Fluid Identities in the Structure of Cyberspace: A Comparison of Philippine and Korean Experiences

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Massive Multiplayer Online Role Playing Games (MMORPG), one of the most popular Internet cyberspace forms in the world, is regarded as a male-dominatedspace, constituting over 90 percent of participants, according to statistics collected by Nick Yee (2005). Most players participate in war games, which comprise the main theme for most MMORPG, and grow with their avatar through a series of battles. However, according to theorists like Sadie Plant (1997), cyberspace itself is feminine rather than masculine and, consequently, male identities are inevitably dispersed in this matrix. This assertion seems quite different from what we can perceive on the surface. To apply Plant's study to the current cyberspace situation, this paper will use MMORPG as a model of cyberspace. Also, to verify Plant's assertion, this paper will look at the narrative structure of MMORPG by adapting apparatus theory from film studies. This study will also take a critical look at the result of the interviews with Filipino and South Korean players to see how theories and reality match when comparing two different cultures.

Keywords: Massive Multiplayer Online Role Playing Games (MMORPG), cyberspace, gender, patriarchy, player, avatar

Cyberspace and MMORPG

Cyberspace has become a significant part of media and contemporary life. According to Internet World Stats (2010), there are 1.463 billion Internet users in the world, over 578 million of them in Asia. A study conducted in 2004 by Netopia, the largest Internet café chain in the Philippines, on the local Internet café industry and its customers counted over 5 million online gamers in the Philippines who spent an average of PhP60 a day to play in Internet cafés. The study also discovered that there were around 14,000 Internet cafés in the Philippines. Officials of the Commission on Information and Communication Technology (CICT) have said the popularity of Internet gaming in the Philippines will help them achieve their goal of developing the Philippine digital infrastructure (Khan,2006, p.130).

Online games are some of the best examples of the ubiquity of cyberspace. Online games that are popular in the Philippines are mainly Massive Multiplayer Online Role Playing Games (MMORPG). MMORPG is itself a huge instance

of cyberspace, and millions of players construct their virtual lives in it through their avatars.

The situation in the Philippines is similar to the global Massive Multiplayer Online Game (MMOG) market. The game *World of Warcraft (WoW)* is the most successful MMORPG in the Philippines as it is in the world. According to MMOGChart.com, the single game *WoW*, with its 10 million-plus players, dominates more than 60 percent of global online game markets (MMOG subscriptions market share, n.d.).

WoW is a Middle Age fantasy-based online role-playing game. Two camps are in conflict, the Horde and the Alliance. The Horde camp represents the alliance of monsters like Orc and Undead, and the Alliance camp represents the alliance between humankind races like Humans, Dwarfs, and Elves. Players can choose any one of these races. Once they choose a race, they automatically become a member of one of the camps in which their characters' race is involved; this membership leads players into the conflict with the other camp. Players in different camps can kill each other, and if one kills other players belonging to the other camp, the game gives the surviving player honor points, which can then be exchanged with special items later. Therefore, it is a huge motivation for players to kill one another in this game (Ham, 2011).

The players in *WoW* not only play in cooperation with some players but also against other players. Players in the same camp have to help each other defeat players in the other camp, but at other moments the two camps also have to help each other defeat a few legendary monsters in the game. Therefore, players are required to think strategically in order to survive the complications in the various types of conflict.

Such conflict and motivation are the key elements that make the social interaction in this area of cyberspace more prevalent and stronger, compared with other genres of online games, and the complexities of conflictive social interactions make MMORPG study-worthy models capable of exhibiting verities and varieties of human behavior (Ham, 2011).

Sadie Plant on Cyberspace

According to Sadie Plant in *Beyond the Screens* (1997), cyberspace opens up new possibilities for the creation of a female-dominant culture. She argues that cyberfeminism constitutes a post-human insurrection against patriarchy that has dominated technology, and it is marked primarily by an alliance between females and machines (p. 508). Technology has always been used by man to expand his power and strengthen his domination. However, the character of machines and cyberspace, which are the products of technology, are defined as

feminine rather than masculine by cyberfeminism. According to cyberfeminists, if the truly human is the real man, machines cannot be a man. Machines are unpredictable like the character of femininity (Plant, 1997, p. 503). They can go wrong or break down anytime and anywhere, so the man always try to achieve perfect control on it.

Cyberfeminism defines cyberspace as a space of woven matrix. As Jacquard loom was the origin of software, cyberspace is also built on this weaving mechanism. Moreover, the way of communication the hypertext in cyberspace provides is much feminine. By breaking all the concepts of straightforward narrative, hypertext allow the users to have communication that is developed by women and defined as hysterical by men (Ham, 2011).

However, MMORPG seems, at least in appearance, a male-dominant place. Even though players have to be engaged with both machine (computer) and cyberspace (Internet) to play the game, MMORPG seems to induce the expansion of male power into cyberspace.

First, all the worlds of MMORPG are built on conflict and war. There are always at least two camps in conflict in MMORPG, and players grow their avatars mainly through participating in the war. Reflecting this character of the worlds in MMORPG, Williams and Yee (2008) discovered that at least 80 percent of the players in MMORPG are males (p. 309).

Also, the main motivation of the players is achievement, and this motivation most positively concerns the players and their playing time. In short, MMORPG can be described as a place where males rush in to celebrate and enjoy their common masculinity. The cyberspace of MMOPRG is said then to be far from the place of female dominance, contrary to the assertion of cyberfeminists.

However, Plant (1997) sees this masculinity in cyberspace as a lure that tempts men to enter the cyberspace and destroy their identity.

Cyberspace certainly tempts its users with the ultimate fulfillment of the patriarchal dream, leaving the proper body behind and floating in the immaterial. But who is adrift in the data stream? All identity is lost in the matrix, where man does not achieve pure consciousness, final autonomy, but disappears on the matrix, his boundaries collapsed in the cybernetic net (p. 507).

"The ultimate fulfillment of the patriarchal dream" explains the findings of Williams and Yee(2008) on why most of the players are male and their main motivation is achievement. Most players are intent on reaching the pinnacle state of game play by attaining the highest level of their avatar. This highest level

can be attained mainly through killing the monsters and enemy players. From this killing, players get experience points for leveling up their avatars and also can attain powerful items that increase the physical and magical power of their avatars.

Therefore, a player's achievement in reaching the highest possible level is tantamount to acquiring more masculine power and at the same time strengthening his domination over other players. This coincides with the idea of the ultimate fulfillment of the patriarchal dream. When Plant's argument is combined with the aforementioned empirical studies on MMORPG, it becomes evident that the male players voluntarily enter the cyberspace of MMORPG to realize their patriarchal dream through achievement (Ham, 2011).

However, at this point, it is still questionable if the male players can lose their identity in the cyberspace of MMORPG while fulfilling their patriarchal dream. Although Plant asserts that since cyberspace is female-dominant space, the male identity will be destroyed once he enters cyberspace, how this female dominance in cyberspace could destroy male identity is unclear in her statement:

Hooked up to the screens and jacked into decks, man becomes the user, the addict, who can no longer insist on his sovereign autonomy and separation from nature. Increasingly integrated with the environment from which he always considered himself distinguished, he finds himself traveling on networks he didn't even know existed, and entering space in which his conceptions of reality and identity are destroyed. This is the return of the repressed, the return of the feminine, perhaps even the revenge of nature. (Plant, 1997, p.505)

Traveling on network destroys the conceptions of reality and identity of male participants? What the male participants should do then in cyberspace is to just enjoy the fulfillment of their patriarchal dream without unnecessarily losing their identity. On this point, it seems there is no need for male participants to lose their identity at all.

Network. Matrix. These are the terms that Plant used to describe cyberspace. If we sum up her statements so far, we can understand that male identities are lost in the matrix while they traverse this network. Thus the structure of cyberspace, which encompasses both matrix and network, should be understood first in order to determine whether, as Plant insisted, the identities of males are really lost.

To examine the structure of this digital world, this paper will look at the narrative implanted in the cyberspace of MMOPRG. However, the systemic or

mechanical structure of cyberspace liesoutside the scope of this paper. Rather, this paper will look at the narrative flow in this cyberspace that overdetermines the traversal of players in its matrix. To examine the narrative in the cyberspace of MMORPG, this paper will apply the concept of the Oedipal trajectory, as developed from apparatus theory in film studies.

Christian Metz and the Oedipal Trajectory

Cinema is the place where such a trajectory is reenacted, with respect to the Oedipal nature of narrative and the relationship between spectator and screen (Metz, 1986, p. 42). In the sense that there is almost always a male protagonist in film who overcomes his lack and loss by resolving all the problems and barriers he faces, then finally achieves a female figure as a final compensation, the text of Classical Hollywood narrative film is Oedipal.

By experiencing a moment of misrecognition from the screen, the spectator identifies with the male protagonist. As the male protagonist undergoes the Oedipal trajectory, the spectator also experiences the trajectory that accompanies the lack and loss, the law of the father, the restoration of lack, and eventually the female figure as compensation. As this study will show, the Oedipal trajectory and Oedipal narrative also certainly exist in MMORPG.

The player in an MMORPG identifies himself with his idealized avatar. As soon as the player goes into the virtual world of MMORPG, he faces the rules of this world, which is equivalent to the law of the father. Then the player realizes that his avatar, which is his idealized self, inevitably entails lack and loss. In fact, the avatar, especially in the very beginning, is lack and loss itself. Not only is it Level 1 in the beginning but also the set of equipment, skills, and magic available to the avatar is downright shabby and poor. However, because of this unbearable being of lack and loss, it would be hard for the player to simply leave his avatar in this original state, and give up accomplishing the Oedipal trajectory.

This idea of lack and loss also appears in empirical research on MMORPG. According to Williams and Yee (2008), even though there are diverse motivations existing for various players, the motivation that is most dominant and heavily concerns playing time is that of achievement. It is ironic that the players' main motivation for their playing is achievement (p. 993). Once the players achieve what they want, the playing should meet an end, but it never does. Also, if the players finish their playing after a certain level of achievement and leave the game, the cyberspace of MMORPG would lose its reason of being.

Therefore, achievement means, in an ironic turn, that there is always lack and loss for players to fill in during their experience of MMORPG. This lack

can seemingly be filled with a game-specific achievement, but once this is accomplished, a new lack presents itself once more. Filling these instances of lack and loss through achievement is the main concern of the players, but they are never actually allowed to fill it with finality. This study is not arguing that this idea of lack and loss is an absolute motive for playing MMORPG, but at least it is one of the key mechanisms that lead the players to an almost obsessive end-unsure playing time situation and lengthen the travel of players in this matrix.

Oedipal Spiral and the Castrated Hero

What then is this trajectory missing in this cyberspace, with its persistent lack unlike in film? In the text of Classical Hollywood narrative film, the male protagonist fulfills his lack by achieving the female figure. However, there is no princess who awaits the player to defeat the dragon and save her for the happily-ever-after ending in the cyberspace of MMORPG. If the players fulfill their lack by saving the princess and end the game, this cyberspace will face a serious problem with its viability after all the players are gone. Thus, for the viability of the cyberspace, players would have to fight against the endless number of dragons without the chance to possess the princess. There is no fulfillment of lack in this trajectory—only a persistent lack, which induces the players' endunsure playing time.

The Oedipal trajectory that is reenacted in MMORPG should therefore be redefined. There is no end in this trajectory, and once the player falls into it, he would not be allowed to finish the trajectory and escape from it. Hence, renaming it the Oedipal spiral would be more proper for the nature of MMORPG. In this spiral, the lack of the player is never allowed to be filled. The player, however, remains always eager for fulfillment and repeats his play over and over in the spiral which, moreover, automatically ensures the viability of the cyberspace.

The player is a hero who defeats dragons and evil monsters, but he is a hero without the right to possess the princess. This right is withheld to ensure the viability of the cyberspace of MMORPG. How then can the identity of the player be described in this situation? Deprived of the right or ability to possess a female, it appears that the state of the player is akin to the state of being castrated. Although this might sound somewhat excessive, calling the player a castrated hero would fit in this situation. Hence, for the vitality of cyberspace, the player is situated in a condition of castration without realizing it because the player, in the beginning, was invited into the MMORPG to become a hero, not to be castrated.

Fetishism and MMORPG

In exchange for being castrated, how can the player be recompensed within the MMORPG? Instead of a female figure, the MMORPG provides objects the player can possess and be obsessed with. There is no princess the player can possess, but instead there are fetishistic items for rewards coming right after killing the dragon in the MMORPG.

From the images of the items such as armors and weapons, we can easily see their phallic significance. Interestingly, this significance tends to show more exaggerated images of erection as the items get more powerful and rarer. By possessing these items, the player can append phallic shapes to his avatar and endow more power proportional to the degree of the erection that the phallic shape displays. Therefore, for the player who is innately provided with lack and castration in the MMORPG, the fetishistic items would be something that he can be comforted with, and the player eventually replaces or hides his lack of a penis by reflecting the strikingly phallic images on his avatar.

Playing a female character could be an additional way the male player recompenses himself. Once the male player realizes that there is no female figure he can possess in the Oedipal spiral of the MMORPG, he will also realize that the only way he can possess a female figure is by playing a female avatar. However, the player faces a dilemma here. To have the female figure the player has to perform it and let the female figure represent him in the cyberspace of the MMORPG.

According to Kathryn Wright's research (2000) on the male players who assume female avatars, the main reason male players do so is because of the advantages they can acquire from being represented as female in cyberspace. In



Figure 1.The rare armor item sets in WoW (World of Warcraft), Blizzard 2004. The exaggerated images of erection appear in the shape of the items.



Figure 2. Images of female characters in the posters of MMORPGs (from left: Blade & Soul, PristonTale 2, and Cabal). Any explanation about the game itself is not necessary with these bodies of female characters, who tell everything and nothing.

this regard, the biggest advantage male players want to get from being a female could be the female avatar's body itself that they can possess.

Hence, this paper argues that the Oedipal spiral, which forms the narrative in the cyberspace of MMORPG, could affect the behavior of players, and the possible results are fetishistic obsession and gender switching in MMORPG. According to Inven's special report titled "Item Trade Special," the amount of item trade that occurred through online shops in South Korea in 2008 was almost US\$700 million (Seo, 2009). Also, according to Wright's "Gender Bending in Games" (2000), 42 percent of male participants in her survey answered that they played female avatars for over 75 percent of their playing time.

Many people would wonder why players buy virtual items, which would not be worth anything in real life, with real cash, and why many male players play female avatars in MMORPG. As already mentioned, the Oedipal spiral cannot provide a definite answer, but it can be considered one of the reasons why players have to do these behavioral patterns in cyberspace.

The Oedipal Spiral and Sadie Plant

It then seems that the cyberspace of MMORPG is an apposite place to realize the ultimate fulfillment of the patriarchal dream mentioned by Plant (1997). Players join the virtual world of an MMORPG to undertake a heroic journey, which seemingly coincides with the Oedipal trajectory. However, this journey never ends unless a player gives up his play. Although ultimate fulfillment of the patriarchal dream in the Oedipal trajectory is the attainment of a female

subject, this journey never concedes a female figure to the player. Instead, there is an eternal lack imposed on the player, and this lack makes the player remain in this cyberspace as long as possible for the viability of the cyberspace. While a player is pursuing the fulfillment of this eternal lack, his identity is upturned as castrated hero and captured in this cyberspace without his realizing it.

Therefore, as Plant insisted, players can no longer insist on their sovereign autonomy and separation from nature in this cyberspace. Rather, they are swept into the Oedipal spiral and get castrated without their being aware of it in this cyberspace. For the effects of castration, players get obsessed with fetish items or indulge in a female avatar's body for disavowal.

MMORPG Players

Both South Korean and Philippine MMORPG players were interviewed in 2008 to look at how they dealt with gender issues in cyberspace. The cyberspace of MMORPG is a special venue for gender identity issues in the sense that it provides an exceptional environment where anyone can choose their virtual gender for their avatars regardless of their real-life gender. Thus, examining players' behavior on gender choice in the cyberspace of MMORPG will certainly bring about a better understanding of identity issues in cyberspace.

The subjects consisted of 50 Filipinos (40 males and 10 females) and 34 South Koreans (32 males and two females). In the Philippines, the questionnaire was distributed through three Internet cafes in Quezon City, Metro Manila. Two are located in the campus of the University of the Philippines Diliman and another in Philcoa. For the Korean players, the questionnaire was distributed through the *Somegate* website, one of the most active online community websites for Korean *WoW* players. It was posted on the bulletin board of Somegate, and players participated by writing their answers on the reply section of the board.

Anonymity of the participants was completely guaranteed. The only personal information the questionnaire required were gender and age. In case of the Korean participants, since Somegate lets its users use nickname instead of their ID or real name, and classifies their users' personal information, the participants could freely answer without the risk of identity disclosure.

Even though there were limitations, such as a small sample size and an unequal number of respondents between the Philippines and Korea, the results showed distinct tendencies between the two groups of players.

The results of Question 1 show Philippine players are far more serious about being consistent with the gender of their avatars than Korean players. While 61 percent of Philippine players regard their avatar as themselves, 67 percent of Korean players do not share this anxiety.

The matter becomes clearer in Question 2. Almost half of Philippine players (45 percent) have not assumed opposite-sex avatars because, consistent with their response to Question 1, Philippine players tend to regard their avatars as themselves. On the other hand, 88 percent of Korean players have assumed opposite-sex avatars, which means Korean players are much more flexible than Philippine players are when it comes to choosing their avatar's gender.

Table 1. Interview Questions 1 and 2 (P: Philippines, K: Korea). 1. Do you regard your character (avatar) in online RPG as yourself? Yes (P: 61%,K: 33%) 1. No (P: 39%,K: 67%) 2. Have you ever played an online RPG as an opposite-sex character? Yes (P: 55%,K: 88%) Go to Question No.3) (Go to Question No.4)

If one applies the ideas of Plant and the Oedipal spiral concept to these results, Korean players, compared with Philippine players, can be regarded as tending to consider their avatar an object body for their fetishistic desire. The tendency of Korean players to play opposite-sex avatars without identifying with the latter indicates that for them, an avatar is more likely an object to gaze at than to identify with. On the other hand, item fetishization is more likely to appear among Philippines players since a high degree of identification will lead them to seek fetish items, which substitute for the female figure.

Table 2. Interview Question 3 (P: Philippines, K: Korea).

3. Have you ever deceived other players about your real gender when you play as an opposite-sex character?

[Yes (P: 19%, K: 11.5%)]

[No (P: 36%, K: 76.5%)]

It seems there is no significant difference between the two groups based on the results of Question 3: 19 percent of total Philippine players and 11.5 percent of Korean players answered that they have deceived other players about their real-life gender. However, among the Philippine players who have played opposite-sex avatars, the figure jumps to 34.5 percent, since only the players who answered "Yes" in Question 2 were asked to answer Question 3. In the case of Korean players, only 13 percent who had played opposite-sex avatars deceived other players on their real-life gender.

This clearly demonstrates that Philippine players are much more likely to hide their real gender in the cyberspace of MMORPG than Korean players. This consequence is reasonable if one considers the prior questions. Since Philippine players tend more to regard their avatar as themselves, in comparison with Korean players, they would more likely to stick to their avatar's gender in cyberspace.

☐ Negative

□Neutral

The results of Question 4 show that Korean players have a more flexible preference on the choice of gender for their avatar than do Philippine players. While 25 percent of Korean players have no particular preference on their avatar's gender, only 1 percent of Philippine players have no particular preference. Also, Philippine players show a high preference (65 percent) for playing same-sex avatar. These results coincide with the results of Question 1 and 2. As Philippines players are more likely to identify themselves with their avatar and more likely to not play opposite-sex avatar than Korean players, their preference for their avatar's gender tends to be same as their real-life gender.

(P: 21%,K: 2.5%)

(P: 63%,K: 97.5%)

Question 5 results show that while 21 percent of Philippine players are negative about other players who assume opposite-sex avatars, only 2.5 percent of Korean players feel the same way. Also, while most of Korean players (97.5 percent) have a neutral attitude toward the players who assume opposite-sex characters, a smaller percentage (63 percent) of Philippine players share this attitude toward them. The reason the two groups of players show different attitudinal tendencies toward opposite-sex avatar players could be explained through their behavior regarding identification and objectification, which was earlier discussed in relation to the results of Questions 1 and 2.

Summing up, the answers the players made about why they prefer oppositesex or same-sex avatars reveal that there are two types of players: the ones who regard their avatars as themselves, and the others who don't. Philippine players are close to the former, and the Korean players could be considered as the latter.

The players who preferred same-sex avatars mainly answered that it is easy to immerse in the game when they play avatars of their own sex. Also, many said they cannot imagine themselves playing opposite-sex avatars because their avatars should represent them.

In contrast, the male players who prefer female avatars mainly answered that they play female avatars because of the latter's pulchritude. Some gave specific answers that attraction to a pretty female avatar is natural for male players. Others also remarked that playing MMORPG takes an inordinately

long time, so their avatars should represent pretty women who can give them continuous visual pleasure.

The Matrix, Where Man does not Achieve Pure Consciousness

Up to now we have looked at how the identity of the male participant in cyberspace could be configured through cyberfeminist theory, and we examined how the narrative structure of cyberspace could verify Plant's assertion on male identity in cyberspace. To prove the validity of this qualitative study, we also performed an initial and basic quantitative exercise by interviewing two groups comprising Philippine and Korean players.

As Plant asserted, the ultimate fulfillment of the patriarchal dreamwas the prior motive of playing for male players, who would join the cyberspace of MMORPG to realize their patriarchal dream by becoming a hero. In the text of the standard Classical Hollywood Film, this dream could only be realized by the hero who overcomes his lack and achieves the final compensation, which is the female figure.

However, in the Oedipal spiral, which was distorted for the viability of cyberspace from the Oedipal trajectory, male players are never allowed to achieve this ultimate fulfillment; instead, the eternal lack leads the male players to the end-unsure playing time and, at the same time, ensures the viability of cyberspace. This study has defined this identity of male players in the Oedipal spiral as the castrated hero. The identity of male players examined through the narrative formation of the cyberspace of MMORPG effectively coincides with Plant's (1997) complex assertion that:

Cyberspace certainly tempts its users with the ultimate fulfillment of the patriarchal dream, leaving the proper body behind and floating in the immaterial. But who is adrift in the data stream? All identity is lost in the matrix, where man does not achieve pure consciousness, final autonomy, but disappears on the matrix, his boundaries collapsed in the cybernetic net. (p. 507)

Hooked up to the screens and jacked into decks, man becomes the user, the addict, who can no longer insist on his sovereign autonomy and separation from nature. Increasingly integrated with the environment from which he always considered himself distinguished, he finds himself traveling on networks he didn't even know existed, and entering space in which his conceptions of reality and identity are destroyed. (p. 505)

The male player's identity as patriarchal hero is castrated in the matrix wherein the Oedipal spiral has been implanted. This castration is crucial for the viability of cyberspace. Therefore, swept up by the Oedipal spiral, the male player is unable to realize pure consciousness and final autonomy. In this spiral, he is never allowed to be a true hero but only allowed to drift in this matrix (spiral) with his castrated virtual body (avatar), leaving his physical body beyond this cyberworld.

As to the consequences of this castration, this paper suggested two possible effects on the player: one is item fetishization, and the other is character fetishization. As a result of castration, the player looks for substitutions as an act of disavowal, and the substitutions that cyberspace offers the player are fetish items and the virtual body of the female avatar. Destined to fail in attaining his identity as patriarchal hero, the player gets obsessed with these fetish objects and tries to hide his eternal lack, which is given by the nature of cyberspace.

The results of the author's interviews of Philippine and Korean players were interpreted based on this qualitative study. According to the results, Filipino players are more likely to identify themselves with their same-sex avatar compared with Korean players. The fact of being as one body with an avatar, which is the body that contains the castrated wound, would possibly lead the player to an obsession with fetish items, in as much as this obsession impels the player to hide the wound of castration on his virtual body.

In the case of Korean players, it seems the avatar more likely functions as an object for their visual satisfaction, in comparison with Philippine players. Although most Korean male players have experienced "playing female," they hardly identify themselves with the female avatar. Hence the act of playing with a female avatar could be the players' alternative way to possess the female figure, which is missing in the Oedipal spiral. In turn, the male players have to allow the female avatar, with its exaggerated features of femininity, to replace their identity as patriarchal heroes in the cyberspace of MMORPG.

Although this paper discovered these vital differences in two player groups, it could not yet provide the possible reasons such differences exist between the two national cultures. It might be owing to the different cultural backgrounds of the two nations, or it might be due to a difference in Internet environments, or it might be accounted for by differences in historical situations. Hence, further studies with the methods outlined in this paper will prove worthwhile.

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