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The Korean Wave in Thailand: The Influence of South Korea's Entertainment Culture on Thai Students' TV and Film Consumption Behavior

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Abstract

Of all the cultural trends in the past half-century that have been imported and exported all over the world, few have been as pervasive in their popularity as South Korea's Hallyu (Korean Wave) in Thailand. Aspects of Korean culture, from K-dramas, K-pop, cosmetics, clothing, pop idols, and cuisine can be seen in everyday life in Thailand, especially among the country's youth. This paper begins with an overview of the "Korean Wave": its origins and influence throughout the decades since its adoption by the South Korean government as part of its soft culture policy. The author then examines the Korean Wave's effect on Thailand since the turn of the 21st century, with examples of popular phenomena underscoring their economic and sociocultural impact. A literature review of the topic follows, along with the methodology and framework for the primary research conducted: interviews with 16 young Thai consumers on their opinions on Korean television entertainment (dramas in particular), and how it affects their attitudes toward Korean culture. The use of soft power in the form of cultural identity is an interesting and timely issue, as emerging economies – including Thailand – have put their creative industries in the. The author's interviews suggest this demographic view domestic dramas negatively; for a majority of interviewees, their preference for Korean dramas and/or music led to an appreciation of Korean culture overall. For a few, this materialized their desire to travel to South Korea and learn more about its culture.

Keywords: Korean wave, culture industry, cultural nationalism, Korean television entertainment, Thai television entertainment

1. Introduction

The Korean Wave - the phenomenon and later the term itself - originated in the aftermath of the 1997 Asian financial crisis, which sunk the country into an economic depression (Cho, 2005). South Korea had enjoyed strong economic growth in the decades prior and was considered one of the four "rising dragons" of East Asia: the fastest growing, newly industrializing countries (NICs) in the region (Cho, 2000). The Korean War, which lasted from 1950 to 1953 and resulted in the separation of North and South Korea, compounded the aftereffects of World War II and left South Korea in an extremely weak state, as a predominantly agricultural-based economy (Kleiner, 2001). The following decades saw rapid modernization as the South Korean government implemented economic reforms, transforming the country into a more industrialized one. Scholars and analysts viewed this and the broader trend of Asian economic success as an example of "Confucian capitalism", encompassing the Confucian values of Asian cultures and serving as a counterpoint to Western-style capitalist systems: this is characterized by a more collectivist social structure, where job security at large corporations (e.g., chaebol, family-owned conglomerates) are preferred due to an emphasis on social cohesion family-based ties (Ryoo, 2009; Yim, 2002; Lew, 2013). In Western countries such as the United States, entrepreneurism (an inherently risky and individualistic endeavor) is more acceptable and, in some cases, encouraged. Previously, during the mid-twentieth century, Japan represented the only example of an economically developed, Confucian capitalist country (Lew, 2013).

The Asian financial crisis, however, forced a rethink of Korean cultural identity and economic policy as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had to intervene in the form of a 58 billion USD bailout -- the largest at the time, and one that came with conditions for substantial economic and political restructuring (Tahirou, 2013). Several factors exacerbated the crisis's effects on Korea: government support of chaebols that fueled these conglomerates' speculation in real estate and stock markets, the lack of safeguards against capital outflows, and overspecialization in certain economic sectors that (Tahirou, 2013).

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The intervention of a foreign entity was unprecedented, and the country was inadequately prepared in implementing safeguards against market shocks (as was much of the Asian region). This event was regarded as a "national humiliation" (Shim, 2006) and led to a renewed approach in its economic and cultural policies: "[F]rom the middle of the 1990s, the establishment of cultural identity has been considered as an important policy issue in response to cultural globalization in South Korea (Yim, 2002)".

In order to pay back the money owed to the IMF, the South Korean government sought to develop and export cultural products, which necessitated a change in its nation branding strategy (Cho, 2005; Lee, 2011). It came in the form of legislation by the Kim Dae-Jung administration titled "The Basic Law for The Cultural Industry Promotion" to increase investment in creative industries, introduce tax and subsidy incentives, and also establish the Korean Cultural and Content Agency (Lee, 2011; Viserith, 2009). One of the most notable and successful tactics used was to set climatic scenes of TV dramas (e.g., Autumn in My Heart and Winter Love Song) at particular locations in the country. Travel agencies could then organize tours for fans eager to see said locations in person. This practice contributed greatly to the growth of Korean tourism (Viserith, 2009)

During this period, Korean TV entertainment found an enthusiastic audience in China; the dramas "What Is Love All About" and "Jealous," both of which aired on Chinese state television, proved extremely popular and paved the way for successive cultural products, particularly clothing and music (Kim, 2007). This phenomenon came to be known by the Chinese media as "The Korean Wave" or "Korean Mania" (Hogarth, 2013). The Korean Wave then spread to other East and South Asian countries, notably Taiwan and Vietnam. According to interviews with Taiwanese TV producers, Korean dramas were at the time markedly cheaper to license than those of other countries, while being of higher quality than domestic offerings – making them more attractive for syndication and ultimately a key factor for their success (Sung, 2010).

Even Japan experienced the Korean Wave, the country's own attempt at cultural exports under the "Cool Japan" brand, while successful in a number of Asian and Western nations, was not as long-lasting and pervasive.

The Korean Wave arrived at Thailand's shores in 2001, with the country's teenagers and young adults taken by dramas such as "Autumn in my Heart," the K-Pop star "Rain," and the online game "Ragnarok" (Thandee, 2007). Eventually, localized versions of popular dramas were developed and broadcast on terrestrial networks, such as "Dae Jang Geum" on Thai Channel 3 in 2005, which proved extremely popular. Much like what happened in China and Taiwan, the success of Korean media products led to a demand for other distinctively Korean products: food, clothing, and cosmetics (Tada-amnuaychai, 2006)

2. Literature Review

Ainslie (2016) notes that much of the literature on the topic of the Korean Wave focuses on the influence of Korean culture on East Asian countries, especially among young urban consumers; studies on Southeast Asian countries are much harder to come by. Korean culture in this context is often defined broadly, encompassing its various elements such as cuisine, clothing, language, and celebrities (Lee, 2011). Studies previously conducted in this topic have focused on Thai consumers aged 18-60 using questionnaires (Visesrith, 2009). This paper is narrower in scope, as an in-depth study of a particular group: young Thai consumers aged 18-30 years old. According to Do (2011), Korean dramas are less complicated in structure, themes, and content compared to their Western counterparts, with escapist, easily relatable storylines that are palatable to Asian audiences. Confucian values such as filial piety, the importance of hard work, strong family relationships, and respect for the elderly are emphasized in Korean dramas -- by, for example, scenes where family members huddle around a table to discuss and resolve important issues (Viserith, 2009). Fifield (2004) and Thussu (2007) observe that Korean dramas are especially popular with female audiences. Most emphasize romanticism -- a form of wish-fulfillment where the concept of pure, "unconditional and faithful" love holds true. Also important is the theme of fate or destiny: the leading man and woman are soulmates, and even if circumstances force them apart, their emotional connection still holds strong.

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The representation of romantic relationships in Korean dramas is cited as a key reason as to why Thais are so taken with them, Thai romantic dramas, in comparison, are regarded as needlessly melodramatic ("nam nao") (Ainslie, 2016). Interviews conducted by Ainslie (2016) also noted that the strong distinctive Korean cultural identity appeals to Thai audiences. It is explained by one of Ainslie's interviewees, "Thais are very conservative. I think it [Korean-ness] can help Thais to be more creative and think out of the box because Koreans absorb everything around them; they express creativity and are interesting while Thais use the same pattern every day." Romance dramas and film typically feature chaste romances, with kisses and some public displays of affection, but much less overt than those depicted in Western entertainment. There is also very little sexual content and nudity, which ties into the Asian concept of modesty (Do, 2011).

There are many different perspectives on the key success factors (KSFs) of Korean culture in Thailand. Howard and Lekakul's (2018) review of studies by Thai researchers found many arguments for different KSFs, ranging from attractive actors, strongly emotional content to secondary elements (i.e., accompanying K-Pop songs, clothing or locations shown). Tantiwitidpong's (2008) findings, however, suggest that Thai fans of K-Pop desire to "cosplay" – imitate the physical characteristics – of their favorite idols and singers, using Korean makeup products that are readily available in the Thai market. Jiratanatiteenun et al, (2012) observe that Korean fashion has largely supplanted the prior popularity of Japanese youth fashion trends in Thailand due to their greater accessibility: clothing in the Korean style are relatively easy to find and more versatile.

The general phenomenon of the Korean Wave is posited by (Hogarth, 2013) as a "response and challenge to Western-dominated globalization," the aforementioned economic intervention of the IMF and the historic influence of the United States and other Western nations (during the Korean War, for one) led to a shift in values after the Asian financial crisis. Dissatisfaction about the restructuring imposed by the IMF led to a drive in both the public and private sectors to establish a strong national identity capable of exporting cultural products and competing with their Western counterparts (Viserith, 2009). Historically, cultural and technological exports from Western countries such as the United States have made inroads in many countries around the world, ranging from Hollywood movies, Levi's jeans, and sports. However, Huat (2012) posits that the Korean Wave is actually a form of regionalization, rather than globalization: the influence of Korean cultural exports is largely confined to East Asia. In examining the Korean Wave's effect in this region, particularly China, Taiwan, and Japan, researchers have found the main reasons behind the popularity to be the cultural proximity and familiar physical characteristics of the actors and singers featured in Korean cultural products (Hogarth, 2013; Do, 2011). According to Hogarth (2013), Hollywood TV and film reflects values and beliefs that are incompatible with Asian cultures and underrepresents Asian actors. Korean TV and film, on the other hand, makes "Asian-ness" integral in its presentation in storytelling. The physical similarity and familiarity of the actors and actresses in Korean TV dramas to Asian audiences, in addition to their cultural proximity, have aided their popularity in the region (Cai, 2011), and also includes Confucian values such as filial piety, loyalty, family-centrism, and emphasis on education. Suh, Kwon & Choi (2006) contend that Thailand and Vietnam have an especially strong cultural affinity with South Korea, contributing to the Korean Wave's effects since the mid-2000s. Yim (2002) also argues that Japanese colonization (lasting from 1910 to 1945) stifled the development of South Korean cultural identity, making the country more susceptible to influence from foreign cultures (particularly the West).

3. Objectives

- 1. To investigate Thai students' consumption of and attitudes towards Korean television and film.
- 2. To study factors that influence Thai students' responses to the television and film they consume.
- 3. To examine the characteristics of Korean TV programming and cinema that differentiates itself from other countries.
 - 4. To evaluate the influence of Korean television and film on Thai students' consumption behavior.

3. Materials and Methods

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Participants

In this study, the author interviewed 16 young Thai consumers whose ages ranged from 18-30 years with interest in Korean television and films. These interviews took place from October 2018 to January 2019. Potential interviewees were screened via in-person surveys, in which they were asked about the last time they viewed a Korean TV drama, their level of interest in Korean culture and television entertainment, and the frequency of which they watched Korean dramas. This practice was served to preface the interview session and establish a more comfortable rapport with interviewees. Some interviewees were recruited through Facebook and other social media platforms.

Procedure

The author asked young Thai consumers aged 18-30 questions relating to their Korean television and film consumption experience, sociocultural factors that may influence their preferences (such as their social circle of friends and family members), and characteristics of Korean television and film they found appealing. The interviews were conducted in person, with sessions lasting approximately 30-60 minutes, recorded using an iPad and audio recorder. Interviews were conducted in Thai and translated into English. Interviewees were notified beforehand that they would be participating in a study on Korean culture and that some of their responses would be used in a research paper. To protect interviewees' identities, they will only be referred to by their nickname, gender, and age (e.g., "Pat, M, 25"). The author did not strictly adhere to the interview schedule, instead of asking follow-up questions based on responses and giving opportunities for interviewees to elaborate in greater detail. In some cases where the respondents spoke of particular activities they have engaged in (such as dressing up in Korean style clothing or going to South Korea), the author asked to see pictures or videos; this approach is more likely to yield "thick" descriptions valuable in qualitative research (Weiss, 1994).

Interview Questions

Demographics

- 1. Can you please tell me your name?
- 2. Can you please tell me how old you are?
- 3. What is your occupation?

Korean TV and film consumption experience

- 1. Do you watch Korean TV shows (i.e., K-dramas)?
- 2. Why or why not?
- 3. What are your opinions on Korean TV entertainment?
- 4. What kinds of TV programs do you watch?
- 5. Do you usually purchase or stream TV episodes?
- 6. How do you usually watch TV (e.g., iFlix, LINE TV, Netflix)?

Sociocultural factors relating to consumption preferences

- 1. Do your friends or social circle influence the TV you watch?
- 2. Are there any popular idols/stars you like (including domestic and international talents)?
- 3. To what extent do your TV preferences relate to your popular idols?

Consumer behavior: Influence in the engagement of other aspects of Korean culture

- 1. Do the presentation or styles of your favorite idols/stars influence your choice (e.g., clothing, makeup, social media presence, events)?
- 2. Do you find Korean culture appealing, and does it influence your watching habits?
- 3. What other aspects of Korean culture do you find appealing or participate in (e.g., listening to Korean music, eating Korean cuisine)?

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4. Results and Discussion

Demographics

Of the 16 young Thai consumers interviewed for this study, 13 were female. Due to the lengthy amount of time involved in the screening and interviewing process (as well as the chosen demographic), all except one were undergraduate students enrolled in Rangsit University, aged 18-25 years old.

Consumer behavior: Korean drama viewing habits and preferences

Much like the studies conducted by Do (2011), the prevalence of excessive melodrama was cited as a primary reason for young Thai consumers disliking Thai dramas. This correlated with the author's interviews, where most interviewees cited this as the main reason they prefer Korean dramas instead.

Pay, M, 25: "I really like the heroines I see in Korean TV dramas... they're capable, emotionally strong and not whiny, unlike those in Thai dramas. When I see female characters in Thai dramas, they always have slap fights or yell at each other... I don't like that. It feels unpleasant to watch."

Pay, M, 25: "There's this 'emotion'/'mood' (อารมณ์) in Korean dramas that you don't get in Thai shows. I feel that Korean dramas are more 'complete': there's this 'fin' (Thai slang for 'feeling') that you don't get in Thai series. The story, the actors, the imagery, the locations -- they all go together."

This feeling of "completeness" is cited by Cho and Sinaga (2008) in their study of the Korean Wave, where it refers to the overall presentation of the drama series, including cinematography, casting, choice of soundtrack, and other considerations.

Another point touched upon by interviewees was their admiration of heroines in Korean dramas.

Pay, M, 25: My favorite K-drama right now is What's Wrong with Secretary Kim. I really like the main character [played by actress Park Min-young]. She has a very nice style, she's good looking, and even though you see her go through so many difficult situations, she finds a way to solve them. I really like that about a girl, and when she's

Consumer behavior: Influence in engagement of other aspects of Korean culture

In Viserith's (2009) study, 80% of respondents said that Korean dramas were their first exposure to Korean culture. Interviewees for this study were also largely drawn to Korean dramas. A commonality found among many interviewees was the role these TV dramas play in influencing fans to travel to South Korea -- but in the form of self-independent, self-organized tours with destinations and activities replicating what interviewees had seen in dramas.

Pay, M, 25: "I've never gone to South Korea, but I'm planning to as soon as I graduate. I'm not going to use a travel agency for my trip... I've already made my own plans to 'follow' (พานรอช) the activities and locations I've seen in my favorite dramas. There's this cafe I saw in 'Secretary Kim' that I really want to go to."

Technological advances since the mid-2000s have made it easier for individuals to find information about travel destinations and plan their own trips. When asked why he didn't want to use a travel agency, he said he already knows where he wants to go and how he'd go about doing it. As a self-proclaimed "superfan" of Korean entertainment and the former representative of the official Girls' Generation fanclub in Thailand (a famous K-pop supergroup), having a social circle of like-minded individuals plays an important role in Pay's enjoyment of Korean entertainment -- in going to concerts, discussing characters and storylines in dramas, and deciding what songs listen to or dramas to watch next. He lamented his inability to engage with Korean entertainment as much as he used to. As a fourth-year undergraduate student working on his thesis, he doesn't have much leisure. Pay mentioned his appreciation of K-dramas being the primary reason for going; he doesn't feel the country as a whole is an attractive tourist destination.

Pay, M, 25: "South Korea, to be honest, is a pretty small country. Really, I think if I'll be satisfied just going there once or twice for the experience. I want to see these places in person."

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Consumer behavior: Influence in engagement of other aspects of Korean culture

Muay, F, 20: "Korean makeup is very attractive to me... I think it's better than Thai skincare in the variety it offers and what it can do. There's putty for sculpting noses and this thing that's used for making your jawline look better."

Muay, F, 20: "I don't use a lot of makeup. My goal each day is to make it look as natural as possible."

Muay's responses provide interesting insights into Korean versus Thai concepts of aesthetic beauty. She showed the author her Instagram account, including photos of her wearing hanbok in her travels to South Korea and self-created makeup tutorials for achieving the Korean-style look. The Korean makeup trend of contouring, using cosmetic tools to shape a person's facial features, is popular among young Thai women interested in Korean culture, offering a means to look like popular idols or models without the need for cosmetic surgery. Tantiwitidpong (2008) cited this as one of the main reasons Korean culture gained traction among Thai youths.

Sociocultural factors relating to consumption preferences

Pay, M, 25: "When one of my favorite idols came to Thailand, I waited at Suvarnabhumi Airport for 12 hours with people from the same fanclub... we followed them to Dusit Thani (a five-star hotel in Bangkok). We all chipped in for a stay there so we could be close to them. [laughs[Looking back at it, it was a weird thing to do, but I got really swept up with my fellow K-drama maniacs.

Fern, F, 23: "I want to go to South Korea with my friend (who also likes Korean dramas). We're going together next year, maybe. If we have the money."

Fern, F, 23: "At university, I don't have many friends I can talk about K-dramas with. It's just the two of us [gestures to her friend sitting beside her]. But I join Facebook groups about K-dramas and it's nice talking to other people about K-pop groups."

One commonality among interviewees is the preference in using streaming platforms for Korean television series. The sheer accessibility and convenience offered by streaming services have made them a favorite among young Thai consumers, with the additional feature of tying with pre-existing social media networks -- allowing users to discuss and recommend series they've watched. One participant (Lisa, F, 20) stated: "I usually just go to Viu [a video streaming platform] when I want to watch Korean dramas. It's more convenient than TV... it has more and newer series."

5. Conclusion

The author has examined the phenomenon of the Korean Wave – a prominent example of how a nation can successfully exert soft power influence through its creation of cultural identity, and then exporting products reflecting said identity and its values. The history and rationale behind the Korean Wave were explored, along with scholars' and researchers' examinations of key success factors in other Asian nations. The author's interviews with young Thai consumers did support Howard and Letakul's assertion that products of the Korean Wave (especially K-pop) were a means to an end – in encouraging people to purchase Korean food, clothes, and makeup. Further research is needed in this area to provide a stronger conclusion, by, for example, increasing the number of interviewees and improving the methodology used.

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