

Hallyu in Indonesia: Koreanization Through Advertisements

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Abstract

Due to a weak government and failed policies, Indonesia is lagging behind globally in terms of media and cultural development, opening the door for strong culture industries like South Korea to penetrate the Indonesian market. In contrast to Indonesia, Korea's model of development in creating a culture industry with Hallyu has created a global craze. Constant exposure to Hallyu has led to the Indonesian public to develop a taste for Korean cultural products, leading to advertisements using Korean celebrities for promotion. This paper aims to explore how advertisements as mass culture and reality are intertwined through an analysis of South Korean celebrity advertising campaigns in Indonesia. Findings of the study show the promotion of six Korean elements that have also translated to real-life in Indonesia. The promotion of these elements will continually increase Koreanization in Indonesia where the ideal is then to become as Korean as possible.

Keywords: culture industry; Hallyu; Indonesia; media policy; cultural flow; advertising

Dedication

I dedicate this paper to my parents, Riny Widjaja and Jusuf Lim. Both of whom have sacrificed so much by immigrating to Canada in search for better opportunities for their son. This paper represents one step in my infinite journey to repay them.

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Glossary

Bataviasche Nouvelle	Advertising broadsheets in Colonial Dutch East Indies
Bekasi	A city in Indonesia
Gangnam	An affluent district in Seoul, South Korea
Gyeongbokgung Palace	A former royal palace of the Joseon Dynasty located in Northern Seoul, South Korea
Hallyu	Korean wave
ICT	Information communication technology
Jakarta	Capital city of Indonesia
Joomuk mahn ban	Korean beauty standard where a beauty exists in a small fist sized face
K-Drama	Korean television soap opera
K-Pop	Korean popular music
Orde Baru	The reformed Indonesian government led by President Suharto in 1967
Pribumi	Ethnic native Indonesians
Youtube	American video sharing platform

Chapter 1.

Introduction

Two years ago, I spent my birthday in Indonesia. As soon as I landed, I received a birthday note from my then 9-year-old cousin. To my surprise, included in the note were Korean words. My cousin is not Korean, nor am I or anyone in my family, which left me to wonder why and how my Indonesian cousin knew Korean. As I spent more time in Indonesia, I was astounded to see how the country where I once lived had changed. My cousin was not an anomaly. Indonesia as a whole has become more Korean. I was surprised to see the amount of K-dramas on television, the number of Korean restaurants, the frequency of K-pop I heard on the radio, and the constant bombardment of advertisements with Korean celebrities. I was surprised to see the sheer amount of Korean culture in Indonesia.

The main goal of this paper is to investigate how Korean culture has become popularized in Indonesia. After being subjugated to Portuguese, Dutch, and Japanese rule, Indonesia achieved independence from colonialism in 1945. However, this has left them exposed to outside influence once more. Rather than hard military power, this new threat comes from soft power in the form of media. Due to their failed model of media development, Indonesian media content production has lagged behind the rest of the world in terms of quality and quantity. To compete in the global capitalist market, Indonesian companies have consistently imported media content from abroad, and now the trend has shifted towards the importing of South Korean content. Despite achieving independence in 1945 as well, Korea has significantly developed their media through its construction as a culture industry.

Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) conceptualized the term culture industry in which they claim that culture has been commodified where mass media as part of the culture industry is being produced with the sole purpose of being sold. Within the culture industry, advertising was identified as a catalyst in the commodification process. This paper will then take this further and explain how advertising has also commodified itself to become mass culture as well.

The Korean culture industry, most commonly known as Hallyu, has penetrated the Indonesian market. Due to constant exposure to Hallyu, the Indonesian public has developed a taste for all things Korean. Naturally, this has translated to the advertising industry where Indonesian companies are now incorporating South Korean celebrities into their advertisements.

My research will look at how South Korean celebrity advertising campaigns in Indonesia contribute to the Koreanization of the country through the promotion of Korean elements. This will be done by using the theoretical framework of the culture industry, positioning advertisements as mass culture that is intertwined with reality. Through the analysis of coded Korean symbols in the advertising campaigns to the South Korean themes that are being disseminated, my findings observe that the constant promotion of these elements will continue to increase Koreanization in Indonesia.

Chapter 2.

Indonesian Media Development

2.1 Colonial Times

Before achieving independence in 1945, Indonesia was known as the Dutch East Indies. Under the rule of the Netherlands, Europeans had total control of the media industry in the colony. In Batavia, a major city of the colony, alone, Europeans had control of 14 press publications. While outside of Batavia, the six press publications in Surabaya and one in Central Java were all also owned and managed by Europeans. Although *Pribumis* (Native Indonesians) worked in these companies they were given low-level jobs. Most industries at the time were divided into 3 classes with the Europeans being the highest. Interestingly, Chinese-Indonesians were the second class as they were believed to be more industrious than the low-class *Pribumis*, and therefore were given more meaningful roles in society (Adam 1995). With the Europeans in control, these press publications or newspapers were printed in Dutch, leaving it only accessible for those who were able to understand the language. Translations did come at a later time, but for the most part, in order for *Pribumis* or other non-Dutch people living in the colony to consume news and media, they had to learn the Dutch language. Within these newspapers, advertising started to take shape. The first-ever advertisements took form in the *Bataviasche Nouvelle*, which was published on the August 8, 1744 under Jan Pieterzoon Coen, the governor-general of the Dutch East Indies and accredited founder of Batavia (Hill, 1994). The *Bataviasche Nouvelle* was an advertising broadsheet that provided details of commercial actions. These advertisements were written in Dutch and used illustrations of people that resembled White Europeans to promote the products. The fact that Indonesians was not involved at all in terms of production subsequently led to the lack of anything Indonesian in media.

As media technology continued to evolve from the printing press, ownership and control over media still belonged to the Dutch. One positive aspect that came out of this was that it meant that the colony was not far behind the rest of the world in terms of media production. Although content such as cinema and film media were mainly produced for the Dutch that were living in the colony, the first narrative-based motion picture that was shown on Indonesian soil was on December 5, 1900 (Informatika dan Statistik Pemprov DKI Jakarta). The narrative-based motion picture, or what is now commonly known as movies, were introduced to the colony not long after the emergence of movies in European countries. The first movie screened in Indonesia, which

was fully Dutch, was about the journey of the King and Queen of the Netherlands in Den Haag. For the *Pribumi* public the movie was titled, *Gambar Idoep*, which can be translated from Indonesian into two meanings: *Living Picture* or *Picture of Life*. The first translation is self-explanatory. *Living Picture* highlighted the technological breakthrough of the ability to capture motion in pictures. Displaying movement made it seem as if the pictures were alive. The second translation is more thought provoking. The title *Picture of Life* implies that the “picture of life” on Indonesian soil at that time was that of the White Dutch people. Like every other industry in the colony, the motion picture industry was under the full control of the Dutch. The Pribumis were citizens that belonged to the lowest class and would have little to no voice in terms of what would be circulated through the media. This focus on promoting Dutch people, language, and culture was happening throughout every aspect of life in the colony. After their revolution and independence in 1945, the first Indonesian President, Sukarno, wanted to make sure that Indonesia would not be flooded by foreign forces again.

2.2. Early Post-Colonial Policies

Due to their long history of being colonized, Sukarno pushed for nationalism throughout in his efforts to maintain the independence of Indonesia and suppress Western influence in the region (Van Der Eng, 2009). Being a large archipelago of over 17,000 islands, each having their own diverse set of values, building cultural unity to bring the people together was integral to nation building. This push for nationalism would allow Sukarno to promote and create national solidarity between the different ethnicities, which allows for unity not only through Islam, but also by factors beyond commonality through religion. The citizens, whether they be Sundanese, Javanese, Batak, Minangkabau, Chinese Indonesian, or any other ethnic group, should consider themselves to be Indonesian first. Even before independence, the importance of cultural heritage and national identity was always a priority for Sukarno. In 1945 the Indonesian government immediately established a department for culture (Seo, 2006). Learning from how the Dutch consistently promoted their culture through media, Sukarno recognized the role of media as a crucial tool to promote cultural unity in the newly established country. He also wanted to ensure that media was produced by Indonesians, for Indonesians. This was done to avoid a similar situation to when they were a colony, where, through media, the Indonesian people were highly influenced by the Europeans, specifically the Dutch. One example of this in action was his denouncement of any films that were produced in Indonesia during the period of colonialization. Furthermore, the Indonesian government created *Hari Film Nasional* (National Film Day) on March 30, 1950 and premiered a truly Indonesian-produced film called, *Darah dan Doa* (Blood

and Prayer). Whether it be coincidental or deliberate, the movie used the same premise of a journey, like the colonial-made, *Gambar Idoeap*. The film signifies that Indonesia is no longer under a foreign monarchy, and that the protagonist is no longer Dutch Royalty, but instead, is your everyday Indonesian soldier. The soldier was a symbolic representative of Indonesian people where, through determination and strength, they were able to overcome their suppressors. The movie can be interpreted as a rejection of the past, a rejection of a class-based society, and the establishment of a new society where every Indonesian is considered to be equal. The denouncement of past colonial films and the creation of a fully Indonesian-produced movie was truly significant for Indonesia. It was representative of their newly formed independence, rejecting and overcoming colonialism. Under Sukarno, Indonesia was always looking to develop their culture through media. However, being a country that was, at its infancy, post-colonial, they faced many challenges that were difficult to overcome.

Crony capitalism and corruption has always been and will continue to be a challenge for Indonesia and its media industry. Investment in domestic media production and development are largely ignored in favor of the more profitable imports of media. Initially, the early post-colonial country had a solid starting point, as they had means of production which were left by the Dutch. However, due to the aforementioned class separation during colonialism, Indonesians lacked knowledge on how they could use and develop film media with what was left (Adam, 1995). The early post-colonial Indonesian television and film industry was stagnant, as there was a lack of quantity in the content being produced. With the Malay language and culture being so similar to the Indonesian language, Indonesia looked to their neighbour for media imports. Media content such as Malay films were cheap enough and did not need added production costs such as subtitling. Quickly, they gained popularity as Indonesians found how much more advanced Malay films were in terms of quality. Higher production value combined with striking visuals, lively themes of songs, and sexualized dances became a huge hit (Koike, 2002). However, The Federation of Malaya, now known as Malaysia, was still under British control at the time, and the popularity of Malay television and film media in the Indonesian domestic market declined just as quickly as it rose. Sukarno despised Malaya as believed that Malaya as a neo-colonial creation of the British would be a security risk in Southeast Asia, maintaining Western influence in the region. (Van Der Eng, 2009). The Indonesian government then halted the import of Malay media content, leaving the Indonesian domestic market with a hole to fill. As Western media was not an option for Sukarno's anti-Western agenda, they looked towards India, their fellow Non-Aligned Movement member who also recently achieved independence in 1947. Media content from India was similar to the exciting visuals and music that the Indonesian public were used to with their consumption

of Malay media. In terms of films, the number of Indian films that were imported dramatically rose from 7 in 1952 to 184 in 1955 (Koike, 2002). Due to the the Indonesian government encouraging imports of Indian media, as well as to Indian media's ability to quickly appeal to the Indonesian public, its popularity in Indonesia still resonates today in 2020. However, this reliance on importing media from countries like India has significantly diminished domestic media production. Investments in domestic production companies were scarce as it was much cheaper for the country to import content, and domestic media would always have to play catch up with imported media in terms of quality. This set a precedent in the reliance for the country to import media content from abroad. Under President Sukarno, media in Indonesia was tightly controlled by the government to prioritize culture building, and imports were still limited. However, as Indonesia looked to develop economically, it transitioned into a hyper capitalist economy under their new leader, President Suharto.

2.3. Orde Baru and Beyond

President Suharto brought *Orde Baru* (New Order), and the new Indonesian government implemented drastic changes to the country. He was able to gain power and dictatorship over Indonesia as there was growing fear in the country from being colonized again through communism. This fear that was instilled by the West because was due to the exponential growth of communism in nearby regions like the Soviet Union and China, which led to the popularization of anti-communism in Indonesia. On the September 30, 1965, this fear boiled over as violence and mass killings ensued throughout the country and most significantly in the capital of Jakarta. Around half a million of suspected communists and six of Indonesia's senior officers were killed. This violent purge allowed General Suharto to take control of Jakarta, forcing Sukarno to hand over political and military powers (Cribb, 2002). Sukarno's anti-Western sentiments were replaced by the anti-communist agenda set by Suharto. Orde Baru transitioned the country towards Western neoliberalist policies. The plan for the national economy was to significantly boost growth through opening up to the Western market and through privatization of sectors that were once public (Vltchek, 2012). This massive change heavily effected the media industry in Indonesia, specifically the television industry which was growing exponentially. Television, like other media in Indonesia was once heavily controlled by the government under Sukarno, but under Suharto's Orde Baru, private television broadcasters began to emerge. At the time, crony capitalism was the name of the game. The Suharto family and cronies monopolized various industries and state projects. This set another precedent in the Indonesian media industry: corruption. Bribes became necessary for individuals to gain Suharto's favour for the creation of specific policies to give them

advantages over competitors in the market (Dieleman & Sachs, 2008). The newly privatized television broadcasters that were established under Suharto were no different. *Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia* (RCTI), belonged to Suharto's third child, Bambang Trihatmojo; *Televisi Pendidikan Indonesia* (TPI), was founded by Suharto's first daughter, Tutut Suharto; *Surya Citra Televisi* (SCTV), was controlled by a group that was led by Suharto's cousin, and Sudwikatmono and other broadcasters like *Andalas Televisi* (ANTV) and *Indosiar* were established by Suharto's cronies Bakrie Group and Salim Group (Sen, 1994). The privatization of television meant that profits were now the primary goal for television broadcasters. The importance of growing cultural unity through media, which was once a priority for the Sukarno Indonesian government, was thrown away for profits. A similar yet more monopolistic model was also happening in the Indonesian film industry where Sudwikatmono monopolized the distribution of imported films through his company, Cineplex 21 Group, which also happened to own the largest and only Indonesian movie theatre chain at the time (Sudibyo & Patria, 2013). In their prioritization of profit, private media companies placed domestic media development aside. The number of media imports grew, as it allowed a much faster rate of return in their investments. Consequently, culture building through media, which was the once the national priority under Sukarno, had been replaced by the insatiable need for the accumulation of wealth. While Suharto's dictatorship ended in 1998 and was replaced by a democratic government, his neoliberalist policies and crony capitalism remain. To date, corruption still penetrates multiple levels of the Indonesian government (Vltchek, 2012). The initial spirit of capitalism, where innovation and skill are the determinant of success in the free market, exists only for those that are able to continually fill the pockets of Indonesian politicians. The lack of development of Indonesian domestic media production companies is precisely the outcome of the country's weak government and policies. Overtime, Suharto's cronies became media conglomerates which still control the majority of Indonesia's media industry today. Their agenda remains the same: importing media content for quick and easy profit comes first, and development of domestic media production is an afterthought. As the Indonesian media market was once filled with imports of content from Malaysia, India, The United States, Japan, and China, a new heavily profitable media content emerged from South Korea. After achieving independence in 1945, the same year as Indonesia, South Korea was able to not only develop media in their domestic market, but also create global appeal and export their media industry, allowing South Korean media become popular specifically in Asian countries, like Indonesia, who had weak domestic media content.

Chapter 3.

South Korean Media Development

3.1. Early Post-Independent Policies

Although South Korea achieved independence in 1945, the same year as Indonesia, contrasting media policies proved to be the difference in how their respective media industries have developed. Rapid development for Korean media was due to their shift towards a culture industry in the 1990s, which was preceded by previous protectionist policies. Media was commodified as cultural products, creating a culture industry that called *Hallyu* (Korean Wave). This was done through three crucial points in their development: firstly, the establishment of domestic media for local audiences through state led developments, secondly, the shift towards a knowledge-based economy, and lastly, the opening of their market allowing exposure and cooperation with Western and multinational companies. Combined, these points allowed the Korean government to treat their culture industry as an export, subsequently leading to the popularization of Hallyu globally, especially in Indonesia, rivalling other dominant cultural industries such as Hollywood or Bollywood.

Early post-colonial South Korea governments had similar beginnings as those in Indonesia. Prior to the 1990's, the Park Chung-hee (1962-1980), Chun Doo-hwan (1980-1988) governments were all authoritarian military governments that focused on economic development for the legitimization of their power (Kwon & Kim, 2014). During these times, media in Korea were under stringent protectionist and censorship laws, allowing locally produced media to popularize with the domestic audience (Choi, 2010). For example, Korea has always been sensitive in terms of importing Hollywood films. The monopolizing factor of Hollywood was a threat, as Korean film audiences could have been easily swayed by high quality production value which was unattainable for Korean domestic film producers at the time (Lee, 2006). Overall, Contrary to Indonesia, who immediately and continuously imported foreign film, Korea was simply still quite wary of Western countries due to their historical experience of when Korean traditional culture had to make way for Western culture during the Korean War (Yim, 2002). While local audiences in Indonesia became accustomed to Hollywood or Bollywood, Korean local audiences were more inclined to consume and support domestically produced films. The establishment of domestic media fostered encouragement for Korean people to develop an appetite for their own

domestically produced media. As Korea loosened up their protectionist and censorship policies, allowing the increasing imports of Hollywood produced content, the highest grossing domestic box office films were still filled with domestic productions. Perhaps the most telling illustration is the film *쉬리* (Swiri), the first Hollywood-style big budget film that was domestically produced in Korea. The film broke Korean box office records with 5.78 million domestic viewers, surpassing one of the most successful Hollywood-made film, *Titanic*, which was viewed by 4.7 million domestic Korean audiences (Korea Herald, 1999). In comparison, only 4 domestically produced Indonesian films have reached the top 20 highest grossing films in the Indonesian box office (Film Indonesia, 2019). Protectionist and censorship laws in South Korea allowed domestic production companies to have a strong foothold in the local audience share. This proves that although imported media was highly popular and profitable in Korea, local audiences still had an appreciation for domestically produced media content, allowing Korean media to grow and compete with imported media in terms of quality.

3.2. The Turning Point

The year 1998 proved to be the turning point for the Korean media industry. After the Asian Financial Crisis, the Korean government realized how fragile their economy was. They also wanted to be less dependent on foreign capital and actors for Korea's continued development. Therefore, Korea shifted towards a knowledge-based economy, where education and training was prioritized (Yim, 2002). In this new economic plan, the country was able to develop an accessible and modern information structure through intensive research and development, boosting innovation. Koreans were also keen to continue to innovate as profits of their creativity were protected by strong intellectual property rights. (Asongu, 2014). In terms of the media industry, the growth of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in Korea benefitted them greatly, as it did with many other sectors. Intellectual property rights also crippled the piracy of media content, protecting media producers and artists, allowing them to profit (Oh & Lee, 2014), and creating a desire for them to not only innovate but also produce more content. Not only did the quantity of Korean media content rise, the quality also improved because of technological developments, allowing domestic production companies to be on level grounds when working and competing with their Western counterparts. No longer could Hollywood come to the country and take full control of Korean produced media or even the Korean media industry. Rather than the potential of being dominated, the power relations when working with Western companies became more of a partnership. The heavy investment in education and training also allowed domestic

production companies to take aspects from Western media and apply them to their industries in a masterful way. Going back to the previous example of *쉬리* (Swiri), the film producers were able to domestically apply the components of Hollywood films by on their own without needing infrastructure and technological support from abroad.

3.3. Hallyu

The opening of the Korean media market created the capability for Koreans and Korean domestic companies to learn and cooperate with Western and multinational corporations. The Kim Young-Sam government (1993-1998) removed the previously stringed protectionist and censorship laws that were faced by the Korean media industry (Kwon & Kim, 2014). However, this only created limited success as domestic production companies lacked the means to produce high-quality content. During that time period, South Korea was also heavily hit by the Asian Financial crisis, stunting investment and development. Not until 1998, through the aforementioned move towards a knowledge economy, did the removal of protectionist and censorship laws significantly boost the Korean culture industry. Korean media producers thrived as they were able to innovate their media content through exposure to content and production from their Western counterparts. This culminated to perhaps the most significant export of Hallyu: Korean pop, or more commonly known as K-pop. Music in Korea would no longer be censored if it was deemed to be “containing improper cultural messages” or “too Western” (Ryang, 2010). Music producers were then able to fuse Western genres with Korean music and themes, creating a new genre of music with K-pop. Fascinatingly, due to the implementation of Korean themes, K-pop became a music genre that is heavily intertwined with Korean culture, which was crucial in advancing the popularization of the Hallyu. Moreover, under the new government of President Kim Dae-Jung (1998-2003), the self-appointed “President of Culture” introduced measures that aggressively promoted the Korean culture industry (Yim, 2002). Korean media content became exportable products, and content was specifically created to target certain global audiences. For example, SM entertainmet, under the direction of Lee Soo Man, was very successful in promoting their artist, BoA, in Japan, where her persona and music was specifically tailored for Japanese audiences. This strategy of regional differentiation in promoting products was then also implemented by other companies and for other media formats (Jang, 2009). As a whole, the rise of the Korean economy has been considered an “East-Asian miracle” in large part due to their strategy to create a culture industry through their media (Asongu, 2014). South Korean governments, past and present, constituted political-economic conditions that were conducive for the local and the subsequent global development of domestic produced media. Strong

governance with soft authoritarian policies built the cultural industry phenomenon, Hallyu. In whichever media format, Hallyu was able to grow to a point where it could surpass the popularity of imported or domestically produced media content in countries like Indonesia, which, as indicated earlier, had failed to develop their own media industry.

Chapter 4.

Culture Industry

4.1 Culture Industry

The culture industry is a term that was originally conceptualized by Max Horkheimer and Theodore Adorno. In the chapter “Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception”, from *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*, Horkheimer and Adorno discuss the perverse turn of how culture is dealt and interacted with in the contemporary capitalist society. They took Karl Marx’s theory of commodification further, highlighting that culture itself has become a commodity (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002, p. 102). The use-value and reception of cultural assets are replaced by exchange value. Media such as films, television, and music are identified as cultural products that have been assimilated into the commodity sphere (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002, p. 129). Under the monopolizing capitalist system, media as a culture industry has undergone a rapid decline in their eyes. The obnoxious legitimization and the fact that the commodification aspect is being dutifully and proudly admitted by the actors responsible for industrializing culture is why Horkheimer and Adorno takes a harsh stance in respect to media. In the culture industry, media forms can no longer be considered as art, but trash, particularly due to the fact that as culture becomes an industry, its sole purpose is to create profit. The social building potential of culture and specifically media has ceased to exist in the culture industry, as it is not a priority or even something that is considered by media producers (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002, p. 95). To use Korea as an example, moving towards the culture industry, the media development that they underwent during their post-colonial era would no longer be possible. Although Korea’s media was able to grow and globalize, Horkheimer and Adorno would argue that this growth does not provide any value to the social development of the country. The growth that is experienced is perhaps the only one that matters for the culture industry is economic growth. Quality in the meaning of media content deteriorates as those in charge no longer looks to be innovative but instead, look to just replicate what has proven to be profitable. In the media industry, it creates an overarching comfortability and contentment with the reproduction of sameness (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002, p. 106). Characters, artists, and all the components such as plot or melodies within media production become interchangeable, fooling the audience that they are experiencing something new each time a minuscule detail is altered. Imagination for the audience is contained within the reproduced product’s framework (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002, p. 100). Attention is redirected to the smallest

and insignificant details. The audience becomes disillusioned by believing that the most recent is something that is new, satisfying the never-ending appetite for novelty (Gunster, 2000).

Media products themselves are crippled due to the constraints that have been placed upon them by the producers who hope to reproduce an already profitable product. This standardized mode of production of the culture industry is what makes the audience illusory in its products (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002, p. 124). Metaphorically, sameness can be considered as Lego pieces which can be mixed and matched with the intention to assemble something different, where the standardized mode of production is the set of instructions that becomes the manual in creating the different forms of media. Although the components within it can be different, it is all still the same reproduction of a previously successful model. The new and economically successful forms of Korean media are then just a reproduction of something else that was successful before them. An argument could be made that hybridization with Western elements allowed Korean media to create a depiction of something new with big-budget Hollywood style K-films like *쉬리* (Swiri), or K-dramas, and K-pop. However, everything that subsequently falls within these new Korean media formats ends up perpetuating the sameness and standardized mode of production in the culture industry. Within K-pop for example, boy bands and girl groups are the most successful formula where their look and sound is homogeneous. They offer synchronized dance routines, contemporary R&B songs with a heavy beat and rapped bridge sections, and diverse members to hit different target markets (Maliangkay, 2015). The expenses that are spent in conspicuous production, such as labour, infrastructure, and wardrobe are to create an aura of prestigiousness for the culture industry. The value spent on the budget, however, has nothing to do with the meaning of the product itself (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1944, p. 97). Rather, it aims to distract the audience from their higher values through menial forms of amusement, where amusement and distraction from real-life issues are pushed as necessities to be desired by the catalyst of the culture industry: advertising.

4.2 Advertising and The Culture Industry

Through advertising, the culture industry maintains itself as the status quo, and the longer it does so, “the more it can do as it chooses the needs of the consumers – producing, controlling, disciplining them” (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002, p. 115). Not only has the culture industry been engrained in society, but it has also gotten to a point where the two have now merged where society and the culture industry support and maintain the values of one another. These values are then injected into the public by the dominant elites in power. For Horkheimer and Adorno (2002, p. 129), advertising acts as a modern form of propaganda, using the same philosophy as the *Fuhrer* did to lie and take control of the public. Although an important part of the culture industry, the most significant aspect of advertising is its ability to be insignificant. It has no meaning and purpose other than to provide legitimacy for the power of the culture industry where it is then able to saturate the market with its corresponding ideology, creating irrelevance to sociopolitical concerns (Bahri, 2011). There is an oppressive undertone as Horkheimer and Adorno once again drew comparisons to Nazi Germany by using Joseph Goebbels to illustrate advertising, “Goebbels presciently equated it, L'art pour L'art, advertising for advertising's sake, the pure representation of social power” (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002, p. 132). Essential but meaningless, advertising has become lazy. The sameness and the standardized mode of production that runs rampant in the culture industry makes its way into advertising like a virus.

“Advertising and the culture industry are merging technically no less than economically. In both, the same thing appears in countless places, and the mechanical repetition for the same cultural product is already that of the same propaganda slogan. In both, under the dictate of effectiveness, technique is becoming psychotechnique, a procedure for manipulating human beings. In both, the norms of the striking yet familiar, the easy but catchy, the worldly wise but straightforward hold good; everything is directed at overpower a customer conceived as distracted or resistant” (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002, p. 133).

The procedures and format of advertising all becomes the same. Likewise, as it is with the culture industry, it all becomes mechanical repetition or reproductions of an already existing economically successful model. Horkheimer and Adorno illustrated the importance of advertising for the culture industry, however, I would go even further to make the argument that advertising itself has become commodified. Through continuous capitalist expansion and maintenance of the culture industry as a status quo, the commodification of advertising was inevitable. No longer is it only legitimizing the culture industry, but it is legitimizing its own commodification process. Now, advertising has become part of the culture industry as mass culture, as it now acts as more than

just a catalyst in the commodification process, but also as a catalyst in transferring culture from one place to another in four ways:

- 1) **Creating exchange value.** This is what advertising was designed to do through the main process of commodifying cultural products, replacing use value with exchange value. The promotion of the product or service this is what Horkheimer and Adorno meant in characterizing advertising as the “elixir of life” (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002, p. 131) for the culture industry.
- 2) **Promoting itself.** The advertisements now have created exchange value for itself. It can be bought and sold to sell other products. Through new media technologies, they can be uploaded to media platforms such as YouTube, where if it becomes popular, the views it generates are used to promote other advertisements, generating profit for the producers. As a cultural product, advertisements are being produced with the purpose of maximizing its own exchange value. For example, Superbowl advertisements each year have become so popular that television shows are created just to show a montage of these advertisements.
- 3) **Promoting everything within itself.** Everything within mass culture is a commodity, and it is the same with advertising. It simultaneously promotes the actors, the setting, the music, and whatever that can be exposed to the audience alongside the main product or service it was designed to promote.
- 4) **Promoting a certain culture.** With the intertwining of culture and advertisements, promotion now characterises the social imagery of a certain culture. In terms of Indonesia, the usage of Koreanized elements in their advertising promotes Korean culture.

4.3 The Hallyu Culture Industry in Indonesia

The Korean state's policy in creating a culture industry combined with the import model which Indonesian media broadcasting companies have continuously relied upon has led to the massive popularization of Hallyu in Indonesia. In the past few years, Hallyu has flooded the Indonesian media landscape. For example, the number of Korean dramas imported in Indonesia per year has continuously increased (Jeong et al. 2017). Another factor as to why Hallyu was able to popularize and rival other media industries such as Hollywood can be explained through the cultural proximity theory where local audiences are more inclined to seek cultural relevance in their media consumption (Straubhaar, 1991). Indonesian audiences are not only able to relate to Korean media due to their close geographical location as East Asian countries, but also due to the urbanization and developments they have both experienced in their colonial pasts (Heryanto, 2010).

The growth of Hallyu can be characterized by two sections, Hallyu 1.0 and Hallyu 2.0 (Jin, 2016). Hallyu 1.0 started as the Korean state implemented the culture industry in 1997. The primary exports of the time were television dramas and films, both of which were imported to Indonesia. The transition to Hallyu 2.0 began through the advancements and increasing influence of smartphones and digital platforms in 2008. Audiences were then able to access Korean media content with ease. Platforms such as YouTube were able to distribute content on a global scale. Exports such as K-pop then began to popularize during this current Hallyu 2.0 era with examples like the viral sensation Gangnam Style, a K-pop song which, at the time of writing, has garnered over 3.7 billion views on YouTube. Certainly, Hallyu in Indonesia also followed the same development path. The driving force behind Hallyu in Indonesia originated from the popularization of Korean television dramas (Kim & Ryoo, 2007), where in the early 2000s, *Endless Love*, the first Korean television drama to be played on Indonesian television, reached 2.8 million viewers (Putri, 2013). This was followed by the broadcasting of other K-dramas in the mid-2000s such as *Full House* and the hugely popular *Winter Sonata*, which ran on multiple television stations (Nugroho, 2014). Then with the development of smartphones and its ability to access the Internet and digital platforms, Indonesians entered the new era of Hallyu 2.0 through the proliferation of K-pop music videos on YouTube (Jeong et al. 2017). Through Indonesia's weak intellectual property and copyright laws and the public's lack of awareness of the laws, Korean content was also attained through illegal distribution methods (Arli & Tjiptono, 2016). Through the Internet, Indonesians were either able to cheaply buy pirated Korean content or access and consume it for

free themselves. However, despite its easy access, Hallyu has also faced some challenges in Indonesia due to discordances with the Muslim religion.

As of the latest population census, the Indonesian population is made up of 95% Pribumi Indonesians, 3% Chinese Indonesians, and 2% a mixture of other non-Pribumi ethnic groups such as Dutch, African, and Indian-Indonesians. Moreover, 88% of Indonesians also identify themselves as Sunni Islam, with most being Pribumi (Na'im, Syaputra, Sumarwanto, & Iriantono, 2010). With approximately 225 million Muslims and as home to the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia's social and political realm is heavily dictated by Islamic values. Imports of foreign media in Indonesia have been in constant negotiation in terms of what is or what is not acceptable (Heryanto, 2015). For example, rated R or 18+ films are allowed entry into the country's media market but scenes that are highly violent or sexualized are censored from films as they are *haram* – forbidden by Islamic law. This negotiation is also happening with Korean media. Due to the sexualized nature in the depiction of K-pop groups (Maliangkay, 2015), instances have occurred where Korean content was censored and then adapted to adhere to Islamic values. In 2018, following a petition initiated by a Muslim Indonesian woman, an advertisement campaign consisting of the K-pop girl group, BLACKPINK was banned in 11 television stations due to its oversexualized nature. The advertisements were then recreated where the perceived sexualized bodies of the group members were replaced by cartoon illustrations (Coconuts.co, 2019). Nevertheless, the negotiation and adaptation of imported Korean media content have allowed Hallyu to still heavily popularize within the country. In a 2017 report provided by the Korean Trade-Investment Promotion Agency (KOTRA), Indonesia ranked a close second in their Hallyu Index (Table 1). A tool in which they use to measure the popularity of the Korean culture industry in foreign markets. In terms of social media reach, in a ranking of the number of unique authors discussing K-pop on Twitter, Indonesia ranked third behind Thailand and South Korea (ABS-CBN, 2020). Not only that, but Korean celebrities have also become public figures in Indonesia, to the point where teenagers and young adults across the country have shifted their lifestyles to follow the Korean celebrities they have seen on screen (Kaparang, 2013). Consumption of Korean media content has created an obsession of Korean celebrities in Indonesia that can be explained by the theory of celebrity worship. According to McCutcheon et al. (2002), the traits of celebrity worship: empathy, identification, obsession, and association are due to constant exposure. A study by Mandas and Susoro (2018), has also highlighted that regardless of gender, Korean celebrity worship has induced teenagers in Indonesia to mimic their Korean celebrity idols.

Table 1. Hallyu Index

Countries	Hallyu Index (2015)	Hallyu Index (2016)
Thailand	3.58	3.94
Indonesia	3.50	3.89
Malaysia	3.47	3.77
Taiwan	3.36	3.50
China	3.64	3.16
India	2.55	3.03
United Arab Emirates	3.22	3.02
Russia	2.50	2.78
Japan	2.61	2.60
United States of America	2.95	2.57

Korean Wave Index in 2015 and 2016. Source: KOTRA

The Indonesian market also continues to be a growing market for the Korean culture industry. In the 2018 Hallyu White Paper, the Indonesian market was identified to have the highest growth potential for the Korean webtoons (KOFICE, 2018). Through Hallyu, the Indonesian audience has now developed a taste for Korean media. Subsequently, through Korean media, they are also exposed to other aspects of Korean culture leading Indonesians to reach into their pockets and buy the products they see. This transition from media to product and cultural consumption is precisely the goal of the culture industry. It has created a desire and market for the commodified products of Korean culture. Through the appeal of Korean media, Indonesians show increasing interests in Korean cultural products, leading to eventually accepting such products as part of their daily lives (Nugroho, 2014).

Korea's shift towards the culture industry and the continuous import of Korean media by Indonesian private media broadcasters have led to the mass popularization of Hallyu in Indonesia. Naturally, as Korean media popularized within the country, so did its celebrities. This popularity, combined with the multifunctioning roles of advertising within the culture industry, is why I have chosen to focus my research on South Korean celebrity advertising in Indonesia. By doing so I will examine how Indonesian audiences are being exposed to Koreanization.

Chapter 5.

Research: South Korean Celebrity Advertising Campaigns in Indonesia

5.1 Research Question

Horkheimer and Adorno (2002), suggested that advertising is a significant part of the culture industry. Its significance is laid in its ability to be insignificant, perpetuating the sameness and standardized mode of production that ran rampant in the culture industry, where appreciation for creativity and respect for artists are replaced by the adoration of dull manufactured celebrities. Adding to this characterization of advertising, through an illustration of the four roles previously outlined, advertising as a whole can act as a catalyst in transferring culture from one place to another. In terms of Indonesia, their capitalist mindset and heavy import model has made them heavily import Korean content nowadays. As a result, Korean celebrities have popularized in Indonesia to the extent where it is as if that they are worshipped by their Indonesian fans (Mandas & Susoro, 2012). In the true profit-seeking fashion of capitalism, Korean advertising has also increased in Indonesia – promoting Korean culture as a culture industry. Due to these reasons, this study will conduct an in-depth content analysis on Korean Celebrity television advertisement in Indonesia by Indonesian ran companies from 2015-2020 in order to answer the question: How are Korean values expressed through advertising in Indonesia? And which of these values are relied upon the most? The framework for the study will originate from Barbara Mueller's framework of analyzing Westernization in Japanese advertising (1992). Elements of Westernization will be modified to fit my study in defining and identifying Korean elements. In the discussion section, the answer to these questions will be related to how the elements have manifested in real-life aspect in Indonesia. Furthermore, it will explore what Koreanization in Indonesia means in terms of cultural translation using theories of cultural imperialism and cultural hybridization.

5.2 Methodology

To identify the level of Koreanization that is happening through the advertisements, an in-depth analysis was conducted on Indonesian advertisements produced between 2015-2020 that used South Korean celebrities. To help specify, I purposely chose to use Korean celebrities as a preliminary baseline to find advertisements with Korean elements. Moreover, this would also allow

me to make the connection between the popularization of Korean media and advertising in Indonesia. The timeframe was chosen to provide a more recent timeframe in the popularization of Korean media as well as to accommodate the limitations in my access to the advertisements. There were difficulties in obtaining Indonesian television advertisements, so this analysis is therefore limited by my resources. The advertisements were compiled from *Iklan TVCoMM*, a non-profit subsidiary of *Elang Corporation Indonesia*. The organization has an accessible online archive of television advertising circulated in Indonesia from 2015 to 2020. Their online archive is considered to be a virtual museum of the advertisements which can be accessed either from their website or through YouTube. The availability of these advertisements is also an example of Hallyu 2.0 in action as digital platforms play a role in the distribution of content. Upon finding the advertisements through this online archive, multiple ads from the same company using the same celebrities were treated as one advertising campaign. For example, all Tokopedia advertisements which used BTS were all compiled together and considered as one. In total there were a total of 10 television advertising campaigns which were put in order by year (Table 2). Each was either a combination of ads or standalone videos that span from 15 to 30 seconds long, with some outliers that were longer.

Table 2. Sample of Advertising Campaigns

Date	Celebrities	Advertised Product
2016	<i>Lee Min Ho</i>	<i>Kopi Luwak</i>
2017	<i>Gong Yoo</i>	<i>ASUS Zenfone 4</i>
2018	<i>Kim Bora</i>	<i>Korean Body Glow</i>
2018	<i>BLACKPINK</i>	<i>Shopee</i>
2019	<i>G-Friend</i>	<i>Shopee</i>
2019	<i>WINNER</i>	<i>Oreo Indonesia</i>
2019	<i>NCT Lucas</i>	<i>Neo Coffee</i>
2019-2020	<i>Choi Siwon</i>	<i>Mie Sedaap</i>
2019-2020	<i>BTS</i>	<i>Tokopedia</i>
2020	<i>NCT 127</i>	<i>NU Green Tea</i>

Content analysis was then conducted by using the categorization framework provided by Muller's (1992) study. In her study, Mueller identified and analyzed elements of Westernization in Japanese advertisements. Similar studies that use Muller's (1992) Westernization research framework were done on Westernization in Indian advertising (Sengupta & Firth, 1997), and on

Westernization in Taiwanese advertising (Wang, 1993). These studies adapted Westernization and applied it into different target countries. Contrastingly, this study identifies Korean culture industry as the penetrating power towards Indonesia. Therefore, as the source of the culture industry has been shifted from the West to Korea, identification and analysis has also changed from Western to Korean elements. In addition, to make the model more relevant to this study, some elements were added and modified. A total of six elements were identified:

Korean Celebrity Aesthetics. The promotion of Korean celebrities or models subsequently promotes the ideal Korean aesthetics. Examples of these would include porcelain-fair skin, colourful dyed hair, and *joomuk mahn han*, which describes how beautiful faces are supposed to be small in size.

Korean Language. The spoken Korean language or the written *Hangul* (Korean text) anywhere in the advertisement. Whether it be as a headline, a tag line, or text incorporated into the product itself.

Korean Gestures. Nonverbal expressions which are used often in Korean society. These gestures are communication methods where the meaning attached is understood due to popular knowledge.

Korean Media. Other forms of Hallyu that can be identified and therefore promoted in the advertisements. An example of this would be the audio implementation of K-pop music.

Korean Settings. The existence of landmarks and monuments that places the advertisement in Korea, whether it be physical or through computer-generated images.

Korean Modified Artifacts. Identification of products which are either Indonesian products which have been modified with Korean components or Indonesian made Korean products.

Analysis of the advertisements was then coded through the identification of symbols using the above Korean elements. Coding of the Korean symbols were made possible through an in-depth content analysis which was supported through literature and my own exposure to Korean content. Both the audio and visual aspect of the advertisements were examined. In coding the Korean Celebrity Aesthetic and Appearance, the symbols that were identified were based on the nuanced appearances of Korean celebrities highlighted by Pradini (2018) and Kim (2012). Coding for *Korean Language* was done through the identification of spoken and written Korean text, while Korean monuments and landmarks were identified as symbols of Korean Settings. Identification of Korean Gestures and Korean Media symbols were possible due to my continual consumption

of Korean media. One element which was tailored specifically for this study was Korean Modified Artifacts, which are the creation of the hybridization between Korean and Indonesian products.

The results will then be discussed in relation to the culture industry, more specifically to the existence of sameness in the advertisements, which will identify the elements that are relied upon in the advertisements' standardized mode of production. Furthermore, a discussion will pertain as to how the Korean elements have translated to real-life situations in Indonesia, and move on to assess what Koreanization in Indonesia means in the larger scheme of cultural relations between the two countries.

5.3 Limitations

Limitations in the study exist as this most of the symbols for the elements were identified through a subjective lens based on my own exposure to Korean media content, as Mueller (1992) did as well when she identified the symbols for her Westernization elements. Moreover, during the data collection process, the advertisements which were gathered were limited to those that were available to me through the chosen online archive. The sample size itself was quite small as Korean advertising campaigns in Indonesia are only starting to increase in production, which is evident in the study with only one being produced in 2016 in comparison to the five that produced in 2019 (Table 2).

5.4 Results

As this study focused on the transfer and promotion of Korean elements through television advertisements, categories such as gender, production company, budget, and product category were irrelevant to the outcome. Therefore, these mentioned categories were not included in the data gathering and data analysis process.

The total sample of 10 advertising campaigns was coded by July 28th, 2020. Table 3 has listed a brief description of the symbols which were coded for each category of Korean elements.

Table 3. Description of Coded Symbols

Korean Elements	Symbols
Korean Aesthetic	dyed hair, porcelain white skin, joomuk mahn han,
Korean Language	written Korean text, spoken Korean words, Korean slangs
Korean Gestures	finger hearts, linking of arms to make hearts,
Korean Media	K-drama narrative, K-pop music
Korean Settings	Namsan Tower, Gyeongbokgung Palace, Seoul
Korean Modified Artifacts	Indonesian products with Korean elements, Indonesian made Korean products

Table 4. Proportion of Coded Korean Elements Used in Korean Celebrity Advertising Campaigns in Indonesia

Korean Elements	Frequency of Each Korean Element
Korean Aesthetic	10/10
Korean Language	7/10
Korean Gestures	6/10
Korean Media	5/10
Korean Settings	3/10
Korean Modified Artifacts	2/10

From the selected elements of Koreanization that were examined (Table 4), The Korean Celebrity Aesthetic was identified in all 10 advertising campaigns. As expected, Korean celebrities used in those advertisements were promoted in their best appearance. In seven of those advertising campaigns, the Korean Language was identified, while six campaigns incorporated the use of Korean Gestures. Surprisingly, although Korean media content plays such a big part in the popularization of Hallyu in Indonesia, the usage of other Korean Media forms was found in only five out of the 10 advertising campaigns examined. Korean Settings and Korean Modified Artifacts were less prominent but were still identified in three out of the 10 and two out of the 10 advertising campaigns, respectively.

5.5. Discussion

5.5.1. Standardization and Sameness

To provide the connection between the Korean elements in the advertisements with Koreanization of Indonesia in the country. This section will not only discuss how these advertisements relate to the standardized mode of production and the sameness of cultural products in the culture industry, but will also take the identified Korean elements and see how it exists in Indonesian daily life. Also, the overall translation of culture in the Koreanization of Indonesia will be examined through the theories of cultural imperialism and cultural hybridization.

The replication of the Korean elements in the study which were identified in multiple of the sample advertising campaigns solidified the argument that Korean advertising in Indonesia has followed the “sameness” characteristic of the culture industry that was illustrated by Horkheimer and Adorno (2002). Symbols of Korean elements in one advertisement were repeated and used again or slightly modified in another. To use an example from the results of the study, both the *WINNER Oreo Indonesia* (2019) and the *NCT 127 NU Green Tea* (2020) campaign share the same Korean Celebrity Aesthetic of fair skin and coloured hair. There were however minor distinctions between the two such as differences in the hair colour and style. This illusion of distinction aims to manipulate those who were more resistant to the culture industry through catchy and striking variances that are different on the surface but the same in its foundation. Style in the culture industry, according to Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) has become menial forms of variances. It has become not something to be proud of but inferior work, a failure which has neutralized culture. The interchangeability of style works due to the standardized mode of production. Even if the advertising campaigns in the study all use Korean celebrities to promote their product, they do not have to repeatedly use the same symbols. However, as the study has proven, repetition has become the status quo, subsequently falling in line with the culture industry and becoming mechanical reproductions of each other. Everything within the advertisement was constructed in a way where each action or symbol was chosen because they are able to maximize profits. The façade of the culture industry can even, construct something to be accidental just so it can be recognized as accidental (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002). It uses techniques such as authenticity work, in which authenticity was clearly constructed in an effort to appear genuine (Peterson, 2005). To use another example from the results of the study, the *BLACKPINK Shopee* (2018) and the *BTS Tokopedia* (2019-2020) campaigns consisted of advertisements, where for them to appeal to the Indonesian audience, the celebrities would put an effort to make it seem

like they were using the product they were promoting, albeit holding up turned off generic smartphones with *Tokopedia* or *Shopee* digitally superimposed on the blank screens. Standardization has become vital for the culture industry as it allows ensuing productions to be reabsorbed to the universal. Although *BLACKPINK* and *BTS* are two different music acts consisting of different performers, “individuality is tolerated only as far as their wholehearted identity with the universal is beyond question” (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2012). They are unequivocally still categorized as K-pop groups, following the same standardized model while also maintaining “sameness” in the advertisements they have been a part of. Advertising campaigns that use *BLACKPINK* or *BTS* could very well use another K-pop group, and Indonesian audiences would very much still be encapsulated. This is specifically what standardization in the culture industry is.

5.5.2. Advertisement as Mass Culture and Reality Intertwined

Identification of what Korean elements are being promoted in the selected advertisements is to understand what Horkheimer and Adorno (2012) meant when they indicated that in the culture industry, mass culture and reality are intertwined, strengthening each other. Promotion of Korean elements in these advertisements maintain the continuous usage of the same elements in Indonesian daily life.

Korean Celebrity Aesthetics. In the pursuit to look more like the Korean celebrities they see, skin whitening products such as *Korean Glow* are being bought by Indonesian consumers. Beauty products have become a major export for Korea to Indonesia. Brands such as *Nature Republic* has had their sales increase from around \$3.5M USD in 2014 to around \$10M USD in 2017 (Pradini, 2018). In more extreme instances, Indonesians are going on cosmetic surgery tours to Korea, where they pay a package which includes surgery, accommodation, and recovery. (Purwacahyani, 2017). The barometer of beauty in Indonesia is now measured by how Korean you can look.

Example from the sample of advertising campaigns in this study: Kim Bora and Korea Glow Body Wash (2018).

Korean Language. Exposure to Korean media has familiarized Indonesian citizens with Korean words and phrases which could commonly be used in K-drama dialogues or heard in K-pop songs. Familiarity with the language has culminated in a very peculiar way. Korean text and phrases were used in a demonstration protest for fair election laws in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta (Kompas, 2019). The number of Korean language schools is also increasing in the city, proving

the desire for Indonesians to learn the language (Dini, 2020). It is as if in the perspective of the Indonesian people, becoming like Korea is the next step of social development.

Example from the sample of advertising campaigns in this study: NCT127 and NU Green Tea (2020).

Korean Gestures. More so than the language, Indonesians are also using the same gestures they see. Meanings behind certain gestures which originated from Korea has been translated into Indonesian culture. In Indonesian daily life and even in Indonesian media, Korean gestures such as making finger hearts have become common. In a more specific example, Indonesian teenagers are imitating Korean celebrities, modelling not only their aesthetic and language but also their gestures and mannerisms as well (Kaparang, 2013).

Example from the sample of advertising campaigns in this study: NCT Lucas and Neo Coffee (2019).

Korean Media. Early import policies have led to the continuous demand for Korean media content. From Korean music to dramas and entertainment shows, the number of Korean broadcast programs being exported to Indonesia has continuously grown (Jeong et al., 2017). Besides that, new Indonesian produced content is emulating their Korean counterpart to compete in their own market. Not only through imports, but through the Internet, Indonesians can access Korean media content for free due to Indonesia's weak piracy laws (Oh & Lee, 2013).

Example from the sample of advertising campaigns in this study: BLACKPINK and Shopee (2018).

Korean Settings. Promotion of Korean settings in Korean media have significantly boosted the Korean tourism industry. Thematic destination places are being created to be used by Korean dramas, where they then can become tourist destinations (Asrori & Supriyanto, 2019). Indonesians who consume media content like dramas see these places and are then attracted to live out their Korean fantasies. The numbers of Indonesian tourists to Korea has reached hundreds of thousands per year, and is still increasing (Pramita & Harto, 2019). As visiting Korea can be expensive, an alternative to those that cannot afford international travel are available. Korean spaces like the *Gangnam Complex* in Bekasi are being created to mimic Korean areas where Indonesians can visit and experience Korea in their own country (Shin, 2017).

Example from the sample of advertising campaigns in this study: Lee Min Ho and Kopi Luwak (2016).

Korean Modified Artifacts. To capitalize on the profitable Hallyu wave, Indonesian companies are creating products which are marketed to be Korean. Whether it be Indonesian products which are then modified to be Korean, such as *Mie Sedaap Spicy Korean Chicken Flavour* or Korean products that are manufactured in Indonesia for Indonesians like *Baram Soju*, more and more Koreanized products are being sold and bought into Indonesia. If Indonesian companies do not do this, they will continuously lose consumers to Korean manufacturers as Indonesians now prefer Korean products over Indonesian ones (Simbar, 2016).

Example from the sample of advertising campaigns in this study: Choi Siwon and Mie Sedaap (2019-2020)

Hallyu has led to the popularization of Korean celebrities in Indonesia. Advertisements as mass media in the culture industry have produced images which mirror reality. At the same time, what is being produced in reality is being dictated by what the advertisements promote. The two work hand in hand in a perpetual cycle, continuously lifting each other up. Therefore, because of this cycle, Koreanization in Indonesia continues to increase as a whole. The desire is then to become as Korean as possible in all aspects, disregarding previous Indonesian norms and Indonesian culture.

5.5.3. Cultural Imperialism & Cultural Hybridization

Taking a more macro perspective, in the larger scheme of global cultural flow, the interactions between Korea and Indonesia can be assessed through two contrasting approaches. Development between the two countries have grown at different rates. In terms of global penetration, Korea's culture ranks much higher than Indonesia's. It is then not illogical to say that one is simply more dominant than the other. Power relations in culture flow is what theorists of cultural imperialism concentrated on. The term cultural imperialism was coined by Herbert Schiller in 1976, where he defined it as:

the sum of processes by which a society is brought into the modern world-system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominant centre of the system. (Schiller, 1976, p.9)

Cultural imperialism highlights the influence of the dominant centre of the global system. This dominant centre was the United States of America. However, as this paper has focused on the translation of culture between two countries rather than the world as a whole, the role of the

dominant centre is then replaced by the relatively more dominant country. Here, the power relations being assessed are not between the dominant centre (United States) and the rest of the world, but between the more dominant country (South Korea) and the weaker one (Indonesia). Due to strong government policies, Korea has grown its culture industry to a point where it can have massive influence in countries like Indonesia. According to Sengupta and Firth (1997), cultural imperialism exists when there is a dependency on the dominant country. This is proven to be true in the case of Indonesia where they are dependent on Korean content and even Korean products for Indonesian companies to maximize their profit to fulfil the demands of the Indonesian public. Hallyu has then flooded the Indonesian market, exposing Indonesian audiences to Korean content and products, slowly reshaping Indonesian culture. The Indonesian public is becoming more and more inclined to be like the individuals they see on the Korean media content they consume. Additionally, even when they are not consuming Korean media, they are being constantly bombarded by advertising which also promotes the same Korean elements. Indonesians are trading in their local culture by using Korean gestures and language, replicating Korean spaces, consuming Korean products, and altering their own products to become more Korean. The goal for Indonesians is then to not only look Korean but to an extent for the country itself to be as Korean as possible in every aspect imaginable.

Dal Yong Jin (2007), points out the criticism over simply labelling the influence of Korean culture as cultural imperialism, stating, “Korean creative industries are staging their own version of cultural imperialism by expanding into neighbouring Asian markets” as a form of “reverse or counter-cultural imperialism... to the East and South Asian regions...the process remains complex, however, because the U.S still dominates the Korean cultural market through both cultural products and capital.” (Jin, 756). The looming power of the United States cannot just be simply ignored in assessing power relations. Although certain aspects of cultural imperialism can be identified in the translation of culture between South Korea and Indonesia, it cannot serve as the only explanation.

The focus in assessment can then be shifted from power relations to what the outcome of cultural flow is. Cultural hybridization emphasized the construction of a new culture or cultural product in the mixing of two different cultures. Jin (2016) defined it as,

The homogenization process regardless of the mix of two different cultures as a result of a Western-driven simple fusion, the creation of a unique local culture, transforming indigenized local culture to the level of modern and mundane global culture [...] in the realm of popular culture and digital technologies, hybridization or hybridity mostly refers

to the construction of new culture that emerges from the interweaving of elements (Jin, 2016, p.13).

Cultural flow from South Korea to Indonesia has homogenized the culture of the two countries. In the perspective of cultural hybridization, homogenization is creating a new culture that is neither only Korean nor Indonesian. Although it is unique to the region and its people, this new culture is the byproduct of Western driven capitalization and globalization, where similar instances are also happening in other countries around the world. Cultural hybridization was able to occur in Indonesia as Korean culture became popularized through the media. Indonesia has imported Korean content, and, not only that, have even gone as far as “renting” intellectual capital for local content, adapting and stealing television formats, as they have done so in previous instances with other countries (Kitley, 2004). Indonesian produced media content with Korean formats are one example of products in this new culture. Spaces become *Gangnam District* in Bekasi and products become *Baram Soju* where they are both Korean and Indonesian at the same time. New methods of communication have also emerged where language and gestures from the two countries can be understood in both places. Elements of Indonesian and Korean culture have hybridized together, creating a new culture in Indonesia.

Chapter 6.

Conclusion and Recommendations

It becomes imperative to then examine who initiated the culture flow between Korea and Indonesia examined in this study. South Korea has indeed created policies to focus on exporting its culture industry in the form of media to Indonesia. In other words, South Korea has imposed their more dominant culture to a weaker one, which follows the theory of cultural imperialism. However, it is also true that Indonesia was willing to import Korean media and then implement Korean elements into their market to maximize profit, creating hybridized cultural products and therefore creating a hybridized culture in the country. As there are many intricacies and complexities, cultural flow is not binary, it can have aspects of both cultural imperialism and cultural hybridization.

The importance of this paper is to recognize the power of the culture industry in its ability to saturate a market with its ideologies. The Indonesian market has been saturated by the Korean culture industry creating the phenomenon of Koreanization in Indonesia. For Indonesia to ramp up its own culture industry and overpower Korea is an impossible task. The Indonesian public has already grown accustomed to elements of Korean culture. Indonesian companies are then also importing and creating their own Korean cultural products in their pursuit of profit maximization. Indonesia is already too reliant on Korea. This not necessarily something to be feared, but if left unchecked, there exists a threat where Indonesian culture could then be drowned out and erased. Indonesian culture has and will continue to be changed. However, in recognizing how the country has reached this point of Koreanization, Indonesia can learn to build its own culture. Just enough so that it can still continue to exist simultaneously with not only Korean culture but other dominant cultures as well, whether it be in the present or the future. If not, Indonesians are in danger to repeat a similar past under colonialism, where the identity and culture of the Indonesian people could be erased by a more dominant nation.

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