

# Look South: New Direction of South Korean Cultural Content Export post-THAAD's Ban

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**Abstract:** State-led development and synergy with *chaebols* have been the most prominent features of South Korean government since the dictatorship of Park Chung-Hee. Even after the new wave of democracy engulfed the country, this feature remained, albeit much less restrictive. These characteristics are also reflected in Korean cultural policy, which was also used as one of the main export engines since the 90s. Cultural content export, despite newly-established, has been tremendously profitable for both states and corporations in South Korea. It has consistently increased in export rate and sales in the last decade. However, in 2016, Chinese government announced ban for cultural content export from South Korea, making both government and corporations of South Korea were scrambling to look for a new market for its export. Hence, they started to enhance their export to Southeast Asian countries as the new lucrative market they can aim at. This paper aims to highlight the political-economy of Hallyu and underline the synergy between state's cultural policy and corporations' marketing strategy in Southeast Asian countries post-THAAD ban by China. In order to limit the research, it focuses on the expansion of Hallyu in Thailand and Indonesia post-THAAD ban. It employs a descriptive method to explain and validate the link between state policy and corporation's marketing strategy. The findings show the correlation between THAAD ban and the increase of Hallyu expansion in Southeast Asia, as indicated by growing list of events in both Indonesia and Thailand.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

*Hallyu* (Korean Wave) refers to cultural wave which include entertainment, music, and lifestyle from South Korea (hereafter, Korea). The birth of *Hallyu* can be credited to the cooperation between government and business entities in South Korea. The team-up between government and business companies is commonly known as one of economic development models called "political-business" (Schmidt, 2011; Wad, 2011), "state-capitalism" (Lim, 1988), or specifically to Korea case: "Korean Inc" (Lee & Han, 2006). Mimicking Japan's economic development model with *zaibatsu*, South Korea under Park Chung-Hee developed a similar state capitalism model by reaching out to *chaebols* and their giant corporations to boost Korean economic. Albeit Lee and Han (2006) argued that this development state model had extinct along with Asian Crash 1998 and IMF's structural adjustment in South Korea, in this paper we argue that this state capitalism model has been pretty much alive and has extended to cultural policy as well.

At first, cultural content export was conducted as one of the Korean government's policies to solve economic trouble post Asia Crisis 1997, which was ironically worsened by the giant corporations themselves (Wad, 2011). This export then contributed to the country tremendously, both in terms of post-crisis economic improvement and national reputation. It was estimated that the extended *Hallyu*-related industries (including products' endorsement by *Hallyu* stars for various products, from skin care to food) contributed to 20-30% of GDP (Oh, 2018).

Korean government is often credited as one of the success factors in the global expansion of *Hallyu*. Lee (2012) posited that culture is significantly related to capital accumulation and enhancement of national image. For those reasons, Korean government initiated a series of cultural policies, started from Kim Young-Sam era to Park Geun-Hye era. Over the years, the government has established Ministry of Culture to oversee culture development and some government-affiliated agencies like Korea Creative Content Agency (KOCCA), Korea Broadcasting Institution (KBI), and Korean Film Council

(KOFIC). Those agencies then cooperate with business corporations in South Korea, in which most of them are *chaebols*, and further accentuate politics-business relationship as the prominent model in Korea economics. Each president has their own policy, yet those were aligned and directed toward the development of cultural industry. Therefore, Korea's advanced cultural industry cannot be separated from the central role of government support through a series of regulations, infrastructure, and funding. Jun (2017) stated that currently we live in the fourth stage of Hallyu (Hallyu 4.0), which is called K-Ubiquity. She marked this stage as the signal of spreading cultural wave at the state level and government institution, particularly in China and Southeast Asia.

Chart 1.1 below showed that cultural content export has been substantially climbing up from 2012 to 2016, started from USD 46.1 million to USD 63.1 million. The largest export value is recorded by game (54.6%), while publishing recorded the largest total sale number (19.6%). Moreover, cultural content sales recorded USD 87.1 billion earning in 2016, despite showing a fluctuating number of sales between 2012 and 2016. The largest sales were recorded by publishing (19.6%) and broadcasting (16.5%). However, we chose to focus on Korean pop music, based on the consideration that most people recognized either Korean pop music or Korean drama if they were asked about "Hallyu contents" (Pratamasari, 2014).

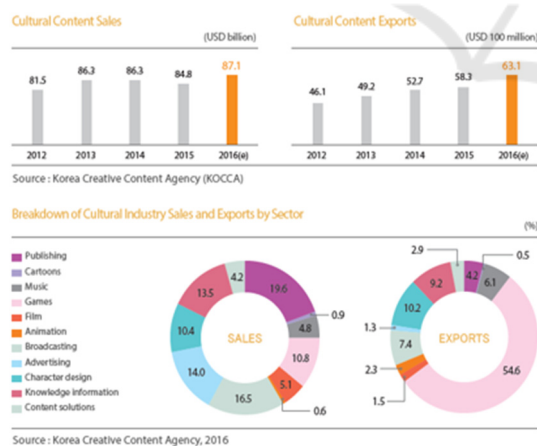


Chart 1.1. Cultural Content Export of Korea in Global Scale (KOCCA, 2016)

The cooperation between Korean government and Korean companies which sell cultural contents extends from erasing TV censorship, holding events with government-affiliated organization and ministries, and encouraging cultural content export

as one of state development strategies Korean companies (Otmazgin and Ben-Ari, 2012).

Market liberalization which made way to liberalized cultural content export came along with enactment of GATT regulation for its members to open their market in media communication and culture. Korean government then obliged to it by enforcing new Motion Picture Law to ease film production and its contents (Shim, 2008). Korean *chaebols*, who were part of the Korean Inc, took the cues and established subsidiaries related to cultural content productions, not just film. In terms of selling pop music, as Hallyu expands, more entertainment agencies focusing on producing singers or idols emerge. Producing singers or idol groups are considered as lucrative business (Kim, 2012), as the companies could reap huge profit by selling the singers/idols' music and goods and getting some product endorsement for them. Similar to drama or film production, music and entertainment industries also get the same treatment and ease in expanding their business by Korean government. Evidently, government-affiliated agencies like KOCCA repeatedly holds various events to promote K-pop singers overseas (Lee, 2017; Kontan.co.id, 2017). Hence, this paper argues that the link between government's policy and agencies' marketing strategies remain strong, and even get stronger post-THAAD blockage from China.

## 2 HALLYU IN CHINA AND CRISIS CAUSED BY THAAD

One of the main partners for their cultural content export is China. Both countries officially established a diplomatic tie in 1992, yet their cultural trade only started in late 1990. Politically, South Korea and China has always been courteous and economic cooperation in various fields has been conducted.

However, THAAD installment in 2016 was heavily criticized by China based on two arguments, because China argued it may reach China and China considered the system to be ineffective to prevent any missile attack from Pyongyang (Salah et al., 2017). This refusal led to an unofficial sanction by Chinese government against Korea in trade, which encompasses import restrictions, or even blockage, against goods and services from Korea, particularly Korea's cultural content export, such as music and television programs. For instance, several programs involving Korean pop music and actors were cancelled or postponed indefinitely and without a

justified reason. Besides, China Central Television (CCTV), broadcasting channel of Chinese government, officially stated that the Chinese government bans the broadcast of South Korean programs and other forms of cultural content exports, including online game sales and consumer products (cosmetics, food, and vehicles) (Jun, 2017).

Not long after the ban was in effect, food exports from South Korea to China recorded a decline by 5.6% on March 2017, while Hyundai and Kia also declared that their sales to China declined by 52% on March 2017 (Meick and Salidjanova, 2017). Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism conducted a survey on economic loss post-THAAD among domestic companies in South Korea and found that 35.3 percent of them concurred that they suffered from loss due to THAAD (Cho, 2017).

The ban also hit the companies related to cultural industries. Prior to THAAD, cultural content exports value in China were amounted to ₩6.21 billion, or equal to USD 5.52 billion, in 2016. It was an increase of 9.7% from the previous year (Korea Herald, 2017). Furthermore, Hallyu also bring about a tremendous impact for Chinese people trade. In 2014, for instance, a drama titled 'My Love from the Star' portrayed some scenes of food called *chi-mek* (fried chicken and beer). It then became a trendsetter for *chi-mek* sales in local friend chicken stores in China, which could reap a leap in income until ¥3,000, or equal to \$431,667 (Lin, 2014). Korean cosmetic brands were also flocking in Chinese market. According to China Daily, Korean cosmetics reigned in cosmetics import in China with 41% (Schmidt, 2016).

### 3 HALLYU IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Hallyu was present in Southeast Asian market in the late 1990s. Unlike East Asian market, like China, Taiwan and Japan in which music and performance led the entry of Hallyu, in Southeast Asia, K-drama led the entry of Hallyu (Suh, et.al, 2013). Many Korean content experienced global commercial success in Southeast Asia. Hallyu first entered Southeast Asia market in 1997 in Vietnam, year 2000 in Malaysia and Indonesia, and year 2001 in Thailand.

This paper focuses on two Hallyu market in Southeast Asia, Thailand and Indonesia, as two of the main Hallyu's targeted markets in Southeast Asia. Moreover, both countries also have similar level of GDP and purchasing power. Indonesia and Thailand ranked as first and second at list of ASEAN countries

by GDP according to IMF (2018). Indonesia has GDP Nominal per capita \$4,051; while Thailand reached \$6,992. The number of GDP per capita shows potential market for Hallyu. On the other hand, Hallyu is unexpectedly famous in those two countries. As a result, Jakarta and Bangkok become the required destinations of events, like concert or fan-meeting. Fans from Indonesia and Thailand also willingly buy physical album and merchandises of their idols. Indonesian youngsters, for instance, according to Kapanlagi.com (2018) stated that a devoted Hallyu fans approximately spend IDR 7,050,000 per year just to enjoy concerts in and outside the country, as well as to buy official and fan-site merchandise, idol product, internet quota, album and fans donation. The result is based on the interview with some fans of some idol groups under SM Entertainment (although the results may vary depend on the idols). Meanwhile, in Thailand, Suh, et.al, (2013) found that in entry path of Hallyu differs from other Southeast Asian countries and that it was more government-led. In 2001, a Korean organization under Korean government held a performance of Korean singers in Thailand which led to exports of Korean movies and drama in 2002 (Suh, et.al., 2013). This can be seen that Hallyu market in Thailand opened by the government itself and amplified by the companies.

### 4 IN INDONESIA

Hallyu was first encountered Indonesia since the early 2000s. Like the spread of Hallyu in most countries, Hallyu in Indonesia was also preceded by Korean dramas on national television. Drama 'Mother's Sea' in 2002 aired on Indosiar started the popularity of Korean dramas in Indonesia. Furthermore, the drama "Endless Love" was also aired and able to reach at least 2.8 million viewers. In 2005, drama "Full House" was aired and the main casts' popularities soared, especially Rain's popularity. As a result, JYP Entertainment as Rain's agency held the first concert of South Korean singer (and Indonesia was the only country listed in concert tour) in Indonesia. Years later, under the same label with Rain, 2PM also held its inaugural concert in Jakarta. In 2011, SM Entertainment followed JYP by holding a Super Junior concert. In 2012, SM Entertainment held a big concert titled "SMTown Concert" in Indonesia. These concerts served as the beginning of South Korean artist concert and fan meeting in Indonesia in the following years (Lee 2016).

However, events like concert and fan meetings in Indonesia have not been widely held, particularly prior to THAAD ban. We listed in Table 1.1 that from October 2015 to November 2016 alone, only 10 concerts and fan meeting were held in Jakarta. The celebrities were already widely popular in Indonesia. After China blocked Korean contents post-THAAD, the number of concert and fan meetings are doubled. There are about 18 events held, from April 2017 to July 2018 in Indonesia. More Korean entertainment agencies hold their events in Indonesia. From the government-related organization, KOCCA, it only held two festivals in Jakarta. However, after the blockade, it even held a festival in another city, Surabaya.

More Korean entertainment agencies hold their events in Indonesia. From the government-related organization, KOCCA, it only held two festivals in Jakarta. However, after the blockade, it even held a festival in another city, Surabaya. If we look closer to the table, we can conclude that before the blockade, most events were held by major entertainment companies that placed Top Ten Entertainment companies in South Korea, such as SM Entertainment, YG Entertainment, and JYP Entertainment (Yoon, 2017). Only two of the events are held by minor companies, namely Fantagio and Coridel Entertainment. After the blockade, there was an apparent increase in events held by minor companies, including Blossom Entertainment, BG Entertainment and YMC Entertainment seek opportunities to expand their music market in Indonesia. Hence, it indicates that Southeast Asia became Hallyu companies' market after China's ban.

On the other hand, the government also notices market opportunity in Indonesia. The government, along with KOCCA, held K- Content Expo in August 2017 at Jakarta and involved more than 40 creative content companies. In this event, SM Entertainment played role as exhibitor, meanwhile KBS Media and CJ E&M exhibited most popular TV Contents (Kontan.co.id, 2017). To attract more visitors, KOCCA with Korean Broadcasting System, national television in South Korea held "KBS Music Bank", a concert which was attended by popular Korean pop artists such as EXO, NCT 127 and B.A.P.

Table 1.1: Number of KPOP Concert and Fanmeeting in Indonesia

No.	Time/Date	Events	Events' Holders
<b>Pre-THAAD ban (before 26 FEBRUARY 2017)</b>			
1	1 Oktober 2015	Korea Festival by KOCCA, Jakarta	Korean Cultural Content Agency
2	15 November 2015	2015 Infinite 2nd World Tour: Infinite Effect	Woolim Entertainment
3	28 November 2015	GOT7 1st Fanmeeting in Indonesia	JYP Entertainment
4	2 Januari 2016	Kyuhyun, Ryeowook, Yesung (KRY) Sub-unit Super Junior	SM Entertainment
5	29 April 2016	BTS The Wings Tour in Jakarta	BigHit Entertainment
6	23 Juli 2016	KPOP World Festival by KCC Indonesia	Korean Cultural Content Agency
7	20 Agustus 2016	Seventeen	Pledis Entertainment
8	3 September 2016	IKON	YG Entertainment
9	22 Oktober 2016	Astro Fanmeeting	Fantagio Entertainment
10	19 November 2016	2016 Jessica Fan Meeting	Coridel Entertainment
<b>Post-THAAD ban (after 26 February 2017)</b>			
1	29 April 2017	The Wings Tour: 2017 BTS Live Trilogy Episode III in Jakarta	BigHit Entertainment
2	20 Mei 2017	2017 Lee Dong Wook Fan Meeting Asia Tour Jakarta	Kingkong (Starship) Entertainment
3	15 Juli 2017	CNBLUE Asia Tour Between Us in Jakarta	FNC Entertainment
4	29 Juli 2017	2017 VIXX Fan Meeting in Jakarta	Jellyfish Entertainment
5	26 Agustus 2017	DAY 6 Live & Meet in Jakarta 2017	JYP Entertainment



6	2 September 2017	Music Bank in Jakarta (Gfriend, NCT, Astro, EXO, etc.)	SM Entertainment, Fantagio Entertainment
7	3 September 2017	G-Dragon 2017 World Tour – ACT III, M.O.T.T.E ‘Moment of Truth The End’ in Jakarta	YG Entertainment
8	23 September 2017	2017 Seventeen 1st World Tour “Diamond Edge in Jakarta”	Pledis Entertainment
9	14 Oktober 2017	Taeyang 2017 World Tour White Night in Jakarta	YG Entertainment
10	13 November 2017	Park Bo Gum Fanmeeting in Jakarta	Blossom Entertainment
11	25 November 2017	Saranghaeyo Indonesia (Taeyang, Akdong Musician, Nell, etc.)	MECIMA (Promotor)
12	4 Maret 2018	Korea Festival, Surabaya	Korean Cultural Content Agency
13	7 April 2018	BJB 1st Concert: Joyful Days in Jakarta	Fave Entertainment (CJ E&M)
14	14 April 2018	Wild Kard Tour in Asia: Indonesia	DSP Media
15	12 Mei 2018	14U in Jakarta	BG Entertainment
16	12 Mei 2018	NU’EST W Concert: Double You in Jakarta	Pledis Entertainment
17	30 Juni 2018	GOT 7	JYP Entertainment
18	15 Juli 2018	Wanna One World Tour. One: The World	YMC Entertainment

Meanwhile, SM Entertainment as one of the largest entertainment company in South Korea also become more eager to spread its market globally. Lee Soo-man, the founder of SM Entertainment,

presented a project called “SMTOWN: New Culture Technology”, which consider producing global contents using five cores of SM Culture Technology (casting, training, producing, marketing-management, and interactive) (Lee, 2016). The project itself aims to East Asia, Latin America, and Southeast Asian countries.

Lee Soo-man (2016) later stated that through these attempts, SM will achieve the true definition of “Hallyu Localization” which is a form to expand market through cooperating with local companies, government, and artists.

## 5 IN THAILAND

Different from Indonesia, South Korean companies are starting to hook youth from other countries to join their boyband and girlband groups. Three big companies in South Korea like JYP Entertainment, SM Entertainment, and YG Entertainment have even begun to attract youth from outside South Korea to be trained to become Idol since a few years ago. In this case, Thailand is one of the countries whose youth quite successfully recruited by the Korean agency. For instance, Nichkhun who debuted with 2PM in 2008 under JYP Entertainment (Herman, 2008). In addition to Nichkhun, there was also a young Thai named Ten who joined the NCT group after passing the audition organized by SM Entertainment. After he debuted, one of NCT's songs entitled "Baby Do not Stop" was remade in Thailand version and released in June 2018 (SBS, 2018). There is also Lisa, a Thai citizen who also began her career in South Korea by joining Blackpink (a group that successfully seized the attention of the community with their appearance and songs). Similar to Ten, Lisa started her training in Korea in 2011 and discovered by YG Entertainment through an audition (Allkpop, 2016).

The Chinese blockade of South Korean cultural products, especially K-Pop and K-Drama, led to an increase in the number of concerts and fanmeeting held by the Korean agency. One year before the Chinese blockade of THAAD on February 26, 2017, there were only about 14 concerts and also fanmeeting in Bangkok involving 10 agencies and 13 South Korean artists. This number consists of the number of events held not only for idol groups, but also for K-Drama actors like Song Joong Ki who has many fans in Thailand. One year before the blockade, major agency companies such as SM Entertainment, YG Entertainment, and JYP Entertainment had held such events in Thailand. JYP Entertainment even

invited many singers who work under the label to a concert titled "2016 JYP Nation Mix and Match" to entertain fans. Singers who participated in this concert are Wonder Girls, 2PM, Jo Kwon, GOT7, DAY6, TWICE, and many other artists (Choi, 2016). Other than that, an artist under Coridel Entertainment also came to Bangkok is Jessica "SNSD" and held "Jessica 1st Premium Live Showcase in Bangkok" event in June 2016 (Bangkok Post, 2016). For K-Drama and K-Film fans in Thailand, Blossom Entertainment brought their actors such as Song Joong Ki in May 2016 and Park Bo Gum in December 2016. In fact, Song Joong Ki was also invited as a guest star at Park Bo Gum fan meeting (S.Ng, 2017).

The increasing of the number of concerts and fanmeetings in Thailand can be seen after the Chinese blockade. If a year before the blockade there are only 14 events held in Thailand, then the number is almost doubled as many as 27 where there are 23 artists under the auspices of 17 different agencies. Before the blockade, many agencies have never previously hosted concerts or fan meetings in Thailand, but after that they started making events in Thailand. For example, the boy band Wanna One under Swing Entertainment came to Bangkok for "Wanna One 1st Fan Meeting in Bangkok: WANNA Be LovEd" (SBS, 2017). If in the period before the blockade there was just Jessica "SNSD" from SM entertainment that held an event in Thailand, then after the blockade SM Entertainment also brought Kyuhyun "Super Junior" and Taeyon "SNSD" to hold their solo concert in Thailand. Kyuhyun's solo concert was entitled "Kyuhyun Solo Concert - Reminiscence of a Novelist in Bangkok" held in March 2017. This concert was also a farewell to Kyuhyun for his fans before he had to carry out conscription (SBS, 2017). On the other side, Taeyon solo concert titled "Persona" successfully made Taeyon as the first Korean female artist that hold a solo concert in Thailand (Churintarapan, 2017). From this it can be seen that China's blockade of cultural contents from South Korea has led to an increase in the South Korea's companies efforts to seek markets in other countries, and one of them is in Thailand.

Table 1.2: Number of KPOP Concert and Fanmeeting in Indonesia

No	Time/Date	Events	Events' Holders
<b>Pre-THAAD ban (before 26 FEBRUARY 2017)</b>			
1.	7 Mei 2016	2016 Song Joong Ki Asia Tour Fan Meeting in Bangkok	Blossom Entertainment
2.	11 Juni 2016	Jessica 1st Premium Live Showcase in Bangkok	Coridel Entertainment
3.	31 Juli 2016	Park Hae Jin Fan Meeting in Thailand 2016	Mountain Movement
4.	17 September 2016	Nam Joo Hyuk 1st Fan Party in Bangkok	YG Entertainment
5.	28 Oktober 2016	2016 Lee Jong Suk Fanmeeting Variety	YG Entertainment
6.	29-30 Oktober 2016	2016 BIGBANG Made [V.I.P] Tour in Bangkok	YG Entertainment
7	5-6 November 2016	2016 JYP Nation Mix & Match in Bangkok	JYP Entertainment
8.	12 November 2016	Monsta X The First Asia Fan Meeting in Bangkok	Starship Entertainment
9.	13 November 2016	Gfriend Fan Meeting In Bangkok 2016	Source Music
10.	24 Desember 2016	2016-2017 Park Bogum Asia Tour Fan Meeting in Bangkok	Blossom Entertainment
11.	7 Januari 2017	HYUNA Asia Tour Fan Meeting in Bangkok	Cube Entertainment
12.	21 Januari 2017	Ji Chang Wook 1st Fan Meeting in Bangkok	Glorious Entertainment
13.	12 Februari 2017	ASTRO The 1st Season Showcase in Bangkok 2016	Fantagio Music
14.	18 Februari 2017	LeoLucas First Fan Meeting in Bangkok	-
<b>Post-THAAD ban (after 26 February 2017)</b>			
1.	4 Maret 2017	F.T. Island Live [THE TRUTH] in Bangkok	FNC Entertainment
2.	11 Maret 2017	Running Man Live in Bangkok	SBS
3.	18 Maret 2017	2017 Kim Jae Joong Asia Tour in Bangkok "The REBIRTH of J"	C-Jes Entertainment
4.	19 Maret 2017	Kyuhyun Solo Concert – Reminiscence of a novelist – in Bangkok	SM Entertainment
5.	1 April 2017	Pentagon in Thailand	Cube Entertainment
6.	8 April 2017	2017 Kim Woo Bin Fan Meeting	SidusHQ

		Spotlight in Thailand	
7.	8 April 2017	Gfriend Fan Meeting in Bangkok 2017	Source Music
8.	22-23 April 2017	The Wings Tour 2017 BTS Live Trilogy Episode III in Bangkok	Big Hit Entertainment
9.	13 Mei 2017	VICTON First Date with Alice in Thailand	Plan A Entertainment
10.	18 Mei 2017	Taeyon Solo Concert "PERSONA"	SM Entertainment
11.	7 Juli 2017	G-Dragon 2017 Concert: ACT III, M.O.T.T.E	YG Entertainment
12.	8 Juli 2017	B.A.P 2017 World Tour Party Baby: Bangkok Boom	TS Entertainment
13.	15 Juli 2017	2017 PARK HAE JIN ASIA TOUR in Bangkok	Mountain Movement
14.	5 Agustus 2017	Jisoo's Story in Bangkok	Prain TPC
15.	13 Agustus 2017	Day6 Live and Meet in Bangkok	JYP Entertainment
16.	16 September 2017	Wanna One 1st Fan Meeting in Bangkok: WANNA Be LovEd	Swing Entertainment
17.	10 September 2017	BTOB World Tour Fan Meeting in Bangkok	Cube Entertainment
18.	30 September 2017	Taeyang 2017 World Tour	YG Entertainment
19.	11 November 2017	Nam Tae Hyun Music Fan Meeting in Bangkok	YG Entertainment
20.	6 Januari 2018	Jessica "On Cloud Nine Mini Concert"	Coridel Entertainment
21.	6 Januari 2018	Kang Min Hyuk "2018 Romantic Sailing: Fan Meet"	FNC Entertainment
22.	13 Januari 2018	ASTRO FanMeet & Mini Live	Fantagio Music
23.	14 Januari 2018	Jung YongHwa Live	FNC Entertainment
24.	28 Februari 2018	BTOB Fanmeet 2018	Cube Entertainment
25.	3 Maret 2018	2018 ASTRO Global Fan Meeting	Source Music
26.	10 Maret 2018	Jeong Sewoon The First Fan Meeting in Bangkok "Be Happy"	Starship Entertainment
27.	22-23 April 2018	BTS Live Trilogy Episode III	Big Hit Entertainment

## 6 CONCLUSIONS

This paper draws on several conclusions. First, the political-business relationship between Korean government and Korean corporations remain evidently strong. Secondly, we also found that such relationship was evident in cultural policy and marketing strategies developed by government and corporations respectively, particularly after THAAD's ban by China. Thirdly, it is also evident that there is a significant correlation between THAAD ban and the increase of Hallyu expansion in Southeast Asia, as indicated by growing list of events in both Indonesia and Thailand, including those supported by Korean government.

Meanwhile, there are also some limitations evident in this paper, which could become some suggestions for future research in this study. First, it only limits in Korean-pop music, although other sectors of cultural content exports were also hit hard by the blockage. Hence, future research may find additional findings on other sectors, namely Korean drama export and production's funding, which was allegedly stalled after THAAD. Second, this paper only limits the research on two ASEAN countries. Therefore, future research can add more findings about the other ASEAN countries, namely Singapore which is also one of the most popular destination of Korean-related events in ASEAN

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