viewing.

Cultivation theory and international cultivation studies also inform the current discussion, which suggest that heavy viewers of American dramas are more likely to believe that the characters they see in the dramas represent real American people (e.g., Tan & Suarchavarat, 1988). For those who do not have direct contact experience with Americans, such effect is likely to be even more prominent. Therefore, Korean viewers who do not have much real life experience or direct contact with Americans may believe that the characters in the drama are much like most American people in reality. Consequently, the negative association between viewing amount and their behavioral attitudes may be attributed to their negative evaluations of the characters (e.g., racism, ethnocentrism, etc.) or features (e.g., sex, violence, etc.). It will be helpful to have further investigation on how Korean viewers actually evaluate the characters in American dramas. Nevertheless, this finding suggests a unique dynamic in mediated contact situations, which is quite different from the contact amount in direct intergroup contact.

Viewing Diversity

Quite contrary to viewing amount, viewing diversity was identified as a positive predictor of behavioral attitudes, which means that Korean viewers who watched diverse American dramas had higher level of willingness to interact with Americans than those who watched narrower range of American dramas. Viewing diversity is another quantity dimension and was measured by the total number of dramas that participants watched among the list of 60 different American dramas broadcast via national and cable channels in Korea. This finding is consistent with what has been suggested in direct contact studies. In assessing quantitative aspect of direct contact, the number of acquaintances or friends of outgroup members has been a key contact variable in the intergroup studies and positively related to intergroup attitudes (e.g., Christian & Lapinski, 2003; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). In Voci and Hewstone's (2003) study, perceived outgroup variability was positively associated with outgroup attitude and negatively related to subtle prejudice. Viewing diverse American life styles and characters portrayed in different dramas may help Korean viewers understand the existence of diversity within the American culture. In turn, understanding Americans in a more intricate manner may be associated with high motivation to engage with Americans in diverse activities. In the current study, however, viewing diversity did not show a significant association with the affective attitudes.

Parasocial Interaction

As a quality aspect of mediated contact, parasocial interaction (PSI) was hypothesized to have positive relationships with intergroup attitudes. Consistent with Schiappa et al.'s (2005b) study, parasocial interaction was identified as a powerful predictor of intergroup attitudes in this study. Parasocial interaction was measured using the items that are mainly

related to perceived realism and attractiveness of viewers' favorite characters in American television dramas. Schiappa et al. (2006) suggested in their meta-analysis that parasocial relationship was highly related to these qualities. When viewers believe that the characters are like real people to them, they tend to feel that the relationship is also real. In addition, characters' attractiveness encourages viewers' attachment to the characters. As a consequence, parasocial interaction can generate feelings and satisfaction similar to those expected from real life relationships.

In addition, emotional attachment to a character also makes drama viewing activity more entertaining (e.g., Perse & Rubin, 1988). When viewers have developed strong PSI with a certain American character, the favorable feelings can be generalized to Americans in general. One of the strong supports for this process is that group salience exists in the mediated contact process. In viewing American dramas, Korean viewers acknowledge that they are watching American dramas and American people. Physical and language cues might constantly remind the viewers that what they are watching is *foreign*. Therefore, the positive feelings generated through their favorite drama character in American dramas may be a strong factor in shaping the viewers' intergroup attitudes toward Americans in general.

Intergroup Anxiety

This study examined intergroup anxiety and its possible mediating role in the relationship between mediated contact and intergroup attitudes. In the mediated contact context, it did function partially as a carrier of the effect that the viewing amount and parasocial interaction had on intergroup attitudes. In direct contact studies, intergroup anxiety has been identified as the key mechanism that explains the relationship between contact and the changes in intergroup attitudes (e.g., Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephan et al., 2007; Voci

& Hewstone, 2003). Specifically, as intergroup contact increases, intergroup anxiety is reduced, and in turn positive intergroup attitudes increase. However, in this model, it needs to be noted that viewing amount is positively associated with intergroup anxiety, which means that heavy viewers of American dramas are more anxious about future interaction with American individuals than are the light viewers. As discussed before, in this study, viewing amount was a negative predictor of the behavioral attitudes. This finding may be partially explained by the function of intergroup anxiety in the relationship. It may be enjoyable to watch Americans in the dramas, but this does not necessarily mean that the viewers will expect the same level of enjoyment in meeting with Americans in reality. Viewers may blindly believe the dramatized characters as typical Americans, which can be intimidating if they have to deal with those characters in real life (even in imagined interactions). In addition, over the course of viewing, Koreans learn about Americans and their cultural norms and may find negative or incompatible features displayed by American characters. These factors may be closely connected to the escalated anxiety of Korean viewers about their future interaction with American persons in real life.

On the other hand, parasocial interaction was identified as a strong negative predictor of intergroup anxiety. In other words, Korean viewers' strong attachment to their favorite American drama character is closely related to their low degree of anxiety about their interaction with Americans in real life, which in turn is related to more positive attitudes toward Americans. This strong magnitude is consistent with the findings of intergroup anxiety in direct contact studies. For example, Voci and Hewstone (2003) showed that intergroup anxiety had a stronger relationship with contact quality than with contact quantity. Anxiety is closely related to a person's emotional status, and this explains its strong

connection with parasocial interaction. In addition, intergroup anxiety showed much stronger association with affective attitudes than behavioral attitudes.

Due to the escalated level of intergroup anxiety in direct contact, non-direct contact studies have demonstrated the mediating role of reduced intergroup anxiety between non-direct contact and intergroup attitudes. For example, Turner et al. (2007) showed that the effect of imagined contact on outgroup evaluations was mediated by reduced intergroup anxiety. Paolini et al. (2004) also demonstrated an anxiety-reduction mechanism in the association between indirect cross-group friendships between Catholics and Protestants and reduced prejudice toward the religious outgroup. These studies, including the current study, suggest that non-direct intergroup contact can substantially reduce intergroup anxiety. It may not be as powerful as direct contact, yet interactants report feeling much more anxious during direct contact situations. As demonstrated in this study, parasocial interaction plays a positive role in shaping positive attitudes toward Americans among the Korean viewers who do not have direct contact experiences with Americans, and this relationship can be partly explained by intergroup anxiety that played a mediating role between parasocial interaction and behavioral attitudes.

Intergroup Contact Model (Direct & Mediated)

American Friends

Supporting the intergroup contact theory, findings in this study indicated that the number of American friends that Korean participants had was positively associated with their attitudes toward Americans. In intergroup contact research, a number of studies have examined the effects of intergroup friendship on intergroup attitudes. Pettigrew is the leading scholar who argued that intergroup friendship plays a significant role in enhancing contact

effects and the generalization of contact effects to outgroup members. Friendship, which usually involves long-term contact and creates affective ties, has been argued as an optimal intergroup contact that yields positive effects on intergroup relations. Pettigrew (1997) has shown that European participants having a friend from an immigrant outgroup showed less prejudice toward the outgroup, and such effect was generalized to immigration policy preferences and a wide variety of outgroups. These outcomes were more prominent when friendship was compared with other types of relationships, such as co-workers or neighbors. The current study also confirmed the significant role of intergroup friendship as an indicator in predicting intergroup attitudes.

Communication Frequency

Contrary to the literature, findings in this study showed that communication frequency was negatively associated with the behavioral attitudes: the more Koreans interact with their closest American contact, the less they are willing to engage in diverse activities with Americans. In intergroup contact studies, quantity of contact is measured based on the number of contacts, communication frequency (with one outgroup member, or with outgroup members in general), or the combination of those two. In this study, participants were asked to consider one American individual with whom they had the closest relationship, and to answer three questions related to their contact frequencies in diverse communication contexts. Therefore, it needs to be noted that this variable represents communication frequency that Korean participants had with one particular American individual. The negative association between the communication frequency and the behavioral attitudes requires further investigation of communication process with more details. However, it is possible to conjecture that, from Koreans' perspective, communication with Americans itself can be a

strenuous process. In most cases, Koreans are required to make accommodations to the partner's language needs during interaction, and such pressure may discourage their motive to engage with Americans in diverse activities in the future. The language issue itself also puts the relationship in an unequal status to a certain extent. Using the outgroup member's language as a communication tool and not having equal command of the English language create communication anxiety and put the Korean person in a relatively lower status group. Therefore, communication may take place frequently, yet this does not mean that the relationship also grows in a positive manner. Even if a Korean has a positive relationship with an American, the person may discover cultural differences or incompatibilities over the course of communication.

From a more theoretical perspective, Islam and Hewstone's (1993) intergroup attribution can partly explain this result. Intergroup attribution explains that people make rather ethnocentric causal attribution in dealing with behaviors of outgroup members; a positive outcome is attributed to a personal trait, and a negative outcome is attributed to a group trait. Applying this concept, it is possible that Koreans tend to generalize negative aspects that the American partner displays as more culture-related attributes, and they may attribute the positive ones to something personal. Intergroup bias in Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) also supports how people tend to pay attention to the negative aspects of outgroup members, much more than they do to positive ones. Such biased interpretation and application of positive and negative behaviors displayed by the frequent American contact may be helpful to understand the findings in the current study.

Nonetheless, it is far too premature to conclude that communication frequency has a negative association with intergroup attitudes. As shown in the model, communication

frequency is related positively to direct contact quality and the number of American friends, and negatively to intergroup anxiety. Therefore, communication frequency does have positive functions in the overall picture of the intergroup contact model.

Direct Contact Quality

Unlike communication frequency, contact quality had a positive association with the behavioral attitudes: the Korean perceptions' positive contact experience with an American person was a significant indicator of their positive behavioral attitudes toward Americans. This finding is consistent with previous studies; however, it did not show a significant association with the affective attitudes. This finding also needs to be examined in conjunction with the outcome of communication frequency. The participants answered questions regarding their contact frequency and quality based on the same American individual in mind. However, the contact quality was a positive indicator and the communication frequency was a negative indicator of the behavioral attitudes. This contrast clearly suggests the importance of contact quality, not so much of the quantity, in predicting intergroup attitudes.

Viewing Amount

For the Korean participants who had both direct and mediated contact with Americans, results showed that viewing amount had a positive association with their behavioral attitudes toward Americans. The more they watched American dramas, the more they were willing to engage in diverse activities with Americans. For those who had direct contact experience with Americans, mediated contact amount seemed to be another positive predictor of their attitudes toward Americans. This finding is noteworthy considering the magnitude of its association with the behavioral attitudes in relation to other direct contact variables. The predictive power of viewing amount is not as strong as the positive direct

contact experience with Americans, yet it is close to the reported number of American friends.

Parasocial Interaction

The results showed that parasocial interaction was positively associated with both affective and behavioral attitudes. That is, Korean viewers who were highly attached to their favorite American television drama character were more likely to have more positive attitudes toward Americans. While the direct contact quality or viewing amount did not show direct connection with the affective attitudes, parasocial interaction showed a strong association with the affective attitudes. As discussed earlier, favorable emotions developed from parasocial relationship with a certain American drama character may be generalizable to the viewers' feelings toward Americans in real life.

Intergroup Anxiety

For the second model, the mediating role intergroup anxiety for both mediated and direct contact variables was examined. The results showed intergroup anxiety functioned as a partial mediator for American friends, communication frequency, direct contact quality, and parasocial interaction in predicting intergroup attitudes. These findings demonstrated the critical role of intergroup anxiety in the relationship between contact and intergroup attitudes. In particular, the direct contact variables showed a stronger relationship with intergroup anxiety than the mediated contact variables. Intergroup anxiety was defined as the anxiety that an individual may feel when anticipating contact experience with someone from another group (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Therefore, intergroup anxiety arises from the fear of anticipating a real face-to-face interaction with an outgroup member. Lack of contact experiences may contribute to escalating the anxiety. For this reason, intergroup anxiety may

be more sensitive to one's direct contact experiences. Communication frequency, which showed a direct negative association with the behavioral attitudes, still turned out to be conducive to reducing intergroup anxiety. Thus, there is a clear difference between direct contact and mediated contact situation as far as the anxiety level is concerned. Altogether, these findings demonstrate that Korean participants' direct contact experience with Americans may be much more effective in reducing anxiety than viewing American dramas or having a parasocial relationship with a drama character in American dramas.

Model Comparison

It is useful to have two separate models based on the participants' contact experience with American persons. The two models help us examine the unique effects of mediated contact in relation to those of direct contact on their attitudes toward Americans. Both similarities and differences between the two models provide insights that enhance our understanding the role of mediated contact in predicting intergroup attitudes.

First, mediated contact is a significant contact mode that is strongly related to intergroup attitudes, and such association is more prominent in the Korean viewers who do not have direct contact with American individuals. This conclusion is based on the amount of variance in the attitude variables, especially the affective attitudes that have been explained by the predictor variables. In Model 1, the explained variance in the affective attitude was 51%, while Model 2 showed 37%. In other words, 51% of the variance in the affective attitudes of the participants (who did not have direct contact with Americans) can be attributed to their viewing of American television dramas and intergroup anxiety. For the participants who had both mediated and direct contact with Americans, 37% of the variance in the affective attitudes can be attributed to the direct and mediated contact variables

including intergroup anxiety. This finding corroborates with one of the findings in Schiappa et al.'s (2006) study, which examined viewing frequency of *Will & Grace* and sexual prejudice. The major finding in their study is that viewing frequency and parasocial interaction had a negative relationship with sexual prejudice, and this relationship was more pronounced for those with the least amount of social contact with homosexuals. It has been argued that media contents become a powerful source in forming viewers' beliefs of social reality of another culture especially when they lack real life experiences of the culture or cultural members.

Second, parasocial interaction, in particular, appeared as a reliable mediated contact variable that has stronger association with intergroup attitudes than other mediated contact variables. In both models, it was negatively related to intergroup anxiety and positively related to both affective and behavioral attitudes. Regardless of the participants' direct contact experience with Americans, their attachment to their favorite American television drama character seems to have a strong effect on their general attitudes toward Americans. This finding substantiates the impact that parasocial interaction has on its viewers in media studies. It has been argued that parasocial relationships with television characters complement social relationships (Perse & Rubin, 1990; Tsao, 1996). Through the repeated viewing of characters and following their roles in the stories, viewers get involved with the characters' behaviors and emotions and identify with them. Such engagement may not be as powerful as social relationships, yet it is significant enough to include the television characters as a part of one's social network (Eyal & Cohen, 2006). Thus, the notion that parasocial interaction is analogous to social interaction to a great extent explains why it has the similar effects on the viewers' intergroup attitudes.

Third, viewing amount has an opposite association with behavioral attitudes in the two models; mediated-contact-only participants had a negative relationship, while the participants who experienced both contact modes had positive relationship. This result is intriguing and requires further investigation, such as whether there were differences in their preferred drama types, or whether the participants who had direct contact experience interpreted drama contents differently from those who did not have direct contact with Americans. To help this discussion, it will be useful to examine how Korean viewers evaluate American dramas in general. Kang et al.'s (2008) study illustrated how American dramas are evaluated by Korean viewers. Some of the major themes appeared in the interviews were racism, ethnocentrism, explicit (sex, crime/violence) materials, advanced women's status, and professionalism. Viewing American dramas over time made the viewers understand American culture and Americans at the same time they come to terms with the fact that cultural difference exists more clearly. Although the viewers' evaluation was ambivalent, the negative evaluations need more attention. As mentioned previously, the participants in Kang et al.'s (2008) study commented that racism exists across American dramas, yet this did not make them stop watching the dramas. Therefore, viewing amount may not necessarily be influenced by their negative evaluations. Rather, such judgments may be related to how they evaluate Americans in general. Korean viewers who did not have direct contact with Americans may blindly accept what they see in the dramas. Further, cultural difference becomes more evident as they watch more, which may increase their anxiety for their direct contact with Americans and discourage their motivation to engage with Americans in real life interactions. However, the Korean viewers who had direct contact with Americans may use their real life experience in their interpretation or judgment of

American drama contents and characters. It can be suggested that direct contact experience may influence Korean viewers' interpretation of American drama contents and their judgments of American culture.

Fourth, viewing diversity functioned as a positive predictor in Model 1 but did not make a significant contribution in Model 2. Again, this result can be attributed to how one's direct contact experience with Americans influences his or her understanding of American drama characters. Korean viewers who did not have direct contact with Americans might depend on their media behaviors more than those who had a direct contact in evaluating Americans. Viewing diverse characters and life styles portrayed in American dramas may have made more meaningful and positive contributions to the viewers who did not have a real life experience with Americans.

Group Comparison of Descriptive Statistics

Table 3 illustrates mean differences in the mediated contact and intergroup attitudes variables across the two groups. The mediated group consisted of the participants who did not have direct contact with Americans, and the direct group included those who had direct contact experience with Americans. The *t*-test results showed significant differences between the two groups. First, although both groups reported watching similar amount of American dramas per week, the direct contact group watched more diverse American television dramas than did the mediated-only participants. These findings suggested that direct contact experience may have encouraged the viewers to be open to more different types of dramas. Direct experience may have expanded the viewers' choice of media materials and allowed them to find entertaining elements in more diverse drama topics. Further investigation on this issue will provide a more accurate explanation of such difference.

As for the intergroup anxiety variable, the two groups showed their difference more than any other variables. The direct contact participants showed much lower intergroup anxiety than those who only had mediated contact with Americans. This finding corroborates with the intergroup contact literature which has demonstrated its strong tie with direct contact. Intergroup anxiety is closely related to the fear of having direct contact with outgroup members due to diverse reasons. Real life experiences will be a most powerful source to overcome or reduce such fear. Furthermore, it is possible to speculate the other directions; high intergroup anxiety discourages direct contact motivations or opportunities. Although parasocial interaction, as demonstrated in the models, may help reduce intergroup anxiety, it seems evident that direct contact accounts for the difference between the two groups.

With regard to the intergroup attitudes, the direct contact participants showed much more positive affective and behavioral attitudes toward Americans. Again, this difference can be attributed to the participants' direct contact experience with American individuals, and strongly supports intergroup contact theory. This simple comparison between the two groups clearly demonstrates the significant contribution of direct contact on intergroup attitudes.

Strength of Current Study

The current study examined the associations between mediated intergroup contact and intergroup attitudes. Given the significance of mediated contact in intercultural communication context, this study made a theoretical contribution to understanding intercultural relations from the perspective of intergroup contact theory. This study identified mediated contact as a significant predictor of intergroup attitudes. It is undeniable that direct contact has a powerful impact on intergroup relations. Nevertheless, direct contact in intercultural contexts in general entails many challenges, such as language barrier,

geographic/cultural distance, inadequate contact opportunity, etc. These challenges escalate intergroup anxiety and decrease motivations to interact with outgroup members. Finding a non-direct contact manner that can effectively increase positive intergroup attitudes may be a meaningful direction, especially in studying intercultural relations. Numerous intergroup scholars already have made such attempts and extended their research on non-direct contact manners, such as Turner et al.'s imagined contact, Paolini et al.'s extended contact, or Schiappa et al.'s parasocial contact hypothesis. These new directions in the intergroup contact research are inevitable underpinnings to enrich intergroup contact theory. In particular, with the advancement of media technology in the 21st century, the impact of mediated intercultural contact on shaping people's attitudes toward other social/cultural groups cannot be underestimated.

In addition to this theoretical contribution, this study also has practical implications. Although, in theory, direct contact may be more powerful than mediated contact in enhancing intergroup relations, we cannot ignore the challenges that direct intercultural contact entails in reality. Mediated contact is a more common and frequent intercultural contact mode. Furthermore, the Internet offers many more opportunities to international audience to have contact with diverse types of digitized media contents without time or space limit, or even without cost. Among the diverse program types, this study focused on dramas, which establish unique communication dynamic with the viewers. Dramas are fictional in nature, yet they are entertaining stories reflecting social reality. To enjoy dramas, stories and actions should make sense to the viewers at the very least. In other words, the embedded cultural assumptions should be understandable to the audience. Repeated viewing, emotional engagement, and identification with the characters are also known to be inherent to drama

viewing behaviors. Such psychological and emotional involvement is the major part of parasocial interaction, which is also a substantial component in interpersonal relationship. Findings in this study have confirmed the significant role of parasocial relationship in predicting intergroup relations in intercultural context. As argued by Schiappa et al. (2006), this finding suggests that one television drama may have the potential to change the viewers' perceptions of the outgroup. Extending mediated contact as an important contact mode in intercultural relations is the major theoretical contribution of this study. Furthermore, this opens possibilities of practical applications of media contents, especially drama type programs, in enhancing intergroup relations.

Last, the research design adds another merit. This study hypothesized two intergroup contact models based on the participants' direct contact experience with American persons. Those two models and model comparison made it possible to examine how mediated contact variables are differently structured in relation to the intergroup attitude variables. Furthermore, the second model included direct and mediated contact variables and showed the relative predictive power and relationships. Structural equation modeling was a useful and powerful technique to illustrate the overall structure and relationships among the variables in the models. Therefore, the research design and analysis demonstrated methodological strength of the current study.

Limitations and Future Research

Driven from the intergroup contact theory, this study focused on quantity and quality aspects of contact, intergroup anxiety, and intergroup attitudes as major variables, and examined the association among those. However, it will be necessary to look at other major variables that are unique to the contact situation that involves Koreans and Americans. From

Koreans' perspective, interaction not only with Americans, but also with any other cultural groups becomes a daunting challenge largely due to the language barrier. Therefore, English proficiency becomes an important contact variable, which may in turn influence the attitudes toward Americans. Behavioral attitudes, in particular, are measured based on the participants' willingness to interact with outgroup members in diverse situations. If a Korean individual has little command of English, it is hard to expect high motivation from the person. Likewise, intergroup anxiety also can be driven from the language issue. Language is a common issue in intercultural communication, and it will be important to include the variable and to examine how it is associated with other variables.

The results of this study demonstrate the necessity to include some of the major variables related to audience media behaviors, such as viewing motivations, evaluation of the media contents, and perceived realism. These variables have been suggested to have significant impact on the viewers in the discussion of the media effects. They will also help better understand the mechanism between mediated contact and intergroup attitudes. For example, in the first model, viewing amount had a negative association with behavioral attitudes. Further investigation on how Korean viewers interpret or evaluate American dramas will shed light on the relationship. Viewing motivation is another key variable in analyzing media behaviors. A few studies conducted in Korea (e.g., Im, 2008; Lee & Rho, 2008) already introduced Korean audience's diverse motivations in viewing American dramas. Therefore, assuming entertainment as the major motivation in general media behaviors may oversimplify Koreans' media behaviors of American dramas.

This study used structural equation modeling (SEM) techniques to illustrate regression paths across the variables. In general, SEM allows researchers to powerfully

examine the relationships between observed and latent variables. To evaluate the acceptability of the model solution, goodness of fit is used. In this study, both models showed acceptable model fit based on cut-off values suggested by Browne and Cudeck (1993) and Bentler (1990). Acceptable fit indices suggest the plausibility of the models. That said, model parsimony is another important aspect to evaluate a model. As the model indicates, a close relationship exists between mediated and direct contact variables. Future research will need to explore whether one contact mode functions as an intervening variable (e.g., moderator, mediator) the others' association with intergroup attitudes. This way may improve model fit and achieve model parsimony as well.

Conclusion

Research on intergroup contact research has placed direct contact as a key variable to enhance intergroup relations. Given the mediated contact as a significant and prevalent intercultural contact mode, this study extended intergroup contact theory to the mediated contact situation. As shown in the results, mediated contact, especially parasocial interaction was identified as a strong predictor of intergroup attitudes. This finding provides strong support for Schiappa et al.'s (2006) parasocial contact hypothesis (PCH) in an intercultural context, and further substantiates intergroup contact theory in the mediated contact situation. This finding suggests that parasocial relationship provides a similar experience of social contact to the viewers, and possibly induce more positive attitudes to the drama characters' cultural members. Considering the issues often related to intercultural interaction, such as language barrier, cultural/geographic distance, and high uncertainty, this finding reduces those burdens and provides more practical solution for improving intercultural relations.

The findings in general support and challenge the intergroup contact theory simultaneously. Overall Korean viewers' direct contact experience with Americans made a positive contribution to their attitudes toward Americans, and the quality of contact (e.g., American friends, contact quality) was identified as a positive predictor of their attitudes. In addition, intergroup anxiety functioned as a partial mediator in such associations. However, the strong negative association between the communication frequency and behavioral attitudes contradicts the general findings in the literature. Methodological differences (e.g., how communication frequency is measured) might have contributed to the inconsistent finding. Future research should further investigate the communication dynamics between Koreans and Americans to have a better understanding of the negative association between communication frequency with the American person and the general behavioral attitudes measures.

As the current study applied the intergroup contact hypothesis to the media context, variables related to media behaviors will enhance our understanding of the psychological mechanisms between mediated contact and intergroup attitudes. Under the current media environment, which allows easier and faster access to the international media contents, the role of mediated intergroup contact cannot be underestimated in shaping intergroup attitudes. From this regard, the major findings from the two structural models have enhanced our understanding of the effects of mediated and direct intergroup contact on intergroup attitudes in intercultural contexts.

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Appendix A

SECTION 1.

[Instructions: Please answer the following questions by checking applicable boxes and/or by filling in the blanks.]

1. Sex Male Female
2. Age: _____ years old
3. Years of Education: _____ years (If you are a freshman, it's 12 years)
4. Marital Status Single Married
5. Have you lived in the U.S. more than 6 months? Yes No
6. How many trips have you made to the U.S.? _____ times
7. Do you have friends or relatives who are living in the U.S.?
 No Yes (how many? _____ friends or relatives)

SECTION 2.

[Instructions: If you were to meet an American person in the future, how do you think you would feel? Please indicate the extent of how you feel by circling a corresponding number (1 = Not at all, 4 = Neutral, and 7 = Very).]

	Not at all			Neutral			Very	
1. Awkward	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2. Happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3. Self-conscious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4. Competent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
5. Relaxed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
6. Anxious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

SECTION 3.

[Instructions: If given the opportunity to engage in the following behaviors, please indicate the extent to which you will engage in such behaviors. Please indicate your willingness to do so by circling a corresponding number (1 = Not at all willing, 4 = Moderately willing, and 7 = Extremely willing).]

	Not at all willing				Extremely willing		
1. I am willing to accept Americans as citizens of my country.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. I am willing to have a number of American families move into my neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. I am willing to develop more than just speaking acquaintances with Americans.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. I am willing to accept Americans as neighbor.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I am willing to accept Americans as my close friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. I am willing to choose to marry Americans.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. I am willing to work directly with Americans in the same office.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. I am willing to enjoy interacting with most Americans.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SECTION 4.

[Instructions: Please mark on the scale below indicating how you feel about **Americans in general**. If you mark somewhere between 1 and 3, that indicates you feel cold, or unfavorable, towards Americans, marking 4 means that you feel neutral, and marking between 5 and 7 means that you feel warm, or favorable, towards Americans.]

“When I think of Americans, I feel in general ...”

		Neutral							
1.	Cold	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Warm
2.	Unfavorable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Favorable
3.	Negative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Positive
4.	Hostile	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Friendly
5.	Suspicious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Trusting
6.	Contempt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Respect

7. Disgust

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

 Admiration
8. Uncomfortable

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

 Comfortable
9. Unpleasant

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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 Pleasant

SECTION 5.

[Instructions: Please answer the following questions by checking applicable boxes and/or by filling in the blanks.] *If you haven't had any contact with Americans in person, please skip the following questions in this section and continue to answer the questions in the Section 7 in the next page.*

1. **How many Americans do you know in person?** (e.g., friends, instructors, neighbors, classmates, acquaintances, etc.)
 None 1-2 3-4 5-6 7-8 9-10 More than 10
2. **How many of them do you consider as friends?** _____ American (s)
 None 1 2 3 4 5 More than 5

*If there is (are) an American person(s) that you personally know, please **consider one American individual that you have had the closest relationship** for the following questions.*

<p>3. How often do you talk to and engage in informal conversation with this person?</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"><tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td></tr></table> <p style="text-align: center;">Not frequently at all Very frequently</p> <p>4. How often do you study or do other class work together with this person?</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"><tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td></tr></table> <p style="text-align: center;">Not frequently at all Very frequently</p> <p>5. How often do you do things socially with this person (e.g., sharing meals, going to movies, etc.)</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"><tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td></tr></table> <p style="text-align: center;">Not frequently at all Very frequently</p>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	<p>6. How close do you feel to this person?</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"><tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td></tr></table> <p style="text-align: center;">Not close at all Very close</p> <p>7. How much do you value your relationship with this person?</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"><tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td></tr></table> <p style="text-align: center;">Not at all A great deal</p> <p>8. How much do you value the time that you have spent with this person?</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"><tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td></tr></table> <p style="text-align: center;">Not at all A great deal</p>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	2	3	4	5	6	7																																					
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SECTION 6.

[Instructions: If you have watched American dramas, even a single episode, please answer the following questions by checking applicable boxes and/or by filling in the blanks.]

1. How long have you been watching American dramas? _____ years _____ months

2. In your typical week, how many hours do you watch American dramas? _____ hours _____ minutes

3. In your typical week, how many episodes of American dramas do you watch? _____ episodes

4. In your typical week, how many days do you watch American dramas? _____ days

SECTION 7.

[Instructions: Following is the list of American dramas. If you have watched the following dramas even just one episode, please put a check (✓) mark on the type of media that you have used to watch the dramas.]

	Medium Rating			Medium	Rating
1. Mentalist			24. Six feet under		
2. Gossip girl			25. Mad men		
3. Harper's island			26. Veronica Mars		
4. Heroes			27. 4400		
5. Sex and the city			28. Will & Grace		
6. Lost			29. Gossip girl		
7. ER			30. Entourage		
8. 24			31. Gilmore girls		
9. Burn notice			32. Arrested development		
10. Ally McBeal			33. Hidden palms		
11. Ugly Betty			34. Dexter		
12. CSI			35. Moonlight		
13. Boston legal			36. Dead zone		
14. Law & order			37. Smallvill		
15. The L word			38. Criminal mind		
16. Lie to me			39. Prison break		
17. Grey's anatomy			40. Supernatural		
18. NCIS			41. Dresden files		
19. How I met your mother			42. Weeds		
20. Castle			43. Ghost whisperer		
21. Chuck			44. Nip/tuck		
22. The West Wing			45. Cold case		

23. House			46. Brothers & sisters		
47. Leverage			54. Terminator: SCC		
48. The closer			55. Damages		
49. The shield			56. Medium		
50. Life			57. Bones		
51. Lost room			58. Scrubs		
52. Kyle XY			59. Desperate housewives		
53. Monk			60. Charmed		

If you remember other American dramas that you have watched even just one episode, please write the title and mark the type of media that you have used to watch the dramas.

	Titles	Medium	Rating		Titles	Medium	Rating
1.				6.			
2.				7.			
3.				8.			
4.				9.			
5.				10.			

SECTION 8.

[Instructions: If you have watched American dramas, please consider your favorite character among the dramas that you have watched and answer the following questions.]

<p>1. I find the character to be attractive.</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Strongly Disagree</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>Strongly agree</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Strongly Disagree						Strongly agree	<p>4. I would like to get to know a person like the character.</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Strongly Disagree</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>Strongly agree</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Strongly Disagree						Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7																							
Strongly Disagree						Strongly agree																							
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Strongly Disagree						Strongly agree																							
<p>2. I look forward to watching the character on the next episode.</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Strongly Disagree</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>Strongly agree</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Strongly Disagree						Strongly agree	<p>5. I would like to meet the character in person.</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Strongly Disagree</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>Strongly agree</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Strongly Disagree						Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7																							
Strongly Disagree						Strongly agree																							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7																							
Strongly Disagree						Strongly agree																							
<p>3. The character makes me feel comfortable, as if I am with a friend.</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Strongly Disagree</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>Strongly agree</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Strongly Disagree						Strongly agree	<p>6. The character is like a real person to me.</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Strongly Disagree</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>Strongly agree</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Strongly Disagree						Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7																							
Strongly Disagree						Strongly agree																							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7																							
Strongly Disagree						Strongly agree																							

Thank you very much for your participation!!!

Appendix B

Section 1. 해당 란에 √ 표시하시고, 빈칸에 상세 정보를 기입하여 주시기 바랍니다.

1. 성 : [] 남 [] 여

2. 나이: _____ 세

3. 학력:

[] 고졸 [] 대학재학중(____학년)

[] 대졸

[] 석사과정 (____년차)

[] 석사마침

[] 박사과정 (____년차)

[] 박사마침

4. 결혼여부: [] 미혼 [] 기혼

5. 미국에서 6개월 이상 거주한 적이 있으십니까?
[] 아니오 [] 예

6. 미국에 여행(6개월 미만 체류)하신 적이 있으십니까?
[] 아니오 [] 예 (____회)

7. 미국에 거주하고 있는 한국인 친구나 친척이 있으십니까?
[] 아니오 [] 예 (____명)

Section 2. 다음과 같은 기회가 주어진다면 당신은 어떻게 하시겠습니까? 각 항목에 대한 의향을 표시하여주시기 바랍니다.

그러겠다	그럴 용의가						기꺼이
	전혀없다			중간			
1. 미국인을 우리나라 국민으로 받아들인다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. 미국인을 이웃으로 받아들인다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. 미국인을 친한 친구로 받아들인다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. 미국인을 결혼상대로 선택한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. 미국인과 같은 사무실에서 일한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. 미국인과 같은 팀에서 일한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Section 3. 미국인들에 대한 당신의 일반적인 느낌은 어떻습니까? 각 문항에 대한 동의 정도를 표시하여주시기 바랍니다.

동의함	전적으로 동의안함			중간			전적으로	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
1. 미국인에 대해 나는 냉담하다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2. 미국인에 대해 나는 호감을 느낀다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3. 미국인에 대해 나는 친근하게 느낀다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4. 나는 미국인을 신뢰한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
5. 나는 미국인을 경멸한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
6. 나는 미국인을 존경한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Section 4. 기회가 생겨 미국인을 직접 만나게 되면 당신은 어떠한 느낌이 들 것 같습니까? 각 항목에 대한 동의 정도를 표시하여 주시기 바랍니다.

동의함	전적으로 동의안함			중간			전적으로	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
1. 어색할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2. 즐거울 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3. 남의 이목을 의식할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4. 자신감 있을 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
5. 편안할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
6. 불안할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Section 5. 다음은 미국인들과의 경험과 관련된 내용입니다. 해당하는 란에 표시해주시기 바랍니다.

1. **개인적으로 알고 있는 미국인이 몇명이나 됩니까?**

- 없음 1-2 명 3-4 명 5-6 명 7-8 명 9-10 명 11 명 이상

2. **알고 지내는 미국인 중에서 친한 사람은 몇명이나 됩니까?**

- 없음 1 명 2 명 3 명 4 명 5 명 6 명 이상

알고 지내는 미국인중 가장 가깝게 지내는 한 사람을 옆두에 두시고 다음 질문들에 답해주시기 바랍니다. 만약 미국인을 직접 만나본 적이 없다면, 다음 섹션(Section 7)으로 넘어가 주시기 바랍니다.

3. 그 미국인과 얼마나 자주 대화하십니까?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

아주 가끔 매우 자주

4. 그 미국인과 얼마나 자주 연락(전화, 이메일 등)하십니까?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

아주 가끔 매우 자주

5. 그 미국인과 얼마나 자주 어울리십니까? (식사를 같이 하거나 영화를 같이 보는것 등의 사교적 만남)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

아주 가끔 매우 자주

6. 그 미국인과 같이 보낸 시간을 얼마나 소중하게 여기십니까?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

전혀 소중하지 않다 매우 소중하다

7. 그 미국인과의 만남이 얼마나 즐겁습니까?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

전혀 즐겁지 않다 매우 즐겁다

8. 그 미국인과의 만남이 얼마나 우호적입니까?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

전혀 우호적이지 않다 매우 우호적이다

Section 6. 다음은 미국 드라마 시청에 관한 내용입니다. 질문에 답변해주시기 바랍니다.

1. 미국 드라마를 시청한지 얼마나 되셨습니까? _____ 년 _____ 개월
2. 일주일에 미국 드라마를 보통 얼마나 보십니까? _____ 시간 _____ 분/일주일
3. 일주일에 미국 드라마를 보통 몇편 (에피소드) 이나 보십니까? _____ 편(에피소드)
4. 일주일에 미국 드라마를 보통 며칠이나 보십니까? _____ 일/일주일

Section 7. 다음은 국내에 소개된 미국드라마 목록입니다. 제목을 보고 한편이라도 본적이 있으면 그 드라마를 보기위해 이용했던 매체에 √표시 해주시기 바랍니다. 그리고 체크한 드라마를 얼마나 즐겼는지 1 점부터 5 점까지 점수를 매겨 평가해주시기 바랍니다.

평가: 아주 재미 있었다 전혀 1 2 3 4 5 재미 없었다

TV 인터넷 평가

TV 인터넷 평가

1. 가십 걸(Gossip girl)			
2. 그레이아나토미(Grey's anatomy)			
3. 길모어 걸(Gilmore girls)			
4. 가디안(The Guardian)			
5. 고스트 앤 크라임(Medium)			
6. 고스트 위스퍼러(Ghost whisperer)			
7. 닙턱(Nip/tuck)			
8. NCIS			
9. 도슨의 청춘일기(Dawson's creek)			
10. 돌하우스(Dollhouse)			
11. 텍스터(Dexter)			
12. 데미지(Damages)			
13. 레버리지(Leverage)			
14. 로스트(Lost)			
15. 로스트 룸(The lost room)			
16. 립스틱 정글(Lipstick Jungle)			
17. 로 엔 오더(Law & order)			
18. 멘탈리스트(Mentalist)			
19. 문라이트(Moonlight)			
20. 명탐정 몽크(Monk)			
21. 못말리는 패밀리(Arrested development)			
22. 매드 맨(Mad men)			

23.베로니카 마스(Veronica Mars)			
24.본즈(Bones)			
25.번 노티스(Burn notice)			
26.보스턴 리걸(Boston legal)			
27.셜드:XX 강력반(The Shield)			
28.CSI 뉴욕(CSI: NY)			
29.사만다 후?(Samantha who?)			
30.스크럽스(Scrubs)			
31.식스 피트 언더(Six feet under)			
32. 수퍼내츄럴(Supernatural)			
33. 스몰빌(Smallville)			
34.소프라노스 (The Sopranos)			
35.섹스 앤 더 시티(Sex and the city)			
36. 오즈(OZ)			
37. 위즈(Weeds)			
38.이알(ER)			
39. 24			
40.어글리베티(Ugly Betty)			
41.엘 워드(The L word)			
42.아이러브프렌즈(How I met your mother)			
43.웨스트 윙(The West Wing)			
44.엑스 파일(X-files)			

45. 위기의주부들(Desperate housewives)			
46. 윌 앤 그레이스(Will & Grace)			
47. 앨리어스 (Alias)			
48. 척(Chuck)			
49. 커맨더인치프(Commander in Chief)			
50. 퀴어 에즈 포크(Queer As Folk)			
51. 클로저(The closer)			
52. 카일 XY(Kyle XY)			

53.크리미널 마인드(Criminal minds)			
54.콜드 케이스(Cold case)			
55.터미네이터:사라코너연대기(Terminator: SCC)			
56.프린지(Fringe)			
57. 프렌즈(Friends)			
58.프리즌 브레이크(Prison break)			
59.히어로즈(Heroes)			
60.하우스(House)			

만약 앞의 목록에 없는 미국 드라마 중 시청한 것이 있다면 아래 칸에 제목을 적고, 이용했던 매체와 당신의 평가도 기재하여주시기 바랍니다.

제목	TV 인터넷 평가		
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

제목	TV 인터넷 평가		
6.			
7.			
8.			
9.			
10.			

Section 8. 미국 드라마를 본 적이 있다면 당신이 가장 좋아하는 미국 드라마 캐릭터 한명을 옆두에 두고 다음 질문에 답해주시기 바랍니다.

1. 나는 그 캐릭터가 매력적이라고 생각한다.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
전혀 아니다					매우 그렇다		

2. 나는 다음편 드라마에서 그 캐릭터보기를 기대하고 있다.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
전혀 아니다					매우 그렇다		

3. 그 캐릭터는 친구처럼 나를 편안하게 만든다.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
전혀 아니다					매우 그렇다		

4. 나는 그 캐릭터같은 미국인과 알고 지내고 싶다.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
전혀 아니다					매우 그렇다		

5. 나는 그 캐릭터를 실제로 만나고 싶다.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
전혀 아니다					매우 그렇다		

6. 나는 그 캐릭터가 실제 인물처럼 느껴진다.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
전혀 아니다					매우 그렇다		

“설문에 참여해주셔서 대단히 감사합니다!!! 좋은 하루 되세요!”

Appendix C

Top 25 American Dramas Viewed by the Participants in Group 1 (Mediated contact only)

Rank	Title	Number of viewers (Total N = 181)	% of viewers	M (Viewer rating: 1 - 5)	SD
1	CSI: New York	111	61.3	3.90	1.10
2	Sex & the city	106	58.6	3.75	1.04
3	Prison break	82	45.3	3.85	1.07
4	Gossip girl	76	42.0	3.49	1.10
5	Grey's anatomy	73	40.3	3.70	1.08
6	Desperate housewives	68	37.6	3.44	1.11
7	Friends	61	33.7	4.11	1.03
8	Lost	60	33.1	3.00	1.18
9	X-files	52	28.7	3.94	1.19
10	House	49	27.1	3.88	1.18

11	Criminal mind	48	26.5	3.71	1.13
12	NCIS	46	25.4	3.76	1.18
13	Ghost whisperer	39	21.5	3.74	1.16
14	Supernatural	34	18.8	3.71	1.34
15	Ugly Betty	30	16.6	2.90	.99
16	Heroes	26	14.4	3.54	1.21
17	Mentalist	22	12.2	3.50	1.34
18	Medium	21	11.6	3.29	1.35
18	Terminator: SCC	21	11.6	3.67	1.39
20	Monk	20	11.0	3.45	1.32
21	Bones	19	10.5	3.37	1.38
22	24	17	9.4	3.47	1.23
23	Smallville	15	8.3	3.00	1.36
24	Moonlight	13	7.2	3.46	1.33
24	ER	13	7.2	3.92	.95

Top 25 American Dramas Viewed by the Participants in Group 2 (Mediated & direct contact)

Rank	Title	Number of viewers (Total $N = 107$)	% of viewers	M (Viewer rating: 1 - 5)	SD
1	CSI: New York	68	63.6	3.84	1.14
2	Prison break	61	57.0	4.15	1.03
3	Sex & the city	59	55.1	3.85	.96
4	Lost	54	50.5	3.59	1.07
5	Friends	52	48.6	4.35	.84
6	Desperate housewives	44	41.1	3.45	1.27
7	Grey's anatomy	43	40.2	3.74	1.20
8	Gossip girl	40	37.4	3.68	1.19
8	X-files	40	37.4	3.90	1.01
10	Criminal mind	32	29.9	3.84	1.17
11	House	29	27.1	3.69	1.31

12	24	28	26.2	3.89	1.29
13	Heroes	27	25.2	3.89	.93
14	NCIS	23	21.5	3.65	1.43
14	Supernatural	23	21.5	3.43	1.27
16	ER	21	19.6	3.43	1.16
16	Ugly Betty	21	19.6	3.33	1.20
18	Ghost whisperer	20	18.7	3.55	1.15
19	Monk	17	15.9	3.35	1.22
20	Lipstick jungle	16	14.9	3.25	1.29
21	Mentalist	14	13.1	3.86	1.03
21	Bones	14	13.1	3.79	1.12
23	Gilmore girls	13	12.1	3.31	1.32
24	Dexter	12	11.2	2.83	1.11
24	Smallville	12	11.2	3.67	1.30