Barnard College, Columbia University

Towards a New World:

Contesting structures of domination through K-pop fandom in the Philippines, 2006-2015

By Maria Alessandra Carpio Benitez

Undergraduate Senior Thesis

Department of History

Faculty Advisor: Professor Deborah Valenze

April 13, 2022

사랑해 널 이 느낌 이대로
그려 왔던 헤매임의 끝
이 세상 속에서 반복되는
슬픔 이젠 안녕
수많은 알 수 없는 길 속에
희미한 빛을 난 쫓아가
언제까지라도 함께 하는 거야
다시 만난 우리의

I love you, just like this
The longed-for end of wandering
To this world's unending
Sadness I now say goodbye
On the numerous, unknowable paths
I pursue a dim light
This is something we will do together forever
Into our new [world]

–Girls' Generation (소녀시대), "Into the New World" ("다시 만난 세계"), 2007

Table of contents

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Deborah Valenze for taking me in with only weeks left before the deadline. Though brief, our period of collaboration was filled with heartening inquisitiveness and generative discussion. Thank you for reminding me what scholarship should aspire to be through your careful attention, effort, and kindness. And thank you, most of all, for your trust and faith in my ideas. Where others saw abstractions that needed to be culled, you understood the centrality of imagination and affect in the story that I was trying to tell.

Thank you to my parents, my siblings, and my friends for their love and unwavering support. Thank you for listening to my endless ranting for the past 8 months. Thank you to every single person who validated my tribulations writing this thesis. You have all provided me the strength to push back and press onwards.

Thank you as well to my past instructors for generously lending me their time to discuss concepts and impressions: James Gerien-Chen and So-rim Lee. This thesis could not have existed without the ideas and realizations that took shape while I was learning with you.

Finally, thank you to the K-pop groups that have seen me through the past few years: BTS, Twice… all the other groups who will likely never even see this thesis. It is because of them and the communities that have formed around them that I am able to glimpse the possibilities I explore in this thesis. To all the friends I have made through my affection for these groups, the friends who have sustained me through it all – this is for you, too. Thank you.

This thesis a product of struggles. It has been guided by the centuries-long struggle against imperialism and exploitation in the 7,107 islands we know as the Philippines. It has also been inspired by the people who continue to struggle towards meaningful liberation all over the world. However, this thesis is also the product of my own personal struggles, albeit unwanted and unexpected. The process of writing this thesis forced me to directly contend with the very structures of domination that I seek to challenge through my writing: heteropatriarchy, white supremacy, racism, and imperialism. I am grateful for the concessions made towards the end of the process that have prevented any further harm. But I demand that this thesis serve as a reminder of the violence that structures of domination inflict every day, especially through institutions like the university. I write of them in past tense, but structures of domination persist to this day, poisoning even the most quotidian of interpersonal interactions.

May the completion of this thesis serve as a reminder of their impending defeat.

Introduction

Fans have had a long, contentious history. Fans are often reduced to fanatical, tribalistic consumers driven purely by emotion. Yet fans bring about complexities and complications that prime them for inquiry and analysis. The establishment of fandom studies and the growing number of scholarly works concerned with fans in fields like history, anthropology, and sociology only further proves that fans are a generative source of rigorous academic discourse.

Equally deserving of academic attention are fans in the Philippines who got swept up in Hallyu, or the Korean Wave, when it hit Philippine shores in the 2000's. Much ink has been spilled to try and dissect the *how's* and *why's* of Filipino fans: How did the Korean wave reach Philippine shores? Why were Korean cultural products so appealing to Filipinos? There is no paucity of scholarship from Filipino academics regarding the impact of Hallyu on the Philippines, but research disproportionally centers the medium of K-drama (Korean television shows) over other aspects of Hallyu such as K-pop (Korean popular music), K-beauty, or K-food. Consequently, research and scholarship on Hallyu fans in the Philippines have focused specifically on fans of K-dramas. Louie Jon A. Sanchez's article "Koreanovelas, Teleseryes, and the 'Diasporization' of the Filipino/the Philippines" and Tina S. Clemente's "A Look at Korean Historical Drama: Cultural Negotiation of Cold War Influence on Notions of Development in the Philippines," for example, come to mind when considering scholarship about Hallyu fans in the Philippines.

Limited scholarship on K-pop in the Philippines exists, yet it rarely focuses on fans and fan culture. Sarah Kristine Alanzalon's 2011 undergraduate thesis "K-popped!: Understanding

Filipino Teens' Consumption of Korean Popular Music and Videos" and Patrick Michael Capili's 2014 journal article "Painting the Scenario of Filipino K-pop Fan Culture" have both been useful in gaining empirical understandings of K-pop fans in the Philippines. Alanzalon illuminates reasons why Filipino fans are drawn to K-pop while Capili illustrates how technology facilitated the formation of K-pop fan networks in the Philippines. However, both fail to consider the historical contexts that influenced the formation of Filipino K-pop fans. Alanzalon and Capili thus try to situate early Filipino K-pop fandom without analyzing the significance of historical forces that encouraged organization and generated affective ties. Alanzalon and Capili hence limit Filipino K-pop fans to the realm of culture, unable to connect the significance of K-pop's boom to adjacent arenas such as politics and imperialism. These approaches thus render understandings of Filipino K-pop fans in a vacuum, as if their formation and actions concerned only themselves.

Alanzalon's misidentification of 2009 as the year that K-pop "came to the limelight" sheds some understanding about how these gaps in knowledge formed. 2009 remains an uncontestably crucial year for historicizing K-pop's popularity in the Philippines, however, fans and fan clubs had been active long before 2009. Beginning in 2006, fan clubs commenced the engineering of complex internal infrastructures and practices that contributed significantly to K-pop's boom in 2009 and its longevity long after. Alanzalon and Capili thus crucially overlook the impact of fan communities on the appeal of being a K-pop fan in the Philippines. This consequently reduces K-pop's boom in popularity to nothing but a coincidental confluence of individual interests rather than the result of long-term construction on the part of Filipino K-pop fans.

Alanzalon and Capistrano's renderings of Filipino K-pop fans are understandable as much as they were frustrating. How could a scholar possibly account for a formation as rhizomatic, multi-layered, and complex as a group of fans? Yet, then again, how could one not try to account for the nuances and interstices between fans and much larger, overarching forces such as nation-states, cultural industries, and capitalism?

Any meaningful analysis of K-pop fandom in the Philippines first requires a careful consideration of the peculiar history of national sentiments, especially as they relate to the nation-state. Economic orders, geopolitical organization, and dominant pedagogies furnish nation-states with a natural, fixed appearance when they, in truth, are anything but. This thesis is aligned with Benedict Anderson's conception of the nation-state as an imagined political community that only exists through the collective, simultaneous imagination of the people who exist within it. Thus, everything from the borders that delimit a nation to the power of the state that governs the nation are all products of collective imagination. I use the term "state" in this thesis to refer to what others may term as "national government" to highlight the imbalance of power that exists between the state and the subjects it governs. As Thomas Hippler notes from Baruch Spinoza's writings, power is twofold: it exists between the state and individuals – physical power based on coercion – but it also exists amongst human passions.[1] The latter is imaginary and affective, yet it is also capable of being manipulated by the state.

Moreover, this thesis considers nation-states as legacies of empire and conduits of neo-imperialism. This runs counter to the dominant notion of post-colonialism: that a nation-state's

[1] Thomas Hippler, "The Politics of Imagination," in *The Politics of Imagination*, ed. Chiara Bottici and Benoît Challand (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Birkbeck Law Press, 2011), 6–7.

declaration of independence automatically signifies that it has cast off the yoke of imperialism. For the Philippines in particular, nationalism and the existence of the Philippines as a nation-state is a legacy of imperialism and a tool of neo-imperialism. Spain drew the territorial borders of the archipelago, and the United States coerced the Philippines into existence. The same can be said for South Korea, which was painfully brought into existence by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1948. Despite its supposed independence from the United States, the existence of the Philippines and South Korea as nation-states has facilitated their incorporation into circuits of capitalism dominated by the United States.[2] Regardless of whether the United States was calling for modernization or for globalization, the existence of the Philippines and South Korea as nation-states has ironically allowed the persistence of American neo-imperialism. I thus add empire and its subjects to Spinoza's theory regarding coercive power, with nation-states as a conduit for maintaining imbalances of power. The combined power of empires and states can be best referred to as "structures of domination."

An understanding of cultural products and cultural works is also crucial for any critical inquiry into popular cultures like K-pop. In *Dialectic of Enlightenment,* Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer provide a definition for cultural industry that remains useful in analyzing popular culture today. Adorno and Horkheimer argue that within capitalist societies, popular culture functions like a factory that produces standardized "cultural products." Thus, everything distributed by mass media, from TV programs to songs, are standardized cultural products that in

[2] Simeon Man, *Soldiering Through Empire: Race and the Making of the Decolonizing Specific* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2018); Monica Kim, *The Interrogation Rooms of the Korean War: The Untold History*, 1st ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019); Maria Alessandra Benitez, "Beneath the (Korean) Wave: Transpacific Interpretations of Hallyu with Special Reference to the Philippines," May 2020.

turn standardize those who consume them. They additionally argue that all forms of culture have mechanisms that enable the production and reproduction of consumers. Hence "the circle of manipulation and retroactive need in which the unity of the system grows ever stronger."[3] Cultural products can hence be interpreted as instruments that uphold coercive forms of physical power. Capital is inseparable from the running of nation-states and empires, thus the culture that arises from capitalist societies is intended perpetuate such entities. I thus use "cultural works" in this thesis to distinguish between works and texts produced outside of the cultural industry as defined by Adorno and Horkheimer.

As useful as Adorno and Horkheimer's description of cultural industry is, their definition of the consumer in relation to popular culture had become archaic by the early 2000's. Terminology had changed, and impassioned consumers were no longer mere "consumers" but rather "fans" who constituted much larger groups called "fandoms." The dawn of the commercial Internet in the early 2000's also altered the relationship between fans and popular cultural products. Online fandom activity in the early 2000's opened another locus of power – this time, for the fans. As Henry Jenkins contests in *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture*, fans are not just passive consumers but also active producers who appropriate cultural products to build fan culture *around* a cultural product. Fan culture in the 2000's lent cohesion and vibrance to a fandom, arguably generating another imagined community through connections made online.[4] Hence, to develop Adorno and Horkheimer's theory further, fans must

[3] Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment.*, trans. John Cumming (New York: Continuum, 1986), 121.
[4] Matthew Hills, *Fan Cultures*, Sussex Studies in Culture and Communication (London: Routledge, 2002); Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2012),

be understood through their unique relationship with cultural industry. Fans in this time period were located within cultural industry through their consumption but also without through their engineering of fan cultures.

Citizenship is a problematic term. However, it is also a useful instrument to analyze the specific interplay between fans and politics. As Hippler additionally suggested, politics is nothing but the collective force of people's imaginative power.[5] The limit of politics is hence the limits of collective imagination, as political power is derived from the collectively imagined association between social life and affects. Politics and its byproducts such as citizenship have been conceived of as an elevated realm, sealed off from the influences of popular culture and entertainment. Yet Lisbet van Zoonen's book *Entertaining the Citizen* reveals how popular culture and entertainment have seeped into political life and vice versa. Van Zoonen demonstrates how fans of popular culture specifically emulate democratic customs such as information sharing, discussion, and activism. *Entertaining the Citizen* hence opens a route to further inquiry about the intersections between fan identities and conventional citizenship mediated by membership in a nation-state. Citizenship, as van Zoonen uses it, refers to the rights and duties of citizens to participate in the formation and decisions of a state. Van Zoonen uses this definition to highlight how affect is a point of commonality between the fans and conventional citizens rather than a point of distinction.

---

https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203114339; Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York University Press, c2006), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.05936; Henry Jenkins, Sam Ford, and Joshua Green, *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture*, Postmillennial Pop (New York ; London: New York University Press, 2013); Briony Hannell, "Muslim Girlhood, Skam Fandom, and DIY Citizenship," *Girlhood Studies* 14, no. 2 (June 1, 2021): 46–62, https://doi.org/10.3167/ghs.2021.140205; Rukmini Pande, *Squee from the Margins: Fandom and Race*, Fandom & Culture (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2018).

[5] Hippler, "The Politics of Imagination," 6–7.

This thesis hence takes *Entertaining the Citizenship* as a point of departure. It accepts van Zoonen's invitation to reimagine how fans of popular culture challenge understandings of politics and circumvent the limitations inscribed into conventional citizenship.

Hence, how must historians account for Filipino K-pop fans of the late 2000's and early 2010's? How are Filipino K-pop fans located in relation to overarching historical, political, and cultural dynamics at play in the Philippines? And to what extent did early Filipino K-pop fans and their alternative imaginaries challenge structures of domination?

This thesis is ultimately a story about power. Failing to consider power is essentially what prevented scholars like Alanzalon and Capistrano from being able to portray Filipino K-pop fans in their fullest form, complete with all their nuances, complexities, and contradictions. This thesis argues that Filipino K-pop fans of the late 2000's and early 2010's generated an alternative form of citizenship in response to the alienating conventional citizenship mediated by the nation-state. Alienation was an outcome of extensive colonial occupations of the Philippines, which rendered a Philippine national identity replete with anxiety and a civic society that was lethargic at best. The creation of an alternative fan citizenship can hence be interpreted as an attempt to contend with structures of domination, drawing power from the affective and imaginative power of fans. Alternative fan citizenship, however, was not void of contradictions and was capable of cooperating with states when it suited its interests. Once states had recognized the political potential of alternative fan citizenship, this malleability left it vulnerable to attempts to co-opt and appropriate fan rituals, practices, and structures to further political economic goals of nation-states.

This thesis covers the period of 2006 to 2015 due to the wealth of digital sources that have long gone unanalyzed by scholars. This time period saw the genesis of a new imagined community followed by a period of incredibly rapid change, which was characteristic of the emerging era of digitalization. Though the primary sources of analysis in this thesis are blogs and forums, these mediums fade in popularity towards the end of the time period due to the rise of social media platforms in the 2010's. Moreover, this thesis is heavily indebted to the work of scholars across the fields of history, anthropology, sociology, media studies, and fan studies. While its exploration of gender and sexuality in fandom does not go too far into detail, this thesis applies theories first developed in women's and queer studies to analyze sources.

This thesis benefitted greatly from the wealth of blogs, forums, websites, and videos that have been preserved online. Blog texts and formats have mostly been retained as they were published, keeping font sizing, color, and even emoticon choices intact when accessed. Images in blogs, however, posed some difficulty when reading. Image hosting sites like Tinypic and ImageShack, which were frequently used to embed images into blog entries, have either ceased operations or implemented paid subscription schemes. The embedded images have thus been rendered invisible, posing a significant limitation to the reading of the blogs.

Changes in computer coding conventions and formats also posed a significant limitation. The Internet Archive's Wayback Machine was crucial in accessing websites that no longer exist, yet the methods of finding and archiving websites prior to 2010 were unable to retain the original appearance of these websites. Indeed, while the texts of past websites could still be read, the original form and appearance of these sites have unfortunately been lost. Archiving methods and technology at the time were also unable to preserve all links included in websites, rendering an incomplete picture of the sites that have been archived.

I have personally translated sources that were originally in Tagalog and Korean to English. Original passages have been included in the footnotes for reference. This thesis uses the Revised Romanization System in phoneticizing Korean words and names. Korean names follow the traditional Korean name order, with surnames preceding given names. An exception is made for Sandara Park, whose name order will reflect the naming conventions she accepted during her stint in the Philippine entertainment industry.

The chapters follow a chronological order, spanning the Propaganda Movement that spurred the reimaginations of the "Filipino" identity in the 1870's until the re-branding of The Krew, the volunteer group for the Korean Cultural Center in the Philippines, in 2015.

Chapter 1 begins in the 1870's, outlining the impact of imperialism on Philippine national cultural identity and the South Korean cultural industry. At the nexus of this chapter's inter-colonial history is Sandara Park, a diasporic Korean living in the Philippines who rose to fame in 2004 following her success in talent show *Star Circle Quest*.

Chapter 2 covers the years 2006 to 2009 and examines the formation and significance of K-pop fan culture in the Philippines. It argues that Filipino K-pop fans began to devise an alternative form of citizenship in response to the lethargic, conventional Filipino citizenship that remained yoked to vestiges of colonialism in 2006. Moreover, Chapter 2 delves into the tension between the alternative citizenship being carved out by Filipino K-pop fans and conventional citizenship mediated by nation states through its analysis of The Philippines-Korea Friendship Year Culture Festival and the first Philippine K-pop Convention.

Chapter 3 explores the politicization of Filipino K-pop fans following 2009.When the Philippine music industry attempted to create the Philippine equivalent of K-pop, Filipino K-pop fans used alternative citizenship as a lens to interrogate conventional citizenship and Filipino nationalism. The South Korean state also politicized the alternative citizenship of Filipino K-pop fans through intervention and appropriation. The Korean Cultural Center appropriated fan practices, rituals, and structures to build intimacies between fans and the South Korean state, which in turn furthered political, economic, and diplomatic goals of South Korea.

Chapter 1
Flimsy nationalism, holy vehicles, and affective labor, 1870-2004

> "Seeking to repossess and expropriate colonialism's legacies, nationalism also finds itself possessed by its spectral returns. Thus the fundamental irony of Filipino nationalism.
>
> -Vincente Rafael, "Introduction," *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*[6]

Understanding how the Filipino national and cultural identities were formed and grasping the biformal nature of K-pop are crucial to understanding the eventual rise of do-it-yourself (DIY) citizenships through Filipino K-pop fandom in the late 2000s. This chapter reaches back into the Philippines' Spanish colonial past to examine how cultural products aided in the definition of the "Filipino" national identity and analyzes the impact of American cultural imperialism in the late 19th and early 20th century on Filipino nationalism, cultural identity, and ideas of citizenship. It then traces the origins of K-pop's cultural industry, beginning with changing relationships with consumption brought about by the American occupation of Korea beginning in the 1950's until the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997, which influenced state support for cultural industries and spurred the growth of K-pop as an export economy. Finally, the chapter weaves both sections together through examining South Korean Sandara Park's rise to fame in the Philippines from 2004-2007, highlighting Sandara's success as a result of Filipino national and cultural anxiety incurred through American cultural imperialism, but also as a crucial impetus for developing fan culture for K-pop later in 2009.

[6] Vicente L. Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*, Illustrated edition (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2000).

The question of the Filipino: Cultural products as stimuli for delineating identity

Long before K-pop, cultural works had already been stimuli for re-imagining identity in the Philippines. The islands captured by Spanish conquistadors had already been imagined as an archipelago called "Las Filipinas" from 1521 until 1898. Ideas of the archipelago as a nation, and more importantly, of the "Filipino" identity, however, only began to gain traction amongst the island's inhabitants during the Propaganda Movement in the late 19th century. Elite male natives of the Filipino islands, or ilustrados (the enlightened ones), who were educated in Europe produced journals, newspapers, and novels reimagining the identity of the "Filipino" under Spanish domination. What initially began as a term to refer to a "scornful metropolitan name for the tiny stratum of local creoles,"[7] was reimagined as an identity capable of engaging the various racial and socio-economic complexities of all those who called Las Filipinas home.

The most important figure in demonstrating how cultural works enabled Filipinos to imagine a national identity was Dr. José Rizal. Rizal was privileged with an education in a Jesuit private school in Manila in the 1870s, distinguishing himself through winning writing competitions for both prose and poetry. But his mother's wrongful imprisonment by the Guardia Civil, the Spanish colonial law enforcement, along with the controversial execution of Filipino priests Mariano Gomez, Jose Burgos, and Jacinto Zamora in 1872 awakened Rizal's desire for reform in Las Filipinas. Such desires were nurtured over the course of his education in universities in Spain, France, and Germany in the 1880s, which introduced Rizal to liberal ideologies that informed his visions for reformation. Despite holding a liberal reformist stance on Las Filipinas for more than a decade, Rizal grew skeptical of Spain's willingness to reform their

[7] Benedict R. Anderson, *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World* (New York: Verso, 1998), 65.

governance of their Filipino colony by 1887 following a slew of independence movements in Latin American Spanish colonies. Writing to Austrian intellectual and close friend Ferdinand Blumentritt, Rizal admitted that ‘‘[the] peaceful struggle must remain a dream, for Spain will never learn from her earlier colonies in South America.”[8] In the same year Rizal published *Noli Me Tangere*, a novel that satirized life under Spanish rule in the Las Filipinas. More significantly, the novel doled out Rizal’s pointed criticisms against the brutality of the Spanish colonial government and clergy.

Noli Me Tangere, its sequel *El Filibusterismo*, and the articles produced by Rizal and his fellow ilustrados in propaganda newspaper *La Solidaridad* all provided critical intellectual frameworks to imagine – and later realize – Filipino identity. The Katipunan, a revolutionary organization of working-class native Filipinos founded by Andres Bonifacio in 1892, had begun its activities through indigenizing, distributing, and circulating products of the Propaganda Movement. Following the discovery of the Katipunan by Spanish colonial authorities in early August 1896, a raid of the German shipping company that Bonifacio worked as a clerk at had even found copies of *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* amongst Bonifacio’s personal effects.[9] Rizal was subsequently arrested by the colonial government for treason through his alleged involvement with the revolutionary organization, but by then it was too late. On August 28, 1869, Bonifacio had proclaimed that the revolution would begin the following day, declaring that “[it] is absolutely necessary for us to stop at the earliest possible time the nameless oppressions being perpetrated on the sons of the country who are now suffering the brutal punishment and tortures in jails... For this purpose it is necessary for all towns to rise

[8] Jose Rizal to Ferdinand Blumentritt, June 19, 1887, quoted in William Henry Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots : Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City, Republic of the Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1974), 276.
[9] Reynaldo C. Ileto, “The Road to 1898: On American Empire and the Philippine Revolution,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 49, no. 3 (May 4, 2021): 516, https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2021.1920804.

simultaneously and attack Manila at the same time. Anybody who obstructs this sacred ideal of the people will be considered a traitor and an enemy."[10] It was upon Rizal and the Propagandists' conception of the "Filipino" that the Katipunan foundationalized its revolution and "self-willed themselves into Filipinoness."[11] *Mi Ultimo Adios,* Rizal's final poem before his execution, was translated from Spanish to Tagalog by Bonifacio himself and was circulated amongst the rank-and-file members of the Katipunan.[12] Rizal's execution by Spanish authorities for sedition on December 30, 1896 created a martyr for the revolutionaries who now self-identified as "Filipinos." Aside from the "the thousands upon thousands of lives snuffed out by the brutal hands of the Spaniards" and "the groans, the sighs and the sobs of those orphaned by cruelty," Bonifacio himself wrote that the revolt was also meant to avenge "the unjust murder of our beloved countryman, Jose Rizal," all of which "have already opened a wound in our hearts that will never be healed."[13]

The construction of the national "Filipino" identity was ultimately – and ironically – a project headed by American imperialists. The breakdown of the Philippine Revolution by 1898 due to infighting and waning economic support was concurrent with Spain's cession of its colonies in the Las Filipinas, Cuba, and Puerto Rico to the United States with its defeat during the Spanish-American war in 1898. The American entry into Las Filipinas swiftly crushed any remaining opposition, from the nationalist revolution now headed by General Emilio Aguinaldo

[10] Andres Bonifacio, "Bonifacio's Proclamation of August 28, 1896," in *The Writings and Trials of Andres Bonifacio*, trans. Teodoro A. Agoncillio and S.V. Epistola (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1963), 4, http://bonifaciopapers.blogspot.com/2005/09/bonifacio-andres_112718539592696858.html.
[11] Anderson, *The Spectre of Comparisons*, 64.
[12] Ileto, "The Road to 1898," 517.
[13] Andres Bonifacio, "Proclamation," in *The Writings and Trials of Andres Bonifacio*, trans. Teodoro A. Agoncillio and S.V. Epistola (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1963), 4–5, http://bonifaciopapers.blogspot.com/2005/09/bonifacio-andres_112718757996674163.html.

to Muslim outposts in the south that were never fully subdued by the Spanish.[14] The archipelago now known as the Philippines had come under the total control of the United States, dousing any remnants of Filipino-dictated nationalism.

Flimsy nationalism: Cultural imperialism and the (mis)education of the Filipino

Constructing culture was crucial to the American project of engineering a Filipino national identity that served American interests. The Spanish empire had merely held the archipelago together through its governance and the clergy. Indeed, the brand of Catholicism introduced by the Spanish to the archipelago was more a tool for control rather than an impetus for developing a national identity. Local cultures that survived the Spanish conquests of the island persisted by blending with newly introduced Catholic traditions, producing hybrid folk religious practices such as fiestas, or religious feasts, and Semana Santa, or Holy Week celebrations. Yet there was no overarching national culture built during the Spanish colonial era that bridged distant local cultures into something legibly national. The Spanish empire's neglect towards creating a cohesive, unifying culture in the archipelago created a vacuum in terms of national culture, which was only exacerbated by the Spanish colonial authorities' efforts to deprive those beginning to self-identify as Filipinos of self-expression. This facilitated the deluge of American practices and cultural products into the Philippines in the early 20th century,[15] but the American empire's deliberate exploitation of the national cultural vacuum would also implant lasting anxiety into Filipino visions of nation and citizenship.

[14] Anderson, *The Spectre of Comparisons*, 201.
[15] Doreen G. Fernandez, "Philippine-American Cultural Interaction," *Crossroads: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 1, no. 1 (1983): 2.

New American-run public schools were critical in shaping ideas around Filipino nationalism and citizenship. American colonizers had reasoned that children of the Philippines needed to cultivate literacy, discipline and work ethic in order to eventually exercise responsible Filipino citizenship and began to build public school systems that spanned the length of the archipelago in 1901.[16] It was through schools that the institution of English as the national language by the American colonial government in 1900 was realized, as all American-run schools instructed Filipino students in English. Filipino students were additionally obligated to study designated national symbols such as Jose Rizal as the "national hero," the bangus (milkfish) as the "national fish," and the lechon as the "national food," in an attempt to shore up symbols of nationalism. By 1914, the American director of education in Manila had lauded the steady success of the public schools in the Philippines, as graduates of primary, intermediate, and secondary schools in the archipelago increased from 6,093 in 1908 to 21,1000 by 1914.[17]

American imperialism inculcated anxiety into the Filipino national and cultural identity through education. Though Filipinos were apparently inadequate, the tutelage of these "little brown brothers" would transform such inadequacies and make them whole through an American education in skills, principles, and ideals. American colonizers simultaneously vested the English language with a "transformative, liberating power"[18] which was purportedly crucial in preparing Filipinos for their eventual citizenship. This effectively embedded anxiety into the national and cultural identity of Filipinos, ensured the abortion of the Filipino nationalist project that began

[16] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines*, electronic resource (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 207, http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio14035297.
[17] "PHILIPPINE EDUCATION: Desire for Knowledge Shown by the Increase in the School Attendance," *Wall Street Journal (1889-1922)*, October 21, 1914.
[18] Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 204.

under Spanish colonization, and inextricably intertwined Filipino citizenship and national identity with American liberal democratic standards and ideas.

Yet the promise of eventual citizenship was also nothing but an illusion. The concentration of power into the hands of opportunistic Manila elite through American laws like the Philippine Organic Act of July 1902[19] and the initiative of "Filipinizing" Philippine government towards the 1930s excluded Filipinos outside of Manila from participating in nation-building affairs. The consolidated elite's interests in retaining their power also consequently meant that they had "no interest in allowing for a nation of participating citizens,"[20] resulting in an overall underdevelopment of the feelings and practice of national citizenship.

The spread of the English through American-run public schools had additionally shifted the imagination of the Philippines as a nation. During the Spanish colonial period, Spanish had never become a lingua franca.[21] The regional division that languages lent to the Philippines was largely a political choice by the Spanish colonial government to encumber communication amongst those living under Spanish domination. However, by 1923, a visiting American bishop had noted that the use of Spanish was fading in the islands and predicted that English would soon overtake Spanish as the "legal and official language" of the Philippines. This displacement, argued the bishop, was a result of English language instruction in the new public school system, a necessity because "a common language is essential to nationality."[22] Public education in English hence bridged regional linguistic barriers and facilitated connection amongst all those

[19] Kramer, 165.
[20] Niels Mulder, "Filipino Identity: The Haunting Question," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 32, no. 1 (April 1, 2013): 71.
[21] Anderson, *The Spectre of Comparisons*, 195.
[22] Charles Edward Looke, "SCHOOLS REVOLUTIONIZED: Bureau of Education in Philippines Popularizing Learning Among Natives of Islands," *Los Angeles Times (1923-1995)*, August 19, 1923, sec. Editorial.

identifying as Filipino. This allowed Filipinos to imagine an archipelago-wide national unity by virtue of possessing a shared language. But paradoxically, as the visiting American bishop noted, it was the introduction of English into the Philippines by Americans that afforded Filipinos the common language that was supposedly essential to nationality. This reveals two crucial points: that the American empire had intervened in the imagination of conventional Filipino citizenship and national identity, fashioning it along lines that were legible to Americans themselves, and that the national identity as Filipino constituted a performance of deference to the American ideal of modernity.

Moreover, the dissemination of American cultural products such as jazz music through the radio produced an affinity for Americanness itself. Philippine Governor-General Theodore Roosevelt Jr. sought to use radio's broadcasting technology to communicate information to remote parts of the archipelago,[23] encouraging American broadcasting companies to erect stations in Manila and provinces like Cebu in the Visayas region in the late 1920's to early 1930's.[24] American colonizers understood that guns alone would not convince Filipinos of American dominance, but the influx of American cultural products into the vacuum of Philippine national culture could win the hearts and minds of Filipinos. The radio facilitated the spread of commercial culture through broadcasted advertisements but was more importantly a vehicle for consuming American cultural products in the Philippines. Given the national cultural vacuum, regional folk traditions stood no chance against the deluge of American cultural products. Filipino kundimans and folk music played on the airwaves from time to time, but American

[23] "ROOSEVELT URGES PHILIPPINES EXTEND RADIO TO THE VILLAGES: New Plan Provides for Receivers in Public Squares -- Educational Results Are Foreseen," *New York Times*, 1932, sec. DRAMA MUSIC HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS SCREEN ART RADIO SHOPPERS COLUMNS THE DANCE.
[24] John A. Lent, "Philippine Radio - History and Problems," *Asian Studies: Journal of Critical Perspectives on Asia* 6, no. 1 (1968): 37–52.

music dominated the airwaves since the beginning of radio broadcasts in the Philippines. Jazz music was the most popular music of the time, leading Hollywood soundtrack "Free and Easy" by Buster Keaton and Marion Shilling in 1930 and Glenn Miller and his Orchestra's "In the Mood" in 1941 to be some of the most frequently played songs on air in the year of their release.[25] So enthusiastic was the Filipino reception of jazz music that they strove to imitate what they heard on the radio. Filipino singers like Katy dela Cruz began to adapt scatting techniques popularized by American singers like Ella Fitzgerald. Impersonation contests from the 1930's to the 1940's sought the best imitators of American singers. Among those recognized in contests of the 1930s were Dick Yalong as the "Bing Crosby of the Philippines," Koko Trinidad as the "Dick Powell of the Philippines," and the Lolita Carvajal as the "Dorothy L'Amour of the Philippines."[26]

This desire to perform arguably ran deeper than simple admiration. As cultural historian Doreen Fernandez argued, all American-made cultural products were created for copying, adapting, assimilating by Filipinos who sought to perform modernity.[27] Speaking and singing in English recalled the American association between the language, modernization, and modernity itself. The mimicry of American cultural products was not only a result of the anxiety engineered into the Filipino national and cultural identity by American colonizers.

Most importantly, however, mimicry was a performance of the Filipino conception of modernity and a performance of obeisance to America as the standard of modernity.

---

[25] Elizabeth L. Enriquez, "Iginiit Na Himig Sa Himpapawid: Musikang Filipino Sa Radyo Sa Panahon Ng Kolonyalismong Amerikano," *Plaridel Journal*, no. Early View (2020): 11.
[26] *Foto News*, 1939, From the collections of P. Bataclan-Aristorenas.
[27] Fernandez, "Philippine-American Cultural Interaction," 21.

American cultural imperialism in the Philippines thus bore three significant effects. First, it crushed any remnants of nationalist projects that had begun under the Spanish occupation and engineered anxiety into the Filipino national and cultural identity through education. Secondly, it constructed conventional Filipino citizenship as a performance of subjecthood to a dominating force such as the state or imperial power, not an inherent identity held by individuals born and residing in the archipelago. Both effects constitute what can be termed "flimsy nationalism." Though a flimsy nationalism is an ostensible effect of American imperialism's interventions into the construction of Filipino national and cultural identities, the instability of Filipino nationalism proves to be fertile ground for the construction of alternative forms of citizenship in the following century.

Moreover, the forceful injection of American cultural products into the vacuum of Filipino national culture begs criticism regarding any cultural products that claims to be truly Filipino. American imperialist intervention in the creation of "nationalist" Filipino cultural products, media, and communications infrastructures weakens any argument that a cultural product could be inherently Filipino. The effects of American imperialism indeed haunt Filipinos and the phantom of a national cultural vacuum continued to inspire nationalist cultural anxieties up until the 21st century.

Holy vehicles: South Korean cultural industry and the biformity of Hallyu

South Korea, regional neighbors to the Philippines, continued to suffer from the military occupation and interventions of the United States even after the Korean War from 1950 to 1953. The most relevant concept in understanding this harm and linking it to the development of K-pop

is through the "commodity imperialism" that historian Simeon Man delineates through his reading of Hwang So-Kyong novel *The Shadow of Arms*. Set during the period of American intervention in the Vietnam War from 1964 to 1973, Hwang's 1994 novel about a South Korean veteran's probe of an American military post exchange demonstrated how American militarism and imperialism had changed the relationships that South Koreans had with commodities. The transaction that exchanged "bloodstained military dollars" for Coca-Cola and televisions was not only a material exchange. It signified South Korean desire for and consumption of "dreams mass-produced by colonial enterprises,"[28] which in turn enlisted Koreans in the American imperial mission through military presence and economic fueling of the American market. Hwang's metaphor also doubled as a critique of South Korea's violent modernization during the Cold War, which was initiated and supported by the American government.[29]

Ironically, it was the same impulse to modernize that birthed the South Korean cultural industry. Acceptance of direct foreign investment, accrual of debt for the expansion of conglomerates seeking to expand globally, and a reliance on the American-led International Monetary Fund (IMF) resulted in catastrophic losses for the South Korean political economy during the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis.[30] The crisis led the South Korean government to reconsider the persisting approach to modernization and resulted in neoliberal, state-sponsored initiatives for the export of popular cultural products. As a result, self-dubbed 'President of Culture,' Kim Dae-jung established the Basic Law for the Cultural Industry Promotion in 1999, which allocated $148.5 million for the development of cultural industries related to music, film, and television.[31] To support the circulation of the goods developed by cultural industries, the

[28] Man, *Soldiering Through Empire: Race and the Making of the Decolonizing Specific*, 104.
[29] Benitez, "Beneath the (Korean) Wave: Transpacific Interpretations of Hallyu with Special Reference to the Philippines," 5.
[30] The 1997 Asian Financial Crisis is still referred to as "the IMF Crisis" in South Korea today
[31] Doobo Shim, "Hybridity and the Rise of Korean Popular Culture in Asia," *Media, Culture & Society* 28, no. 1 (2006): 34.

Kim administration also introduced the Science and Technology Common Law and the Cyber Korea 21 initiative in 2002, which codified state support for intensified improvement of both broadband and broadcast infrastructure. South Korean popular media culture had been one of the major sources of foreign revenue even prior to the crisis, but the losses suffered during the financial crisis of 1997 transformed the development of popular media culture into a matter of South Korea's economic survival, recuperation, and evolution in a globalizing world.

The most notable K-pop entertainment agency to emerge from South Korea immediately following the Asian Financial Crisis was SM Entertainment. SM Entertainment embodied – and continues to embody – the ideal union between state, capital, and corporations that the South Korean government had aspired for following the financial crisis. SM Entertainment was initially established as SM Studio in 1995 by counter-cultural folk musician Lee Soo-man. Lee ceased his anti-government activities following his return from university studies in the United States, instead choosing to chase the individual entrepreneurial glory being lionized by the South Korean state. Prior to the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997, SM Entertainment's impact and influence were limited solely to the domestic arena. Yet, following the crisis, the Kim administration's economic and legislative support for developing cultural industry invigorated SM Entertainment. Specifically, legislation like the Basic Law for Cultural Industry Promotion provided Lee with the economic support he needed to solidify K-pop as a key factor in Hallyu (the Korean Wave), culminating in Lee staging a concert in China for SM Entertainment boyband H.O.T. in February 2000.

Lee asserted that the international success of his groups owed to his development of "culture technology," a term he claimed to have coined while SM Entertainment was still in its infantile stages. Lee's culture technology involved the systematic recruitment, rigorous training,

marketing, and image management of K-pop artists or "idols."[32] This process constitutes the K-pop production process carried out by all K-pop entertainment agencies until today. As Lee's own terminology of culture technology best illustrates, at the turn of the century, culture was "imagined as a catalyst uniting different technologies in a concerted economic effort"[33] by both the South Korean state and conglomerates. The creativity and innovation that spurred K-pop's popularity were simultaneously lionized as individual achievements and national virtues: twin turbines that continue to power South Korea's specific brand of neoliberalism.[34] A string of successes in establishing K-pop in Chinese and Japanese markets in the early 2000's sublimated K-pop and the overarching Hallyu as a "holy vehicle" in the Korean national psyche that would deliver it from its "long, dark tunnel of postcolonial and Cold War adversities," "motored by the nation's determination to sprint to the stage of wealth, autonomy and pride."[35]

Hallyu, or the Korean Wave, is thus undoubtedly an institutional campaign. As the Korean state and entertainment companies like SM Entertainment suggest, the success of Hallyu in the early 2000s was not happenstance but a concerted effort between the Korean state, conglomerates, and the media industry. Such efforts spurred advancements beyond K-pop, fueling advancements in terms of the film industry and the television industry. Media scholar JungBong Choi deployed the term "Hallyu-hwa" to denote institutional efforts to formulate

[32] SM Entertainment, "History," SM Entertainment Group, accessed April 10, 2022, https://www.smentertainment.com/Overview/History.
[33] Youna Kim, ed., "Introduction: Korean Media in a Digital Cosmopolitan World," in *The Korean Wave: Korean Media Go Global*, Internationalizing Media Studies (London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2013), 27.
[34] Kim, 27.
[35] JungBong Choi, "Hallyu versus Hallyu-Hwa: Cultural Phenomenon versus Institutional Campaign," in *Hallyu 2.0: The Korean Wave in the Age of Social Media*, ed. Sangjoon Lee and Abé Marcus Nornes, Perspectives on Contemporary Korea (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2015), 50.

Hallyu itself.[36] [37] Hallyu-hwa intensified towards the beginning of the early 2000s as it proved to be a "supercapital in the international marketplace of cultural esteem."[38] Hallyu-hwa arguably also sought to reflect earlier experiences with American commodity imperialism, eager to enlist consumers in its campaign for the recognition of South Korea as a developed nation that has lifted itself from economic collapse, war, and colonization.

On the other hand, Hallyu is simultaneously a cultural formation. While institutional actors may formulate Hallyu and engineer its cultural products, it is ultimately fans (or, more obliquely, "consumers") who are responsible for its success. The participation of fans in shaping Korean cultural products has resulted in the "biformity" of Hallyu, which Choi suggests in an indication of unity but not uniformity.[39] Hence, fans in the context of Hallyu are not merely passive consumers. They are active participants who use technologies like the Internet to engage in rituals and practices that generate layered meaning around a cultural product like K-pop. Nevertheless, the activities of institutional actors of Hallyu and the actions of fans are not always opposed to each other. Rather, actors of Hallyu and Hallyu-hwa work with a porous border, constantly interfacing with each other and collaborating when interests align. This porousness between fans and institutional actors like the Korean state, conglomerates, and cultural industrialists is key in understanding the dynamics that arise alongside the development of intricate, rhizomatic fan networks or "fandoms."

"Mahal ko kayo": Sandara Park, emotional labor, and the unwitting genesis of K-pop's popularity in the Philippines

[36] Choi, 49.
[37] The equivalent of "-hwa" is the suffix "-ize" in English and denotes "to cause or to be" or "to become"
[38] Choi, "Hallyu versus Hallyu-Hwa: Cultural Phenomenon versus Institutional Campaign," 49.
[39] Choi, 40.

The origins of K-pop in the Philippines can be traced to Sandara Park's popularity in the Philippine entertainment industry in 2004. Born in Busan, South Korea on November 12, 1984, Park lived in South Korea until she was 10 years old. Following the collapse of her father's trading business in 1994, Park's family moved to the Philippines, where her father started a small business in Pasay City, Manila. In an interview in 2010, Park expressed difficulty adjusting to the Philippines not due to racism but due to differences in language and culture. "When I told them that I wanted to be a celebrity, my schoolmates would sarcastically ask 'You can't even speak properly, how can you become a celebrity?'"[40] [41] Despite her initial difficulties with the language, Park became proficient in both Tagalog and Filipino by the time she auditioned for talent show *Star Circle Quest* in 2004.

Park's success in *Star Circle Quest* and in the Philippine entertainment industry was arguably due to her demonstrated proximity to Filipino culture. Park placed second on *Star Circle Quest* – despite her lack of talent in acting, singing, and dancing[42] – due to her humor and by endearing herself to her Filipino audience. From her audition for *Star Circle Quest* alone, Park had already demonstrated her proximity to Filipino culture. She presented a video of herself impersonating Filipino singer Regine Velasquez while lip-syncing to her song. Park then conversed with the judges about her dreams of becoming a star in Taglish, a mix of Tagalog and English deployed in quotidian Philippine life. When asked to act out a typical scene in a Filipino soap where a woman discovers the infidelity of her boyfriend, Park did so in straight Tagalog. "I

[40] 임혜선, "[스타일기]산다라박② '벙어리로 살았던 시절엔...'" Naver TV 연예, March 5, 2010, https://entertain.naver.com/read?oid=277&aid=0002331538.
[41] "제가 연예인이 되고 싶다고 하면 친구들은 '말도 못하면서 어떻게 연예인이 되겠냐'며 비아냥거렸어요. 당시 충격 받아 말을 안했죠. 그래서 주위사람들은 제가 벙어린 줄 알았데요."
[42] Jason Vincent Aquino Cabanes, "Multicultural Mediations, Developing World Realities: Indians, Koreans and Manila's Entertainment Media," *Media, Culture & Society* 36, no. 5 (July 1, 2014): 634, https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443714532979.

was going to buy you a house and lot if I won in this contest!"[43] she even joked, improvising a uniquely Filipino punchline that intersected triumph, Filipino soap opera tropes, and the most ubiquitous prize on Filipino game shows and talent search shows. As the barrage of questions and requests from the judges ended with their approval of her entry into the competition, Park broke down in tears, blurting "Mahal ko kayo" ("I love you all") out of the blue, to the amusement of the judges.[44] Park's comedic antics on the show and coinage of the term 'krung-krung'[45] earned her the title "Pambansang Krung-Krung ng Pilipinas," or the "National Happily Crazy Person of the Philippines," a title that she continues to hold today. The title is reminiscent of the national symbols that Filipinos had been – and are still – obligated to learn in school. In this sense, Sandara's performance on *Star Cirlce Quest* allowed her to embed herself into the very list of symbols that purportedly defined Filipino national identity despite not being Filipino herself: a reminder of the flimsiness of Filipino nationalism.

Beyond endearment, Park's performance of proximity to Filipino culture was arguably an act of emotional labor. Emotional labor is constituted of acts of "channeling, transforming, legitimating and managing one's and others' emotions and expressions of emotions in order to cultivate and nurture the social networks that are the building blocks of social movements."[46] While typically deployed when discussing transnational care work or social networks of feminist movements, Sandara's performance on *Star Circle Quest* was an act of emotional labor that coddled Filipino nationalist and cultural anxieties by her being "so willing and excited to learn and be trained by foreigners who have always been so underrated and economically debilitated in

[43] "Bibili pa kita sana ng house lot kung panalo ako sa contest na 'to!"
[44] Ren Froilan, *Sandara Park Crying on SCQ Audition*, 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=03GNiSfDJ3M.
[45] Park herself defined the term as a "happy, cute, crazy person"
[46] Verta Taylor and Leila Rupp, "Loving Internationalism: The Emotion Culture of Transnational Women's Organizations, 1888-1945," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (February 21, 2006): 141, https://doi.org/10.17813/maiq.7.2.fw3t5032xkq5l62h.

their prominence as performing arts."[47] Further, Sandara's mimicry of Filipino popular music singers and soap opera actors was an inversion of the mimicry of American popular music expected of Filipinos. On a deeper level, Sandara's audition was interpreted as her own desire to be Filipino and perform a deference to Filipino cultures and versions of modernity. This in turn transformed her audition in the Filipino national psyche into a performance of Sandara's psuedo-Filipinoness. Finally, Sandara's identity as a diasporic South Korean in the Philippines, alongside her family's hardships, painted her as a victim of modernization. This provided an emotional template that was easy for Filipinos to relate to, for Filipinos themselves had been hemorrhaging family members to waves of labor migration that intensified during the turn of the century. By performing emotional labor and cultural intimacy Park's performance of Filipino as a South Korean soothed cultural anxieties that had roots in the Philippines' colonial past.

Park's acts of emotional labor and performance of pseudo-Filipinoness left a lasting impact on viewers in the Philippines. Park failed to win the top prize on the show but sustained a moderately successful career in Philippine show business, producing hit songs and starring in box-office topping films until 2007, when she returned to South Korea with her family. "haha thats the reason why we (Filipino) love her.." read a comment from 2011 on Park's audition video, while a comment from 2010 mused "Yeah I think k-pop is been discover or popular in the philippines because of sandara.."[48] Looking back on Park's role as a liaison between South Korea and the Philippines, blogger manderley_angel asserted that "In retrospect, it is entirely fitting that ["Mahal ko kayo"] would be the words that would not only stamp the beginning of her rise

[47] manderley_angel, "'In Again' Sandara Park (Dara Park) – An Unlikely Bridge Between the Philippines and Korea," Livejournal, *Yg_twentyone* (blog), June 18, 2009, https://yg-twentyone.livejournal.com/66441.html.
[48] Ren Froilan, *Sandara Park Crying on SCQ Audition*.

to fame, but also define her entire career here in the Philippines."[49] Manderley_angel's posts submitted that it was a "mutual-love relationship" between Filipinos and Sandara that allowed her to destroy Filipino stereotypes of "disconnected haughtiness that most Pilipinos associate with the typical Korean resident or tourist."[50] Indeed, Park's performance of emotional labor and intimacy with Philippine culture throughout *Star Circle Quest* generated the feeling of proximity between Park and Filipino supporters. This proximity from 2004 until 2007 would be recalled and amplified when she debuted as an idol in YG Entertainment-produced South Korean girl group 2NE1 in 2009.

[49] manderley_angel, "'In Again' Sandara Park (Dara Park) – An Unlikely Bridge Between the Philippines and Korea."
[50] manderley_angel.

Chapter 2
DIY citizenship and the boom of K-pop in the Philippines, 2006-2009

2009 is typically cited as the beginning of K-pop's popularity in the Philippines. An analysis of blogs and forums, however, reveal that the establishment of fan clubs for K-pop idol groups as early as 2006 laid the foundation for K-pop's boom years later. Though unrecognized by entertainment companies in South Korea, these unofficial fan clubs created online spaces for Filipino fans of idol groups to gather, share information, and organize offline events: examples of how K-pop groups were creating their own forms of citizenship. Fans were arguably responding to colonial trauma, forming new centers of power through their reimagination of community and citizenship. Moreover, the centrality of logistical *and* affective infrastructures in fan citizenships arguably constitutes a concerted effort on the part of Filipino fans to contend with structures of domination.

Building the foundations of K-pop fandom in the Philippines, 2006-2008

Growing access to the Internet was fundamental to the formation of K-pop fan clubs in the Philippines. From 2004 until 2006, the estimated number of internet subscribers in the Philippines grew from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000.[51] Internet access enabled fans to not only consume K-pop itself, but to also connect with other fans who held similar affinities. The Internet thus facilitated the formation of Filipino K-pop fan clubs beginning in 2006. Early Filipino K-pop fan clubs proceeded to lay the foundations for K-pop's astronomic rise in popularity in the Philippines years later. In 2006, Filipino fans of SM Entertainment boyband

[51] Candy Villanueva, "DEKADA: A Decade of the Internet in the Philippines; PLDT Helps Define Philippine Internet History," *BusinessWorld*, March 29, 2004, https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:4C1P-9KS0-00JS-914G-00000-00&context=1516831.

TVXQ[52] established Cassiopeia Philippines and fans of JYP Entertainment solo artist Rain established Cloud Philippines. Fans of SM Entertainment boyband SHINHWA consequently established the SHINHWA Philippines fan club in 2007, and 4 fan clubs of SM Entertainment boyband Super Junior merged to form SJ United Philippines in 2008. Leaders and members of fan clubs mostly identified as Filipino women who were either college students or young professionals.[53]

The Internet functioned as a new form of public space wherein fans from the Philippines could find each other. In the case of SHINHWA Philippines, for example, Filipino fans of SHINHWA connected through an online forum for SHINHWA fans outside of South Korea. Filipino fans then started their own forum for SHINHWA fans located in the Philippines, simultaneously establishing the SHINHWA Philippines fan club in December 2007. Founding members of Cloud Philippines similarly met through online forums for Rain fans outside of South Korea and established the Cloud Philippines website in addition to special forums for Filipino fans of Rain. The Cloud Philippines website was crucial in disseminating announcements regarding fan club events while the forums mediated discussions amongst the fans themselves.

Cassiopeia Philippines was uniquely significant in the context of developing K-pop fandom in the Philippines. The sheer amount of record-keeping and organization that the fan club sustained through their websites, mailing lists, and social media accounts was unmatched by

[52] Also referred to as 통방신기, Tongbangshinki, or Tohoshinki
[53] All blogs analyzed, save for one, have been written by people who identify as Filipino women. Each blog author would also discuss struggles in school or frustrations at the workplace in other blog entries.

any other fan club at the time. Cassiopeia Philippines (hereafter referred to as CassPH) was formed on June 1, 2006 with the intention of promoting the group's South Korean and Japanese music and bringing together Filipino fans of the group. The fan club openly admitted that it had adopted the title "Cassiopeia" from the name of TVXQ's official fan club in South Korea and that the club was unrecognized by SM Entertainment as an official fan club, much like other TVXQ fan clubs in Southeast Asia.[54] CassPH thus positioned itself as a derivative of the 'official,' entertainment agency-sanctioned fan club of TVXQ. Yet more important than recognition from the entertainment agency was that, according to CassPH, "TVXQ! does acknowledge their fanbase from these countries."[55] Acknowledgement from TVXQ themselves was enough motivation for the fan club to continue organizing fans in the Philippines, as was the aspiration of eventually being awarded recognition as an official fan club by SM Entertainment. CassPH thus developed four key practices: tracking membership, organizing offline fan gatherings, coordinating campaigns, and soliciting input from fan club members regarding events. These key practices would be replicated by fan clubs of other K-pop idol groups in the Philippines at the time.

At the heart of CassPH's activities and practices was its organized body of members. Though the CassPH blog at cassph.org is no longer active, remnants of the site have been captured and indexed through the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine. The blog reveals an impressive internal structure, which was spearheaded by core organizing members and supported

[54] Cassiopeia Philippines, "FAQs," CassPH, August 11, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20080811043907/http://cassph.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=34&Itemid=27.
[55] Cassiopeia Philippines.

by general members. To become a general member, interested individuals had to complete a membership form with their personal information, select their favorite TVXQ members, write a brief introduction to themselves, and send the form to the fan club's email. Interested individuals then had to enter basic information about themselves into a fan database that was used by core members to create the listserv which delivered information and event announcements to members via email. "For those who haven't done these two things, you are not official Cassiopeia PH members yet so please do it. Merely joining the Yahoogroups or the multiply site or the official website does not make you an official Cassiopeia PH member,"[56] read one urgent website post by a fan club administrator. Membership in CassPH was hence not just a matter of partaking in the discourse happening in forums, but deliberately consenting to participate in a network of information sharing.

Fan gatherings or "G's," on the other hand, facilitated offline interactions amongst CassPH members. CassPH core members organized G's since the establishment of the fan club in 2006. Blog entries as early as 2006 describe such G's as a party that catered specifically to TVXQ fans, complete with games like quiz bees and singing contests for TVXQ songs.[57] The earliest venues for the event were hotel function spaces and karaoke rooms in Manila. Information regarding G's was disseminated through blog posts, forum posts, and e-mails. As membership grew, core members required support from general members to organize G's. For CassPH's fourth G, for example, core members posted a call for volunteers, asking interested members to volunteer for Finance, Logistics, Technical, Production, and Promotion

[56] Cassiopeia Philippines, "[IMPORTANT!} Membership Form and Database Entry," CassPH, July 22, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20080722115623/http://cassph.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=61&catid=39&Itemid=68#JOSC_TOP.
[57] Cassiopeia Philippines, "2G: Happenings!," CassPH, May 1, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20080501123405/http://cassph.org/index.php?limitstart=2.

committees.[58] Core members headed each committee and facilitated inter-committee coordination. For those unable to attend the G's in Metro Manila, CassPH organized events for a "DongBang Day In." Using information from the CassPH fan database, core members coordinated with members from different regions in the Philippines to organize events specific to localities like Cebu, Davao, Las Piñas, and Rizal. In the blog post with instructions for organizing a DongBang Day In, core members insisted that there were "[no] contests, no souvenirs, no big venues required. It's okay if the members just go to a restaurant and have lunch together... No pressure, no commitment, no hassles. The biggest requirement is to just take pictures with each other."[59] [60]

Image from CassPH's 2G in 2007[61]

[58] Cassiopeia Philippines, "[ADMIN POST] 4G - WANTED : COMMITTEE MEMBERS," CassPH | Multiply v.02, February 12, 2009, https://web.archive.org/web/20090212083306/http://cassiopeiaph.multiply.com/notes.
[59] Cassiopeia Philippines, "DongBang Day In," CassPH, April 26, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20080811043836/http://cassph.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=41&Itemid=50.
[60] "Ano gagawin sa DBD? Kahit ano. No contests, no souvenirs, no big venues required. It's okay if the members just go to a restaurant and have lunch together. Pwede rin they can go swimming somewhere. No pressure, no commitments, no hassles. Ang pinakabigatin na requirement dito ay magpicture-picture kayo. "
[61] Cassiopeia Philippines, "Cass on Top of the World," Cassiopeia Philippines - Uniting Filipino TVXQ Fans, September 12, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20080912052541/http://www.cassph.org/.

More important than the events themselves, however, was the purpose for organizing them. A post advertising CassPH's fifth G, asks:

> Are you sad that you have no one to speak to because of your craziness and queerness? Is there no one who understands your foreign language that even you yourself don't even understand? Are you in front of the computer, laughing alone at the crazy antics of really hawt men? Are you looking for someone to talk to about your pairing? Here's your chance to meet and mingle with fellow TVXQ fans like you! [62] [63]

Gatherings were hence attempts at manifesting an online community in offline spaces. While online activities were useful for connecting with new members and keeping existing fan club members engaged, offline activities were essential to creating social bonds and establishing a sense of community. As CassPH's advertisement implies, loneliness and disconnectedness were central to the early experiences of K-pop fans in the Philippines. With consumption of K-pop largely mediated by the Internet, fans could enjoy music or music videos on their own regardless of location but lacked opportunities to enjoy their favorite group with others who shared the same affinity. Fan clubs like CassPH advertised G's as opportunities to overcome the loneliness that was characteristic of being a Filipino K-pop fan in the late 2000's, fully aware of a shared desire to enjoy K-pop with other fans. G's thus doubled as a challenge to the loneliness that blighted early fan experiences with K-pop as they allowed fans to glimpse – even just for a day – the reality of the offline fan community.

---

[62] Cassiopeia Philippines, "5G Ticket Sales," CassPH, March 18, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20080715114919/http://cassph.org/index.php?limitstart=12.

[63] "Ikaw ba ay nalo-longkot at walang makausap sa iyong kabaliwan at kabadingan?
Wala bang nakakaintindi sa iyong banyagang lenguwahe na hindi mo rin naman naiintindihan?
Ikaw ba ay nasa harap lang ng computer at tumatawa mag-isa sa kabaliwan ng mga lalaking sobrang hawt? Ikaw ba ay naghahanap ng kausap para sa mga pairing mo?
Here's your chance to meet and mingle with fellow TVXQ fans like you!"

CassPH core members organized and executed events, but general members also had the opportunity to provide input through member surveys. Core members constantly sought opinions and feedback from general members when planning offline events. For example, online surveys like "Cassiopeia Philippines 4G" solicited input from general members regarding the details of the fourth CassPH gathering such as the venue, food, and giveaway items. A fragment of the survey's description reads: "Please answer this survey conscientiously because we will base our plans for 4G on this, so please take this seriously."[64] [65] The survey included questions about price range and overnight accommodations for those who lived outside the capital region, indicating awareness of the socio-economic differences amongst members. Core members of CassPH thus demonstrated their desire to organize events that suited the needs and interests of the general members.

CassPH also conducted a variety of campaigns with the hope of demonstrating their demand for TVXQ to institutions outside of the fan club. The fan club began organizing voting campaigns for TVXQ's songs on local music channels and radio stations in 2006, though they were met with little success until 2009. In 2008, CassPH also coordinated a mass signature drive. In a blog post, a core member explained that core members had approached a Korean company in 2006 about bringing TVXQ to Manila for a concert. The company agreed to do so if TVXQ remained popular in 2009. "What we need to do now," instructed the core member, "is to send a PETITION LETTER with SIGNATURES to make TVXQ come to the Philippines."[66]

[64] Cassiopeia Philippines, "Cassiopeia Philippines 4G," SmartSurvey, 2007, https://www.smartsurvey.co.uk/s/2510ynhcj.
[65] "Pakisagutan ng maigi ang survey na ito dahil ibabase namin sa survey na ito ang plano para sa 4G kaya please seryosohin ninyo."
[66] Cassiopeia Philippines, "[IMPORTANT!} Membership Form and Database Entry."

Though few other blogs and forums mention it at the time, CassPH was privy to the planning of a "concert of a sort or a mini-festival that will happen next year" during the "50th anniversary of friendship of Philippines and Korea."[67] CassPH sought to bring TVXQ to perform in Manila during the event, but core members claimed that everyone needed to "help each other out"[68] first by printing out the form prepared by core members and collecting signatures from others who wanted to see TVXQ perform. Core members additionally asserted the precedence of physical copies over digital copies of the form and requested that the forms be handed to core members or mailed in "BECAUSE IT'S MORE REALISTIC AND CONVINCING."[69] The signature forms would be submitted alongside the fan database as proof of the existence of a demand for a TVXQ performance.

In addition to logistical import, CassPH's events and practices carried emotional significance for fans. On top logistical infrastructure, K-pop fan clubs like CassPH were simultaneously constructing structures of feeling through surveys, campaigns, and events like Gatherings. A term popularized by Marxist cultural critic Raymond Williams, structures of feeling refer to an evanescent, "elusive stratum of reality" that has often been overlooked yet has remained important in the creation of historical facts.[70] Whereas affect and emotionality have typically been discarded as incidental whisperings of daily life, they challenge Euro-American, white supremacist, patriarchal, and imperialist ways of knowing by challenging historians to account for the lived realities that constitute culture and history. In the case of Filipino K-pop

[67] Cassiopeia Philippines.
[68] "dapat magtulungan tayong lahat"
[69] Cassiopeia Philippines, "[IMPORTANT!} Membership Form and Database Entry."
[70] Devika Sharma and Frederik Tygstrup, eds., "Introduction," in *Structures of Feeling: Affectivity and the Study of Culture*, Concepts for the Study of Culture 5 (Berlin ; New York: De Gruyter, 2015), 9.

fans in the Philippines, structures of feeling were first established between fans and idol groups – in this example between Cassiopeians and TVXQ. Fan clubs like Fan clubs like CassPH then fortified and channeled the structures of feeling to gain momentum for events and campaigns. While campaigns were fueled by the desire to see a group live, events like Gatherings were driven by a need to counter the loneliness and isolation that dogged the lives of early Filipino K-pop fans. The social bonds with other fans and the sense of community validated affinities for K-pop in addition to engendering the feeling of belonging to a much larger group. In this sense, fans were not only informed by administrative work that collected data and circulated information, but also by the emotional labor of establishing social bonds, strengthening emotional ties, and fostering feelings of being in community with other fans. These structures of feeling would be just as integral as logistical infrastructure for informing a culture of inclusion and participation amongst Filipino K-pop fans.

Filipino K-pop fandom and do-it-yourself citizenship

Fans of popular culture tend to be derided as passive consumers without any political significance. Daniel Dayan, for example, claims that "the activities of the fan reflect a world of play and mimicry, a social reality that could be described as closed off, marginal, a game... Here is a public without a commissive dimension, without a sense of seriousness."[71] Dayan misguidedly separates fandom from politics, barring any connection between fan activities and civic performances. This tendency to overlook fans as political actors arguably stems from a myopic notion that entertainment and politics are separate entities. With the rise of commercial

[71] Daniel Dayan, "The Peculiar Public of Television," *Media, Culture & Society* 23, no. 6 (November 1, 2001): 752, https://doi.org/10.1177/016344301023006004.

Internet, however, fan practices and cultures shifted radically. CassPH, its activities, and its culture exemplified exactly the kind of change taking place in the late 2000's. As fans of K-pop before its boom in popularity, Filipino fan clubs identified the problems that kept their interests marginal, sought out the corporations capable of making decisions, developed campaigns to make their interests legible, and educated members in the interest of mobilizing support through the Internet. If information, discussion, and participation are essential customs for democratic politics, fan clubs had already incorporated each into their fan club's infrastructure, practices, and activities by 2008.

Do-it-yourself citizenship, or DIY citizenship, is thus a useful term in capturing the project of K-pop fandom in the Philippines. Citizenship, in its most basic form, is a status to be attained through the performance of obligations. The performance of obligations typically occurs through participation in localized civic activities, which compose the larger formation of civic life. The understanding of citizenship has been encumbered by the emergence of nation-states, as civic life and civic participation serve are usually performed in service of the state. The nation-state thus mediates what can be called "conventional citizenship." However, whereas conventional citizenship is negotiated through one's civic participation in a nation-state, alternative citizenships contend the boundaries and fixed appearance of conventional citizenship.

DIY citizenship is a form of alternative citizenship enabled primarily by growing access to the Internet. It created meaning and belonging specifically in youth subcultures that are located online[72] and is a response to alienation from conventional civic life due to factors such as age, gender, or class. K-pop fandoms in the Philippines may not have appeared to be political,

[72] Matt Ratto and Megan Boler, "Introduction," in *DIY CItizenship: Critical Making and Social Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014), 3, https://direct-mit-edu.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/books/book/3410/chapter/113620/Introduction.

but the fan activities and practices drew on skills necessary for civic engagement and participation in a community, foregrounded by one's identity as a fan.[73] K-pop fans in the Philippines in the late 2000's hence engineered practices, cultures, and infrastructures that embodied DIY citizenship. Instead of performing obligations for a state, however, the DIY citizenship of K-pop fandom required participation in a community of fans who were working to positively increase the reputation of their favorite idol group and secure recognition for themselves as fans. The nature of DIY citizenship was immediate and personal but was simultaneously transnational. For example, while localized events and Gatherings carried out emotional labor and validated fan identities in the Philippines, Filipino K-pop fans and fan clubs also perceived themselves as allies of fans in South Korea and in other regions of Southeast Asia. The resultant third characteristic of the alternative citizenship being engineered by Filipino K-pop fans was thus a rejection of conventions established by American imperialism. Though fans may have been more conscious of the first two characteristics, the third resulted from the combination of import given to local, immediate emotional labor and solidarity with fellow fans that eagerly overflowed past national borders.

The appeal of DIY citizenship for K-pop fans in the Philippines was thus arguably the opportunity it proffered to participate in civic life. K-pop fans largely identified as young women, a population underserved by conventional Filipino citizenship. Riddled with machismo and outdated notions regarding the inability of youth to meaningfully participate in civic activities, conventional Filipino citizenship was incapable of tackling the needs and demands of K-pop fans in the late 2000's. On a larger scale, Filipino civic life was lethargic at best due to

[73] Liesbet van Zoonen, *Entertaining the Citizen: When Politics and Popular Culture Converge*, Critical Media Studies (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 46.

colonial hangover. The elites entrenched by the American imperial order continued to preside over the matters of the nation. These same elites continued to deprive Filipinos of a consequential civic life, preventing individual Filipinos from exercising any power in the governance of the nation and securing the rule of entrenched elites. The rise of DIY citizenship through K-pop fans in the Philippines is thus a direct response to civic lethargy running through the archipelago – the outcome of a desire to participate in meaningful civic life compounded over decades. DIY citizenship was additionally an avenue for Filipino K-pop fans to create a locus of power that the Philippine state could not entirely deprive them of.

CassPH is emblematic of how Filipino K-pop fan clubs shaped and embodied DIY citizenship as early as 2006. The club connected and organized through the Internet and incorporated democratic customs into the club's infrastructure, practices, and activities. Meticulous membership databases compiled information about members themselves and the internal structures of the club facilitated the sharing of information. Core members shared information about club activities and events through the CassPH blog and e-mail distribution lists, but general members also had the opportunity to spread information and engage in discourse about TVXQ through the fan club's forums.

Whether core or general, CassPH members additionally honed their organizational abilities through the planning and execution of events. Events fostered a sense of community and offered an opportunity to personally connect with the larger entity that fans were performing rituals of citizenship for. Indeed, the Internet was crucial for creating a network of fans that lent shape to the infrastructure of the fan club, but the fan club could not thrive on online interactions alone. Recognizing the need for offline meetups honed the organizational skills of CassPH's

members, which would prime the fan club to lead the organization of fan gatherings across multiple Filipino K-pop fan clubs in the future. Moreover, Gatherings generated a culture of inclusion within fan clubs. Members were encouraged to participate not only in the gatherings themselves but to provide input in the planning of events through surveys in order to ensure that their needs were recognized by the members responsible for planning.

As a result of the culture of inclusion, Filipino K-pop fan clubs also sought to bridge socio-economic gaps for their members. CassPH planning surveys and Dong Bong Day In events demonstrated a desire to meet the socio-economic needs of general members who may have needed accommodations to attend Gatherings or may not have been able to fly to where the Gathering was being held at all. As an additional example, Cloud Philippines – the fan club of K-pop soloist Rain – used money from the organizing members' own pockets to provide shuttle services for members who could not arrange private transportation to the Gathering venue in 2007.[74] Socio-economic gaps usually excluded fans from enjoying K-pop through typical means of consumption: buying albums, purchasing merchandise, and flying out of the Philippines for concerts. This socio-economic boundary had a clear benefit for entertainment companies who produced K-pop idol groups, as the exchange of money for cultural products aided in their accumulation of capital. K-pop fan clubs in the Philippines, however, sought to bridge the socio-economic gap instead of enforcing it. This additionally echoes the biformal nature of K-pop, proving that there is a marked difference between the cultural products itself and the culture that fans create around the product.

[74] Agent P, "Cloud Philippines Turns One!," *Agent P's Headquarters* (blog), August 9, 2007, https://agentp.blog/2007/08/09/cloud-philippines-turns-one/.

The mobilization of membership is another core quality of DIY citizenship. CassPH's core group defined an issue held by all members of the club – that their idol group had not yet performed in the Philippines – then identified the key actors in addressing their problem: private commercial business and the state. They then developed the signature campaign as a tactic to demonstrate their demands to key actors, and they disseminated information about the campaign through their networks on the Internet. The group sought to mobilize its members in order to consolidate the fan club's demands to bring TVXQ to the Philippines and aimed to create a definitive, representative document through a signature campaign that all general members would participate in. Without any monetary incentive or goal other than to promote their favorite idol group and create community with other fans, the activities, campaigns, and infrastructure of Filipino K-pop fan clubs refuted Dayan's misjudgment by carving out what can only be appropriately termed as DIY citizenship.

Nobody, nobody but you: Short term causes for K-pop's boom in the popularity in the Philippines, 2009

2009 was a landmark year for K-pop and K-pop culture in the Philippines. In the short-term, Sandara Park's debut as a K-pop idol and the viral success of girl group Wonder Girls' single "Nobody" led to an explosion in K-pop's popularity in the Philippines. However, the foundations that Filipino K-pop fan clubs had laid years prior was just as crucial to K-pop's boom in popularity. The growth of alternative citizenships mediated by fan clubs had quietly cleared a landing space for K-pop in the Philippines, but also created the infrastructure required to retain new fans.

Sandara Park's return as an idol in 2009 sparked interest in K-pop outside of fan club circles in the Philippines. Park debuted in May 2009 as a member of YG Entertainment girl group 2NE1 under the stage name "Dara." By June 2009, 2NE1became the first K-pop girl group to chart on leading Philippine music channel MYX with their debut single "Fire," which rose to its peak of #2 by July 2009.[75] The group's follow up single "I Don't Care" became the first K-pop song to reach #1 in the chart's history in September 2009. 2NE1's success in the Philippines was carried by a wave of supporters who had remembered Park from her foray into the local entertainment industry, a mix of active Filipino K-pop fans and non-Kpop fans alike. In a 2009 forum discussion entitled "Ate Sandy (sandara Park) W/ Her Friends In Philippines," Filipinos and non-Filipinos alike discussed the revival of Park's career through K-pop and older Filipino fans reminisced about her days in the Philippine industry. "two thumbs up for Sandy(that's what we call her in the Philippines).. AJA Sandy!!"[76] exclaimed one supporter. "oh how i miss krung krung girl (sandara)...she used to endorse many brands in the philippines..," recalled another.[77] The use of "ate" and "Sandy" in forum posts is peculiar, as it connotes a degree of intimacy between the writers and Sandara. "Ate" is a common term to address or refer to an older sister in Tagalog. "Sandy," on the other hand, was a nickname bequeathed to Sandara during her period of fame in the Philippines. The intimacy that Sandara generated between herself and her Filipino fans during her stint in Philippine show business thus persisted until her re-debut as a K-pop idol in 2009.

---

[75] parkminnie, "2NE1, Wonder Girls and Super Junior on Top Hits Chart in the Philippines," Blog, *Nothing Else* (blog), July 1, 2009, https://parkminnie.wordpress.com/2009/07/01/2ne1-wonder-girls-and-super-junior-on-top-hits-chart-in-the-philippines/.
[76] Guest joey-I inmizgen17, "Ate Sandy (Sandara Park) W/ Her Friends In Philippines," Soompi Forums, April 12, 2009, https://forums.soompi.com/topic/204253-ate-sandy-sandara-park-w-her-friends-in-philippines/.
[77] Guest haemin13 in mizgen17, "Ate Sandy (Sandara Park) W/ Her Friends In Philippines," Soompi Forums, April 12, 2009, https://forums.soompi.com/topic/204253-ate-sandy-sandara-park-w-her-friends-in-philippines/.

Park herself was fully aware of K-pop's growing popularity in the Philippines and sought to leverage it for her group's success. Following her debut, Park returned to the Philippines for a short vacation in August 2009. "I really missed the Philippines so much... So I came here. [Why here?] Because of course the Philippines is my second home,"[78] [79] said Park when asked about her return. Park was no stranger to performing emotional labor, fully accustomed to coddling Filipino nationalist and cultural anxieties from her earlier foray into the Philippine entertainment industry. She was thus more than willing to perform her pseudo-Filipinoness again with the knowledge that cultural intimacy is what secured the devotion of her Filipino fans. Indeed, it was the memory of this emotional labor and intimacy that encouraged fans to support Park in her new endeavors as a K-pop idol.

If Sandara's debut was a spark, the viral success of the single "Nobody" from JYP Entertainment girl group the Wonder Girls was the ignition that brought public Filipino interest in K-pop to life. Despite its release in September 2008, "Nobody" entered MYX's charts in July 2009 at #8 [80] and peaked in August 2009 at the #3 spot.[81] The single played ceaselessly on the radio, and its music video spurred hundreds of viral remakes from student dance groups to dancing inmates.[82] The viral popularity of "Nobody" demonstrated K-pop's appeal to a

[78] ABS-CBN News, "Guess Who's Back in Manila... Sandara!," ABS-CBN News, August 14, 2009, https://news.abs-cbn.com/entertainment/08/14/09/guess-whos-back-manila-sandara.
[79] "Na-miss ko sobra ang Pilipinas. So ngayon pumunta ako dito. [Bakit dito?] Siyempre second home ko ang Philippines."
[80] parkminnie, "2NE1, Wonder Girls and Super Junior on Top Hits Chart in the Philippines."
[81] Jp, "Chart Central PH: MYX Hit Chart [2009.9.20]," *Chart Central PH* (blog), accessed March 3, 2022, http://chartcentral.blogspot.com/2009/09/myx-hit-chart-2009920.html.
[82] Maria Jorica Pamintuan, "Wondering About the Wonder Girls," Philstar Global, December 4, 2009, https://www.philstar.com/lifestyle/young-star/2009/12/04/528884/wondering-about-wonder-girls.

mainstream Filipino audience and led MYX to begin regularly airing K-pop music videos alongside staple Filipino and American pop music videos.[83]

Yet there was something notably different about the wave of K-pop being heralded by "Nobody." In his seminal book *K-Pop: Popular Music, Cultural Amnesia, and Economic Innovation in South Korea*, John Lie proposes that groups that debuted in the latter half of the 2000s, like TVXQ and the Wonder Girls, marked a turn in the broader history of K-pop. This "second generation" of K-pop idol groups, as they are now widely referred to, cemented the template for future groups in terms of both sound and performance: hip-hop influenced beats, synthesizer-heavy melodies, and catchy refrains partnered with a signature dance move.[84] Though lacking in the hip-hop influence, this formula is the key to understanding the viral success of "Nobody" in the Philippines. Its repeated English hook of *"I want nobody, nobody but you,"* partnered with simple dance moves was copied by everyone from school groups to prison inmates in the Philippines. The easy replicability of "Nobody" was key to its viral success, which in turn became a gateway for K-pop to enter the mainstream of Philippine popular culture, whether it was through the radio, the television, or the internet.

It also certainly helped that South Korean entertainment companies turned more firmly towards American aesthetics when developing the so-called second generation of K-pop. Entertainment companies appropriated elements of American – specifically Black American – sounds, styles, and movements in the production of second-generation groups. For example, in the music video of "Nobody," JYP Entertainment mimicked the sets and movements of 1960's

[83] Sarah Kristine M. Alanzalon, "Kpopped!: Understanding the Filipino Teens' Consumption of Korean Popular Music and Videos" (Metro Manila, Philippines, University of the Philippines, Diliman, 2011).
[84] John Lie, "Seoul Calling," in *K-Pop* (University of California Press, 2014), 126, https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520283114.003.0003.

Motown girl groups like The Supremes. In the music video for 2NE1's "FIRE (Street Ver.)," members are garbed like popular rapper Missy Elliot and R&B singer Ciara. Moreover, YG Entertainment boyband Big Bang's concept, music, and styling were directly lifted from Black American R&B boyband B2K from the group's 2006 debut up until 2011. In this sense, "K-pop is indistinguishable from American pop music in virtually every way."[85] This was beneficial in a country like the Philippines, where American pop culture continued to dominate national cultural consciousness as well as the charts. A remnant of the American imperial era, it is ironically the acculturation to American popular music shared by the Philippines and South Korea that provided the necessary analogues for K-pop in 2009.

YG Entertainment boyband Big Bang's debut photos compared to group photos of Black American boyband B2K[86]

Despite the boom in K-pop due to Sandara Park's debut in 2NE1 and "Nobody" in 2009, older K-pop fans observed frustrating differences between themselves and the developing, corporatized stereotypes of K-pop fans in the Philippines. Writing about her experience being

[85] Lie, 143.
[86] Sooold, "Netizens Expose YG's Media-Play History," *Allkpop*, June 9, 2019, https://www.allkpop.com/article/2019/06/netizens-expose-ygs-media-play-history.

featured in a mini television documentary on K-pop's newfound popularity in the Philippines, Livejournal blogger, TVXQ fan, and CassPH core member x-xpaox-x was disturbed by the directions given by the segment producers:

> I was keen on the idea of being on TV and letting the whole world know I'm a KPop fangirl until the show's staff asked me if I could dress up like 2NE1 or the Wonder Girls, and maybe even dance and sing to 'Nobody'. *emergency alarm rings* That's a big no no no NO for me. One, I don't dress up like 2NE1 or the Wonder Girls. Two, I don't have a problem with dancing to 'Nobody' but I don't dance. Specially on national TV. Three, I sing, but only in norebang. So it's definitely a no-go, I told them. And I was like, "Gah, I think I know where this is going." *(READ: I don't want the feature to be something like, "this is Paola. She's a Kpop fanatic. She buys all these stuff and she dedicates all her life to Kpop. Look, she even dresses up like them and sings and dance like them everyday! She really wants to be like them. T_____T)*[87] (italics in original)

x-xpaox-x surmised that the segment's producers were so insistent on including 2NE1 and the Wonder Girls in their feature because they were the only K-pop idol groups whom the producers knew. “They're getting pretty well known here now,” wrote x-xpaox-x, “cos of Sandara and Nobody’s playing on the radios and on tv.”[88]

Contrary to the narrative being produced in the mini documentary – and arguably to the popular memory of K-pop in the Philippines – K-pop fans were active long before “Nobody” and 2NE1 moved K-pop into the mainstream of Philippine media and culture consciousness. By 2009, fan clubs had already carved out complex identities and relationships grounded in DIY citizenship. As x-xpaox-x’s account demonstrated, fans were also cognizant of just how complex their identities and relationships were. In 2009, fan clubs continued to organize Gatherings, drive voting campaigns, and had even begun organizing conventions across different fan clubs. This misrepresentation of K-pop fandom by conventional Philippine mass media, however, elucidated

[87] x-xpaox-x, “Another One of My Tv ‘Appearances’... Wait, This One’s FORREALZ! XD: X_xpaox_x — LiveJournal,” Livejournal, *PAOsitivity! +* (blog), July 31, 2009, https://x-xpaox-x.livejournal.com/47771.html.
[88] x-xpaox-x.

anew the reason fan clubs needed alternative modes of citizenship. In addition to the inaccessibility of conventional citizenships, the majority of K-pop fans – who, on the most part, were young female Filipinos – were unsatisfied by their representation in mainstream, corporatized Philippine media. This produced a need for K-pop fans to carve out spaces for themselves on the Internet, creating online publics where they felt they could represent themselves directly through blogs, forums, and proto-social media platforms. The reason why K-pop boomed in 2009 and sustained its popularity long after was not merely because of viral hits or because of faces familiar to Filipinos. Rather, by 2009, the K-pop fandom in the Philippines had already fleshed out a robust logistical infrastructure, structures of feeling, and slates of activities like Gatherings and campaigns. These constituents of DIY citizenship generated an active civic society of fans eager to welcome and include those who got swept up in the wave.

Porous borders: The Philippines-Korea Friendship Day Culture Festival of 2009

In addition to the entrance of K-pop into the Philippine media mainstream, 2009 was also a landmark year for K-pop related events in the Philippines. Prior to 2009, the only K-pop-related live event was the recording of South Korean music program *Pops In Seoul*'s 1000th episode in Manila on July 5, 2008. *Pops In Seoul*'s two-hour recording involved playing K-pop music videos for Philippine fan clubs and performances from hosts VJ Isak and Evan of 1990's boyband Click B.[89] CassPH circulated information about the recording to other K-pop fans, leading fan clubs of groups like Shinhwa, Super Junior, and soloist Rain to organize a group outing to attend the taping. Peculiarly, none of the groups that the fan clubs supported appeared

[89] All About Asia, "Pops In Seoul in Manila (It's True!)," *ALL ABOUT ASIA* (blog), June 25, 2008, https://allaboutasia.wordpress.com/2008/06/25/pops-in-seoul-in-manila-its-true/.

in the program.[90] Though minor, *Pops In Seoul*'s Manila taping reiterates the centrality of civic engagement activities such as online information sharing and offline community building events to the DIY citizenship being engineered by Filipino K-pop fans prior to 2009.

The Philippines-Korea Friendship Day Culture Festival of 2009 finally set the precedent for K-pop performances in Philippines. In May 2008, Philippine president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo signed a proclamation declaring 2009 as the Philippines-Republic of Korea Friendship Year based on historical ties, "similar aspirations for liberty, justice and democratic values," as well as "a strong, vibrant relationship in trade, business, investment, tourism, and people to people linkages." [91] The official proclamation did not specify what kind of historical ties inspired the declaration of the commemorative year. However, official documentation from the Philippine Embassy in South Korea noted that the event was meant to commemorate the Philippines' acknowledgement of the Republic of Korea on March 3, 1949 and the subsequent deployment of the Philippine Expeditionary Force to Korea as support for the South Korean forces during the Korean War in the 1950s.[92] During the Korean Film Festival held in Quezon City, Metro Manila on September 17, 2009, the South Korean Embassy in the Philippines announced plans for a cultural festival in November to close out the friendship year. South Korean ambassador to the Philippines Kim Kie-joo promised to try and send a South Korean artist to the Philippines for the cultural festival. Although Kim could not guarantee which artist would perform, he encouraged

[90] Agent P, "Pops in Seoul's 1,000th.," *Agent P's Headquarters* (blog), July 5, 2008, https://agentp.blog/2008/07/06/pops-in-seouls-1000th/.
[91] Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, "Proclamation No. 1495: DECLARING 2009 AS PHILIPPINES-REPUBLIC OF KOREA FRIENDSHIP YEAR AND MARCH 3, 2009 AS PHILIPPINES-REPUBLIC OF KOREA FRIENDSHIP DAY.," Pub. L. No. No. 1495, § Executive Issuances, Proclamation (2008), https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2008/05/07/proclamation-no-1495/.
[92] Embassy of the Philippines in South Korea, "Philippines-South Korea Relations," Embassy of the Philippines in South Korea, accessed December 7, 2021, http://www.philembassy-seoul.com/rp_rk_relations.asp.

Filipino K-pop fans to continue sharing their wishes and opinions through blogs, signature drives, and other platforms. “I think if there is a certain, a great number of audience, I think that should be a very convincing rationale that we have to bring them here,” said the ambassador. [93]

The celebration of Philippines-Korea Friendship Year thus demonstrated how leaders of states encouraged the production and spread of national popular culture. The commemorative year was established due to historical military and political connections and present economic relations. Nevertheless, towards the end, South Korean state representatives extended an invitation to Filipino K-pop fans to participate in the commemorative year. This invitation foreshadowed how Filipino fans of K-pop could also be appropriated by Filipino and South Korean state actors to meet political and economic ends. Ultimately, the Philippines-Korea Friendship Year’s Culture Festival must be construed as a celebration of conventional nation-state citizenship, as it was a live event negotiated and manifested through the relation of both nation-states. Ironically, however, Kim’s comment about letting fan desires be registered to the South Korean state’s organs in the Philippines and South Korean entertainment companies through blogs, signature drives, and other platforms lent even more legitimacy to existing practices in Philippine K-pop fan clubs as a form of civic engagement. It even nodded at the political potential of fan clubs and indicated that the South Korean embassy was aware of campaigns like CassPH’s signature drive to bring TVXQ to the Philippines. Yet the DIY citizenship and political potential of Filipino fan clubs was arguably only acknowledged due to the possibility of it being appropriated by nation-states for nation-building or state agendas.

[93] sookyeong, “Kpop to Invade the Philippines This November!,” *K Bites* (blog), September 19, 2009, https://sookyeong.wordpress.com/2009/09/19/kpop-to-invade-the-philippines/.

This presents a salient and necessary complication for the conception of DIY citizenship created by K-pop fans. It begs historians to ask: To what extent was the DIY citizenship developed by fans – with their fierce loyalty to cultural icons – inherently divorced from machinations of the nation-state? For fans of K-pop specifically, how separated can fan practices really be from the interests of the state? Events like the Philippines-Korea Friendship Day Culture Festival reveal a significant limitation of the argument that the building fandom and the practice of alternative citizenships is inherently transnational. In the specific case of K-pop, cultural products and their related phenomena were used by the South Korean state, cultural industrialists, and conglomerates as vehicles for economic growth and state-sponsored national branding. However, K-pop as a cultural product also provided an impetus for fans to organize themselves, giving rise to alternative forms of citizenship that could potentially resist the reductive inscriptions of nation-states and conventional citizenships.

The South Korean Embassy in the Philippines eventually announced that new SM Entertainment boyband SHINee would be performing at the Culture Festival at the Cultural Center of the Philippines on November 27, 2009, to the excitement from K-pop fans of all kinds. Accounts of the event itself revealed limitations of framing fan citizenships as directly opposed to conventional citizenships. Livejournal blogger Blissfreak, for instance, posted a comprehensive two-part blog series about the Philippines-Korea Friendship Day Culture Festival, which stands as proof of the socio-economic limitations of DIY fan citizenship. Initially frustrated at losing a ticket auction, Blissfreak expressed relief that her sister's upper-class friends from a private school were able to score her and her sister tickets for the festival. She wrote that her sister's friends were "not the typical rich fangirls who boasts around that they

were able to do this because they have money." "They were so coooool and they're going all the way for these groups because they love them," she gushed, "If only I have the money and the guts to spend it the way they do."[94] Blissfreak's reflection, though brief, highlights the socio-economic limitations of framing fandom activity and DIY citizenship as inherently radical. As K-pop fandom is still bound to texts and cultural products that do require consumption, the economic means to consume albums, overseas concerts,[95] and other merchandise did create a sense of separation amongst fans and within fandoms. In this sense, socio-economic class still dictated hierarchy in fandoms to an extent. DIY fan citizenships were therefore unable to completely subvert the limitations imposed by economic realities and class, which were limitations imposed by both the South Korean state and entertainment companies. Compared to fan clubs, which sought to bridge socio-economic gaps, the South Korean state and entertainment companies aimed to uphold the socio-economic divisions.

Nevertheless, Blissfreak swept these notions of class within fandom aside, as the sensation of shared enjoyment among fans prevailed during the Culture Festival. Blissfreak noted that the heated responses to K-pop music videos being played before the actual event was something that she loved. "Fangirls are just the same. And the feeling of having this community in your own country and sharing squeals with them even if you don't know each other was so special for me."[96] Another blogger, boytsaleko, reflected this same sentiment in his blog post about the Culture Festival, recalling how he prepared everything early and arrived at the festival venue early to "spazz" with his fellow fans: "Believe me,THERE'S SO MUCH FILIPINO

---

[94] blissfreak, "Philippines-Korea Friendship Day Concert 2009 Prelude," Livejournal, *All I Write Are Freak-Tions..... but Normalcy's Not Really Our Style* (blog), November 27, 2009, https://blissfreak.livejournal.com/70633.html.
[95] K-pop groups, up until this point, still did not hold concerts in the Philippines. Filipino fans with means hence would fly to South Korea or to neighboring Southeast Asian nation-states like Singapore to attend K-pop concerts.
[96] blissfreak, "Philippines-Korea Friendship Day Concert 2009 Main Event," Livejournal, *All I Write Are Freak-Tions..... but Normalcy's Not Really Our Style* (blog), November 28, 2009, https://blissfreak.livejournal.com/70696.html.

KPOP FANS came and were just too excited to experience the event.Banners..Balloons….Rabbit ears….Camera's….SHINee glow sticks(that costs 400php ouch!)… and Blue Tshirts….just to show SHINee how much their fans love them."[97] The success of efforts to communicate their demands, the feeling of shared affection, and being in community with an idol group alongside other fans at the concert thus exceeded the reminder of the limitations of economic realities and class divisions.

Nevertheless, the Philippines-Korea Friendship Day Culture Festival was still, at its core, a political event. As Blissfreak noted in her account, part of the welcoming remarks for the event were recorded video messages from Ambassador Kim Kie-joo and Alberto Romulo, secretary of the Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA). "The ambassador was cool," wrote Blissfreak, "in the sense that he was discussing the history of the friendship and the similarities the two nations have, using some Tagalog phrases or words." She proceeded to note that the DFA secretary's message was "more directed to the Korean embassy per se, talking of plans between the friendly relations of both nations." "Which is cool also," she conceded "if you're interested on these stuffs. Me included on the interested ones."[98] This segment of blissfreak's account is an example of how the Philippines-Korea Friendship Day Culture Festival, and K-pop at large, was a vehicle for states to advance political and economic interests. In this sense, K-pop was simply fulfilling its purpose in the eyes of institutional actors, acting as the vehicle that would deliver South Korea from post-colonial specters such as war, economic

[97] boytsaleko, "SHINee LIVE IN MANILA! And Other Things Happened to Philippine-Korean Friendship Day!," Wordpress, *Boytsaleko* (blog), December 1, 2009, https://boytsaleko.wordpress.com/2009/12/01/shinee-live-in-manila-and-other-things-happened-to-philippine-korean-friendship-day/.
[98] blissfreak, "Philippines-Korea Friendship Day Concert 2009 Main Event."

underdevelopment, and international obscurity. This episode, an intersection between Filipino K-pop fan culture and state agendas for politics and economic interests, reveals that DIY fan citizenship does not always put fandom in conflict with the interests of nation-states. Times in which the interests of Filipino K-pop fans intersected with that of the state did not prompt fans to decouple from the state nor dislodge the interest in question. Rather, it prompted fans to embrace the state when it suited its interests. Indeed, it was not only institutional South Korean actors such as the state or entertainment borders that could move across the porous border between fans and institutions – fans themselves possessed the same degree of mobility.

For fans, by fans: The first Philippine K-pop Convention, 2009

The Philippine K-pop Convention is a necessary contrast to the Philippine-Korea Friendship Day Cultural Festival. The first Philippine K-pop Convention was held on December 5, 2009 at Starmall Alabang, right at the edge of Metro Manila. The convention was entirely organized by the Philippine K-pop Committee, Inc., an incorporated body of 13 K-pop fan clubs led by CassPH who collaborated and coordinated to produce an offline event. Proceeds of the convention went to Gawad Kalinga. A common beneficiary of school, village, and municipal fundraisers, Gawad Kalinga was a multi-sectoral Catholic non-profit that built housing, executed youth development programs, and provided various assistance programs to less privileged sectors of Philippine society. The description of the event disseminated by K-pop and non-K-pop blogs alike highlighted how K-pop fans "have been scattered all over the Philippines, with only the internet as a place of convergence," and that for "the longest time, Filipino Kpop fans have

been staying within the fringes of the global Kpop fanbase."[99] The first Philippine K-pop Convention was thus created with the intention of gathering fan clubs of different idol groups to celebrate a shared affinity for K-pop. CassPH and other K-pop fandoms deployed skills of organization and deliberation honed from years of practice to create instances of community building amongst K-pop fans. Compared to the earlier practices of CassPH, however, this sort of engagement arguably invited a much broader consciousness, not only of a fan's citizenship within a fan club, but under the broader banner of K-pop fandom.

The convention drew a crowd of about 2,000 fans,[100] proving the desire of Filipino K-pop fans to congregate and be in community with other fans who shared their interests. Fan clubs hosted their own booths where attendees could play games, buy merchandise, and sign up for memberships.[101] Attendees could also participate in a variety of convention competitions like "Kosplay", where fans could dress to imitate their favorite idols, and "K-star sing/dance contest," where fans performed song and dance covers of idol groups. The PKCI also held the "First Philippine K-pop Awards" where fans voted for their favorite groups and idols. A description of the awards by the PKCI claimed that the event is necessary because major award ceremonies hosted by South Korean broadcasting companies such as the Seoul Broadcasting System, Korean Broadcasting System, and the Munhwa Broadcasting System "only reflect the views of the Korean fans" and often relegated the opinions of fans from outside South Korea to an "Overseas Viewer's Choice" award or equivalent awards.[102] This reveals that alternative constructions of

[99] lawlietta, "Check out the 1st Philippine Kpop Convention!," allkpop, December 1, 2009, https://www.allkpop.com/article/2009/12/check-out-the-1st-philippine-kpop-convention.
[100] Hotaru Niitsu, "The First KPop Convention In The World On Its 5th Year," Livejournal, omonatheydidnt, December 31, 2013, https://omonatheydidnt.livejournal.com/12409956.html.
[101] Atariz, "1st Philippine Kpop Convention," *Seoulove* (blog), December 1, 2009, https://xii4.wordpress.com/2009/12/01/1st-philippine-kpop-convention/.
[102] Philippine K-pop Committee, Inc., "2nd Philippine Kpop Awards," The Philippine K-pop Convention, 2011, https://web.archive.org/web/20110814005023/http://kpopcon.info/attendees/2nd-philippine-kpop-awards-poll/.

DIY citizenship and alternative fan rituals were not just attempts to represent and register fan interests in the Philippines, but also attempts to carve space out for Filipino fans in an industry where the opinion of South Korean fans was still of the utmost importance. It also echoed a crucial limitation of the DIY citizenship of Filipino K-pop fans: that meanings created by fans were still somewhat congruent with understandings of conventional citizenships. Though they were attempting to challenge the hierarchies of national importance, Filipino fans competed with South Korean fans for legitimacy in the eyes of South Korean cultural industrialists and conglomerates but were competing specifically under the umbrella of "K-pop fans."

Image from the First Philippine K-pop Convention. Attendees dressed up as members of K-pop girl group Girls Generation from the group's music video "Genie" receive hugs from another attendee holding a "Free Hug" sign[103]

[103] Caby, "KPOP Convention (Pic Heavy)," Blogspot, *Beauty Junkie i.e Caby* (blog), December 5, 2009, https://cabyness.blogspot.com/2009/12/kpop-convention-pic-heavy.html.

There still is no better example from 2009 of just how sophisticated the culture around K-pop had become in the Philippines over three years than the first Philippine K-pop Convention The cultural production of fan clubs up to this point had, as the first K-pop convention in the Philippines demonstrated, produced a community that encouraged inclusion and participation from its members. The success of the first Philippine K-pop convention ultimately remains a testament to the strength of the DIY citizenship forged by Filipino K-pop fans.

Even participants from outside the K-pop community seemed to have enjoyed the fan-organized event. Make-up artist Caby blogged that she "never knew until now how big of a following KPOP has in the Philippines," but that "It was really fun watching them scream and really enjoy themselves over korean pop."[104] Even more importantly, to long time K-pop fans like blogger Agent P, the convention affirmed to her that "Kpop is alive and well in this country." "I hope this is just the beginning of bigger things to happen to the Pinoy K-pop Community," she wrote following the event.[105] Without a single idol group or South Korean celebrity present, holding space for K-pop fans to get together, support their favorite idols, celebrate their affinity for K-pop without worrying about judgement, and support a philanthropic cause was arguably enough motivation for fans to be present and participate.

The effect of the first Philippine K-pop Convention was felt even beyond the borders of the Philippines. Koharu_chan posted a detailed description of her experience at the convention as a Filipino TVXQ fan. "Even if it (the venue) was quite far, it's all right for us because we want

[104] Caby.
[105] Agent P, "CloudPH at 1st Philippine Kpop Convention.," *Agent P's Headquarters* (blog), December 7, 2009, https://agentp.blog/2009/12/07/cloudph-at-1st-philippine-kpop-convention/.

to show our love and endless support for our DONG BANG SHIN KI boys," she conceded. She goes on to recall the following experience:

> There were tons of fun (and boring) activities in the event, but what I enjoyed most was the "fangirling over the DBSK members' large tarpaulins!" Hahaha. Gah, it was so embarrassing to pose beside the picture with 1,000 people staring at you in front. But I paid no heed. (everyone did the same, anyway. Haha)[106]

As boring as koharu_chan may have found some of the events at the convention, her readers still expressed their awe and envy in the comments. User chloe1910 commented "OMG!!!! How I wish there is a kpop convention in Malaysia too. Thanks for sharing this with us."[107] To which koharu_chan responded: "I'm sure there would be a kpopcon there! It's impossible not to have it there. Haha. Thanks for commenting~! And I will share if there would be more gatherings *hugs*"[108] The Philippine K-pop Convention's mission of making fans feel a sense of belonging under the larger tent of K-pop fandom thus arguably extended beyond the borders of the Philippines. The need for a community gathering was not just limited to those in the Philippines but was a need that transcended national borders for the K-pop community at large. Though Philippine K-pop fan clubs carved out DIY citizenships as a response to the flimsy nationalism and lethargic civic life in the Philippines and this effort resonated past its borders, potentially encouraging fans from neighboring nation-states to organize and mobilize.

The 1st Philippine K-pop Convention contrasts DIY citizenship of Filipino K-pop fans with the conventional citizenship of nation-states deployed in events like Philippines-Korean

---

[106] koharu_chan, "1st Ever Philippine KPopCon," Livejournal, *Cassiopeia Worldwide* (blog), December 6, 2009, https://worldcassiopeia.livejournal.com/66601.html.
[107] chloe1910 in koharu_chan, "1st Ever Philippine KPopCon," Livejournal, *Cassiopeia Worldwide* (blog), December 6, 2009, https://worldcassiopeia.livejournal.com/66601.html.
[108] koharu_chan.

Friendship Day Culture Festival. The Philippine K-pop Convention was entirely organized by fans and was not sanctioned or encouraged by the governments of the Philippines or South Korea. Nor did any of the organizers or promotional materials express an intention to align the event with the Philippine-Korean Friendship Year. As the event description itself acknowledged, K-pop fandom was latent in the Philippines yet lacked an opportunity to gather physically in an offline space. No K-pop idols or groups performed at the event, yet fans still came and participated in the events prepared by other fans. The success of such an event suggests that K-pop's boom in popularity was not just due to the cultural products alone. Beyond the cultural products – idol groups, music, performances – it was arguably the sense of belonging to a community that appealed to potential fans. The contrast provided by state-supported events like the Philippines-Korea Friendship Day Culture Festival additional suggested that fan-organized events offered alternatives to interfacing with states in order to consume and enjoy cultural products. Much like the Gatherings before it, the Philippine K-pop convention instead offered enjoyment derived from the feeling of being in community with fellow fans as a purpose for mobilization and participation, rather than the cultural products alone.

Chapter 3
Challenging DIY citizenship, 2010-2015

"Kpop here is a fad, no matter how much you say 'you'll love kpop forever and ever and everrrr', it will disappear and be replaced by something else - that's a fact,"[109] wrote music critic Nicole Rivera in early 2010 on her blog PopReviewsNow. While Rivera's posts remain insightful, analytical, and are worth discussing at length later in this chapter, her prediction could not be more off the mark. If 2009 was the year that K-pop broke through to mainstream Philippine media and cultural consciousness, impassioned fandom activity in the years that followed cemented it as anything but a fad.

The constant presence of K-pop idol groups on Philippine music TV indicated the demands and commitments of fans. Fans turned K-pop into a staple on Philippine music channel MYX, which typically played a mix of Filipino and American popular music videos. Following the introduction of K-pop music videos to the channel in 2009, fan clubs coordinated voting drives to demonstrate the demand for their favorite idol groups. Voting drives typically involved coordinating members to text and mail in requests for the most recent songs of their idol group. Fan club voting induced a steady stream of votes that often-landed K-pop acts at the top of the charts. As a result, K-pop idol groups like Girls Generation, 2NE1, SHINee, and Big Bang became regular presences on music channel MYX's end-of-year charts from 2009 until 2014.[110]

---

[109] Nicole Rivera, "Rant: Kpop's a Threat to OPM? Puh-Lease.," Blogspot, *Pop Reviews Now* (blog), March 3, 2010, https://popreviewsnow.blogspot.com/2010/03/rant-kpops-threat-to-opm-puh-lease.html.

[110] forg, "Forg Files: Chart Recap 2010 Yearend Charts 1," Blogspot, *Forg Files* (blog), December 27, 2010, http://jecoup9587.blogspot.com/2010/12/chart-recap-2010-yearend-charts-1.html; forg, "Forg Files: Chart Recap: 2011 Yearend Charts 1," Blogspot, *Forg Files* (blog), December 25, 2011, http://jecoup9587.blogspot.com/2011/12/chart-recap-2011-yearend-charts-1.html; forg, "Forg Files: Chart Recap: 2012 Yearend Charts Part 1," *Forg Files* (blog), December 24, 2012, http://jecoup9587.blogspot.com/2012/12/chart-recap-2012-yearend-charts-part-1.html; forg, "Forg Files: Chart Recap 2013 Year-End Charts," *Forg Files* (blog), December 31, 2013, http://jecoup9587.blogspot.com/2013/12/chart-recap-2013-year-end-charts.html; forg, "Forg Files: Chart Recap 2014 Year-End Charts," *Forg Files* (blog), December 31, 2014, http://jecoup9587.blogspot.com/2014/12/chart-recap-2013-year-end-charts.html.

Boyband Super Junior was particularly popular in both music TV and album sales. Coordinated voting drives from its numerous fan clubs caused the group to appear at least once in every single MYX end of year chart from 2009 until 2012. As a result of successive releases and coordinated voting efforts across fan clubs like ELF Philippines and SJ United Philippines, Super Junior fans even managed to rack up three spots for the group's tracks "BONAMANA," "Sorry Sorry (Answer)," and "No Other" on MYX's end of year chart in 2010.[111] ELF Philippines and SJ United additionally coordinated with Philippine CD retailers like Astroplus and Odyssey after 2010 to organize album launch parties. The launches were typically held in mall atriums and encouraged fans to congregate and buy the group's physical album together. The album launch party for Super Junior's 2011 album *Mr. Simple*, for example, directly impacted the group's album sales in the Philippines. As a result of fan clubs hosting an album launch party on October 3, 2011, *Mr. Simple* topped the album sales charts for the month of October.[112] This once again demonstrated the continued ability of fan clubs to organize and mobilize its members, resulting in new practices and rituals to signify the demand and dedication of fans through consumption.

The enthusiastic reception of Filipino fans signaled the marketability and profitability of K-pop in the Philippines, resulting in a slew of concerts beginning in 2010. Major acts like Super Junior, Rain, U-Kiss, 2NE1, and SHINee began adding Metro Manila as a stop on concert tours, to the joy and excitement of Filipino K-pop fans. [113]

---

[111] forg, "Forg Files," December 27, 2010; forg, "Forg Files," December 25, 2011; forg, "Forg Files," December 24, 2012.
[112] forg, "Forg Files: Chart Recap Extra: Albums Sales 55," *Forg Files* (blog), October 20, 2011, http://jecoup9587.blogspot.com/2011/10/chart-recap-extra-albums-sales-55.html.
[113] Filebook PH, "Kpop Concerts in the Philippines: From Previous To Latest," Blogspot, *Filebook* (blog), August 2, 2012, https://filebookph.blogspot.com/2012/08/kpop-concerts-in-philippines-from.html.

Live events like concerts gave rise to even more fan rituals. During concerts, fan clubs planned "fan projects," or mini events for fans to display their affections for their idols. For concert "Super Show 3" in 2011, Super Junior fan clubs like ELF Philippines and SJ United Philippines organized the delivery of Filipino and Korean food to Super Junior and their crew before the concert. ELF Philippines and SJ United Philippines also organized mid-concert projects that involved everything from attendees raising customized banners that fan clubs had printed out beforehand to chanting specific words along during a particular song. Hence, instead of simply watching the concert, fans additionally participated in mid-concert projects scheduled and organized by fan clubs. Blogger Jen recalled how after every performance, her and her friends would run back to their seats to browse the Super Show 3 Manila guide prepared by Super Junior's Philippine fan clubs but tried to make sure that they "didn't disturb other ELFs watching the concert" to do so. [114]

Image from Jen's blog of a fan project for K-pop boyband Super Junior's concert in Manila, February 06, 2011.[115]

Jen's experience at Super Show 3 demonstrated the sophistication of fan clubs and the cultures formed around K-pop in the years following 2009. By mirroring practices parallel to

[114] Jen, "ONE NIGHT with SUPER JUNIOR ♥♥♥," Blogspot, *THOUGHTS by Anonymous* (blog), accessed January 15, 2022, http://darlingakongangga.blogspot.com/2011/10/one-night-with-super-junior.html.
[115] Jen.

civic engagement such as community organizing and information sharing, fan clubs were able to self-organize and mobilize for concerts. Stunningly, without any sort of financial or economic incentive, fans were happy to participate in fan projects and coordinate with each other in order to express their collective affection for their favorite idol groups. This reaffirms the great potential of fan-based identities and DIY citizenship to engage individual fans, including them and encouraging them to participate in practices that develop various civic engagement skills.

Hence, contrary to Rivera's prediction, K-pop only embedded itself further into mainstream Filipino media and cultural consciousness in the years following 2009. Yet Rivera's underestimation of Hallyu's longevity in the Philippines is understandable. As a musicologist, Rivera wrote her blog posts in consideration of the music itself and the industries behind both K-pop and OPM. Rivera neither participated in nor paid much mind to the fan cultures generated around K-pop. This was a fatal error because it is arguably the fan cultures generated and reproduced amongst Filipino fans, between fan clubs, and through the space of the internet that buoyed K-pop in the Philippine mainstream media and cultural consciousness.

Nevertheless, the DIY citizenship of K-pop fandoms in the Philippines was faced with enforced politicization from 2010 until 2015. From clashes between alternative and conventional citizenships facilitated by the establishment of P-pop to the interventions of the South Korean state in Filipino K-pop fan cultures, the Internet remains a useful medium to analyze the arising challenges and complexities of the DIY citizenships produced by Filipino K-pop fans.

'Pathetic Pop': Debating the citizenship and cultural industry through P-pop, 2010-2012

A development in late 2010 sought to challenge the popularity of K-pop in the Philippines. The Philippine music industry's attempt to establish "P-pop," or Philippine pop, ignited debate amongst K-pop fans about the state of Philippine music and cultural production. Eight-member Filipino boyband XLR8 debuted in March 2010 on weekend variety show *Party Pilipinas* on free-to-air television channel GMA7. The group was assembled and managed by Viva Records, a subsidiary record company of Filipino entertainment and media conglomerate Viva Entertainment. The controversy around the group stemmed from the group's supposed imitation of popular K-pop boyband Super Junior. Filipino K-pop fans were quick to point out that the band's album cover and styling drew heavily from the visual elements deployed by Super Junior themselves. Fans also took to online forums and blogs to express dissatisfaction over how similar the structure and melody of XLR8's debut single "You're So Hot" was to "Sorry Sorry," the lead single that secured Super Junior recognition in the Philippines.

This episode in Filipino K-pop fandom's history reveals that the discursive element of DIY citizenship can confront nationalist identities and even interact with existing academic critiques of cultural production. K-pop fans in the Philippines who were willing to give P-pop a chance clung onto the hope that it offered in the face of festering cultural anxieties around the stagnation of Philippine music industry. Yet the overwhelming majority of Filipino K-pop fans used the issue of P-pop to express their own frustrations with the reactiveness of the local music industry, responding once more with a surprising amount of depth, knowledge, and insight. Overall, the variegated responses to P-pop indicate an understanding that citizenship is demarcated by performance, regardless of if that performance is one of loyalty to a nation state or to one's favorite idol group.

Photograph posted on a forum on K-pop news website Soompi regarding XLR8's alleged plagiarism[116]

Despite accusations of the imitation, XLR8 managed to secure some support from Filipino K-pop fans. This was arguably due to the stagnant state of Filipino popular music, or Original Pilipino Music (OPM). As forum poster Gumlord had indicated in a thread about XLR8, OPM had, since the 2000's, been "limited to rock and belting and those boring saccharine songs and the ~~karaoke~~ revival trend."[117] OPM's stagnancy in 2000's was especially disappointing considering the wave of innovation that swept OPM just a decade earlier. The 1990's saw the

[116] acsrad, "XLR8 - p-Pop (Pinoy Pop) from The Philippines (Check Them Out).," *Soompi Forums*, March 22, 2010.
[117] Gumlord, "XLR8 - p-Pop (Pinoy Pop) from The Philippines (Check Them Out).," *Soompi Forums*, April 21, 2010, https://forums.soompi.com/topic/249852-xlr8-p-pop-pinoy-pop-from-the-philippines-check-them-out/.

popularization of hip-hop in the Filipino music scene through rapper Francis M and experimental rock through college rock band The Eraserheads. Unable to sustain the wave led by Francis M and The Eraserheads, OPM slipped into a period of atrophy then stagnancy beginning in the 2000's. The industry transformed into a revolving door of singers only interested in performing cover songs of old, vocal belting-heavy Filipino ballads or newer American songs. Indeed, as blogger Nikki River had noted, "OPM basically revolves around artists doing third-rate covers of boring, outdated and pathetic Western hits."[118] Even when rock bands like Hale and Sponge Cola gained some semblance of popularity around 2005, the style, melodies, and forms of rock being performed remained chained to popular American rock. Hale's 2005 hit "The Day You Said Goodnight," for example, is structurally, formally, and dynamically similar to American band The Goo Goo Dolls' song "Iris," which enjoyed lasting popularity in the Philippines following its release in 1995. The stagnancy of OPM in the 2000's hence exacerbated the cultural anxieties already held by the Philippines, especially in light of the dynamic cultural products emerging from regional neighbors like South Korea in the late 2000's and early 2010's. This cultural anxiety was also connected to Filipino anxieties about political economy: the repetitiveness and stagnancy of OPM appeared to reflect the cycles of corruption and poverty that the Philippines was mired in, whereas the polish and dynamism of K-pop carried signifiers of modernity, development, and success in globalization. As the case of XLR8 reveals, this anxiety trickled down to Filipino K-pop fans and influenced support for efforts to establish P-pop. Despite their own affinities for cultural products, Filipino K-pop fans undoubtedly harbored the same cultural anxieties concerning the state of Philippines music and, by extension, political economic anxieties regarding the development of the Philippines.

[118] Rivera, "Rant."

Filipino K-pop fans hence perceived XLR8 as a group that was trying to breathe new life into OPM. An XLR8 fan-blogger claimed that "[even] if their songs could be better, we believe that there is now a boyband that could revive P-pop. XLR8 is our answer to Super Junior and other Korean boybands that we have embraced."[119] [120] Other fans like Gumlord were simply happy to have "good ol' OPM pop back" and not "the belting style that we are stuck into right now."[121] While there was nothing "ol'" about the kind of music that XLR8 was performing, Gumlord was referring to a return to original music by Filipinos that integrated contemporary styles and production, much as Francis M had in the 1990's. Another forum poster agreed to support XLR8 since "Our music industry is trying to cope up with the music of other nations," and that is why Viva Music had produced XLR8."[122] The stagnation and repetitiveness of OPM thus intensified preexisting senses of cultural anxiety, which led some Filipino fans to lend their support to XLR8.

A sense of duty borne out of identifying as "Filipino" was key in drumming up support for XLR8. The sense of duty allowed fans to reconcile their affinity for South Korean cultural products and their desire to support a Filipino group accused of mimicking K-pop trends. However, beyond passively claiming their national identities as "Filipinos," the support of XLR8 also implied that Filipino K-pop fans felt obligated to perform their Filipino citizenship by performing loyalty to a Filipino group. Wintermaze, a TVXQ fan who claimed to "support KPOP the most," submitted that they could not hate XLR8 "because they are my fellow

[119] Leben, "Korean - Philippine Pop: XLR8 : P-Pop," Blogspot, *Korean - Philippine Pop* (blog), October 25, 2010, http://allkppop.blogspot.com/2010/10/xlr8-p-pop.html.
[120] "Kahit na ang kanilang mga songs ay maaaring maging mas mahusay, naniniwala kami ngayon na mayroon ng mga boyband na bubuhay ulit ng Pinoy Pop. XLR8 ay ang aming kasagutan sa Super Junior at iba pang Korean boybands na aming niyakap."
[121] Gumlord, "XLR8 - p-Pop (Pinoy Pop) from The Philippines (Check Them Out).."
[122] wintermaze, "XLR8 - p-Pop (Pinoy Pop) from The Philippines (Check Them Out)..," *Soompi Forums*, March 30, 2010.

FILIPINOS." Another K-pop fan responding to a critiquing P-pop echoed that they simply wanted to support their "kababayan," or fellow countrymen, by supporting XLR8. The commenter even berated the blogger, claiming that "We Filipinos are getting left behind [by other nations] because there are so many like you who think this way."[123] [124]

The branding of XLR8 as a local boyband thus signaled to some Filipino K-pop fans that they must support what they imagined to be their own cultural products. Despite reservations about skill in song and dance, XLR8's Filipino proponents argued that XLR8's efforts should be supported simply because the group held a Filipino identity. To not support the group would thus be "un-Filipino." Hence, the significance of support for XLR8 amongst K-pop is twofold. The understanding of Filipino citizenship as performed speaks to the flimsiness of the Filipino national identity itself. This understanding echoes the effects of American cultural imperialism on Filipino conceptions of what constituted nationalism and citizenship. As Neils Mulder argued, the construction of Filipino national identity by American imperialists in the 19th and 20th centuries reduced being Filipino to nothing more than a "petty list of symbols."[125] On the individual level, the never-ending rituals of nationalism such as flag-raising and national anthem singing created an association between citizenship in the Philippine nation-state to performance, giving rise to the logic of citizenship reproduced by XLR8 supporters. Indeed, performance was also requisite in DIY fan citizenships, but performance enabled fans to add layers of meaning around popular cultural products and participate in the development of an alternate civic society. In comparison, systems of domination such American empire and, by extension, the Filipino state inscribed set meanings into symbols and rituals representative of Filipino nationalism. This

[123] Anonymous in Nicole Rivera, "'Ppop' Stands for 'Pathetic Pop,'" Blogspot, *Pop Reviews Now* (blog), March 25, 2010, https://popreviewsnow.blogspot.com/2010/03/ppop-stands-for-pathetic-pop.html.
[124] "Tayong mga pinoy napag iwanan na kasi maraming katulad mo na ganyan mag-isip....."
[125] Mulder, "Filipino Identity," 2.

inscription validated the existence of the Philippine nation-state and merely created the illusion of participation in civic society, when in reality Filipino citizens continued to be excluded from the process of meaning-making on the national level. Performances of conventional citizenship in the Philippines hence legitimated the authority of American empire and the Philippine state, ringing hollow in comparison to performances of DIY fan citizenship that effectively diffused power among fans.

Moreover, supporters of XLR8 demonstrated the limitations of K-pop fans' DIY citizenship. Fans, on the individual level, had varying value systems for the citizenships that they possessed and could simply prioritize the performance of one citizenship over another. As easily as fans may dedicate more to their performance of their citizenship within a fandom, other fans may just as easily prioritize the performance of a conventional citizenship – however limited they are in that capacity – over the DIY citizenship carved out by fans.

K-pop fans who did not support XLR8 conversely challenged the conventional citizenship being performed by supporters. K-pop fans in the Philippines criticized everything from the blatant imitation of Super Junior's visuals and music and the weakness of the group's song and dance skills during performances. Yet the critiques stemming from frustration with the reactive nature of Philippine cultural industries at times went even deeper than mere irritation at the mimicry of the group, the poor quality of the music and visual elements being produced, or the lack of training received by the members of XLR8. Opponents of P-pop went so far as to question the very nature of support for XLR8, arguing that claims to a shared national identity were insufficient grounds to warrant support. For example, in response to the argument that not supporting XLR8 was un-Filipino, a commenter on Rivera's critical blog post questioned the

logic of such assumptions: “A Pinoy supports fellow Pinoy because they are both Pinoys? Don't you support our music because it's good, but rather because it's made by a Pinoy?”[126] Filipino K-pop fans who were critical of XLR8 were therefore arguably also engaging with something deeper than the aesthetic qualities of P-pop, taking it into their hands to interrogate the reasons why fellow K-pop fans were using the performance of conventional citizenship and nationalism to justify their support.

Other Filipino K-pop fans even took it upon themselves to engage with the issues of cultural production, cultural industries, and nationalism in the Philippines. K-pop fan and blogger Ganns Deen, commenting on P-pop, raised questions regarding the nature of Filipino popular music. “What is ‘Original Pilipino Music’ anyway?” asked Deen. “40, 50, even 60 years back, wasn’t it the Filipino habit to want to be the ‘so and so of the Philippines?’ Eddie Mesa was the Elvis Presley of the Philippines. V.S.T. was the BeeGees of the Philippines.”[127] Blogger Nikki Rivera acknowledged that even K-pop singles themselves are “American rip-offs," yet what frustrated Rivera was that the Philippine music industry was trying to re-categorize OPM and replace it with “some bad knock-off of someone else's knock-off.”[128] Deen mused that the Philippine music industry’s motives for creating a group heavily influenced by K-pop was because “record companies will throw their money & resources behind artists who they believe will sell”[129] and it just so happened that K-pop continued to sell even after 2009. Thus, while acknowledging that “originality” in OPM is nearly non-existent due to the history of the Philippines as an eternal colonial subject, fans recognized that their frustration lay with the profit-driven nature of the Philippine music industry itself.

---

[126] Admin #4 in Rivera, “‘Ppop’ Stands for ‘Pathetic Pop.’”
[127] James Michael Deen, “On P-Pop and OPM - Ganns Deen,” *Ganns Deen* (blog), April 1, 2010, https://www.gannsdeen.com/2010/04/01/on-p-pop-and-opm/.
[128] Rivera, “‘Ppop’ Stands for ‘Pathetic Pop.’”
[129] Deen, “On P-Pop and OPM - Ganns Deen.”

Fans even seized the opportunity to criticize Philippine politics during the debate about P-pop. Connecting the state of cultural production in the Philippines to politics, a commenter on Rivera's blog post noted that the debate around P-pop was not even about discovering new Filipino music. As the commenter argued, it was ultimately "all about who holds the reins of the steering committee so the industry can be made in THEIR image, nepotism notwithstanding. Exactly what happens in politics. You have over-staying career politicians, and then you have in the Philippines over-staying music-pontiffs."[130] Deen paraphrased the sentiments of Rivera, Soompi forum posters, and other assenting commenters on Rivera's post best when he blogged that "*[no] one will win in this debate except* record companies. Most record companies, regardless of country, will make music they believe will sell." [131] (italics in original)

The power of Filipino K-pop fan discourse mediated by the internet is thus clarified by the debate regarding P-pop from 2010 to 2012. Though XLR8 halted any further activity in 2012, the debate and discourse generated by the attempt to establish P-pop generated meaningful reflections on DIY fan citizenships and the performance of conventional Filipino citizenship. Through critical discourses, some fans were even capable of confronting the nature of cultural industries in the Philippines and the effect of the archipelago's colonial histories on the production on Filipino popular culture. DIY citizenships created by fandoms and fan cultures may not have supplanted conventional citizenships, but it provided a lens for Filipino K-pop fans to critique and grapple with conventional understandings of Philippine citizenship, cultural production, and cultural industries.

---

[130] Anonymous in Rivera, "'Ppop' Stands for 'Pathetic Pop.'"
[131] "*walang mananalo sa away na 'to maliban sa* record companies. Most record companies, regardless of country, will make music they believe will sell." (italics in original)

Rather than negate or invalidate the existence of Filipino cultural products in music, it was ironically K-pop fans – despite their affinity for popular cultural products from South Korea – who underlined the imperative of producing Filipino music that is heedless to the demands of profit. Rivera conceded that if there was one thing about OPM that she could live with "it's that the music is there - it's real, it's original" and that in spite of similarities "these songs still came from MUSICIANS, and there *is* good OPM no matter how hard it is to find." Thus, criticisms of Filipino K-pop fans were rooted in a desire to improve the conditions under which Filipino music was being produced locally. While OPM bore traces of the nation's colonial past, Filipino K-pop stans arguably supported the confrontation of nationally-held cultural anxieties. In relation to OPM, then, cultural products like 'P-pop' were meaningless attempts to coddle anxiety without any intention of grappling with its socio-political and historical roots, created to turn a profit for music executives. Indeed, as Rivera once wrote, "this 'Ppop' is pitiful."[132]

Mirror images: The Korean Cultural Center and the appropriation of DIY fan citizenship

The politicization of Filipino K-pop fans did not only occur in response to XLR8. Following 2009, the South Korean state adopted a significant role in politicizing the cultures and practices of Filipino K-pop fans. The Korean Cultural Center in the Philippines specifically acted on behalf of the South Korean state, intervening into Filipino K-pop fan culture and appropriating rituals and infrastructures forged by DIY fan citizenship. This politicization does not undermine the continuous efforts that Filipino fans poured into building DIY citizenship. Rather, the South Korean state's intervention and appropriation enrich the argument that states

[132] Rivera, "'Ppop' Stands for 'Pathetic Pop.'"

were aware that Filipino K-pop fans, through their engineering of DIY citizenship, held political potential. The South Korean state specifically understood that the political potential of Filipino K-pop fans that could be redirected to advance South Korean political and economic goals, as the Philippines-Korea Friendship Year Culture Festival had briefly demonstrated in 2009.

As an extension of the argument that DIY citizenships built by Filipino K-pop communities do not stand in diametrical opposition to conventional constructions of nation-states, this section additionally contends that the South Korean state took advantage of the porous border between alternative and conventional citizenships to advance the status of South Korea amongst Filipinos. The KCC enlisted Filipinos fans to engage with the South Korean state through familiar practices that were initially created and deployed by Filipino K-pop fan clubs. Engagement and adoration from fans would serve as proof of South Korea's cultural advancement, playing into the Lee Myung-bak administration's goals for national branding on the global stage.

The establishment Korean Cultural Center of the Philippines (herein referred to as KCC) was a product of the South Korean state's globalization efforts. The establishment of cultural centers concerned with the promotion of Korean culture overseas was aligned with the Lee Myung-bak administration's launch of the Presidential Council on National Branding (PCNB) on January 22, 2009. "If we wish to be an advanced nation, we must improve our reputation in a groundbreaking manner," claimed Lee when justifying the justifying the establishment of the council.[133] The goal of the PCNB was thus to advance South Korea's national status and gain recognition for its globalization efforts. The PCNB pursued the promotion of Korean culture

[133] 대통령기록관, "Background and Objective," Presidential Council on National Branding, accessed February 24, 2022, http://17koreabrand.pa.go.kr/gokr/en/cms/selectKbrdCmsPageTbl.do?cd=0118&m1=1&m2=3.

overseas to signify economic advancement while simultaneously raising awareness of South Korea's national cultural values. The South Korean Embassy in the Philippines subsequently established the KCC as a division of the South Korean diplomatic mission to the Philippines late in 2009[134] with the vision of Korean culture being enjoyed by "every Filipino."[135] Yet the center itself now acknowledges that it only began operating in 2011, when it inaugurated its first physical site in the Bonifacio Global City, Taguig, Metro Manila on July 19, 2011.[136]

The KCC made visible the South Korean state's interventions into the DIY citizenships produced by Filipino K-pop fandom. The KCC appropriated fan cultures by hosting events similar to those already held by fan clubs and within larger fan events like the Philippine K-pop Convention. This was done to encourage Filipinos - specifically Filipino K-pop fans - to interact with the South Korean state and organs like KCC using practices and rituals already familiar to Filipino fans. The KCC also leveraged volunteer structures like those of fan clubs and deployed the Internet to disseminate and promote information about itself, much like how Filipino K-pop fans themselves utilized the Internet to organize and mobilize.

The KCC's attempts to appropriate and intervene into K-pop fan citizenships and culture in the Philippines began as early as 2010, couched in the KCC's efforts to build alliances with Filipino K-pop fans. KCC's principal method of building alliances before opening its headquarters in Metro Manila was through contributing economic support to fan-organized events related to K-pop. In 2010, for example, The KCC sponsored the second Philippine K-pop

[134] Jessamine Joyce Caunte Pacis, "Popping the K-Pop Bubble: A Study on the World of K-Pop Fandom as Subculture" (Quezon City, Manila, University of the Philippines, College of Mass Communication, 2012), 4, IskoWiki, http://iskwiki.upd.edu.ph/images/4/4a/PoppingTheK-popBubble.pdf.
[135] Korean Culture and Information Service, "About KCC Philippines," Korean Cultural Center Philippines, accessed January 29, 2022, http://phil.korean-culture.org/en/6/contents/767.
[136] Korean Culture and Information Service.

Convention[137] to increase its visibility amongst K-pop fans and present itself as a supporter of K-pop fan culture in the Philippines. Beginning in 2011, KCC transitioned its efforts into co-hosting events with Filipino K-pop fan clubs. The inauguration of the KCC headquarters in Metro Manila was crucial to this shift, as it enabled KCC to provide event spaces to Filipino K-pop fans for free. CassPH announced a viewing event organized in conjunction with the KCC to screen a video recording of 2nd Asian Tour Concert "O" on September 8, 2011 at the "Korean Wave Hall" at the KCC's headquarters. The earliest e-news bulletins of the KCC also invited fans to screenings of boyband 2PM's first concert[138] on June 8, 2012 and to a screening of boyband JYJ's debut concert on November 12, 2012 at the KCC. [139] By building alliances with fans, the KCC was able to quickly establish itself as a significant figure in Filipino K-pop fan culture. By collaborating with familiar institutions like fan clubs, the KCC drove Filipino fans to interact with the Center – and by extension, the South Korean state.

An inaugural event of the KCC in 2011 was "Pinoy K-pop Star", a song and dance cover hosted by the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Korean Culture and Information Services.[140] The winner of the event would go on to represent the Philippines in a competition against other national representatives in the "Changwon K-pop World Festival" held in South Korea. All travel and accommodation expenses were to be paid for by the Presidential Council of National Branding, Korean Ministry of Culture, and Korean Culture and Information Service.

---

[137] Philippine K-pop Committee, Inc., "Event Highlights," The Philippine K-pop Convention, 2011, https://web.archive.org/web/20110813233733/http://kpopcon.info/general-information/event-overview/.
[138] Korean Culture and Information Service, "KCC Newsbytes June 2012" (Korean Culture and Information Service, June 2012), https://issuu.com/kccphilippines/docs/newsbytes01.
[139] Korean Culture and Information Service, "KCC NewsByte Issue No. 6" (Korean Culture and Information Service, November 2012), https://issuu.com/kcclibrary/docs/november2012.
[140] Raven Esperanza and Althea Lusterio, "9 Years of 'Pinoy K-Pop Star': Mind-Blowing Deets You Might Not Know About KCC's Biggest K-Pop Event," *THE KREW | MNL* (blog), June 16, 2020, https://kccsupportersblog.wordpress.com/2020/06/16/9-years-of-pinoy-k-pop-star-mind-blowing-deets-you-might-not-know-about-kccs-biggest-k-pop-event/.

Karla Carreon, winner of the inaugural Pinoy K-pop Star, contest proceeded to win the vocal grand prize at the Changwon K-pop World Festival in the same year.[141]

Yet "Pinoy K-pop Star" was far from the first K-pop song and dance cover in the Philippines. The KCC was merely drawing from pre-existing fan club activities, like CassPH's TVXQ song and dance cover contests during Gatherings[142] [143] and the Philippine K-pop Convention's "K-star sing/dance contest."[144] This practice of appropriating and repurposing pre-existing fan events was again meant to make fans engage with and participate in the diplomatic, state-sponsored project of the KCC in the Philippines. However, it also manipulated what Deen noted in the previous section: the Filipino desire to mimic icons of American popular culture. While song and dance cover competitions were fan rituals that were conducted by Filipino K-pop fan clubs prior to KCC's establishment in the Philippines, the sponsorship of South Korean ministries and government charged the events with different a different set of implications.

K-pop song and dance cover contests sponsored by the South Korean state were akin to the jazz impersonation contests popularized under American colonization. Filipino participants in impersonation contests of American jazz singers desired to express how "modern" and "with it"[145] they were through their performance. If the imitation of jazz heard through radio was the Filipino colonial subject's means of expressing their deference to American modernity, the same can be argued for Filipinos imitating the K-pop that they consumed through the internet and television. Beyond the appropriation of fan rituals and DIY citizenships to achieve diplomatic

---

[141] Hae-in Shin, "Kazak, Philippines Teams Bag Grand Prize at K-Pop Festival," The Korea Herald, December 8, 2011, http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20111208000748.
[142] Cassiopeia Philippines, "[5G] Singing Contest," CassPH, August 14, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20080814052926/http://cassph.org/index.php?limitstart=10.
[143] Cassiopeia Philippines, "7G Showtime: Dance Contest," CassPH, April 23, 2010, https://web.archive.org/web/20100423013347/http://cassph.org/contests.
[144] lawlietta, "Check out the 1st Philippine Kpop Convention!"
[145] Fernandez, "Philippine-American Cultural Interaction," 2.

goals, the South Korean state enlisted Filipino participants in its own project of expressing South Korean modernity. Performances of Filipinos in state-sponsored cover competitions doubled as an act of deference to South Korean modernity. The act of enlisting Filipinos through their ties to commodities from South Korea was reminiscent of the American occupation's commodity imperialism in South Korea, wherein South Koreans themselves were made subjects of the American imperial mission through their consumption of mass-produced commodities. This mirroring reveals that South Korea was imitating imperialist practices imposed upon them during the American occupation of the peninsula. Indeed, DIY citizenships and affective ties to cultural products like K-pop were leveraged by the South Korean state to create subjects out of Filipinos. The subjecthood of Filipinos furthered the Lee administration's goals to improve the reputation of South Korea as a globalized state. The growth of South Korea's reputation as a globalized nation state would in turn drive diplomatic, political, and economic returns for South Korea.

KCC's volunteer program is another significant component of the center's attempts to appropriate DIY citizenship and the fan culture that stemmed from it. The KCC launched an annual volunteer program in 2011 alongside the inauguration of their physical site to aid in the execution of events. The number of volunteers grew yearly, a phenomenon that a KCC volunteer later attributed to the continued rise of Hallyu on the global stage.[146] This group of unpaid volunteers had no formal name when the position was established by the center in 2011.[147] Yet was later named by the KCC as the "KCC Supporters" in 2012 and then again as "The Krew" in

[146] Yara de Guzman, "Celebrating a Decade's Worth of Fun and Colorful Memories with Korean Cultural Center in the Philippines—#HAPPY10thKCCPH!," *THE KREW | MNL* (blog), July 26, 2021, https://kccsupportersblog.wordpress.com/2021/07/26/celebrating-a-decades-worth-of-fun-and-colorful-memories-with-korean-cultural-center-in-the-philippines-happy10thkccph/.
[147] Korean Culture and Information Service, "KCC Volunteer Program," Korean Cultural Center Philippines, November 15, 2011, http://phil.korean-culture.org/en/1/board/25/read/16062.

2015.[148] By 2015, the responsibilities of the Krew had also expanded from simple event support to photo documentation, video production, and entry writing for blogs.[149] KCC volunteers did not receive renumeration for their efforts, but embassy recruitment postings consistently promised that applicants would "have fun and learn a lot" about Korean culture.[150]

The KCC attempted to mimic fan culture through its volunteers. An example of the KCC mimicking K-pop fan culture in the Philippines was through creating a distinguished group identity for its volunteers. There was not just "KCC supporters in the Philippines," but by 2015 there was very clearly "The Krew." Similarly, there were not only "TVXQ fans in the Philippines" nor "Rain fans in the Philippines" in this time period, but rather there was "Cassiopeia Philippines" and "Cloud Philippines." The naming of a fan club is an important ritual in K-pop fandom, as a unique name is customarily bestowed by the idol groups upon their supporters. This naming ritual hence informed the identity of the individuals who composed the congregation by signaling an individual's belonging to the group. By bestowing the name "The Krew" upon their volunteers, the KCC doubled as a state entity and a quasi-idol group. Naming volunteers as "The Krew" hence had a similar effect of inducing feelings of belonging amongst its members.

KCC's volunteer structure itself was an appropriation of K-pop fan citizenship and fan culture. K-pop fan clubs in the Philippines operated through a culture of participation, and volunteering was just one of the avenues to exercise one's citizenship within a fan community.

---

[148] Junelyn Olivar, "[KREW Says] Hoarding K-Stuff, Hoarding Memories: Krew Experience and Batch 9 Recruitment," *THE KREW | MNL* (blog), July 19, 2021, https://kccsupportersblog.wordpress.com/2021/07/19/krew-says-hoarding-k-stuff-hoarding-memories-krew-experience-and-batch-9-recruitment/.

[149] Embassy of the Republic of Korea in the Republic of the Philippines, "2015 KCC Supporters [The Krew] Batch 2 Application 상세보기," Embassy of the Republic of Korea in the Republic of the Philippines, May 27, 2015, https://overseas.mofa.go.kr/ph-en/brd/m_3286/view.do?seq=721517&srchFr=&amp%3BsrchTo=&amp%3BsrchWord=&amp%3BsrchTp=&amp%3Bmulti_itm_seq=0&amp%3Bitm_seq_1=0&amp%3Bitm_seq_2=0&amp%3Bcompany_cd=&amp%3Bcompany_nm=.

[150] Korean Culture and Information Service, "KCC Volunteer Program."

The DIY citizenships created by fan clubs like CassPH and SJ United Philippines had given rise to similar unpaid volunteer positions to manage fan club websites, post on social media channels, and provide logistical support for fan-organized events and activities. The responsibilities of KCC's Krew mirrored the same responsibilities, but for different ends. While volunteers for fan clubs sought to impart information to fellow fans, foster a sense of community amongst fans, and improve the reputation of one's idol group, volunteers of the KCC furthered the center's goal to gain recognition and affirm the prestige of the South Korean nation-state itself.

A comparison of blog accounts from The Krew and from Filipino Cassiopeian[151] Angel Tuason-Basbas clarify the affective and emotional stakes of volunteering for both the KCC and for fan clubs. A retrospective blog post authored by Krew member KREWMAX, "Who is 'The Krew'" offers insight into how members of The Krew perceived themselves and the work that they do for the KCC. On the other hand, CassPH member Angel Tuason-Basbas's blog posts about volunteering at a Gathering and at a CassPH outreach program for Gawad Kalinga illuminate comparable fan club dynamics. Tuason-Basbas's blog posts are particularly descriptive of how K-pop fans generated meaning from participating in community events and civic outreach programs. They hence provide analogues for understanding the structures of feeling that the KCC was trying to replicate.

The effect of having a distinct and unique group name was tangible in both blog entries. The authors not only named the group they belong to in their entries, but also reflected on the qualities of the individuals who identify using the name of the group. KREWMAX deemed members of the Krew as "gifted, passionate and dedicated individuals who desire nothing more

[151] "Cassiopeian" is term fans use to refer to a singular TVXQ fan

than to introduce Korea and Korean culture to the Filipinos." "Who are they?" KREWMAX asked, "They're called: **The Krew.**"[152] (bold from original text) Similarly, Tuason-Basbas claimed that "CASSIOPEIA isn't your ordinary fandom" and that they "aren't just fangirls or fanboys who do nothing but scream in front of our idols' pictures every minute of our lives."[153] CassPH members conversely prided themselves in how they channeled their love for TVXQ and into civic causes and how they mobilized for outreach operations. Just "like how these five amazing stars have changed our lives, we want to help change others' lives as well," wrote Tuason-Basbas, "[and] like how these five amazing stars touched our hearts with their music, we want to touch others' hearts as well."[154] Indeed, it was CassPH's seventh Gathering that raised money to buy the desktop computers and school supplies that were donated to Gawad Kalinga. Though the Gathering was organized so that CassPH members could "share their tears, joys, sorrow, hopes and faith together, by watching the latest concert of DBSK in the big screen," Tuason-Basbas noted that the money contributed by fans for event was transformed into donations that were "born out of our love."[155] This is a concrete demonstration of the effectiveness of bestowing a unique name for a group of supporters. Where KCC volunteers drew a sense of identity and purpose in bridging nation-states, Filipino K-pop fans rooted their identity in being able to channel their affections into civic and community causes.

Community ties were another common theme in both accounts. In the same way that KREWMAX considered the Krew "an important part of KCC's family,"[156] Tuason-Basbas

---

[152] KREWMAX, "Who's 'The Krew'?," *THE KREW | MNL* (blog), January 10, 2017, https://kccsupportersblog.wordpress.com/2017/01/10/whos-the-krew/.
[153] Angel Tuason-Basbas, "Our Love Story Showcased at Gawad Kalinga [TVXQ Reflections]," *Penned Eternity* (blog), June 20, 2010, https://inkedangelwings.wordpress.com/2010/06/20/our-love-story-showcased-at-gawad-kalinga-tvxq-reflections/.
[154] Tuason-Basbas.
[155] Tuason-Basbas.
[156] KREWMAX, "Who's 'The Krew'?"

named CassPH as her "second family."[157] This reveals a crucial appropriation made by KCC: their mimicry of fan culture was sublimated through their creation of a community of volunteers. By creating a community of volunteers around KCC and fostering a sense of "family," it arguably sought to buoy itself the same way that K-pop buoyed itself in the Philippine media mainstream. The KCC clearly understood that affinities to an object alone were not strong enough. Indeed, similar to how fan affinity was fortified by emotional ties to a community that fostered feelings of belonging and acceptance, the KCC strove to build a culture around itself as a state organ through its volunteers.

Moreover, KREWMAX recalled being inspired by "Krew *sunbaenims* (seniors) who give their all to KCC... who probably spent a number of sleepless nights for planning and would always stand for hours in events and exhibits, just to share their love for Korea"[158] Tuason-Basbas recalled the same dedication to work among fans, writing that she was happy to volunteer for an upcoming Gathering "since it is every fan's dream to do something for the love of their idols and their fandoms."[159] An aspect of DIY citizenship thus involved doing work – labor, even – motivated by one's emotional ties to a fan community rather than any monetary incentive. Both entries cite their "love" for either Korea, their favorite idols, or their fandom as primary motives for their work. However, in the case of the KCC, the state organ was arguably exploiting the similarities between The Krew and fan clubs to extract free labor from its volunteers. The end of this was not a civic or fandom sociability, which is what fan clubs often deployed volunteer labor for, but instead for the advancement of the goals of the South Korean diplomatic mission to the Philippines. This again reveals how the KCC took advantage of pre-existing structures and

[157] Tuason-Basbas, "Our Love Story Showcased at Gawad Kalinga [TVXQ Reflections]."
[158] KREWMAX, "Who's 'The Krew'?"
[159] Angel Tuason-Basbas, "Higher and Higher! (An 8G: The Carnival Fanaccount/ Diary Entry)," *Penned Eternity* (blog), May 10, 2011, https://inkedangelwings.wordpress.com/2011/05/10/higher-and-higher-an-8g-the-carnival-fanaccount-diary-entry/.

mechanisms developed by K-pop fandoms in the Philippines, creating its own parallels to advance its own state-oriented goals.

DIY fan citizenships indeed have a political nature to them. But whether fans and fandoms themselves had recognized it at this point is not the purpose of this section. More important here is the fact that state organs like the KCC, which continues to represent the South Korean state's interests in furthering the reputation and persistence of Korean culture and cultural products in the Philippines, understood this political potential. The KCC then leveraged structures and practices developed through DIY citizenship for their own political and cultural agendas. They appropriated the references built by fan-driven events like song and cover dances as well as the mechanics and affective anchors of fandom to buoy their diplomatic mission in the Philippines. Beyond merely providing a state-sponsored avenue for interacting with South Korea and its cultural products, state organs like the KCC enlisted Filipino fans in the project of national branding. Hence, they bound Filipino fans to the mission of affirming South Korea's reputation as a globalized nation-state. This example provides depth and nuance to the argument regarding DIY citizenships developed by K-pop fandom in the Philippines by demonstrating how fandoms grew politicized following the boom of K-pop in 2009.

Politicization of Filipino K-pop fandom by the South Korean state posed a crucial limitation to the DIY citizenships forged by fandoms. Paradoxically, the KCC reined alternative citizenship back into conventional citizenship mediated by nation-states. This is by no fault of the fan clubs alone. Rather, it is due to the porous border that exists between fandoms and institutions such as states, cultural industries, and conglomerates. Crucially, the cultural products

that fans held affective ties to double as apparatuses of the state. As much as cultural products like K-pop may inspire fans to engineer alternative forms of citizenship, they were, from their inception, created to advance the goals of the nation-states that they exist through and are beholden to.

Conclusion

Fandom is a slippery concept. Opponents either perceive fans as passive consumers or a collection of tribalistic fanatics. However, any serious inquiry into fandom has proven it to be variegated, rhizomatic, and nuanced – a knot of contradictions strengthened by its entanglements, not weakened.

Studies of fandom, and specifically of K-pop fandom in the Philippines, have thus sought to understand the origin and nature of fans, fan activities, and fan practices. Yet few analyses of fandom locate the subjects of their study within proper historical contexts, as in the case of early K-pop fans in the Philippines. This dislocation from history has unfortunately inhibited understandings of fandom, rendering an incomplete picture of its origins, nature, and potentiality.

As this thesis has demonstrated, locating fandoms in history allows for more relevant analyses. Situating Filipino K-pop fandom of the late 2000's and early 2010's in relation to the inter-colonial histories of the Philippines and South Korea triggers challenges to conventional understandings of power, popular culture, and politics, especially in relation to the concept of post-coloniality. Filipino K-pop fans developed DIY citizenship around K-pop as a response to colonial trauma incurred over centuries of colonization. Fan clubs specifically developed logistical structures that facilitated the growth of fan networks and engineered structures of feeling that allowed fans to attend to each other's immediate emotional and affective needs. DIY citizenship held democratic customs of information sharing, discussion, and participation at its core, generating a culture of inclusion and involvement. DIY citizenship was hence a direct response by Filipino K-pop fans, who mostly identified as young female Filipinos, to lethargic conventional civic society that was riddled with machismo and exclusionary towards youth. This desire to participate in a meaningful civic life propelled Filipino K-pop fans to create a new locus

of power, built out of organizational prowess, affect, and imagination, that addressed their needs better than the conventional citizenships mediated by nation-states could.

DIY citizenship in the context of Filipino K-pop fans, however, was fluid. As much as it served as a medium for fans to interrogate Philippine national identities and Filipino culture, it was still prone to collaborating and interfacing with the Philippine and South Korean states when it suited their interests. This fluidity left DIY citizenship vulnerable to the machinations of the South Korean state that sought to appropriate and co-opt DIY citizenship for political, economic, and diplomatic goals.

K-pop fan communities continue to shift and meld with the time, yet the retention of an active and democratic culture within fan communities has proven that what fans have been constructing can most appropriately be termed as DIY citizenship. Nation-states, economic realities, and commercial institutions continue to plague fans with limitations. Inter-fan conflicts also indicate that fan communities are still far from utopian. Nevertheless, the growing consciousness of fans towards their internal and external limits has allowed them to tackle challenges with unbridled creativity, which has in turn enabled them to influence the world outside of fandom. After all, fandom does not exist separately from material reality but within it.

Inquiries into fandom also open much broader discourses regarding youth culture and youth liberation. Adults may dismiss youth culture as conceited, shallow, or too wrapped up in itself, but this analysis of fandom has hopefully corroborated the argument that young people are indeed capable of turning outward. Even when young people hold fan identities, which are typically derided as illogical and fanatical, they are still capable of viewing their actions and

objects of affection through a lens of political awareness. For young female Filipino fans in particular, fandom serves as a means to fulfill political, civic, and socio-emotional needs. Fandom must hence be understood as the youth's attempts to create a space that can accommodate their variegated identities, as the machismo, homophobia, and adult-centrism of conventional institutions continues to exclude and invalidate their existence. Opening inquiries into youth cultures consequently provokes deeper consideration for how youth and youth cultures reimagine power in order to assert their own, hence unsettling structures of domination in search of meaningful youth liberation.

The digital landscape has transformed since 2006 and continues to transform. Nevertheless, the fluidity and imaginative capacity of Filipino K-pop fans has equipped them to navigate the challenges that have come with each change.

Perhaps the most salient connection to the DIY citizenship initiated by K-pop fans in 2006 is K-pop fans organizing for the 2022 Philippine national elections. As of the writing of this thesis, the only definite K-pop group involved in organizing around the 2022 election is K-Pop Stans for Leni, a collection of various K-pop fans and volunteers supporting presidential candidate Leni Robredo. A staunch opponent of the murderous Duterte administration and of establishment candidate Bongbong Marcos Jr., Robredo has served as the Vice President of the Philippines since 2016 and has emerged as the frontrunner of the opposition in the 2022 elections.

K-pop Stans for Leni officially launched the group through social media platform Twitter on October 7, 2022 by tweeting an edited video of K-pop idol groups cheering on Robredo as she announces her candidacy in the 2022 presidential election. Girls' Generation's debut single "Into

the New World" plays in the background of the edited video, a clear nod to the song's use in political protests against government corruption in South Korea and monarchical rule in Thailand. "[Despite] coming from different fandoms," reads the caption, "we are uniting to support and stand for Leni Robredo… LET LENI LEAD US INTO THE NEW WORLD!"[160] [161]

Image of K-pop Stans for Leni's tweet announcing the creation of the group

K-pop Stans for Leni is a direct outgrowth of the DIY citizenship that K-pop fans had begun engineering in 2006. In an interview with online news website Rappler, a volunteer for K-pop Stans for Leni denied the stereotype that K-pop fans only care about K-pop, claiming that

[160] KPOP STANS 4 LENI [@kpopstans4leni], "[📢] #KPOPSTANS4LENI DEBUT," Tweet, *Twitter*, October 7, 2021, https://twitter.com/kpopstans4leni/status/1445998219092119554.
[161] "Mabuhay! Kami ang KPOP STANS 4 LENI — isang grupong binubuo ng Filipino K-pop fans na subalit nabibilang sa iba't ibang fandoms ay nagka-isa para sumuporta at tumindig para kay @lenirobredo, para sa Pilipinas! LET LENI LEAD US INTO THE NEW WORLD!"

"[you] can't really separate the nature of entertainment from the way that our country is being run, anyway."[162] A core organizing member of K-pop Stans for Leni also noted that she has always seen K-pop fandom as a movement capable of organizing itself. "While people outside the circle might think of us as either very young people, or [people] who don't know shit, or people who spend on senseless things, I actually know that we're real smart people who are able to do things and move mountains," she added. [163]

Much like Filipino K-pop fans in the early years of K-pop, the culture of inclusion and participation remains central to the ethos of K-pop Stans for Leni. The group also continues to run on the same infrastructure as fan clubs in the past, with a core group responsible for planning events but ultimately reliant on an extensive network of local volunteers for execution. The group also utilizes social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, Tiktok, and Instagram to initiate an exchange of information. A volunteer who regularly holds discussions about the election over Twitter's voice conferencing tool even claimed that she prefers to think of her discussions as a site to exchange information, not just to transfer it. "It's important for listeners to realize that it is not the speakers alone who hold the information, but they too, possess important insights that are vital in discussions such as this,"[164] she said. This reflects the diffusion of power among K-pop fan communities that had been present since 2006. Though core group members exist, power was imagined as something every individual fan possessed – groups like fan clubs and K-pop Stans for Leni merely serve as entities to harness and channel that power into organized actions. This understanding of individuals in relation to a group has led

[162] "Hindi mo naman na talaga mahihiwalay 'yung nature ng entertainment sa pagpapatakbo ng bansa natin eh"
[163] Ysa Abad, "From Hallyu to Halalan: How Filipino K-Pop Fans Are Taking Action for the 2022 PH Elections," *Rappler* (blog), December 9, 2021, https://www.rappler.com/life-and-style/arts-culture/how-filipino-k-pop-fans-taking-action-2022-philippine-elections/.
[164] Abad.

K-pop Stans for Leni to success in matters specific to the election, refashioning newer fan practices such as blocking and reporting social media accounts en masse to address issues such as online disinformation. Such practices rely on a collective action taken by individuals who consent to partaking in an action, again highlighting the democratic nature of fan citizenship.

K-pop Stans for Leni has also acknowledged that the group has co-opted and re-fashioned practices popularized by the South Korean cultural industry. For example, a core member of the group mentioned that K-pop Stans for Leni has borrowed from the promotional tactics of K-pop entertainment companies.[165] In the same way that entertainment companies usually have a slate of activities to promote a K-pop group's album ahead of its release, K-pop Stans for Leni organized a slate of campaign activities to engage Filipino K-pop fans, treating election day as the metaphorical album release date. K-pop Stans for Leni thus demonstrate how groups of fans have become more active in navigating the porous border between fans and K-pop institutions, suggesting further development of fan consciousness regarding their relationship with the cultural industry behind K-pop.

Image from K-pop Stans for Leni's K-pop cover dance event at Robredo's rally in Cavite[166]

[165] Abad.
[166] KPOP STANS 4 LENI, *KPOPSTANS4LENI Random Play Dance: Cavite*, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YMMwX3dludQ.

This thesis has only hinted at the transnational alliances yet to come from K-pop fans. It has primarily been foreshadowed through the interactions between Filipino fans, Korean fans, and other fans from Southeast Asia. However, the dawn of social media spurred a massive growth of transnational fan networks that were subsequently nurtured into alliances. These alliances are still arguably constituted by the same principles of DIY citizenship such as inclusion and willing participation. Formats for self-expression were relatively limited on social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook compared to the blogs examined in this thesis. Nevertheless, fandom has remarkably retained its uncanny ability to balance the unique identities and needs of individuals from various cultural backgrounds with the much larger, overarching group identity that enables mass mobilization.

The best example of transnationalism brought about by K-pop fandom is the #MatchAMillion campaign of June 2020. Following K-pop group BTS's donation of $1 million to American social justice group Black Lives Matter on June 5, 2020, thousands of BTS fans – or ARMY – flocked to Twitter with calls to match BTS's donation. Donations were channeled through catch-all account One In An ARMY, a collection of ARMY fan accounts on Twitter based in various parts of the world that specialized in everything from translation to research and fan organizing. The #MatchAMillion campaign succeeded 25 hours after BTS announced their donation through their official Twitter account, with donations pouring in through thousands of BTS fans all over the world.[167] In an interview with Reuters, writer and ARMY Elliot Sang commented that instead of proving the importance of a small group of people with a million

[167] Aditi Bhandari, "The Mobilising Power of the BTS ARMY," Reuters, July 4, 2010, https://graphics.reuters.com/GLOBAL-RACE/BTS-FANS/nmopajgmxva/.

dollars, #MatchAMillion's success demonstrated the necessity of having "people who are just volunteering who are just working from wherever they want that just simply care about doing something come together and volunteer out of their own desire."[168] It must be acknowledged that ARMY continues to struggle with its own internal issues of racism against Black BTS fans. However, #MatchAMillion's success remains as a sterling example of how the imagined community of fandom can powerfully navigate issues such as political activism, economic limitations, and social justice. Successes such as these can only leave room for excitement when considering the potential of fan communities to transcend borders of nation-states, organize themselves, and mobilize based on shared affections and desires to act as a collective.

Fans, fan communities, and fan identities thus serve as a reminder of the power of collective organization. They serve as reminders that power and technology take lives of their own, regardless of who may have initiated or maintain these circuits. They are also reminders that individual actors being aware of their own power does not necessarily undermine the organization abilities and cohesion of a group. If anything, fans reminding each other of their individual power borne out of affect has fortified the influence of fandom's mass mobilizations. Ultimately, fans demonstrate that the limit of power is simply the limit of individual and collective imagination.

[168] Bhandari.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

ABS-CBN News. “Guess Who’s Back in Manila... Sandara!” ABS-CBN News, August 14, 2009. https://news.abs-cbn.com/entertainment/08/14/09/guess-whos-back-manila-sandara.

acsrad. “XLR8 - p-Pop (Pinoy Pop) from The Philippines (Check Them Out)..” *Soompi Forums*, March 22, 2010.

Agent P. “Cloud Philippines Turns One!” *Agent P’s Headquarters* (blog), August 9, 2007. https://agentp.blog/2007/08/09/cloud-philippines-turns-one/.

———. “CloudPH at 1st Philippine Kpop Convention.” *Agent P’s Headquarters* (blog), December 7, 2009. https://agentp.blog/2009/12/07/cloudph-at-1st-philippine-kpop-convention/.

———. “Pops in Seoul’s 1,000th.” *Agent P’s Headquarters* (blog), July 5, 2008. https://agentp.blog/2008/07/06/pops-in-seouls-1000th/.

All About Asia. “Pops In Seoul in Manila (It’s True!).” *ALL ABOUT ASIA* (blog), June 25, 2008. https://allaboutasia.wordpress.com/2008/06/25/pops-in-seoul-in-manila-its-true/.

Atariz. “1st Philippine Kpop Convention.” *Seoulove* (blog), December 1, 2009. https://xii4.wordpress.com/2009/12/01/1st-philippine-kpop-convention/.

blissfreak. “Philippines-Korea Friendship Day Concert 2009 Main Event.” Livejournal. *All I Write Are Freak-Tions..... but Normalcy’s Not Really Our Style* (blog), November 28, 2009. https://blissfreak.livejournal.com/70696.html.

———. “Philippines-Korea Friendship Day Concert 2009 Prelude.” Livejournal. *All I Write Are Freak-Tions..... but Normalcy’s Not Really Our Style* (blog), November 27, 2009. https://blissfreak.livejournal.com/70633.html.

Bonifacio, Andres. “Bonifacio’s Proclamation of August 28, 1896.” In *The Writings and Trials of Andres Bonifacio*, translated by Teodoro A. Agoncillio and S.V. Epistola, 4. Quezon City: University of the Philipines, 1963. http://bonifaciopapers.blogspot.com/2005/09/bonifacio-andres_112718539592696858.html.

———. “Proclamation.” In *The Writings and Trials of Andres Bonifacio*, translated by Teodoro A. Agoncillio and S.V. Epistola, 4–5. Quezon City: University of the Philipines, 1963. http://bonifaciopapers.blogspot.com/2005/09/bonifacio-andres_112718757996674163.html.

boytsaleko. “SHINee LIVE IN MANILA! And Other Things Happened to Philippine-Korean Friendship Day!” Wordpress. *Boytsaleko* (blog), December 1, 2009. https://boytsaleko.wordpress.com/2009/12/01/shinee-live-in-manila-and-other-things-happened-to-philippine-korean-friendship-day/.

Caby. “KPOP Convention (Pic Heavy).” Blogspot. *Beauty Junkie i.e Caby* (blog), December 5, 2009. https://cabyness.blogspot.com/2009/12/kpop-convention-pic-heavy.html.

Cassiopeia Philippines. “2G: Happenings!” CassPH, May 1, 2008. https://web.archive.org/web/20080501123405/http://cassph.org/index.php?limitstart=2.

———. “[5G] Singing Contest.” CassPH, August 14, 2008. https://web.archive.org/web/20080814052926/http://cassph.org/index.php?limitstart=10.

———. “5G Ticket Sales.” CassPH, March 18, 2008. https://web.archive.org/web/20080715114919/http://cassph.org/index.php?limitstart=12.

———. “7G Showtime: Dance Contest.” CassPH, April 23, 2010. https://web.archive.org/web/20100423013347/http://cassph.org/contests.

———. “[ADMIN POST] 4G - WANTED : COMMITTEE MEMBERS.” CassPH | Multiply v.02, February 12, 2009. https://web.archive.org/web/20090212083306/http://cassiopeiaph.multiply.com/notes.

———. “Cass on Top of the World.” Cassiopeia Philippines - Uniting Filipino TVXQ Fans, September 12, 2008. https://web.archive.org/web/20080912052541/http://www.cassph.org/.

———. “Cassiopeia Philippines 4G.” SmartSurvey, 2007. https://www.smartsurvey.co.uk/s/2510ynhcj.

———. “DongBang Day In.” CassPH, April 26, 2008. https://web.archive.org/web/20080811043836/http://cassph.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=41&Itemid=50.

———. “FAQs.” CassPH, August 11, 2008. https://web.archive.org/web/20080811043907/http://cassph.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=34&Itemid=27.

———. “[IMPORTANT!} Membership Form and Database Entry.” CassPH, July 22, 2008. https://web.archive.org/web/20080722115623/http://cassph.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=61&catid=39&Itemid=68#JOSC_TOP.

Deen, James Michael. “On P-Pop and OPM - Ganns Deen.” *Ganns Deen* (blog), April 1, 2010. https://www.gannsdeen.com/2010/04/01/on-p-pop-and-opm/.

Embassy of the Philippines in South Korea. “Philippines-South Korea Relations.” Embassy of the Philippines in South Korea. Accessed December 7, 2021. http://www.philembassy-seoul.com/rp_rk_relations.asp.

Embassy of the Republic of Korea in the Republic of the Philippines. “2015 KCC Supporters [The Krew] Batch 2 Application 상세보기.” Embassy of the Republic of Korea in the Republic of the Philippines, May 27, 2015. https://overseas.mofa.go.kr/ph-en/brd/m_3286/view.do?seq=721517&srchFr=&amp%3BsrchTo=&amp%3BsrchWord=&amp%3BsrchTp=&amp%3Bmulti_itm_seq=0&amp%3Bitm_seq_1=0&amp%3Bitm_seq_2=0&amp%3Bcompany_cd=&amp%3Bcompany_nm=.

Esperanza, Raven, and Althea Lusterio. “9 Years of ‘Pinoy K-Pop Star’: Mind-Blowing Deets You Might Not Know About KCC’s Biggest K-Pop Event.” *THE KREW | MNL* (blog),

June 16, 2020. https://kccsupportersblog.wordpress.com/2020/06/16/9-years-of-pinoy-k-pop-star-mind-blowing-deets-you-might-not-know-about-kccs-biggest-k-pop-event/.

Filebook PH. “Kpop Concerts in the Philippines: From Previous To Latest.” Blogspot. *Filebook* (blog), August 2, 2012. https://filebookph.blogspot.com/2012/08/kpop-concerts-in-philippines-from.html.

forg. “Forg Files: Chart Recap 2010 Yearend Charts 1.” Blogspot. *Forg Files* (blog), December 27, 2010. http://jecoup9587.blogspot.com/2010/12/chart-recap-2010-yearend-charts-1.html.

———. “Forg Files: Chart Recap: 2011 Yearend Charts 1.” Blogspot. *Forg Files* (blog), December 25, 2011. http://jecoup9587.blogspot.com/2011/12/chart-recap-2011-yearend-charts-1.html.

———. “Forg Files: Chart Recap: 2012 Yearend Charts Part 1.” *Forg Files* (blog), December 24, 2012. http://jecoup9587.blogspot.com/2012/12/chart-recap-2012-yearend-charts-part-1.html.

———. “Forg Files: Chart Recap 2013 Year-End Charts.” *Forg Files* (blog), December 31, 2013. http://jecoup9587.blogspot.com/2013/12/chart-recap-2013-year-end-charts.html.

———. “Forg Files: Chart Recap 2014 Year-End Charts.” *Forg Files* (blog), December 31, 2014. http://jecoup9587.blogspot.com/2014/12/chart-recap-2013-year-end-charts.html.

———. “Forg Files: Chart Recap Extra: Albums Sales 55.” *Forg Files* (blog), October 20, 2011. http://jecoup9587.blogspot.com/2011/10/chart-recap-extra-albums-sales-55.html.

Gumlord. “XLR8 - p-Pop (Pinoy Pop) from The Philippines (Check Them Out)..” *Soompi Forums*, April 21, 2010. https://forums.soompi.com/topic/249852-xlr8-p-pop-pinoy-pop-from-the-philippines-check-them-out/.

Guzman, Yara de. “Celebrating a Decade’s Worth of Fun and Colorful Memories with Korean Cultural Center in the Philippines—#HAPPY10thKCCPH!” *THE KREW | MNL* (blog), July 26, 2021. https://kccsupportersblog.wordpress.com/2021/07/26/celebrating-a-decades-worth-of-fun-and-colorful-memories-with-korean-cultural-center-in-the-philippines-happy10thkccph/.

Jen. “ONE NIGHT with SUPER JUNIOR ♥♥♥.” Blogspot. *THOUGHTS by Anonymous* (blog). Accessed January 15, 2022. http://darlingakongangga.blogspot.com/2011/10/one-night-with-super-junior.html.

Jp. “Chart Central PH: MYX Hit Chart [2009.9.20].” *Chart Central PH* (blog). Accessed March 3, 2022. http://chartcentral.blogspot.com/2009/09/myx-hit-chart-2009920.html.

koharu_chan. “1st Ever Philippine KPopCon.” Livejournal. *Cassiopeia Worldwide* (blog), December 6, 2009. https://worldcassiopeia.livejournal.com/66601.html.

Korean Culture and Information Service. “About KCC Philippines.” Korean Cultural Center Philippines. Accessed January 29, 2022. http://phil.korean-culture.org/en/6/contents/767.

———. “KCC NewsByte Issue No. 6.” Korean Culture and Information Service, November 2012. https://issuu.com/kcclibrary/docs/november2012.

———. “KCC Newsbytes June 2012.” Korean Culture and Information Service, June 2012. https://issuu.com/kccphilippines/docs/newsbytes01.

———. “KCC Volunteer Program.” Korean Cultural Center Philippines, November 15, 2011. http://phil.korean-culture.org/en/1/board/25/read/16062.

KPOP STANS 4 LENI. *KPOPSTANS4LENI Random Play Dance: Cavite*, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YMMwX3dludQ.

KPOP STANS 4 LENI [@kpopstans4leni]. “[📣] #KPOPSTANS4LENI DEBUT.” Tweet. *Twitter*, October 7, 2021. https://twitter.com/kpopstans4leni/status/1445998219092119554.

Kramer, Paul A. *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines*. Electronic resource. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio14035297.

KREWMAX. “Who’s ‘The Krew’?” *THE KREW | MNL* (blog), January 10, 2017. https://kccsupportersblog.wordpress.com/2017/01/10/whos-the-krew/.

lawlietta. “Check out the 1st Philippine Kpop Convention!” allkpop, December 1, 2009. https://www.allkpop.com/article/2009/12/check-out-the-1st-philippine-kpop-convention.

Leben. “Korean - Philippine Pop: XLR8 : P-Pop.” Blogspot. *Korean - Philippine Pop* (blog), October 25, 2010. http://allkppop.blogspot.com/2010/10/xlr8-p-pop.html.

Looke, Charles Edward. “SCHOOLS REVOLUTIONIZED: Bureau of Education in Philippines Popularizing Learning Among Natives of Islands.” *Los Angeles Times (1923-1995)*. August 19, 1923, sec. Editorial.

manderley_angel. “‘In Again’ Sandara Park (Dara Park) – An Unlikely Bridge Between the Philippines and Korea.” Livejournal. *Yg_twentyone* (blog), June 18, 2009. https://yg-twentyone.livejournal.com/66441.html.

mizgen17. “Ate Sandy (Sandara Park) W/ Her Friends In Philippines.” Soompi Forums, April 12, 2009. https://forums.soompi.com/topic/204253-ate-sandy-sandara-park-w-her-friends-in-philippines/.

Niitsu, Hotaru. “The First KPop Convention In The World On Its 5th Year.” Livejournal. omonatheydidnt, December 31, 2013. https://omonatheydidnt.livejournal.com/12409956.html.

Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines. Proclamation No. 1495: DECLARING 2009 AS PHILIPPINES-REPUBLIC OF KOREA FRIENDSHIP YEAR AND MARCH 3, 2009 AS PHILIPPINES-REPUBLIC OF KOREA FRIENDSHIP DAY., Pub. L. No. No. 1495, § Executive Issuances, Proclamation (2008). https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2008/05/07/proclamation-no-1495/.

Olivar, Junelyn. “[KREW Says] Hoarding K-Stuff, Hoarding Memories: Krew Experience and Batch 9 Recruitment.” *THE KREW | MNL* (blog), July 19, 2021. https://kccsupportersblog.wordpress.com/2021/07/19/krew-says-hoarding-k-stuff-hoarding-memories-krew-experience-and-batch-9-recruitment/.

Pamintuan, Maria Jorica. “Wondering About the Wonder Girls.” Philstar Global, December 4, 2009. https://www.philstar.com/lifestyle/young-star/2009/12/04/528884/wondering-about-wonder-girls.

parkminnie. “2NE1, Wonder Girls and Super Junior on Top Hits Chart in the Philippines.” Blog. *Nothing Else* (blog), July 1, 2009. https://parkminnie.wordpress.com/2009/07/01/2ne1-wonder-girls-and-super-junior-on-top-hits-chart-in-the-philippines/.

Wall Street Journal (1889-1922). “PHILIPPINE EDUCATION: Desire for Knowledge Shown by the Increase in the School Attendance.” October 21, 1914.

Philippine K-pop Committee, Inc. “2nd Philippine Kpop Awards.” The Philippine K-pop Convention, 2011. https://web.archive.org/web/20110814005023/http://kpopcon.info/attendees/2nd-philippine-kpop-awards-poll/.

———. “Event Highlights.” The Philippine K-pop Convention, 2011. https://web.archive.org/web/20110813233733/http://kpopcon.info/general-information/event-overview/.

Ren Froilan. *Sandara Park Crying on SCQ Audition*, 2010. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=03GNiSfDJ3M.

Rivera, Nicole. “‘Ppop’ Stands for ‘Pathetic Pop.’” Blogspot. *Pop Reviews Now* (blog), March 25, 2010. https://popreviewsnow.blogspot.com/2010/03/ppop-stands-for-pathetic-pop.html.

———. “Rant: Kpop’s a Threat to OPM? Puh-Lease.” Blogspot. *Pop Reviews Now* (blog), March 3, 2010. https://popreviewsnow.blogspot.com/2010/03/rant-kpops-threat-to-opm-puh-lease.html.

New York Times. “ROOSEVELT URGES PHILIPPINES EXTEND RADIO TO THE VILLAGES: New Plan Provides for Receivers in Public Squares -- Educational Results Are Foreseen.” 1932, sec. DRAMA MUSIC HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS SCREEN ART RADIO SHOPPERS COLUMNS THE DANCE.

Shin, Hae-in. “Kazak, Philippines Teams Bag Grand Prize at K-Pop Festival.” The Korea Herald, December 8, 2011. http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20111208000748.

SM Entertainment. “History.” SM Entertainment Group. Accessed April 10, 2022. https://www.smentertainment.com/Overview/History.

sookyeong. “Kpop to Invade the Philippines This November!” *K Bites* (blog), September 19, 2009. https://sookyeong.wordpress.com/2009/09/19/kpop-to-invade-the-philippines/.

Sooold. “Netizens Expose YG’s Media-Play History.” *Allkpop*, June 9, 2019. https://www.allkpop.com/article/2019/06/netizens-expose-ygs-media-play-history.

Tuason-Basbas, Angel. “Higher and Higher! (An 8G: The Carnival Fanaccount/ Diary Entry).” *Penned Eternity* (blog), May 10, 2011. https://inkedangelwings.wordpress.com/2011/05/10/higher-and-higher-an-8g-the-carnival-fanaccount-diary-entry/.

———. “Our Love Story Showcased at Gawad Kalinga [TVXQ Reflections].” *Penned Eternity* (blog), June 20, 2010. https://inkedangelwings.wordpress.com/2010/06/20/our-love-story-showcased-at-gawad-kalinga-tvxq-reflections/.

wintermaze. “XLR8 - p-Pop (Pinoy Pop) from The Philippines (Check Them Out)..” *Soompi Forums*, March 30, 2010.

x-xpaox-x. “Another One of My Tv ‘Appearances’... Wait, This One’s FORREALZ! XD: X_xpaox_x — LiveJournal.” Livejournal. *PAOsitivity!* + (blog), July 31, 2009. https://x-xpaox-x.livejournal.com/47771.html.

대통령기록관. “Background and Objective.” Presidential Council on National Branding. Accessed February 24, 2022. http://17koreabrand.pa.go.kr/gokr/en/cms/selectKbrdCmsPageTbl.do?cd=0118&m1=1&m2=3.

임혜선. “[스타일기]산다라박② ‘벙어리로 살았던 시절엔..’” Naver TV 연예, March 5, 2010. https://entertain.naver.com/read?oid=277&aid=0002331538.

Foto News, 1939. From the collections of P. Bataclan-Aristorenas.

Secondary Sources

Abad, Ysa. “From Hallyu to Halalan: How Filipino K-Pop Fans Are Taking Action for the 2022 PH Elections.” *Rappler* (blog), December 9, 2021. https://www.rappler.com/life-and-style/arts-culture/how-filipino-k-pop-fans-taking-action-2022-philippine-elections/.

Alanzalon, Sarah Kristine M. “Kpopped!: Understanding the Filipino Teens’ Consumption of Korean Popular Music and Videos.” University of the Philippines, Diliman, 2011.

Anderson, Benedict R. *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World*. New York: Verso, 1998.

Benitez, Maria Alessandra. “Beneath the (Korean) Wave: Transpacific Interpretations of Hallyu with Special Reference to the Philippines,” May 2020.

Bhandari, Aditi. “The Mobilising Power of the BTS ARMY.” Reuters, July 4, 2010. https://graphics.reuters.com/GLOBAL-RACE/BTS-FANS/nmopajgmxva/.

Cabanes, Jason Vincent Aquino. “Multicultural Mediations, Developing World Realities: Indians, Koreans and Manila’s Entertainment Media.” *Media, Culture & Society* 36, no. 5 (July 1, 2014): 628–43. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443714532979.

Choi, JungBong. “Hallyu versus Hallyu-Hwa: Cultural Phenomenon versus Institutional Campaign.” In *Hallyu 2.0: The Korean Wave in the Age of Social Media*, edited by Sangjoon Lee and Abé Marcus Nornes, 31–52. Perspectives on Contemporary Korea. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2015.

Dayan, Daniel. “The Peculiar Public of Television.” *Media, Culture & Society* 23, no. 6 (November 1, 2001): 743–65. https://doi.org/10.1177/016344301023006004.

Enriquez, Elizabeth L. “Iginiit Na Himig Sa Himpapawid: Musikang Filipino Sa Radyo Sa Panahon Ng Kolonyalismong Amerikano.” *Plaridel Journal*, no. Early View (2020): 1–21.

Fernandez, Doreen G. “Philippine-American Cultural Interaction.” *Crossroads: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 1, no. 1 (1983): 20–30.

Hannell, Briony. “Muslim Girlhood, Skam Fandom, and DIY Citizenship.” *Girlhood Studies* 14, no. 2 (June 1, 2021): 46–62. https://doi.org/10.3167/ghs.2021.140205.

Hills, Matthew. *Fan Cultures*. Sussex Studies in Culture and Communication. London: Routledge, 2002.

Hippler, Thomas. “The Politics of Imagination.” In *The Politics of Imagination*, edited by Chiara Bottici and Benoît Challand, 55–72. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Birkbeck Law Press, 2011.

Ileto, Reynaldo C. “The Road to 1898: On American Empire and the Philippine Revolution.” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 49, no. 3 (May 4, 2021): 505–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2021.1920804.

Jenkins, Henry. *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*. New York University Press, c2006. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.05936.

———. *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2012. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203114339.

Jenkins, Henry, Sam Ford, and Joshua Green. *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture*. Postmillennial Pop. New York ; London: New York University Press, 2013.

Kim, Monica. *The Interrogation Rooms of the Korean War: The Untold History*. 1st ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019.

Kim, Youna, ed. “Introduction: Korean Media in a Digital Cosmopolitan World.” In *The Korean Wave: Korean Media Go Global*, 1–27. Internationalizing Media Studies. London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2013.

Kramer, Paul A. *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines*. Electronic resource. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio14035297.

Lent, John A. “Philippine Radio - History and Problems.” *Asian Studies: Journal of Critical Perspectives on Asia* 6, no. 1 (1968): 37–52.

Lie, John. “Seoul Calling.” In *K-Pop*, 96=155. University of California Press, 2014. https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520283114.003.0003.

Man, Simeon. *Soldiering Through Empire: Race and the Making of the Decolonizing Specific*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2018.

Mulder, Niels. “Filipino Identity: The Haunting Question.” *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 32, no. 1 (April 1, 2013): 55–81.

Pacis, Jessamine Joyce Caunte. “Popping the K-Pop Bubble: A Study on the World of K-Pop Fandom as Subculture.” University of the Philippines, College of Mass Communication, 2012. IskoWiki. http://iskwiki.upd.edu.ph/images/4/4a/PoppingTheK-popBubble.pdf.

Pande, Rukmini. *Squee from the Margins: Fandom and Race*. Fandom & Culture. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2018.

Rafael, Vicente L. *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*. Illustrated edition. Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2000.

Ratto, Matt, and Megan Boler. “Introduction.” In *DIY CItizenship: Critical Making and Social Media*, 1–21. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014. https://direct-mit-edu.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/books/book/3410/chapter/113620/Introduction.

Scott, William Henry. *The Discovery of the Igorots : Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon*. Quezon City, Republic of the Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1974.

Sharma, Devika, and Frederik Tygstrup, eds. “Introduction.” In *Structures of Feeling: Affectivity and the Study of Culture*, 9–11. Concepts for the Study of Culture 5. Berlin ; New York: De Gruyter, 2015.

Shim, Doobo. “Hybridity and the Rise of Korean Popular Culture in Asia.” *Media, Culture & Society* 28, no. 1 (2006): 25–44.

Taylor, Verta, and Leila Rupp. “Loving Internationalism: The Emotion Culture of Transnational Women’s Organizations, 1888-1945.” *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (February 21, 2006): 141–58. https://doi.org/10.17813/maiq.7.2.fw3t5032xkq5l62h.

Van Zoonen, Liesbet. *Entertaining the Citizen: When Politics and Popular Culture Converge*. Critical Media Studies. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.

Villanueva, Candy. “DEKADA: A Decade of the Internet in the Philippines; PLDT Helps Define Philippine Internet History.” *BusinessWorld*. March 29, 2004. https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:4C1P-9KS0-00JS-914G-00000-00&context=1516831.