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**JAPANESE CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN THE
PHILIPPINES THROUGH ANIME'S POPULARITY AND
PERVASIVENESS**

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**This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of
Prof. ASIRI J. ABUBAKAR, Ph.D.
(April 3, 1948 – October 21, 2010)
of the University of the Philippines Asian Center,
without whose support and guidance
the researcher will not be able to
reach this point in her academic life.**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABC – Associated Broadcasting Company

ABS-CBN – Alto Broadcasting System-Chronicle Broadcasting Network

ACC 21 – Asian Community Center 21

ACPI – Animation Council of the Philippines

ADMU – Ateneo de Manila University

ASEAN – Association of Southeast Asian Nations

AXN – short for AXioN

BETP – Bureau of Export and Trade Promotions

CARICOM – Caribbean Community

CBCP – Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines

CCP – Cultural Center of the Philippines

CIPO – Creative Industries Promotion Office

CSA – Conseil Superieur de l’Audiovisuel

CSRO – civil society resource organization

DLSU – De La Salle University

DMB – digital multi-media broadcasting

DTI – Department of Trade and Industry

EAS – East Asia Summit

EEI – Engineering Equipment Incorporated

EU – European Union

FDI – foreign direct investment

FK – *Firipin Kyokai*

FSSI – Foundation for a Sustainable Society Incorporated

GAGRP – Grant Assistance for Grassroots Project

GMA – Greater Manila Area

HK – Hong Kong

IAI – independent administrative institution

IT – information technology

JF – Japan Foundation

JFMO – Japan Foundation Manila Office

JICWELS – Japan International Cooperation of Welfare Services

JITSE-Phil – Japan Information Technology Standards Examinations-Philippines

JPEPA – Japan-Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement

KBS – *Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai*

IBC – Intercontinental Broadcasting Corporation

ICTA – Industrial Training Corporation of Asia

IMF – International Monetary Fund

JAL – Japan Air Lines

JIB – Japan Information Bureau

JICA – Japan International Cooperation Agency

JICC – Japan Information and Cultural Center

JMA – Japanese Military Administration

JOCV – Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers

MAI – Multi-lateral Assistance Initiative

METI – Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry

MEXT – Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology

MJLS – Manila Japanese Language Schools

MLIT – Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport

MOFA – Ministry of Foreign Affairs

NAFTA – North American Free Trade Agreement

NBN – National Broadcasting Network

NGO – non-governmental organization

OAV – Original Animation Video

ODA – official development assistance

OFW – overseas Filipino worker

OISCA – Organization for Industrial, Spiritual and Cultural Achievement

OVA – Original Video Animation

PAJ – Philippine Association of Japan

PAP – Philippine Assistance Program

PBS – Philippine Bible Society

PBSP – Philippine Business for Social Progress

PEC – Philippine Executive Commission

PIJLC – Philippine Institute of Japanese Language and Culture

PJCI – Philippines-Japan Cultural Institute

PJFF – Philippine-Japan Friendship Foundation

PJS – Philippine-Japan Society

PM – Prime Minister

PO – people’s organization

POEA – Philippine Overseas Employment Agency

PSTA – Philippine Student Travel Association

PTV – People’s Television Network

QTV – Quality TeleVision

RPN – Radio Philippines Network

SSEAYP – Ship for Southeast Asian Youth Program

SM - Shoemart

TV – television

UHF – ultra-high frequency

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

UP – University of the Philippines

UPD – University of the Philippines Diliman

UP-AME – University of the Philippines-Anime and Manga Enthusiasts

US – United States

UST – University of Santo Tomas

VCD – video compact disk

VCR – video cassette recorder

WB – World Bank

WCS – World Cosplay Summit

WWII – World War II

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

This chapter serves as the introductory part of the study. It provides the rationale behind the research, presents the objectives to be accomplished and establishes its significance in the academic field. It also outlines the study's key assumptions and arguments from the theories and concepts cited as invaluable guides in the conduct of the research. Similar studies are also reviewed in order to gain practical insights and come up with a well-rounded view of the research subject. The methods to be adopted as well as constraints to be observed in the interest of forging a more focused analysis are also given at the end of this chapter.

1.1 Background of the Study

The term *anime* is now a part of international parlance and while originally a borrowed word from English (or French as some would claim) denoting animation in general regardless of its country of origin¹, it now came to mean and embody Japanese animation.² This is mostly due to its surge to global, mainstream popularity in the last twenty years. Its exportation is hardly anything new and in fact, already a little over half a century old with titles finding their way into the United States in the 50s, the United Kingdom in the 60s and some of Japan's neighboring Asian countries in the late 70s. However, anime's rise to international prominence is a relatively new occurrence and appears largely to be a consequence of its gaining significant recognition in the West—in particular, the US and some European countries-- turning it into a household name.

For the most part of the last three decades, anime has been present in Asian

¹ For a detailed explanation regarding the definition of anime—whether it's of English or French derivation or if it should be defined by origin or by style—please go to the Anime News Network online encyclopedia.

² Henceforth, the term *anime* will mean Japanese cartoons throughout the text.

countries whether as part of television programming or simply as an element of youthful preoccupation. In Hong Kong and Thailand, children grew up watching classics such as *Doraemon* and *Mazinger Z* on local TV. In Taiwan and South Korea, the respective bans on Japanese media products that were in effect until quite recently (1993 for the former and a gradual lifting from 1998 for the latter) did not stop the youngsters from getting their anime fix through unofficial channels—from tuning in their antennas to catch Japanese cable networks to downloading their favorite programs with the advent of high-speed internet.

Western acknowledgment came later but nonetheless better-documented and easily marked by such examples as success in box office returns shown by “*Pokemon the First Movie*”’s opening day ticket sales of \$10.1 million in the US in 1999, honor from prestigious award-giving bodies such as the Oscar win of Hayao Miyazaki’s “*Spirited Away*” (*Sen to Chihiro no Kami Kakushi*) in 2002³ and attendance in Japan-related events as with the record number of 80,000 guests expressing their interest in anime, Japanese comics or *manga* and video games at the 3-day Japan Expo in Paris in June 2006. These symptoms of a worldwide phenomenon have prompted, among other things, the interest of the academic world beginning in the late 1990s.⁴

Scholars have discussed anime’s ascension to universal popularity in terms of its unique storytelling and aesthetics, and in many ways, its apparent reverberations in the economic, cultural and even psychological, sociological and political spheres were

³ According to David Leheny in his article “A Narrow Place to Cross Swords: Soft Power and the Politics of Japanese Popular Culture in East Asia”, it is widely acknowledged within as the zenith of the country’s pop culture success. At the same time, the film is the most successful in Japanese box office history. From the book *Beyond Japan: The Dynamics of East Asian Regionalism* (2006), p.215.

⁴ According to Timothy Craig, editor of *Japan Pop! Inside the World of Japanese Popular Culture* (2000), one sign is a conference on Japanese popular culture held in 1997 by the University of Victoria Centre for Asia Pacific Initiatives that drew strong international response. The said conference was attended by scholars from Harvard, Stanford and Tokyo Universities-- who presented academic papers on Japanese pop culture products such as anime and Japanese comics or *manga*-- as well as hard core aficionados and enthusiastic fans of these products. From the aforementioned book, p. 5-6.

taken note of (see for example, Napier, 2005). Its economic importance as it accounts for Japan's emergence as a significant force in export market and transnational entertainment business is highlighted.⁵ Sixty percent of the world's animated programming comes from Japan and an estimated US \$ 17 trillion is made from annual sales of anime-related licensed goods such as action figures and trading cards.⁶ This is necessarily compounded by the added aspect of copyright infringement activities such as piracy of media products which grows increasingly sophisticated along with technological progress.

Also dubbed as Japan's major cultural export⁷, anime is seen as a text of distinctive visual and narrative properties, the offspring of Japanese artistic traditions and Western animation techniques. This supposed eclectic mix has been singled out invariably as one of the reasons why it has transcended national boundaries. On another level of explanation, the popularization of cartoons pronouncedly different from American cartoons such as anime could be read as a form of resistance in a world seen as US-dominated especially when it comes to pop culture products.⁸

It is after all worth taking note that key Japanese government officials expressed their recognition of anime and other pop culture products and their potential tapping for cultural diplomacy—serving as bridges of cultural understanding and cooperation in the Asia Pacific Region, among other things.⁹ These pronouncements

⁵ From Susan Napier's book *Anime From Akira to Princess Mononoke: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation Revised Edition* (2005), p. 3.

⁶ Quoted here from Leheny's abovementioned article, p. 214.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.5. Also see *The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture: Gender, Shifting Boundaries and Global Culture*, edited by D.P. Martinez, p. 6.

⁹ As seen in speeches made by former PM Koizumi (January 14, 2002 in Singapore), by former Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs Itsunori Onodera (November 15, 2004 in Hong Kong), by former Minister of Foreign Affairs' Secretary Taro Aso (April 28, 2006 at the Digital Hollywood University in Tokyo) and former PM Shinzo Abe (policy speech, September 29, 2006). For the complete transcription of the speeches, please refer to the website links provided in the Bibliography section.

gave birth to various committees as well as the creation of plans and proposals for further promotion. Former Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi specifically mentioned Japanese pop culture as one pillar of Japanese cultural diplomacy when he launched the Council on the Promotion of Cultural Diplomacy in December 2004. During their respective terms, former PM Shinzo Abe stated in his policy speech to the 165th Diet session that he intends to export Japanese pop culture to the world and former PM Taro Aso openly declared that Japanese pop culture is the way forward and the future of Japanese cultural diplomacy during his stint as the Foreign Minister.¹⁰

A government-supported tourism campaign showcased the country's contemporary media arts and pop culture together with the usual promotional features presenting traditional arts, historical places and natural beauty.¹¹ In the last four years, popular anime characters were appointed as Japan's "ambassadors" in many areas: Astroboy or *Atomu* for overseas safety in November 2007¹², *Doraemon* for popular culture promotion in March 2008¹³ and Hello Kitty for tourism in China and Hong Kong in May 2008¹⁴. In the latest development, the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry or METI established the Creative Industries Promotion Office or CIPO which aims to promote cultural industries, including animation, under the long term concept of "Cool Japan" in June 2010.¹⁵

One of Japan's neighboring Asian countries, the Philippines, is also

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Please see the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or MOFA's press release for journalists interested in anime in the web link provided at the Bibliography section.

¹² From the article "Japan appoints cartoon ambassador: Foreign minister taps robot cat to promote anime to the world" by the Associated Press, published in *MSBN online* on March 19, 2008.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ From the article "Top cat: how 'Hello Kitty' conquered the world" by Esther Walker, published in *Independent UK online* on May 21, 2008.

¹⁵ From the website of Japan's Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry or METI which can be accessed online. The term "Cool Japan" apparently came from journalist Douglas McGray's article in the magazine *Foreign Policy* (May/ June 2002 issue) entitled "Japan's Gross National Cool" where he describes Japan as reinventing itself as a "cultural superpower" with the overseas success of its pop culture products.

experiencing anime's popularity and its ascend into the mainstream. In the Philippine setting, anime is ubiquitous¹⁶ and now a part of regular programming. While it somehow played limited supporting role to the generous servings of American cartoons two decades ago, it currently is a staple of local mainstream TV fare with every terrestrial TV channel airing anime series. For cable TV subscribers, all-day anime channels such as Animax, which broadcasts region-wide from Singapore, and Hero TV, a local network which airs the titles dubbed in Tagalog, are additional options. Anime's presence is not limited to broadcasting but also with regards to merchandize products as shown by thriving specialty shops in urban centers. Anime as a word has entered the common lingo of the Filipino youth and could also serve as a description of a person's look and over-all get-up. Clearly, it has earned a niche in youth lifestyles and Filipino popular consciousness.

The phenomenon – anime's popularity and pervasiveness—as it is happening in the Philippines will be the central focus of this study and the cultural influence resulting from this, in consideration of anime as a media product originating from Japan, will be defined and characterized. This study will serve as an extension of the author's master's thesis entitled “The Influx of Japanese Animation in the Philippines and Philippine–Japan Cultural Relations”¹⁷ where anime's popularity in the said country was evaluated in terms of its function in generating interest among graduate and university students taking up Japan-related subjects in school. Taking a step further, this study will approach the subject matter in terms of qualifying what kind of Japanese cultural influence is produced by the anime phenomenon through a closer examination

¹⁶ Examples of news articles that discuss this are: Jet Damazo's “I Love Japan” in *Newsbreak*, published online on February 3, 2002 and Claire Agbayani's “Riding the Anime Wave” in *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, published online on July 11, 2007. For the website links, please look at the Bibliography section.

¹⁷ The said thesis was submitted to the University of the Philippines-Diliman Asian Center in September 2006.

of three cultural phenomena it brought about: effects on Japanese language and subject appreciation, influences on Filipino popular media culture and creation of the Filipino cosplay subculture. In the evaluation of these, particular attention will be paid to the degree of acceptance of elements of Japaneseness by the Filipino audience and how this will be considered in terms of the perceptions and valuations of Japan.

The study then hopes to come up with the anime phenomenon's significant effects, relevance and implications on the development of Philippine's cultural relations with Japan as well as its reflections to the other aspects of the relationship. In the final analysis, the dynamics of the phenomenon will be situated within the overarching frame of cultural globalization and the many processes that it entails. The study hopes to arrive at a more profound understanding of the repercussions of the cross-cultural movement of media products on bilateral relations and-- as it also aims to determine how it figures in the totality of the global trend of interconnectedness—international relations.

1.2 Research Objectives

1.2.1 General Objective

The main purpose of this study is to analyze the anime phenomenon in the Philippine setting by characterizing the Japanese cultural influence that results from it and defining its impact to the Philippines' relations with Japan through an examination of the latter's cultural influence on the former in historical perspective. It ultimately aims to locate this scenario within the ongoing process of globalization in cultural terms. This study also addresses the question of how a particular foreign media product, in this case anime, influences the receiving society and what does this mean for the media product's nation of origin. The discussions and analyses also aspire to shed light on the dynamics of globalizing trends and local practices of appropriation as exemplified by

the Philippine case, how this figures in the relations of two countries and of course, international relations as a whole in the context of globalization.

1.2.2 Specific Objectives

In the discussion and analysis of the anime phenomenon in the Philippines—that is, in characterizing Japanese cultural influence from it and framing it within bilateral relations and cultural globalization-- the study has four specific goals. The first objective is to discuss anime in the Philippines and this will be done through an account of the history of its presence—putting the spotlight on the development of its audience and reasons for its popularity. Anime’s sources and channels and the course of its popularization and eventual mainstreaming will also be underlined.

The second objective is to look at cultural phenomena brought about by anime in Filipino society and establish the essence of Japanese cultural influence from it. In the interest of delimiting the scope of the study, the following relevant ones will be discussed in detail: Japanese language and subject appreciation, influences on Filipino popular media culture, and the creation of the Filipino cosplay subculture especially among urban youth. While not entirely encompassing all the influences brought about by anime’s popularity, these cultural phenomena are deemed observable and thus better illustrate anime’s impact tangibly.

The third objective is to discuss and analyze Japanese cultural influence in the Philippines throughout history and examine if anime’s popularity exemplify a kind of watershed. The study also looks at concurrent factors which also reinforce the influence as the anime phenomenon does not occur in isolation and is subject to contemporary realities. This will lead to a discussion of the influence’s effects, relevance and implications on Philippines’ cultural relations with Japan and if any, to the other sides of

the relationship.

The fourth and final objective is to relate the influence to the many dimensions and processes underlying globalization related specifically to culture. While focused on the Philippine case, it attempts to draw a perspective which will be useful in international relations and in the ongoing discourse regarding globalization.

1.3 Significance of the Study

In general, the study hopes to become a contribution in the fields that try to illuminate the various facets of the intersection between media, culture and international relations—the intricacy of which is intensified in this era of interconnectedness. At the same time, while anime has been broadcasted on Philippine television since the late 1970s and now a regular fare on all the channels, there is not much academic writing devoted to this subject. By providing a Filipino perspective on the worldwide anime phenomenon, it will shed light on the following issues: the interplay between globalizing trends versus localization practices in developing countries in the acceptance of foreign media products, the validity or not of pop culture and media products such as anime as powerful tools of cultural dissemination, the dynamics of cultural relations between two countries of unequal economic status, and the weight that can be attributed to the power of media in the shaping of perceptions across national boundaries.

1.4 Research Framework

1.4.1 Definition of Terms

As what was mentioned above, anime phenomenon in the Philippines will be studied through a portrayal of its cultural influence and its dynamics will be examined through the overarching frames of the relations between Philippines and Japan as well

as globalization. To better outline the flow of the discussion and the importance of the concepts to be used, the working definition of the important terms is presented.

Anime is a style of animation originating in Japan and it is sometimes referred to by its old name “Japanimation”. It is the abbreviated form of the Japanese term for animation or *anime-shon* (アニメーション) which is a direct transliteration of the English term “animation”¹⁸. Both original and abbreviated forms are valid and interchangeable in Japanese. The term is a very broad one and in Japanese usage, it does not necessarily specify an animated cartoons’ nation of origin or style. However, in most countries outside of Japan, anime categorically refers to animated cartoons of Japanese production and origin. Thus, for the purposes of this study, the term will be used only to denote animated cartoons from Japan.

To clearly delineate the medium discussed, anime would only refer to Japanese animated cartoons in this study and should not be confused with manga or Japanese comics or comic strips. Although in Japanese usage, manga can also refer to both animation and comics quite understandably as most manga stories are adapted into animated features, the use of manga as a term is restricted to comics in this study to avoid confusion.¹⁹

Anime phenomenon or **anime boom** is defined here as the popularity and pervasiveness of anime in a particular non-Japanese setting such as the Philippines. It also denotes the rise of anime from obscurity into the local mainstream.

Cultural influence was decided upon because of its neutral stance compared to its more suggestive permutations such as cultural power or cultural clout. In this

¹⁸ As what was mentioned in the background of the study, there are some claims that it derived from French.

¹⁹ Manga or Japanese comics have a different presence in the Philippines and while there are co-relations since both anime and manga are parts of the Japanese pop culture wave, it warrants a separate study and discussion.

particular study, cultural influence is discussed not only in terms of both the official conduct of cultural exchange and informal transmission of cultural elements but also through important historical events that inform images and impressions of a specific culture—in this case, Japan’s. In other words, relevant occurrences that made the notion of Japan attractive or not to the Filipinos were examined. This study pays careful attention to the contributions of anime as a form of media and art to the recipient culture, the Philippines’, and wraps up by locating these contributions in the overall backdrop of Japanese cultural influence in the country.

Cultural globalization is defined as the transmission or diffusion across national borders of various forms of media and the arts as well as “ways of life”, religions and popular attitudes—as opposed to economic, political or technological globalization.²⁰ For the purposes of this study and practical considerations, cultural globalization will be discussed in terms of media and the arts—in particular, anime.

1.4.2 Significant Theoretical Models and Concepts

1.4.2.1 Summary of the Theoretical Models of Cultural Globalization

The researcher essentially agrees with what Diana Crane states in her introduction to the book *Global Culture: Media, Arts, Policy and Globalization* that “Cultural globalization is sufficiently complex that no single theory can be expected to explain it adequately.”²¹ While conceding that, however, it is exceedingly significant that the basic arguments put forward by these theories for the study of cultural globalization be reviewed in order to fill in the gaps and to contribute in the updating and enhancement of the field. Through the years, the models have been undergoing substantial revision as more information come to light and contemporary realities

²⁰ From Diana Crane’s introduction in the book *Global Culture: Media, Arts, Policy and Globalization* (2002), p. 1.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

transform the very factors that drive globalization itself.²² Crane's summary of the theoretical models in table form proved very useful as it simplifies their fundamental assumptions.²³ Nevertheless, the table of summary to be shown below was modified for the sake of clarifying the categorization of models and concepts that inform this research as well as to adjust it to this study's needs and particularities.

Table 1: Models of Cultural Globalization

<i>Model</i>	<i>Process of Cultural Transmission</i>	<i>Orientation of Research</i>	<i>Possible Consequences</i>
Cultural imperialism/ Media imperialism	Center-periphery	Producers, providers, basically source-oriented	Homogenization of culture
Cultural flows/ network model	Two-way flows	Process-oriented	Hybridization of culture
Reception theory	Center-periphery; multidirectional	Audiences, publics, cultural entrepreneurs, gatekeepers, basically receiver-oriented	Selective acceptance, resistance, localization

Cultural imperialism theory is the best known of the three models and was developed from a Marxist critique of advanced capitalist cultures. The theory states that the global economic system is dominated by a core of advanced countries while Third

²² Ibid.

²³ For the original table of summary by Crane, please refer to page 2 of the aforementioned book.

World countries remain at the periphery of the system²⁴ and this is also manifested in the cultural arena. This cultural domination of powerful nations over weaker ones-- with the end result most likely being the homogenization of culture-- is viewed as purposeful and intentional because it serves the former's political and economic interests. This same tenet, however, is considered to be a weakness of the theory by critics as they point out that globalization is happening in a less controlled, less deliberate way. Redubbed as media imperialism in recent times, the model is deemed vague but still proves to be a potent explanatory tool at present where there still exists a widening gap between advanced countries and developing countries in terms of the ratio in media production, product distribution and reception in the global stage.²⁵

In response to the center-periphery conception of the media imperialism theory, the cultural flows or network model provides another notion emphasizing that influences are not coming from a clearly defined center such as the West or the United States nor is it flowing into the same direction or periphery such as the so-called Third World countries. The effect of these cultural flows is not as orderly and as integrated as what cultural imperialism posits and thus results in hybridization. Scholar Arjun Appadurai (1990) identifies this as the effect of flows that consist of media, technology, ideologies and ethnicities on recipient countries. Proponents such as James Curran and Myung-Jin Park (2000) state that globalization in this sense is not negative and in fact, increases international dialogue through the selection of elements of national cultures and remixing them for the international audience.²⁶

Reception theory focuses on the recipients or the audience in different

²⁴ From John Tomlinson's book *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction* (1991), p. 37

²⁵ Crane , p. 3.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 4, 9.

countries and how they respond to cultural globalization. Rather than passive and uncritical dupes, audiences are assumed to be active and are capable of interpreting media texts in different ways. These interpretations depend on the context and on the social characteristics of the receiver which includes class, gender, race and age. Following this line, it is highly implausible that the audience may receive the text in the way the producers intended. Critics of this theory, however, stress that it needs to move beyond mere examination of audience reaction to specific media products and should include artists, promoters and distributors who have mediating roles in the creation of a reception context.²⁷

The important elements brought forth by these three approaches²⁸ can inform in the formulation of a logical framework with which to view the anime phenomenon in the Philippines with and the study is indebted to them in these terms. Some of the general conceptualizations on the spread and acceptance of anime and other forms of Japanese popular culture in other countries-- which will be presented later—can be classified under these basic models and were utilized as guides in fleshing out the study.

The cultural imperialism theory is helpful in analyzing how anime, a globally-circulating text originating from a highly-industrialized country such as Japan, shapes and reshapes values, identities and perceptions in a developing country such as the Philippines. It can be instrumental in answering the question whether anime's popularity and pervasiveness in the Philippines can be attributed to the economic and technological discrepancy between the two countries.

The anime phenomenon, as what was mentioned previously in the background

²⁷ Ibid., p. 4, 10, 12.

²⁸ In Crane's original table of summary, she includes a fourth approach which she calls cultural policy strategies. This approach delves into what nations, global cities and cultural organizations do to cope with, counter or promote cultural globalization. The researcher decided to leave this out as some of the strategies Crane mentions are also included in the other models and will appear somewhat redundant.

section, is also a regional one and this is where the cultural flows and networks model come in handy. The influence of Western global cultures is offset by the appearance of regional cultures which contributes to the diversification of global culture. If applied to the context of this study, the dominance of American cartoons in Philippine media appears to have been replaced by the popularity of anime which could spell a moving away from dependency on US cultural industries at least in terms of animated media products, character merchandise, toys and games. What this means and implies in terms of changing of values, identities and perceptions-- whether a more regionalistic, Asiatic tone is in the offing-- will be dealt with in the final analysis.

The reception theory is useful in that it looks at a particular audience's responses to specific cultural products. One of the main focuses of this study is the Filipino consumers of anime and how they receive it as manifested in three areas mentioned above: Japanese language and subject appreciation, influences on the local popular media culture and the creation of the Filipino cosplay subculture. In addition, the process of how the media industries acquire, appropriate and adapt anime in the local scene is also given mention to and analyzed in the way it transforms the text and deals with its Japaneseness.

Strictly-speaking, this study does not aim to be firmly categorized within any of the three theoretical models and rather hopes to occupy a kind of middle ground as it is basically an empirical research. Rather, they are the foundations upon which the relevant suppositions of the phenomenon will be compared to and assessed with. In terms of methodology and focus, however, the research has more in common with the studies belonging to the second and third approach as will be expounded on in the latter sections.

1.4.2.2 Conceptualizations on Cultural Transmission

The theoretical models cited above are instructive in the formulation of assumptions and in defining the overall current of the study. More practical, however, are the guides provided by concepts especially those devised from studies done before on anime and other Japanese popular culture products. Three examples of concepts – namely soft power, decentralization of globalization and bottom-up globalization— which are related with the three basic models above are instrumental in outlining several elements and factors for the phenomenon that would aid in creating an overall view.

1.4.2.2.1 The Concept of Soft Power

While the anime phenomenon is viewed as one manifestation of cultural globalization, another main concern of this study is defining the links between cross-cultural media products, cultural attraction and relationship between countries. In this regard, the concept of soft power can be drawn upon. The term and concept was penned by Joseph Nye in 1990 and having made its mark in the academic world, is continuously being utilized and enriched by recent empirical applications. Although it has to be emphasized that the soft power concept is not a direct example of the cultural imperialism theory, both share similarity in terms of their conception of cultural transmission with a center-periphery direction and their orientation to discuss the influence from producers' and providers' perspectives.²⁹

Defined as the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments, soft power is always contrasted with hard power which is delineated as military action and or economic sanctions as well as inducements. It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideas and beliefs and can come

²⁹ Please see Table 1 above.

from a lot of sources including policies that provide economic assistance, scholarships, educational and cultural exchanges, sports and other diplomatic strategies. A good image in the international arena as well as perceived attractiveness in terms of political, military and economic terms can also be classified as soft power. Popular culture and media are also regularly identified as other sources.³⁰

In most of his works dealing with the concept, Nye uses the example of the United States as possessing a lot of soft power resources—one of which is its culture or more specifically, its popular culture. He also points out, however, that the US does not exclusively possess the world's greatest soft power resources in all areas and he names Japan as one of the countries which also wield them. Japan leads in the creation of animation and popular video games around the world and Nye states that it has a greater cultural influence than it did in the 80s.³¹ In the same vein, he lists Japan's soft power limitations such as its refusal to deal with its past foreign aggression, its neighbors' distrust of it because of historical experiences, the limitation of the Japanese language, the English skills of the Japanese people and its culture's inward-looking nature.³²

The concept has been criticized for its inherent vagueness as well as for being state-centric, US-centric and unilateral. Criticisms regarding soft power coming from popular culture stem from the purported oversimplification of the link between cultural attraction and political influence. David Leheny proposes that soft power has become a way for Japan to cope with national decline—or in Nye's terms, basically diminished hard power resources-- as what it had been with the US.³³ Its political weight is debatable and while improving soft power through cultural promotion has gained

³⁰ From Joseph Nye's book *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (2004), pp. 1-4.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40, p. 86.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 86-88.

³³ Leheny, pp. 211-212.

importance among Japanese policymakers in recent times, it is more of seizing opportunities on their part—chances of embracing social change, putting it to national use and supporting existing priorities.³⁴ Nissim Kadosh Otmazgin argues that the impact of the Japanese popular culture lies in shaping the region’s cultural markets and in disseminating new images of Japan but not in exerting local influence or in creating Japanese-dominated “spheres of influence”.³⁵ Along with export data and market surveys, he interviewed media industry personnel and consumers of five East Asian cities and found out that attraction to Japanese products and the appreciation of Japan that results from it are devoid of nationalistic character.³⁶ Moreover, many scholars point out that the enthusiastic diffusion and avid consumption of anime in manga owes more to market forces and consumer tastes than the acts of the Japanese government (see for example, Peng Er Lam, 2007).

In his foreword in the book *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and National Assets of Japan and the United States* (2008), Nye responded to some of the criticisms by emphasizing some of his earlier points regarding soft power’s definition and scope that he felt were overlooked. He restates and emphasizes that soft power is not restricted to states or international relations and can be applied to a much wider range of actors and contexts. He also stresses that while soft power has an agent-focused definition, subjects matter as much as agents because attraction is co-determined and that it is important not to confuse the resources that may produce behavior with the behavior itself.³⁷ Researches presented in the book demonstrate an application of the concept to

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 225-226.

³⁵ From Nissim Kadosh Otmazgin’s article “Contesting soft power: Japanese popular culture in East and Southeast Asia” in the journal *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* (2008:8), p. 73.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 96.

³⁷ From Nye’s foreword in the book *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and National Assets of Japan and the United States* (2008).

empirical studies and provided instances on how to flexibly utilize it in a much broader context —two examples of which will be presented later in the review of relevant literature.

The center of this study revolves around the question whether anime's acceptance within and its ubiquitous presence in the Philippines is in fact resulting in cultural attraction—in turn, creating a positive image and positive evaluation of Japan among the audience. In this light, the concept of soft power is a valuable explanatory device. Both affirmative and negative findings on the question would have connotations with whether the Filipinos are effectively primed to become even more receptive of Japanese influences and whether this would have some effects on the relationship of both countries. The issue of intention on the Japanese part, especially on the institutional level, remains a tricky endeavor and can only be hypothesized based on official discourse interpreted in some of the available readings. What this study hopes to achieve is more on affirming the power of media in shaping culture and perceptions across national boundaries by way of a concrete, empirical example.

1.4.2.2.2 Decentralization of Globalization

As what was mentioned in the background of the study, the influx and popularity of Japanese cultural media products extends throughout the world and is most intense in Japan's neighboring countries in the East Asian region. Japan has emerged as one of the new centers of production in the recent decades and this scenario was elaborated upon by Koichi Iwabuchi's decentralization of globalization. This concept exemplifies the cultural flows and networks model.

Iwabuchi argues that cultural globalization or media globalization cannot simply be stated as the one-way flow of Western, mostly American, products to

developing countries as what the cultural imperialism theory states. The late 20th century saw significant factors such as: the advance of information technologies, the rise in affluence of several modernized Asian countries thus the attractiveness of the Asian market, and, the subsequent emergence of global media corporations that gave rise to the integration, networking and cooperation among worldwide transnational media industries. These factors essentially intensified intra-Asian cultural flows. As a result, new patterns of regional media consumption have surfaced and these stress cultural significance and symmetry even under globalizing forces. Within this environment, local practices of appropriation and consumption of foreign cultural products and meanings are vitalized. This intricacy and disjunctiveness, according to Iwabuchi, is better expressed by the term *transnational* since actors are not limited to nation-state or to nationally-institutionalized organizations.³⁸

A distinctive feature of Japanese cultural presence in Asia and the transnational cultural flow of Japanese influence in general-- especially in terms of its audiovisual products-- is that it tends to be “culturally odorless” and its products are meant to be localized in overseas markets. Iwabuchi uses the term “cultural odor” to focus on how the cultural presence of a country of origin and the images or ideas of its way of life are positively associated with a particular product in the consumption process. While any product may have various kinds of cultural associations with the country of its production, Iwabuchi is more concerned when the lifestyle of the country of origin is strongly evoked as the appeal of the product. Most of Japan’s major audiovisual exports may be characterized as the culturally odorless three C’s: consumer technologies such as video cassette recorders or VCRs, comics or cartoons and computer or video games.

³⁸ From Iwabuchi’s book *Recentring Globalization: Popular Culture and Japanese Transnationalism* (2002a), pp. 16-17.

The difference between the presence and influence of foreign cultures and the significance of the local odor is the key to understanding the strategies behind Japanese exports of media products.³⁹

The cultural odor of a product is closely associated with the racial and bodily images of its country of origin and taking the examples of Japan's three C's as cultural artifacts, they show imagery wherein the bodily, racial and ethnic characteristics are erased or softened. In anime, most characters are rendered in a *mu-kokuseki* (無国籍) way—meaning they are drawn as lacking any nationality. Japanese animation industries always have the global market in mind and are aware that the non-Japaneseness of the characters works to their advantage in the export market. In the same way, the producers and creators of game software intentionally make the characters of computer games look non-Japanese because they are conscious that the market is international. Consumers and audiences of anime and games may be aware of the Japanese origin of these commodities but they perceive little Japanese cultural odor.⁴⁰

It should be emphasized, however, that this transnationalism still operates under the process of globalization and while it takes into consideration local contexts especially in terms of indigenous appropriation, it also does not necessarily cancel out nationalizing forces. As the hybridization of cultural forms is smoothened, the same such tendency works to provide a reassertion of cultural power such as that of Japan in Asia.⁴¹ While globalization is decentered, the advantage of transnational cultural power lies in its partnership with the local indigenizing processes. Iwabuchi echoes social anthropologist Ulf Hannerz (1989; 1996) and cultural anthropologist Richard Wilk in

³⁹ From Iwabuchi's article "From Western Gaze to Global Gaze: Japanese Cultural Presence in Asia" in the book *Global Culture: Media, Arts, Policy and Globalization* (2002b), p. 257.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.

⁴¹ Iwabuchi (2002a), p. 16-17.

his statement that cultural diversity is thus systematized within globally-shared cultural formats. This underscores the fact that decentralization does not mean the disappearance of dominant centers as only a few powerful nations supply transnational products and “formats” and these include Japan.⁴²

Following Iwabuchi’s construction, the influx and popularization of anime in the Philippines could also then be characterized as an example of *glocalization*.⁴³ Glocalization is the indigenization and appropriation of global formats and this implies that globalization works through localization-- thus the portmanteau combining both words. In this sense, globalizing processes are necessarily interpreted and absorbed differently according to the vantage point and history of particular groups.⁴⁴ Glocalization captures the intersection between homogenization and heterogenization and some scholars use other terms such as *Sonyism*⁴⁵ and *glocalism*.

It still has its limitations, however, and as what was mentioned before, with the increased integration, networking and cooperation among transnational cultural industries which includes Western players⁴⁶, transnational cultural power has been dispersed yet reinforced.⁴⁷ Iwabuchi, as well as scholars in the media and cultural studies fields such as Straubhaar (1991; 2006), Sinclair, Jacka and Cunningham (1996), postulates that the relative decline of US cultural power has brought about the emergence of regional media cultural centers. In contemporary times, Japan has

⁴² Ibid., pp. 40-44. He also says that awareness of cultural difference is increasingly being exploited by transnational corporations in the marketing of their products.

⁴³ Iwabuchi quotes this from Roland Robertson in his article “Glocalization: time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity” in the book *Global Modernities* (1995), p.25.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ The global company Sony was credited as the first enterprise that coined this term and applied its concept to their marketing strategy. This is another example of Japan’s significant contribution to the world of commodities.

⁴⁶ Japanese manufacturers of hardware electronic appliances such as Sony and Matsushita had bought into Hollywood entertainment companies such as Columbia Pictures and MCA Universal in the late 80s and early 90s and one of their purposes is to facilitate the distribution of products. The anime *Pokemon* or “Pocket Monsters” became a worldwide hit because it was distributed in partnership with Warner Brothers.

⁴⁷ Iwabuchi (2002a), p. 4.

surfaced as one of these so-called centers in East and Southeast Asia.⁴⁸

As what will be elaborated on later, anime's strong presence on Philippine television in contemporary times seems to have replaced what used to be the predominance of American cartoons. However, it is quite doubtful that the Filipino audience was aware of the Japanese origins of most anime titles in the beginning of its influx in the country as they were shown dubbed in English and came with Americanized titles. At the same time, most of the characters had Westernized names and the settings shown did not depict Japanese ones. The wide acceptance of anime in the Philippines appears to have more complex layers for discussion in terms of, to borrow Iwabuchi's term, cultural odor and the transmission of elements of Japaneseness.

1.4.2.2.3 Bottom-up Globalization

In furthering the discussion of this abovementioned rise of Japan as a cultural center in East Asia, Harumi Befu's concept of bottom-up globalization-- what he terms as *Japanization* or Japan's globalization⁴⁹—can bring additional insights into the spread of Japanese cultural products. His assertion was a reaction to what he calls theories spun out of armchair speculation that emphasizes the top-down approach and that heavily relies on Western-centeredness. As his discourse drew upon a considerable amount of empirical and ethnographical research and as he put a stress on the receiver-side, his concept can be well classified as belonging to the reception theory.

Befu deems it necessary to build a globalization theory from the ground up and he comes up with the assumption that the type of globalization that emanates from

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 47.

⁴⁹ This term is used here according to Befu's definition as the spread of the consumption of Japanese cultural products and or globalization emanating from Japan. It will not be equated with assimilation into the Japanese sphere much as its original usage denotes. It will not also focus on notions of desire of "turning Japanese" or even Japanophilia.

Japan should be looked at separately from that of other centers such as the United States in order to be able to compare their points of similarity and contrast. Focusing on the global spread of Japanese cultural consumer products, he enumerates the characteristics as well as elements of Japanization which could help set it apart as another aspect of globalization comparable with Westernization and Americanization.⁵⁰ These characteristics and elements of Japanization represent varied processes and levels of authenticity and creolization⁵¹ and while Befu defined the subtle distinction between structure and agency at the start, he employed them in a rather interconnected way, at times almost designating them as a unit⁵².

In his listing of the characteristics and elements of Japanization, Befu first discusses the identification of the cultural similarity between Japan and its neighboring countries as one such factor that enhanced the consumption of Japanese products. While it could be true in the case of Japan's East Asian neighbors such as China and Korea, such explanatory tool fails to elaborate why these products are also popular in Southeast Asia. Other explanations given were that Japan serves as the intermediary between the West and Asia and has been making Western culture palatable to the rest of Asia by indigenizing it⁵³ or that the similarity is more of recent historical experience rather than civilization-wide factors such as Confucianism.⁵⁴ The former statement has a two-pronged implication—on one level, it shows concession to the Western hegemonic position but on another level, it could also demonstrate resistance to excessive Western

⁵⁰ From Befu's article "Globalization Theory from the Bottom Up: Japan's Contribution" in the journal *Japanese Studies* (2003: 23), p. 20.

⁵¹ The term as used in writings on globalization and postmodernity refers to 'hybridity' and 'syncretism'.

⁵² The relationship between "structural and institutional" and "agency" in the cultural globalization discourse has always been a very complex one and as in Befu's paper, will not be taken in detail here.

⁵³ For more discussion on this topic, please see works by Koichi Iwabuchi.

⁵⁴ Befu, p. 13.

influence by opting for another, “indigenized” version.⁵⁵

Another element worth taking note of is what Befu calls as indirect Japanization wherein newly established nodes of Japanization themselves serve as secondary centers through which the spread proceeds. He gives the example of the popularity of Japanese cuisine in Netherlands which was the result of influence not from Japan but from the UK and the US.⁵⁶ Other important factors that ensured success of Japanese products in recipient countries includes the development of manga literacy—the mastery of the visual language of Japanese comics-- and image alliance⁵⁷ strategies—massive, multimedia campaign coordination between production houses, television networks, advertising agencies among others in launching programs. Strategies such as concept trade⁵⁸ and concept transplant⁵⁹ work for areas where media technology is not yet well-developed while other elements such as niche marketing and piracy serve to fast track the Japanization process—even if the latter occurs at the loss of Japanese economy.⁶⁰ In citing a concrete instance of this, Befu quotes scholar Saya Shiraishi in her findings that pirated comics were the forerunner of the inroads of other products of Japanese popular culture in countries such as Indonesia.

After enumerating the outstanding features of Japanization as gathered from empirical studies, Befu goes on to summarize his argument by discussing the value of Japan and the way it affects reception and consumption of its products. While its

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 11.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid, pp. 11-12. This is quite similar with the strategies used to successfully launch Pokemon as discussed in Joseph Tobin's *Pikachu's Global Adventure* (2004) and strategies used by Sony as discussed in Paul Du Gay's *Doing Cultural Studies* (1997).

⁵⁸ This is the practice of selling program concepts as defined by Befu. Please see also Iwabuchi's works especially the aforementioned book *Recentering Globalization: Popular Culture and Japanese Transnationalism* (2002).

⁵⁹ As defined by Befu, this is the process by which the whole comics and cartoons industry is reproduced abroad with inevitable variations.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 14.

traditional aesthetics, modern technological and economic achievements account for most other countries' positive valuation, its wartime legacy is the major reason for its negative valuation.⁶¹ But this simplistic equation does not readily match realistic findings and most examples illustrate pragmatism-- where consumers create a psychological distance between the products and their view of Japan; value compartmentalization-- the result of disjuncture between official nationalistic identity from technological, financial realm; and neutrality-- the uncertainty whether or not the consumers were aware of the products' nation of origin.⁶²

On the manufacturers' side, corporate anonymization is one technique to erase signs of Japaneseness such as adopting a non-Japanese name for companies and products. Again, this is not a foolproof practice and in fact, some well-established Japanese companies had become household names, such as Sony and Panasonic, that while their names sound non-Japanese, the majority of people are conscious of their source. Befu brought out these points in order to stress that both historical and personal experiences of Japan will affect the way in which its products are perceived. Also, that the image of Japan that one holds depends on how layers of national historical experiences are processed as personal experiences and what image one wishes to uphold at any historical moment may vary depending on context.⁶³

These latter statements are particularly essential for the study as it is concerned with the image formation of Japan through exposure to anime, one of its well-recognized cultural exports at the moment. It is discerned that both historical and personal encounters with Japan will play key roles in the construction of views of Japan

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 14-16.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 16-19.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 14-15.

alongside, or even independent of, exposure to anime. At the same time, the importance of investigating various intermediaries in the examination of the popularization of anime in the Philippine setting is accentuated as it does not seem to be straightforward and simple as it looks on the surface.

1.5 Review of Related Literature

Whereas the theories and general conceptualizations presented above serve to paint a holistic picture of the dissemination and impact of Japanese popular culture products across areas, the works given here concentrate on specific countries which are more in line with this study. In the light of the scarcity of researches related to the specific topic of the influx and impact of anime and other Japanese pop culture products in the Philippine setting, this study will draw upon selected studies made about the cross-cultural entry of Japanese media products such as anime in some countries.

The studies cited here used different kinds of methodologies and concentrated on various aspects of the phenomenon that range from comprehensive descriptions and accounts of the history of the product's entry in the country and its popularization to a deeper analyses of their effects on the receiving country in relation to a concept. What ties them together is their emphasis on the process of reception and the receivers' side—features which basically renders them as leaning towards the cultural network and reception model approaches. For a clearer understanding of their arguments and assumptions, they are categorized into: chronicles of anime's entry in specific countries, popularization and effect on specific countries, and, redefining the soft power approach through examples of studies done on the spread of Japanese popular culture.

1.5.1 Chronicles of Anime's Entry in Specific Countries

In his work, Fred Patten gives a detailed account of anime's presence in the

United States from the 50s to the late 90s and enumerates the turning points in its history as “another type of cartoons” in the country of Walt Disney and Looney Tunes. It all started when Japan’s Toei Doga exported three anime movies to the US in the late 50s which were commercial failures. While US distributors continued to import anime from the late 60s, it was mainly for TV and syndicated as afternoon Saturday programs nationwide. During this period, most American viewers did not distinguish these cartoons from homegrown ones. The situation began to change in the 70s, however, with the arrival of the giant robot series which came with toy action figures, the introduction of the VCR and the growing divergence between the comic book and animation audiences.⁶⁴

Influential to the eventual acceptance of anime in the US is the fandom subculture where anime fans banded together to form clubs and organizations devoted to its appreciation. The American anime subculture started in the late 70s and the simultaneous development of a similar subculture in Japan led to the creation of merchandise for adolescents and adults that ranged from action figure collectibles to magazines detailing production and musical score sheets. More clubs formed in the early 80s and the advent of the internet intensified fan communication. These organizations also started publishing magazines which helped spread information about anime. By the early 90s, conventions were organized and Japanese artists and animators were invited as guests.⁶⁵

During the late 80s to early 90s, a handful of anime specialty companies appeared in the US and English dubbing became common. By mid-90s, public awareness of anime as cartoons from Japan grew and big name publications such as the

⁶⁴ From Patten’s article “Anime in the United States” in the book *Animation in Asia and the Pacific* (2001), pp. 55-58.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-63.

New York Times began to take notice—labeling anime as the new pop culture category to watch out for.⁶⁶ In the late 90s, certain uneasiness about the adult nature of some anime surfaced among the general populace and anime supporters rallied to spread consciousness of the wide variety of anime genres. At about the same time, adult-oriented American cartoons such as *The Simpsons* and *South Park* also started gaining popularity and it is not far-fetched to assume that this is partly because of these shows’ creators’ exposure to anime in the past decade. The late 90s mark the crossing over of anime from cult status to an established facet of American popular culture.⁶⁷

Author Helen McCarthy talked about the development of anime audience in the United Kingdom and France in her article. She started with the UK scenario and said that while the film *Akira* was the first anime to have a major impact on British public consciousness on grounds of its national origin, a number of anime titles had been screened on British television since the late 60s and available on video since the mid-80s. These titles might not have been recognizable as such because they came in US-edited versions and redubbed by American actors. UK also had an established reputation for high quality children’s TV that anime was simply there to fill in the gaps around these renowned programs.⁶⁸

The first anime TV series which made an impact in the UK were “*Marine Boy*” (*Kaitei Shounen Marine*)⁶⁹ and “*Battle of the Planets*” (*Kagaku Ninjatai Gatchaman*) in the late 60s, both displaying a level of violence rare on children’s TV. The use of children and young people as heroes in anime also set them apart from the British

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 64.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 65-67.

⁶⁸ From McCarthy’s article “The Development of the Japanese Animation Audience in the United Kingdom and France” in the book *Animation in Asia and the Pacific* (2001), p. 74.

⁶⁹ Following McCarthy’s style in her article, the anime titles in italics and quotation marks are the titles with which they were shown in the UK and the one in italics and inside parentheses are the original Japanese titles.

cartoons. Other series such as “*Voltron, Defender of the Universe*” appeared on TV from the 70s until the 80s although their air times suggest that TV executives still saw them as cheap fodder for children’s programming. People who grew up watching *Marine Boy* and *Battle of the Planets* as well as fans of *Star Trek* and *Dr. Who* began to find their anime fix in the emerging video rental market of the mid-80s albeit in the kiddie section. In the late 80s, however, the eventual growth of the retail video market brought about massive price-cutting and upset the balance of video rental market completely. As a result, there was little room for highly-specialized niche programming.⁷⁰

In the late 80s, British anime fans began to make contact with one another and with the growing American fandom. A fan magazine, *Robotech*, was published in 1987 and the 1990 British National Science Fiction Convention or Eastercon included 37 hours of anime, much of which were borrowed from the American fans. In the following year, UK’s first anime magazine, *Anime UK*, was established. The 90s saw other fan magazines, fan clubs and conventions spring up as well as the founding of media companies willing to market anime—resulting into what others describe as a mini-boom. The rise in youth violence put a damper on these developments, however, as the British media came up with scaremongering stories labeling anime as a serious threat to the moral welfare of young people.⁷¹ The publication of English-language books introducing anime to the general reader since 1993 did its part to address misconceptions about it. On the other hand, anime audience remains dependent on the video-market niche until the late 90s.⁷²

⁷⁰ McCarthy, pp. 74-76.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-80.

⁷² *Ibid.*

The situation is slightly different in France, where anime is shown on TV since the early 70s and made considerable impact with “*Goldorak*” (*Grandizer/ UFO Robot Grendizer*) in 1978. Aired during summer vacation, *Goldorak* was a hit and was immediately re-ran in September of the same year. Like their English counterparts, the French viewers did not know that the cartoons they watched during the late 70s and early 80s came from Japan. From the mid-80s, French companies started co-producing TV animation with Japan.⁷³

From 1987 to 1993, a great wave of anime hit French television with the privatization of state-run channels. At this point, criticism of the programs as too violent and too non-European also arose in the press. In 1990, the advisory body Conseil Supérieur de l’Audiovisuel or CSA started imposing a quota on foreign programs and required networks to run at least 40 % French or European-produced programming. Gradually, anime lost its former dominance on French TV. In 1994, France’s xenophobic reaction to anime intensified with the negative publicity from UK spilling across the channel. On the other hand, however, two generations of teen and pre-teens have already grown up watching anime on TV. In addition, a familiarity with and acceptance of animation and comics as mass entertainment is more common in this part of Europe in comparison with the UK and the US, thus facilitating the acceptance of anime and manga.⁷⁴

Both in UK and France, anime has to contend with the same kind of negative press and public reaction as in some parts of the US. Nevertheless, in France, it is counterbalanced to some extent by a wider range of available materials and greater general awareness engendered by twenty years of being a mainstay in TV broadcasting.

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 80-81.

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 81-82.

In the UK, despite the screening of a few titles on TV, there is still widespread unfamiliarity with anime. McCarthy concludes that the coming digital age and the increasing demand for programming of all types will create opportunities for anime's airtime in UK and other parts of Europe.⁷⁵

These two articles will aid the study in its construction of the historical description of anime's entry in the Philippines, its popularization and the many aspects involved in it. Both of them highlighted the characteristics of the market in different periods and also listed internal as well as external factors that either worked for or against the acceptance of anime in the West. Another facet they focused on was the participation and influence of anime fandom—the concerted efforts and dedication of fans and their organizations-- in the dissemination of anime awareness and its eventual recognition by the general public. Their examples demonstrate a look at the anime phenomenon from the perspective of enthusiastic receivers and their contribution to its spread and mainstreaming.

1.5.2 Popularization and Effect on Specific Countries

In his article, Wai-ming Ng discusses anime in Singapore by using the historical and comparative framework. In it, he traced the history of the development of audience for Japanese TV animation in Singapore from the late 70s to the present, provided an analysis of the characteristics of anime in Singapore from a comparative perspective-- mainly with the mature markets of anime, Taiwan and Hong Kong-- and discussed its impact to society and culture. He states that while the popularity of anime in Singapore is booming, it is not up to par with Taiwan and Hong Kong's. This is in terms of hours of anime programs being televised, cable channel offerings, new title releases and range

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 82-83.

of genres available. Anime is also heavily screened by the Board of Film Censors of Singapore. Ng also maintains that while Singapore can appreciate some level of Japaneseness, it lags behind the two territories mentioned above. The majority of anime viewers in Singapore are young males and anime is largely a subculture among Chinese Singaporeans, who constitute 77 % of the total population. The reason is that only a handful of series were dubbed or subtitled in English.⁷⁶

Regarding the impact of anime, Ng says that it is not yet very strong but to a certain extent, it stimulates consumption of Japanese products and interest in Japan among young Singaporeans. Viewers come to know more about contemporary Japan, although most of this knowledge is superficial and stereotyped. Generally, the youth have positive views about Japan because of their enthusiasm over its pop culture. However, anime has not affected the Singaporean entertainment industry as much as it did Taiwan and Hong Kong-- both of which produced several dramas and films based on anime. Ng concludes that anime's popularity in Singapore is unlikely to match that of Hong Kong or Taiwan in the foreseeable future due to factors such as racial composition, religion, language policy, geographical location and political and cultural climate.⁷⁷

Working within a quantitative framework, Xiaoming Hao and Leng Leng Teh studied the impact of Japanese popular culture on the Singaporean youth by surveying 620 students from high schools and polytechnics in order to find out the influence of Japanese pop culture on their perception of the Japanese and Japanese products as well as their desire to own Japanese goods. In their article, they concluded that the results of

⁷⁶ From Ng's article "Japanese Animation in Singapore: A Historical and Comparative Study" in the *Animation Journal* (2001:9), p. 2-14.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

their survey provided strong evidence that the said Singaporean youths' consumption of Japanese products had come to a point where their feelings and perceptions are significantly affected. In their study, Japanese pop culture is classified into two categories—that of Japanese media such as anime and dramas, and Japanese consumer goods such as photo stickers and toys. Exposure to Japanese media had made these youths view Japanese products favorably especially with regards to quality and also because of the elite status attached to the usage of these goods. Mere usage of the products without media exposure, however, is unlikely to make the youths think in the same line. The explanation given is that images produced by the media are deemed more realistic. Exposure to media rather than usage of products also had stronger effects on youngsters in the creation of idols.⁷⁸

Hao and Teh also states that while there is no conclusive proof, their data seems to indicate that exposure and consumption will make young Singaporeans think of Japanese as more superior. Those exposed to Japanese media tended to think that Japanese are more creative and better-looking than their fellow Singaporeans while those consuming Japanese products are more likely to think that the Japanese are creative. Media audience also tends to see the Japanese in a positive but rather superficial and stereotypical way. On the other hand, the product users see the Japanese in both negative and stereotypical way.⁷⁹

In the area of behavior, Hao and Teh's study shows that Japanese media is more likely to exert modeling effects on the youngsters, making them dress like Japanese idols and seek for information about these idols, while products are more likely to drive

⁷⁸ From Hao and Teh's article "The Impact of Japanese Pop Culture on Singaporean Youth" in the journal *Keio Communication Review* (2004: 26), pp. 23-30.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

the youngsters to follow Japanese fads. In essence, the products have a wider yet superficial effect than media but both types are shown to increase the youth's interest in learning the Japanese language. Overall, the Japanese media had a stronger effect on the variables as it presents the Japanese explicitly unlike the products-- some of the respondents did not even know that what they were using came from Japan.⁸⁰

Scholar Yoshiko Nakano's article asserts that to better illustrate globalization processes, focus should not only be on the story of corporate-led cultural flow but also look into its twists and turns from the perspectives of unforeseen consumers and unauthorized intermediaries. Examining the proliferation of Japanese TV programs in Hong Kong and China, she observes that the dramas spread in the form of pirated video compact disks or VCDs without being on air and without marketing campaigns. This is because the Chinese people themselves actively initiated the in-flow, made possible by the complex combination of local demand, digital technology and their literacy with regards to Japanese pop culture.⁸¹

In most of Asia such as in HK and China, most children grew up watching more Japanese than US or local cartoons. In the early days of HK television, old Japanese dramas were shown on primetime and as it matured in the 80s, numerous anime started to occupy children's afternoons as the dramas retreated. In the same period, Japanese cultural products became inexpensive and accessible and after the handover, influx of J-pop products intensified. In the Chinese mainland, digital literacy on campus triggered the entry of Japanese trendy dramas or "J-dramas" in pirated VCDs. Just as in HK, J-dramas became alternatives to domestic programs with political undertones and the peddling of pirated materials increased after the Chinese government

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 31-32.

⁸¹ From Nakano's article "Who Initiates Global Flow?" in the journal *Visual Communication* (2002: 1), p. 229.

imposed quotas on foreign dramas in 2000. HK became the center of diffusion for latest pop trends along with Shanghai.⁸²

Asia is the number one destination for Japan's \$40 million total content exports but while this is so, Japanese producers are wary of product distribution in this area because of several reasons: lingering reservations towards Japan's imperialist history, the profitability and sufficiency of the Japanese domestic market, the official bans on J-pop culture in Taiwan and Korea until recently, distribution in Asia being costly but not so lucrative and also, the importance given to Western countries especially the US.⁸³ Precisely because of HK and China not being on the Japanese producers' strategic map, piracy proliferated and informal cultural traffic thrived.⁸⁴

The three articles cited above show different dimensions in illustrating and characterizing anime's popularity as well as the J-pop phenomenon in some Asian countries. They have shown important points to highlight as they took note of the particularities of the recipient societies as well as the audiences' responses. These works will function as references in the conduct of this study as it aims to construct a comprehensive picture of the impact of a Japanese media product on one specific country.

1.5.3 Application of the Soft Power Approach: J-pop in US and China

Aside from presenting a comprehensive picture of the anime phenomenon in the Philippine setting, the study also endeavors to delve deeper into it and analyze its many implications not only on its effects on the receiving side but also what it spells for the place of origin. The two examples of studies to be given here explored the

⁸² Ibid, pp. 231-236.

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 234-235.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 247-248.

phenomenon not only with regards to how the subject countries' accepted J-pop products but also its meaning in the bigger scheme of things—thus effectively bringing out the applicability of the concept of soft power. To reiterate, soft power is one of the significant concepts informing this study.

In trying to make sense of the so-called Japanese wave or “J-wave” in the United States and how to measure this in terms of soft power, Anne Allison says that this Japanese influence on the global imagination is nothing new and that Japanese imports have already made an impression on US pop culture throughout the postwar period. The 1990s, however, show an obvious shift to the greater mainstreaming of such products and the way in which Japan or “Japaneseness” gets encoded in the imagination of American kids. She mentions that starting in 2004, the reluctance to credit the Japanese roots of programs such as the *Mighty Morphin Power Rangers*⁸⁵ started to fade and in fact, the marks that identify these programs as Japanese did not have to be taken out because they are considered cool.⁸⁶

In the 60s until the 80s, only a handful of US youth studied Japanese and it was only to be able to work within Japan's bubble economy. At present, a lot of young Americans are enrolling in Japanese language classes in universities and high schools and they are driven by their enthusiasm for anime and manga. Their image of Japan is positive and they expressed desires to visit Japan, learn the language and culture. The popularity of Japanese goods is generating an attraction of some kind to Japan.⁸⁷

Nevertheless, there seems to be no association between pop cultural trend and

⁸⁵ The US version was based on the 16th installment of the Japanese super *sentai* program, *Kyouryuu Sentai Zyuranger*. *Sentai* series are Japanese live action programs which usually feature a task force of color-coded, armor-suited members defending the world against invading monsters and aliens.

⁸⁶ From Allison's article “The Attractions of the J-Wave for American Youth” in the book *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and National Assets of Japan and the United States* (2008), pp.100-101.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

“real” geopolitical influence by Japan in the US and the rest of the world. Pop culture by itself does not equate with soft power because, as she refers to what Nye stated, such power rests primarily on three resources: a country’s culture, political values and foreign policy. The globalization of J-pop culture does not result in Japanese soft power because it fails to become anchored in something in the culture or country itself- such as social policies and practices that could fuel a yearning or attraction for the so-called real Japan.⁸⁸

Allison also observes that the form that power takes in the 21st century—ideas, images, information and trend-making—is becoming decentered away from any single space including the US.⁸⁹ As an example, the American kids embracing the J-wave shows their willingness to go beyond the cultural orbit of “Americanness” and the hegemony of the global imagination it once held. The new models of global imagination that the J-wave offers are attractive but remains in that level. In this sense, the application of soft power needs to be expanded as the lines of power seen operating are as much post-national and transnational as national and the cartographies of place has become virtual, constructed and phantasmic.⁹⁰

In her utilization of the soft power concept, Yoshiko Nakano talks about the creation of shared memories between Japan and its East Asian neighbors, particularly China, by means of popular culture. She starts by saying that the popularity of J-pop in China does not seem to be winning hearts and minds because Japan as a nation-state is not attractive to the Chinese youth even if they are avid consumers of its popular culture. J-pop in China is most powerful if an interactional approach is considered—meaning it

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 102-105.

⁸⁹ Similar to what Iwabuchi stated in his work.

⁹⁰ Allison, pp. 107-109.

becomes not as a resource for Japan but as a resource for interaction among the Japanese, Chinese and people from other Asian countries in the generation of much needed shared memories. She emphasizes the importance of memories because they are at the core of who people are and how they see others. The divergent memories of World War II often disturb the relationship between China and Japan.⁹¹

Starting in the 80s when anime was introduced into China, Chinese consumer tastes evolved and the exposure to Japanese media products have added new dimensions to Japan—a country often seen as an aggressor nation. Through extended exposure to these, Chinese children unconsciously experienced Japan and they learned to appreciate Japanese visual narratives that would serve as the basis for appreciating other forms of visual entertainment later on. It is the generation that grew up watching Doraemon that reached out for Japanese trendy dramas such as *Tokyo Love Story*⁹² in the 90s. At the same time, when this generation became university students, their country shifted from planned economy to market economy and they first encountered consumerism. In dealing with their newfound affluence, the Japanese drama or J-drama became their models or “how-to” guides for the modern, consumerist lifestyle.⁹³

The J-dramas helped to project contemporary images of Japan and some of the viewers revised their impression of the Japanese people. Nonetheless, Nakano points out that pop culture will not wash away different interpretations of history but rather add other dimensions to the images and soften the sharp edges of Japan. In Hong Kong, the early consumers of J-pop culture are turning out to be opinion leaders and while China cannot necessarily be compared with the former, J-pop culture has been building shared

⁹¹ From Nakano's article “Shared Memories: Japanese Pop Culture in China” in the book *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and National Assets of Japan and the United States* (2008), pp. 112-113.

⁹² *Tokyo Love Story* was aired in Japan from January to March 1991 by Fuji Television. It was adapted from the comic of the same name created by Fumi Saimon.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-118.

memories between the Chinese and Japanese since the 80s. It is not therefore far-fetched that those who have watched Doraemon as kids and cried over Tokyo Love Story will be China's opinion leaders in the future.⁹⁴

There are some striking similarities in the accounts of the acceptance of J-pop products between the two studies above and how it happened in the Philippine case. This will be a good starting point not only in employing the soft power concept but also in elaborating on the dynamics of globalization. In addition, both studies are stressing the need for going beyond superficial readings of the J-pop phenomenon and redefining the frames with which to examine it with. Along this line, the study would like to endeavor to enrich the field not only by exploring and taking cues from these precedents in its discussion of the Philippine case but also by sharing another perspective with its own unique circumstances.

1.6 Methodology

This study will make use of both quantitative and qualitative tools in both data collection and analysis as its major thrust is coming up with a multi-faceted yet at the same time nuanced description of the anime phenomenon in the Philippines. While admittedly, the presentation of figures and numbers help in providing proofs and establishing arguments, the discussion of cultural globalization requires the depiction of processes which tends towards a more qualitative leaning. In this study, more weight is given to the qualitative side of the story as the research deals with constructs such as ideas, images and perceptions—matters which are hardly measurable and better defined.

1.6.1 Data Collection

This study's research question focuses on the Japanese cultural influence that

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

comes from the popularity and pervasiveness of anime in the Philippine society and how it echoes on the larger frame of cultural and bilateral relations between the two countries. It will also be examined through the many processes that make up globalization. The first step then necessitates a comprehensive picture of the anime phenomenon in the Philippines which in turn, requires the gathering of relevant data in terms of three significant points: anime as a cultural text, the practices of cultural industries in promoting and appropriating anime for the local audience, and, anime as received by the audience. To better capture these points and draw well-rounded information, this study will employ the following research methods:

- 1) archival and library research—focusing on paper and online publications, academic and otherwise, as secondary sources;
- 2) interviews of key resource persons such as media practitioners, anime event organizers, anime interest group members and participants in anime events ;
- 3) survey of students of Japanese language and Japan-related subjects⁹⁵ in three universities in the Philippines—University of the Philippines-Diliman or UPD, Ateneo de Manila University or ADMU and De La Salle University or DLSU⁹⁶;
- 4) informal talks with selected survey respondents;
- 5) informal interviews of anime interest group members, participants and observers in anime events;
- 6) brief content analyses of anime titles that were popular in the Philippines as well as examples of Filipino live action adaptations of anime; and,
- 7) observations of anime events in the Philippines.

⁹⁵ These are subjects that teach other aspects of Japan such as history and culture.

⁹⁶ In her article “Philippine-Japan Relations: the Revolutionary Years and a Century Hence” from the book *Philippine External Relations: A Centennial Vista* (1998), Lydia Yu-Jose cites the three universities as housing the most developed Japanese studies programs in the Philippines

For the second item which is the interview of key resource persons, there were two types employed: structured face-to-face interviews and correspondence interviews. In the first type, the researcher asked for face-to-face meetings with the interviewees and sent them a set of questions beforehand. During the meetings, the proceedings were recorded in video and audio files with a digital video camera and were later transcribed for analysis. In some instances, the interviewees requested that only an audio recording be made and that the transcripts be sent to them. The researcher fully complied with these requests. As for the second type which was decided upon mostly due to the interviewees' preferences, the researcher sent a set of questions to the interviewees through electronic mail and responses to the questions were sent back in the same way. In case of clarifications, the researcher and the interviewee exchanged several other electronic mails.

For the third item which is a survey of university students in the Philippines, a questionnaire was first formulated and subjected to a pre-test in order to ensure clear comprehension of the questions. The pre-test was done with the researcher's six colleagues and subsequent revisions were made before coming up with the final questionnaire⁹⁷. Then, a representative sample was obtained from the number of students taking Japan-related classes in the said universities. This was done through the use of stratified sampling technique. This technique was used because the subjects came from different subgroups, in this case different universities and in the case of UP Diliman, where the Japan-related courses are offered by different academic departments, from different departments or colleges. In this particular sampling technique, the population was subdivided according to a certain characteristic, in this case the

⁹⁷ For a copy of the survey questionnaire, please refer to the appendices section.

university or the department within the university, and the samples were selected from every subgroup or stratum. This technique is done since it is important to get responses from each subgroup⁹⁸.

The fourth item which is informal talks was done to acquire more details and know more about the survey respondents. There were seven instances of questionnaire collection and they were done in coordination with faculty members or instructors of the departments involved in teaching Japan-related subjects in the three universities. Six of these were accomplished while the students were in classes⁹⁹ and in four of them, the researcher waited for the students to finish classes to be able to talk with them in an informal manner. The researcher was able to converse with approximately 30 % of the respondents—31 students from UP Diliman and 4 students from DLSU. The talks with the UP Diliman students were done in December 5 and 12, 2005¹⁰⁰ while the one with the DLSU students was done on December 11, 2005.¹⁰¹ The exchange was friendly and conversational and was carried out with the respective groups from 10 to 20 minutes each.

As for the fifth item, the researcher had informal interviews with 12 cosplay event participants and 6 observers at the 2nd Philippine Cosplay Convention held at the Robinson's Mall in Malate, Manila in March 2009. With a digital video camera in hand, the researcher asked the participants as well as the observers on the spot if they would be willing to answer a few questions and be recorded while doing so. The interviews were transcribed for analysis.

⁹⁸ From Victoria Bautista's *Research and Public Management* (1998), p. 43

⁹⁹ These were the questionnaire collections in three different departments in UP Diliman and in DLSU. For ADMU, the researcher was not able to meet the students directly as she was asked to give the questionnaires to a faculty member and collect them from the said instructor after a week.

¹⁰⁰ Different Japanese classes were targeted. Two were Japanese language subjects and the other was basic Japanese culture.

¹⁰¹ During that semester, there was only one class concentrating on Japanese language at the DLSU.

The sixth item which is brief content analyses of popular anime titles in the Philippines included watching¹⁰² the entire set of episodes of the following series: “Voltes V” (*Choudenshimashin Borutesu Faibu*)¹⁰³ with 40 episodes, “Cedie” (*Shoukoushi Sedi*) with 43 episodes, “Princess Sarah” (*Shoukoujo Se-ra*) with 46 episodes, Slam Dunk with 101 episodes, “Ghostfighter” (*Yu Yu Hakusho*) with 112 episodes, “Lupin III” (*Rupan Sansei*)¹⁰⁴ with 50 episodes and Naruto¹⁰⁵ with 220 episodes.¹⁰⁶ The researcher also watched Filipino live action adaptations of some of these popular anime: feature films “Sarah ang Munting Prinsesa” (“Sarah, the Little Princess” in English, 1995)¹⁰⁷ which is based on Princess Sarah and “Cedie” (1996) adapted from the anime of the same title; and TV drama series “Princess Sarah” (2007), also based on Princess Sarah and had 30 episodes and “Lupin” (2007), inspired by the anime of the same name and with 96 episodes. Notes were written during the viewing of all the titles and were used for analysis.

For the last item which is observation, attendance to anime-related events which were open to the public was done. The researcher has attended a total of 16 major anime events including cosplay-only events from the years 2000 to 2010. In the first instances, she was a participant especially in cosplay activities until the end of 2003.

¹⁰² The researcher has already watched most of the series mentioned in this section as a child or as a university student. For this study, the said titles were viewed again.

¹⁰³ The titles enclosed in quotation marks are the titles under which the anime programs were shown and known in the Philippines and the italicized ones enclosed in parentheses are the original Japanese titles. The absence of quotation marks in the first mention of an anime title means that it was shown in the Philippines in its original Japanese title. This format will be followed throughout the text in the first mention of an anime title.

¹⁰⁴ This is part three of the animated TV series franchise which was aired in Japan from 1984 to 1985 and was shown on Philippine TV. There are three other installments which are not yet shown in the Philippines: the first part which was aired in Japan from 1971 to 1972; the second which was aired in 1977 to 1980 parts and the ongoing installment entitled *Rupan Sansei to Mine Fujiko To Iu Onna* which started showing from April 2012.

¹⁰⁵ This is part one of the animated TV series franchise which was aired in Japan from 2002 to 2007 and shown in the Philippines. The researcher have not yet watched the entire series of the ongoing installment entitled *Naruto: Shippuden* which started airing in Japan in 2007 and is being shown in the Philippines.

¹⁰⁶ The last four titles had theatrical film and direct-to-video releases which featured story arcs that may or may not be related to the TV series. However, the researcher limits her analysis to the TV series version mentioned. The list above also does not cover all the titles that became popular in the Philippines.

¹⁰⁷ The title with quotation marks is the release title with the appropriate English translation within the parenthesis.

She has started taking personal notes, photographs and videos as well as talking with other participants and with event organizers in an informal way from 2005. She has also written about her impressions of the events in a diary and these were also used in the analysis, too.

1.6.2 Data Analysis

As what was mentioned earlier, both quantitative and qualitative methods will be utilized in the analysis of data. The quantitative procedure will be largely applied to the survey of university students taking up Japanese subjects. The responses to the survey questionnaires were tabulated and frequency distribution and percentages were used to analyze the results.

Qualitative procedure will be applied in analyzing the rest of the data. The hit anime titles mentioned above will be explored in terms of commonalities in narratives, storylines and characters to seek patterns which will explain their popularity. The four examples of Filipino adaptation of anime will be examined through how they compare to the anime originals and how they dealt with Japanese elements. By and large, the interviews, the informal talks, impressions and observations will be interpreted in order to find out the why's and the how's and to arrive at a more in-depth understanding of the phenomenon.

Upon establishing the essence of the anime phenomenon, the study will then turn to analyses of different periods in the history of the interaction between Philippines and Japan and compare the phenomenon's influence with the influence coming from these periods. This is to ascertain if it can be classified as a watershed in terms of Japanese cultural influence. Other major concurrent factors producing cultural influence will also be discussed and it will be determined if the anime phenomenon thus results in

a considerable impact to Philippine-Japan cultural relations as well as the other aspects of the relationship. The final stage is to determine how the total picture figures with regards to the processes and dynamics of globalization especially in terms of culture.

1.7 Scope and Limitation

The objective of this study is to characterize the cultural influence resulting from the popularity and pervasiveness of anime in the Philippines which will then be looked at through other encompassing frames. While it is directed primarily towards constructing a comprehensive overview of the phenomenon, there is a need for some limitations to be observed in order to keep the flow and focus. These are the following:

- 1) this study only discussed the spread of animated cartoons from Japan in the Philippine context and while some other J-pop products are mentioned, it is only because of their corollary link to anime's dissemination;
- 2) it mostly focused on television broadcast of anime as more definitive data is available compared to other conduits of importation and dissemination while at the same time, other sources and channels will be mentioned in addition;
- 3) it essentially concentrated on the Philippine side as the receiving side; and,
- 4) it targeted university students and members of anime interest groups and anime-related subculture groups as respondents for the survey and the informal talks.

As what was stated earlier, there is lack of academic texts and materials regarding the anime phenomenon in the Philippines and very recent developments about anime in general. Because of this, the study will heavily depend on the interviews conducted, on the information from periodicals and online articles as well as field notes in the observation of some events. At the same time, this is a research topic which does

not only belong to a young, growing field but is a phenomenon that is an ongoing, contemporary one. Thus, information updates are crucial and can sometimes only be acquired through unpublished manuscripts and new forms of popular media such as websites, blogs and social networking sites. Along this line, the study is informed about current situations albeit with the utmost exercise of caution.

Chapter 2

ANIME'S PRESENCE IN THE PHILIPPINES

2. Anime's Presence in the Philippines

This chapter essentially discusses Japanese animation's presence in the Philippines: from its introduction through TV broadcast in the late 70s to its sporadic presence and its eventual popularization that lead to its current status as a part of mainstream programming in contemporary times. Divided into several time periods, it will give attention to the following aspects: chronological description of anime's presence focusing on important highlights, sources and channels for its availability, reasons for its eventual rise to popularity and into the mainstream, and practices of Filipino appropriation of it²¹⁵. At the end of this chapter, a table of summary will be presented in order to provide a comprehensive view of anime's history in the Philippine setting.

2.1 Introduction in the Late 1970s and Into the 1980s

The introduction of anime to the Philippines did start with a bang—a ban to be specific. Most Filipinos who have been around during that time still remember how former President Ferdinand Marcos prohibited showing of the first few anime series in the late 70s. One of the major local terrestrial channels, GMA Channel 7, had began showing several robot series-- *Voltes V*, "*Gigantor*" (*Tetsujin 28*), *Mazinger Z*, "*UFO Robot Grendizer*" and *Daimos* in the children's late weekday afternoon slot. Christened "mecha"²¹⁶-- from the word mechanical in allusion to the giant robots piloted by young heroes in it-- the series proved fresh and novel, creating quite a craze among kids. Supposedly, parents' complaints about its extreme violence served as a basis for the prohibition in 1979. There are other persistent allegations concerning the circumstances

²¹⁵ This section identifies general practices of Filipino appropriation of anime but a detailed description and analysis in terms of how Japanese elements are dealt with are given in the next chapter as part of the discussion on anime's influence on the Filipino popular media culture.

²¹⁶ The term is introduced here to clarify the anime genre category. This usage, while common among anime fans and enthusiasts, is not that common among the general Filipino audience.

surrounding the ban. One of these is that Marcos was threatened at how receptive people were of Voltes V-- a part of which tells the story of rebels fighting for their liberation against a dictator-- and that having had declared martial law, he did not want the Filipinos to get inspiration from it. Another version of the story tells that Marcos proclaimed the ban because GMA 7 was beating two other government-run TV networks, PTV Channel 4 (now NBN Channel 4) and RPN Channel 9, in the ratings game. This incident earned a measure of notoriety for both Marcos and anime itself whereas Voltes V, while not world-renowned as Mazinger Z, unwittingly finds itself a place in Philippine history.²¹⁷

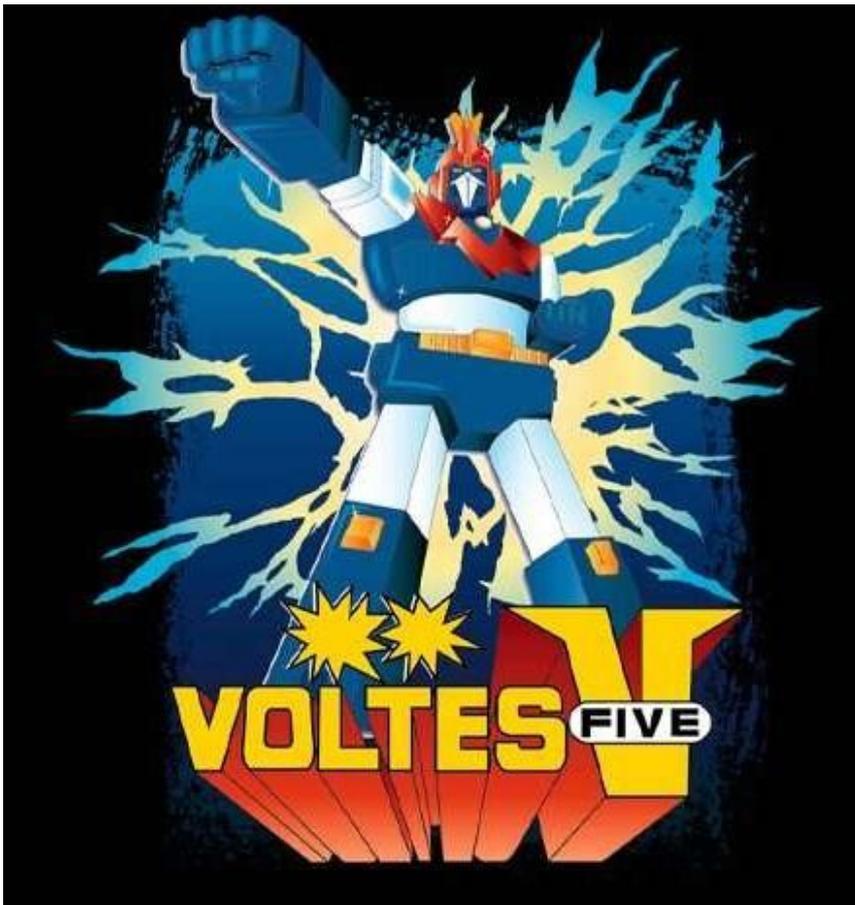


Figure 1: A poster of the mecha series *Voltes V* which is arguably one of the most popular anime on Philippine TV. Source: www.ioffer.com

²¹⁷ Some of the interviewees, whose parents, relatives and friends were anti-Marcos activists during that period, remarked that because of the ban, Voltes V became a symbol of the Marcos regime's oppression of freedom—most especially freedom of broadcast media

While the ban paved the way for family-oriented anime series such as “*Ron-ron the Flower Angel*” and “*Candy Candy*” in the early 80s, it resulted in the common view that time that most anime were about robots and were violent, effectively rendering the wholesome new batches of anime to come off as “un-anime”. The new series were thought of as more or less the same as the American cartoons that had been airing on Philippine television for quite a while as they are markedly different from the robots and battle cartoons that for most people were the hallmarks of anime series. The eventual lifting of the prohibition brought back the old giant robot series and channels like RPN 9 showed them in the mornings and at late nights.²¹⁸

At that time, most of the TV networks were still underdeveloped-- getting by with a roster of mostly imported programs and only a smattering of locally-produced ones for cost-effectiveness. Anime became one of the many foreign series that were acquired to fill in airing time. Programs that gained some popularity were “*Astroboy*” (*Tetsuwan Atomu*) aired every Saturday mornings, and the “*Robotech*” series. RPN 9 capitalized on this strategy and aired robot series such as “*Voltron Lions*” (*Hyakuju Ō Golion*), “*Voltron Vehicles*” (*Kikō Kantai Dairugger XV*), “*Transformers Saga*” and “*Thundersub*” (*Blue Noah*).

Most of the anime titles during this time were shown in English and quite a number were in fact acquired from the United States such as *Astroboy* and *Robotech*. This alternate route suggest that without the procurement of most American production companies of certain anime titles, their arrival in the Philippines would have been more limited and or more delayed.²¹⁹ This explains why most of the earlier anime shown in

²¹⁸ Please refer to the Appendices section for the list of anime broadcasted on Philippine terrestrial TV channels.

²¹⁹ From my correspondence interview with Pablo Bairan, one of the pioneering leaders of Filipino anime interest groups.

the Philippines adapted the American titles and some were already dubbed in English. For example, while Astroboy is better known in most other countries as “Atomboy” which is nearer its original Japanese title, the version shown in the Philippines was from the US thus the Americanized title. As a consequence, most of the titles have already been reworked to suit the US market which basically places animation in the category of children’s entertainment.

In addition to editing the programs to make them child-friendly, certain Japanese cultural references were also toned down or erased completely. At the same time, some of the anime programs which were not acquired from the US were nonetheless dubbed in the Philippines in English.²²⁰ Most of the Filipinos watching these were thus understandably unaware that the some of the cartoons they were watching were in fact Japanese and there seems to be no distinction between them and the predominantly-shown American cartoons. Also, the anime titles being shown were only a handful compared to the latter.

Around the same period, the new trend of distribution in Japan was to release the anime directly to video and it was called Original Animated Video or OAV or Original Video Animation or OVA interchangeably. As it was cheaper to obtain these OAVs’ license rights for broadcast compared to the regular, full-length TV series, the OAV anime provided one explanation as to why anime has flooded the US market in the first place.²²¹ Some of these OAVs were re-edited into series and were shown in the Philippines on TV²²² but the OAVs themselves—mostly coming in from the US-- were

²²⁰ This fact was pointed out by interviewees Mr. Bairan, Henry de Dios and Azrael Coladilla who are pioneers of anime interest groups. Mr. de Dios also proudly points out that some of the anime titles dubbed in English in the Philippines were syndicated in other countries.

²²¹ From Fred Patten’s article “A Capsule History of Anime” (1996) available online at *Anime World Network*.

²²² From interviews with Eric Ang-Go, channel producer of Hero TV and ABS CBN, Ryan Barredo, Anime Administrator for GMA, Mr. Bairan and Mr. de Dios.

not readily available locally in video form. Portable video entertainment was restricted to the middle and upper classes who could afford to buy the video cassette recorders and players, buy and or rent the betamax tapes.

On another level that is not totally unrelated, Japanese animation companies decided to outsource cheap animation production labor to Asia around this time.²²³ The beginnings of what is now Toei Animation Philippines Incorporated was established in November 1986. Starting off as one of the departments of the Industrial Training

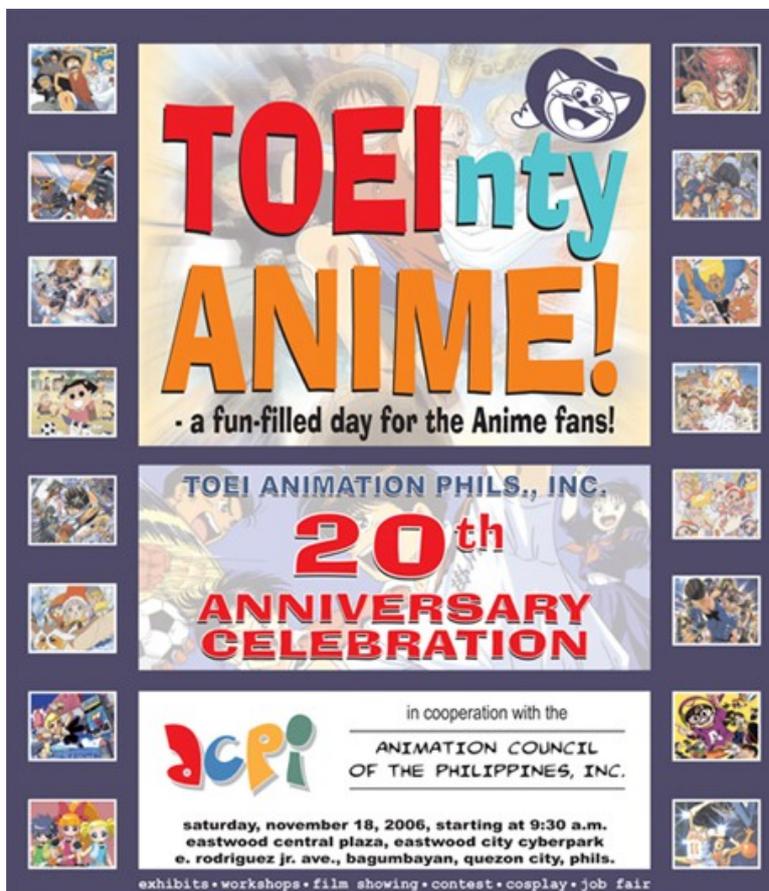


Figure 2: A promotional poster for the 20th anniversary celebration of the Toei Animation subsidiary in the Philippines held in November 18, 2006 in the Eastwood City Cyberpark, Quezon City. Source: www.pinoycosplay.com.

Corporation of Asia or ICTA, a training arm of Engineering Equipment Incorporated, it

²²³ From the interview with Grace Dimaranan, an award-winning Filipino animator who has worked for a few Filipino animation companies that has been catering to foreign animation producers as subcontractors since the 80s. Ms. Dimaranan is now the proprietress of animation studio Top Peg.

would later become EEI Corporation. In four years, it became a joint venture between EEI and Toei Animation Co. Ltd. of Japan and in 2000, the company's name was changed into its current one as Toei acquired all the shares of EEI. Toei Animation Philippines is the first subsidiary of Toei outside of Japan. As a 100 % subsidiary, it has exclusive contract for the production of animated TV series, videos and movies.²²⁴ Even established Filipino animation studios such as Fil-Cartoons also started filling in the roles of subcontractors for some Japanese productions. Some of the anime shown on Philippine television such as “Zorro” (*Kaiketsu Zorro*), “*Ang Mahiwagang Kuwintas*”²²⁵ (*Fushigi no Umi no Nadia*) and *Sailormoon* (*Bishoujo Senshi Se-ra-mu-n*) were actually done in part by Filipino animators.²²⁶ While the involvement of Filipino animators in the production did not necessarily and directly had an effect on the reception and consumption of the media itself, the voluminous results from the new set-up guaranteed the steady supply of cheap anime titles to Japan and of course, the rest of the cartoon-consuming world.



Figure 3: Picture of the members of the *Bioman* team in their combat uniforms: (top left to right) Blue 3, Red 1 and Green 2, (bottom left to right), Pink 5 and Yellow 4. *Bioman* is one of the sentai series shown in the Philippines in the late 80s. Source: www.jefusion.com.

²²⁴ From the websites of the Animation Council of the Philippines and Toei Co. Ltd.

²²⁵ “The Magical Necklace” in English.

²²⁶ From the interview with Ms. Dimaranan. She was a member of the Filipino animation team that drew *Fushigi na Umi no Nadia*.

Another type of Japanese TV program called *sentai* series also made it into local programming in the late 80s, providing children's entertainment during late weekend afternoons. This superhero genre featured two kinds of stories: the first is of lone protagonists who can magically transform into armored warriors and the second is of color-coded fighting squadrons usually numbering about five who work together to steer a gigantic robot, both kinds of which are battling aliens and monsters from outer space out to wreak havoc on planet Earth. Sentai series that were notable in the Philippines include "*Shaider*" (*Uchuu Keiji Shaidaa*) which is an example of the first kind and "*Maskman*" (*Hikari Sentai Masukuman*) and "*Bioman*" (*Choudenshi Baioman*) which are examples of the second kind. While in live-action form and a product of the Japanese tradition of *tokusatsu* or special effects genre that gave the world Godzilla, it shared some similarities with the mecha series and thus renewing interest in the latter. Interestingly, after the anime boom which occurred a decade later, these sentai series were re-aired in most channels carrying anime titles.²²⁷

2.2 Early 1990s to Mid-1990s

The dawn of the 90s saw the number of anime titles increase and concentrated around the children's weekday and weekend morning time slots. ABS CBN Channel 2 aired tearjerkers "*Cedie, Ang Munting Prinsipe*" (*Shōkōshi Cedie*), "*Sarah, ang Munting Prinsesa*" (*Shokojo Purinsesu Se-ra*) and "*A Dog of Flanders*" (*Furanda-su no Inu*). The first two titles were so popular that they were made into faithfully-adapted movies during the mid-90s by ABS' film outfit, Star Cinema and the Filipino versions were in turn blockbuster hits. Offerings also started to diversify and internationally famous series such as *Dragonball* and *Sailormoon* found their way into Philippine

²²⁷ From interviews with Mr. Ang-Go, Mr. Barredo, Mr. de Dios and Mr. Coladilla.

television although they were shown in the smaller terrestrial channels.²²⁸

Anime versions of well-known story franchises such as *Peter Pan* and the “*Von Trapp Family Singers*” (*Turappu Ikka Monogatari*)-- which is more popularly known locally as the story of the classic movie “*Sound of Music*”-- were also aired and while both series were based on the two stories, there were lots of subplots, twists and turns incorporated that made the anime somewhat different and all their own.²²⁹ Even anime based on the Christian Holy Bible— “*Super Book*” (*Oyako Gekijo*) which tells stories from the Old Testament and “*Flying House*” (*Tondera House no Daiboken*) which tells stories from the New Testament were shown on Sunday mornings by GMA 7.²³⁰

By the mid-90s, more titles were shown in different channels and the diversification continued. As what the practice was since the 80s, big channels such as ABS CBN and smaller channels such as IBC Channel 13 filled their airtime with new anime programs. ABC Channel 5 (now TV5) resumed national broadcasting after being shut down by the Marcos regime during the martial law years, and began offering a number of anime programs too. Examples of super hero tales were “*Super Boink*” (*Ai to Yūki no Pig Girl Tonde Buurin* on Ch 13), *Magic Knight Rayearth* (Ch 2), “*Yaiba*” (*Kenyū Densetsu Yaiba* on Ch 5) and “*Zenki*” (*Kishin Dōji Zenki* on Ch 2). Anime adaptations of children’s classic tales from the West such as *Heidi* (Ch 2), “*Little Women 2*” (*Wakakusa Monogatari: Nan to Jou-Sensei* on Ch 2), “*Si Mary at Ang Lihim na Hardin*” (*Himitsu no Hanazono* on Ch 2), “*The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*”

²²⁸ The two biggest networks in the Philippines from the 90s up until the contemporary times are ABS CBN 2 and GMA 7. During this period, *Dragonball* was shown in RPN 9 dubbed in English. *Sailormoon* was broadcasted on IBC Channel 13. GMA later acquired *Dragonball*, re-dubbed it in Tagalog and re-aired it.

²²⁹ The researcher was able to watch these anime and compare it with the original book version of *Peter Pan* which she has read and the movie *The Sound of Music* (1965) which she has watched several times during her childhood.

²³⁰ GMA 7 is a Christian network and especially in the 80s and 90s, Sunday programming was filled with Christian programs. For these two anime series, they created the Super Kids Club which encouraged kids to study the Bible and become good Christians. The club mailed activity packets to its members nationwide and these packets included light reading materials, workbooks and freebies such as stickers and bookmarks. The researcher and two of her sisters were members of this club.

(*Huckleberry Finn Monogatari* on Ch 2) and “*The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*” (Ch 2) were also shown. Action adventure anime included “*Time Quest*” (*Time Travel Tondekeman* on Ch 13), “*Ang Mahiwagang Kwintas*” (Ch 2), *Zorro* (Ch 2), and the *Slayers* series (Ch 2). Anime that included robots and elaborate machines were “*Raijin-Oh*” (*Zettai Muteki Raijin-Oh* on Ch 9), “*Eto Rangers*” (*Jū ni Senshi Bakuretsu Eto Rangers* on Ch 5) and *B'TX* (Ch 2). Family oriented anime such as *Pollyanna* (*Ai no Shōjo Pollyanna Monogatari* on Ch 5 then Ch 2) and “*Mga Munting Pangarap ni Romeo*” (*Romeo no Aoi Sora* on Ch 2) were also shown. These various anime were distributed in different time slots although most are concentrated in the early morning weekday spots, early afternoon weekday spots and early weekend spots.



Figure 4: A DVD cover of the *Sailormoon* anime series dubbed in English. The cover shows the five main characters: (left to right) Sailor Mars, Sailor Jupiter, Sailor Moon, Sailor Venus and Sailor Mercury. Source: www.coolchaser.com

It is noteworthy that at this period, more and more titles were being dubbed in Tagalog.²³¹ But while Tagalog-dubbing started gaining currency, anime programs were still comparatively scattered, however, when the whole TV scene was taken into view. It is also a bit doubtful at this stage if most of the Filipino audience had absolute awareness about the Japanese origins of most of these titles. Most of the characters' names were changed into Western ones if they were not Western already. The opening and ending theme songs—which were the most recognizably Japanese part of these series-- were either played for a few seconds or not played at all. Some of their lyrics were changed to English or Tagalog.²³²

Except perhaps for a handful of titles such as *Dragonball* and *Sailormoon*, most of the series shown locally appear to be hardly indistinguishable from American cartoons. If there was awareness of the Japanese origins of some of the programs among the general public, it certainly did not play an important part in their popular consumption. Also, anime's availability in terms of rental video tapes—which at this stage has become cheaper and more affordable as a form of entertainment option for most Filipinos -- was also very limited and it was mostly through TV broadcast that anime could be watched.

The diversification in stories and themes, however, undoubtedly started attracting teenagers and even the adult viewers. Even if they were mainly clustered around children's viewing time slots, some of the new series achieved certain cult status such as high school basketball drama *Slam Dunk*. Not only because of basketball being

²³¹ This is due to the spread of TV ownership among the lower classes who preferred programs in the vernacular. More on this will be given in the third chapter, in the section on influences on Filipino popular media culture

²³² Two examples are of *Dragonball* and *Magic Knight Rayearth (Mahou Kishi Majikku Naito Reiaasu)*. In the former, the lyrics of the ending song, *Romantic Ageru Yo* ("I Give You Romantic" in English) sung by Ushio Hashimoto, was changed into English while in the latter, the lyrics of the opening theme song, *Yuzurenai Negai* ("Unyielding Wish" in English) sung by Naoko Tamura, was given Tagalog lyrics.

the most popular sport in the country, the plot involving an ordinary kid who wished to impress his crush by attempting to become his high school basketball team's star player drew the young adults into watching the episodes religiously. Another cult hit, magical comedy *Ranma ½*²³³, caught attention with its blend of complicated love triangles and humor although it was heavily edited with scenes of nudity cut and sexual innuendos tamed. The mere variety of this new crop of anime extended the viewer and fan base and by the end of the decade, a strong subculture revolving around anime already existed.²³⁴

2.3 The Late 1990s and Anime Explosion in the Years 2000 to 2002

Towards the last couple of years of the 90s, TV networks got hold of more titles from a wider variety of genres while re-dubbing most of the earlier, popular ones in Tagalog and re-airing them. Some of the notable anime that were aired during the late 90s were *Mojacko* (Ch 7), *"The Musketeers"* (*Sanjūshi* on Ch 2), *"Anne of the Green Gables"* (*Akage no Anne* on Ch 2), *Robinhood* (Ch 2), *Saber Marionette J* (Ch 2), *"Sanrio World of Animation"* (Ch 2), *"Cinderella"* (Ch 2), *"Gundam Wing"* (*Shin Kidou Senki Gundam W* on Ch 7), *Akazukin Cha Cha* (Ch 2), *Lupin III* (Ch 7), *"Flame of Recca"* (*Rekka no Honoo* on Ch 7), *"Knight Hunters"* (*Weiß Kreuz* on Ch 7), *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (*Shin Seiki Evangerion* on Ch 2), *Doraemon* (Ch 7) and the *Tenchi Muyo* series (Ch 2).²³⁵ A new ultra-high frequency or UHF channel, Studio 23, which was launched as a sister network of ABS CBN 2 for the purpose of showing mostly syndicated foreign programs, aired *Samurai X* (*Rurouni Kenshin*).

²³³ *Ranma 1/2* was first shown in RPN 9 in English but was later acquired by GMA 7, redubbed in Tagalog and re-aired in the late 90s.

²³⁴ From Damazo's aforementioned article in *Newsbreak* online (2003). Also from interviews with Ronald Guanzon, former web designer for GMA 7 who created the channel's WeAreAnime website and later president of the WeAreAnime online community, and Mr. Coladilla.

²³⁵ For a more complete list of anime titles aired in the Philippines during this period, please see the appendices section.



Figure 5: Picture showing the characters of the anime *Slam Dunk*, a high school basketball drama that was popular in the Philippines. Source: www.watchcartoononline.com.

Two titles stand out from this new batch in terms of generating crazes in the area of toy merchandise: “Let’s & Go” (*Bakusou Kyoudai Rettsu Endo Gou*) and *Pocket Monsters (Pokemon)*, both shown in GMA 7. The former created enthusiasm for small racing cars created by toy company Tamiya and spawned specialty shops, racing competitions and collectibles convention.²³⁶ The latter made waves locally just as it did previously in other countries worldwide-- sparking frenzies on trading cards, stuffed toys and video games. But even with the widening viewer base and the number of genres, anime programs were still primarily targeted towards children. TV channels were able to acquire well-known ones from Japan but tried their utmost to fit it into that mold.²³⁷ The bleak apocalyptic series *Neon Genesis Evangelion*, already having its adequate share of controversy in its homeland, was broadcasted in a very watered-down, almost child-friendly version.²³⁸

²³⁶ From interviews with Mr. Coladilla and Mr. Guanzon.

²³⁷ From interviews with Mr. Ang-Go and Mr. Barredo as they talked about how their respective channels adapt anime programs for the audience.

²³⁸ In the wake of the 1995 Tokyo sarin gas attack, members of the cult Aum Shinri Kyo were portrayed by media as



Figure 6: Picture showing the main human characters: (top left to right) Brock, Ash and Misty and pocket monsters: (bottom left to right) Pikachu, Bulbasaur and Squirtle of the anime *Pokemon*. Source: www.animesanctuary.co.uk.

Nostalgic clamor and a series that was marketed not unlike any other live action drama captured viewers in 1999. A hit sketch comedy show used Voltes V’s opening theme song in one of its segments, stirring the adult audience’s childhood memories.²³⁹ Due to the consequent public demand, Voltes V was re-aired and it garnered high ratings. The other series that made it big was “*Ghostfighter*”, known in Japan as *Yu Yu Hakusho*, which broke through the generation gap, gluing both kids and adults to the TV screen.

Shown years before in English, *Ghostfighter* was re-dubbed in Tagalog albeit retaining English names and with the advertising heavily emphasizing the dramatic elements of the action-adventure story. The promotional ads focused on the main character’s, Eugene’s (*Yusuke* in Japanese) relationship with Jenny (*Keiko* in Japanese)

obsessive fans of *Evangelion*—an example of the moral panic described by Sharon Kinsella in her book *Adult Manga: Culture and Power in Contemporary Japanese Society* (2000) and the version showed in the Philippines was heavily edited.

²³⁹ The sketch comedy show, *Bubble Gang*, is still being broadcasted by GMA 7 and continues to be highly popular among viewers. The segment that used the Voltes V theme song, “*Ang Dating Doon*” (literally “The Old There” in English) was a parody of a popular religious program called “*Ang Dating Daan*” (“The Old Way” in English). While in the latter, Bible verses were interpreted, the former interpreted fairytales and children’s literature with a comedic twist. *Ang Dating Doon* is one of the many recurring sketches of the show.

and used the popular Irish boy band Boyzone’s song “Baby Can I Hold You Tonight”²⁴⁰. It proved to be a smashing success in the ratings game and the series’ movie version was shown in local theaters in June 1999. GMA 7’s winning formula prompted rival network ABS CBN 2 as well as other channels to cash in with similar offerings.



Figure 7: Picture showing small racing cars made by the Tamiya company which became popular in the Philippines because of the anime *Lets & Go*. Source: www.rcinfos.com.

Most anime titles that came during this time found themselves on primetime and pitted against each other especially with the network rivalry of the two biggest Philippine channels, GMA 7 and ABS CBN 2. Programs with similar themes such as *Pokemon* and “*Digimon Adventures*” (*Dejitaru Monsutaa*)²⁴¹ were placed on the same time slots. GMA 7 capitalized a lot on the trend and filled its weekday early primetime spots with anime. Replays of earlier favorites also took place with GMA 7 showing the popular *Dragonball* series in Tagalog and featuring anime movies such as “*Hyper Speed*

²⁴⁰ The song was a cover of a Tracy Chapman original and was a very popular ditty at that time.

²⁴¹ Both involve young children and pet-like creatures that they train and that can go to battle against each other. Although the worlds portrayed are different, themes such as friendship, valor and perseverance are common to both. Another obvious similarity is the creatures’ evolution into stronger versions of themselves.

Gran Doll” instead of live-action feature films as late weekend night specials.

Some of the anime that started airing from 1999 continued until the next year. New anime titles that came in the year 2000 were, in GMA 7, “*Hell Teacher Nube*” (*Jigoku Sensei Nube*), “*Master of Mosquiton*”, “*Monster Rancher*”, *Fushigi Yūgi*, “*Vision of Escaflowne*” (*Tenkū no Escaflowne*), “*Takoyaki Mantleman*”, “*Trigun*”, “*Virtua Fighter*” and “*Bubblegum Crisis Tokyo 2040*”, and in ABS CBN 2, “*Magic Girls*”, “*Wedding Peach*” (*Ai Tenchi Densetsu Wedding Peach*), “*Saber Marionette J to X*”, “*Street Fighter VII*” and “*Swiss Family Robinson*” (*Fushigi no Shima no Flone*).²⁴²

GMA 7 also took a step further by launching WeAreAnime.com in March of 2000 and the website went on to become one of the largest Filipino online communities as the year came to a close.²⁴³ The website not only contained information on GMA’s latest anime programs but it also had bulletin boards for activities related to it, chat rooms and forums. It also provided an avenue where anime fans could share their thoughts and opinions regarding anime shows and communicate with their fellow fans. By May of 2000, WeAreAnime.com started its regular “eyeball” or meetings for online members every Saturdays.²⁴⁴ These meetings became a launching pad for several activities, some of which were open to non-members such as cosplay parties. The community that developed from this also lent a hand in most of the anime-related events that were to follow such as the first anime convention. In 2001, WeAreAnime was awarded as the Philippines’ Best Community Website.²⁴⁵

²⁴² For a more complete list of anime titles shown during this period, please check the appendices section.

²⁴³ From the interview with Mr. Guanzon.

²⁴⁴ From the interview with Mr. Guanzon. By 2001, the website and the community became independent of GMA. The website can now be accessed through www.weareanime.org.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. Also from the WeAreAnime website.



Figure 8: The four main characters of one of the most popular anime ever to be broadcasted on Philippine TV, *Ghostfighter*. (leftmost) Vincent or Hiei, (top center) Dennis or Kurama, (bottom center) Eugene or Yusuke and (rightmost) Alfred or Kuwabara. Source: www.adultswim.wikia.com

Not to be outdone, local groups composed of aficionados from the underground anime subculture that began as early as the mid-90s began to also organize themselves. These groups held gatherings, film showings and events which are oftentimes open to the public. They also sold merchandise which included original Japanese items as well as fan-subtitled anime videos which are popularly-known as “fansubs”²⁴⁶. Prominent groups in the Philippine anime scene were Camp Big 5, Zentraedi (later Anima Anime), and the anime group of Pinoy Exchange, a popular local internet forum. The first two groups provided the core manpower in organizing the first anime convention in the Philippines.

Other pioneers in the anime subculture were university-based and started off as anime appreciation circles belonging to academic departments. In the campus of one of

²⁴⁶ Short for fan-subtitled, these anime programs were translated into English and subtitled by fans. Unofficial, they are usually shared among aficionados and avid viewers. Although most were not sold commercially and fan-subbing effectively is stopped once the official subtitled version is released, the legality of this activity warrants another lengthy discussion which is outside of the scope of this research.

the top universities of the country, the University of the Philippines Diliman campus, the event “Anime at Arki” which was organized by architectural students showed anime for free every Friday at the then Architecture Department located at the 5th floor of the Engineering Building. Also not to be outshone, anime specialty stores who used to serve only the hardcore anime fanatics started expanding their business. Pioneering shops Comic Alley came out of their nearly black market confines in Virramall, Greenhills, to lease conventional spaces in big chain shopping malls such as Shoemart or SM. Newer anime stores also sprung like mushrooms to give the growing number of enthusiasts their merchandize fix.

With the triggers set firmly in place, it was just a matter of time before the so-called “anime explosion”²⁴⁷-- when anime reached the masses or the CDE²⁴⁸ income bracket groups that comprise the largest market segment in the country—in the year 2000. In addition to the contributing factors referred to beforehand such as the network wars and bandwagoning among the channels, the dubbing of series in Tagalog, the sheer number of genres, the increase of anime interest groups and shops, other key antecedents emerged. Cable networks such as AXN²⁴⁹ started showing anime thereby increasing alternatives for most viewers. As a satellite or cable channel, AXN is not

²⁴⁷ The term was used by news reporters covering the story and was chosen as the name for the first major anime convention in the Philippines.

²⁴⁸ In the Philippines, social scientists generally construct an image of the class structure from measures of indirect income and status such as housing characteristics. The ABCDE system is based on the type of dwelling and is widely adopted because it is simpler and more reliable than income estimates or employment-based classifications. In the ABCDE system, AB constitutes the upper class, C corresponds to the middle class, and D and E make up the lower classes. D is further subdivided into D1 and D2, with the former owning the lot on which their houses are built. At one end of the spectrum, AB houses are made of heavy and high quality materials, well maintained, located in executive villages or stand out in mixed neighborhoods, and have sprawling lawns or gardens and expensive furnishings. From Mary Racelis' article “Civil Society, Populist Politics and the State: Philippine Democracy Today” quoting Maria Cynthia Rose Banzon Bautista in her article, “People Power 2: ‘The Revenge of the Elite on the Masses?’” in *Between Fires: Fifteen Perspectives on the Estrada Crisis* (2001), pp. 1-2.

²⁴⁹ Owned by Sony Pictures Entertainment, the channel is based in Singapore and is broadcasting region-wide. This satellite network started showing anime in the late 90s along with it's usual repertoire of crime and action movies and TV programs until another Sony Pictures Entertainment venture, the subsidiary Animax, took over its anime-showing operations.

subject to stringent broadcasting laws and thus, can air even adult-themed anime.²⁵⁰

The democratization of internet use also played its part by guaranteeing that information not only about anime but activities related to it are easily and widely disseminated.

The first major anime convention, utilizing “Anime Explosion” for its name, was held for three days in November at the Megatrade Hall of one of the country’s biggest shopping malls, SM Megamall. Organized by the Animation Council of the Philippines or ACPI²⁵¹ and by the abovementioned major anime interest groups in coordination with GMA and the cable channel AXN, the event featured games, drawing competitions, animation lecture demonstrations and cosplay. This marks the first time that cosplay was done as an official activity in a major public event and after this, cosplaying became a regular key component of most anime events.²⁵² The organizers also invited Yū Watase, the creator of Fushigi Yūgi which was one of the popular series airing at that time, and several other animation directors from Japan. It was a very successful event that drew more than 10,000 people.²⁵³

Especially after this groundbreaking convention, the boom became more pronounced and signs were discernible particularly in the Metro Manila area.²⁵⁴ Anime communities were founded one after the other and conventions became regular occurrences, organized by different groups. Major anime conventions to be held after Anime Explosion were Anime Quest, AXN Animefest²⁵⁵, Cosplay Manila and Feata

²⁵⁰ This was before its anime operations were taken over by Animax in 2004.

²⁵¹ The council is a non-profit organization that helps, organizes and promotes Filipino animation studios locally and internationally, and is made up of Filipino animation studios. Its creation in 2000 was under the auspices of the Department of Trade and Industry and the Bureau of Export and Trade Promotions or BETP which recognized that the animation industry is one of the five top dollar earners of the country.

²⁵² Cosplay was done by some groups before in events such as in UP’s Anime at Arki and in the annual Lantern Parade of the same university.

²⁵³ From Damazo’s article and interviews with Mr. Guanzon, Mr. de Dios, Cheska Enriquez—the Finance Committee Head of the Anime and Manga Enthusiasts of the University of the Philippines for the school year 2005-2006, Mr. Bairan and Ms. Dimaranan.

²⁵⁴ From Damazo’s article.

²⁵⁵ The researcher joined this particular event in July 7, 2001 as a cosplay contestant and was adjudged as one of the

Atsumaro.²⁵⁶ Anime-inspired Filipino comic book *Culture Crash* and anime magazine *Questor* were published and even widely-circulated and already popular local comics such as *Funny Komiks* began adapting the manga-style of drawing. Urban youths became interested in Japanese pop and rock music, and imitating Japanese hairstyles and donning Japanese street fashion. Most established video rental shops created a separate category for anime and well-known titles became available for rental. Established music stores also made a separate category for anime soundtracks and also music from Japanese pop and rock acts. Local university-based bands also started covering Japanese songs from anime.

Anime communities were also established in Metro Manila universities. In UP Diliman, an organization named Anime and Manga Enthusiasts or AME was launched in November of 2000. Its founding members came from another UP organization, *Tomokai*, a Japanese-Filipino friendship club that focuses on Japanese language and culture. Since most of Tomokai's members were interested in anime and manga, it was thought that a separate organization concentrating on these should be established. AME's regular activities include film showings and it has organized two collegiate anime fairs, "Una kAME" ("*We are First*" in English) in December 2004 and "kAME Ulit" ("*Here We are Again*" in English) in November 2005. These fairs followed the format of anime conventions with activities such as cosplay, drawing competition, J-music performances and karaoke singing although an academic element is added through lectures, forums and presentation of papers related to anime and manga.²⁵⁷

finalists. She was dressed as Major Motoko Kusanagi of the movie version of *Ghost in the Shell (Koukaku Kidoutai)*.

²⁵⁶ From the interview with Mr. de Dios. He has served as marshal to most anime conventions since 2003 and he became an anime event organizer before deciding to completely become a cosplay event organizer.

²⁵⁷ From the interview with Ms. Enriquez and AME's website. AME's anime fairs were promoted in part by the Manila Office of Japan Foundation.

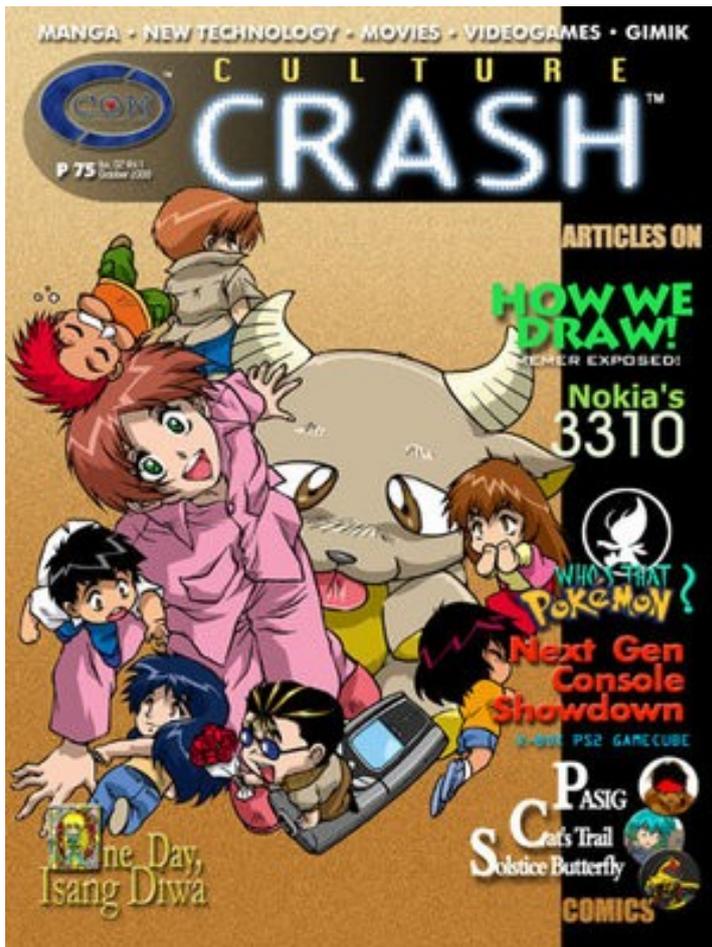


Figure 9: The cover of issue no. 2 of Filipino manga *Culture Crash*. Aside from the comic strips themselves, articles about new technological gadgets, movies, video games and leisure activities are also included in it. Source: www.culturecrashcomics.de viantart.com.

Dubbing anime in Tagalog surely did some wonders with its popularity but at the same time, the drama series-like qualities of *Voltes V*, *Dragonball*, *Ghostfighter* and *Slam Dunk* also did its part. In general, the Filipino audience love melodramatic, prolonged plotlines and in the same vein, Latin American *telenovelas* and homemade drama series called *teleseryes* usually are well received. Anime proved to be yet another source of unending, human interest sagas for viewers. Yet another advantage of anime is its medieval themes wherein high tech versions of samurai and knights battle against evil forces—a highly adaptable theme to the folk and pre-modern nature of Philippine culture.²⁵⁸ The four series mentioned also represent a sure-hit formula among Filipinos:

²⁵⁸ From Josefina Santos' article "Reformatting the format: Philippines in the global television format business" in the

an underdog protagonist faces life's struggles with a strong determination and is assisted by friends along the way, managing to stay optimistic and cheerful most of the time.²⁵⁹ Not only can the audience relate to such tales but they also see values similar to their own such as positivity, cheerfulness, cooperation, friendship and camaraderie.

Anime's storylines and characters also are the main reasons why it is a hit among Filipino viewers.²⁶⁰ Compared with the Western cartoons that were popular, the plots are more sophisticated and thus not only attract children-- the segment where it is actually being marketed-- but also attract older audiences. The stories have real human interest and unlike most Western cartoons that were shown before where it is always the protagonist winning at the end of the day, anime stories present a relatively more realistic representation of struggle. There are gray areas in the themes and the concept of good and evil is not presented as simply black and white. Aside from encountering challenges, protagonists also have pressing personal issues and emotional baggage, not entirely magnanimous or too fantastic to be human. At the same time, antagonists are shown in a more human light and in most anime, the reasons for their turning evil are explained. In this way, the Filipino audience can relate more and see themselves in the characters.

Also, while other cartoons tend to have happy endings with flowery depictions of the world, anime also tackles serious matters such as death, poverty, politics and war. It is not afraid to present things as they really are.²⁶¹ The four anime mentioned above show characters that have their own fears and problems but try their utmost to confront their challenges courageously. While they do not always win their battles, they believe

book *Television Across Asia: Television industries, programme formats and globalization* (2004), p. 164.

²⁵⁹ These are some of the main qualities GMA 7 looks for in the anime titles they acquire, according to Mr. Barredo.

²⁶⁰ From interviews with Mr. Ang Go, Mr. Barredo, Mr. Guanzon, Mr. Dimaranan, Mr. Bairan, Mr. de Dios and Ms. Enriquez as well as informal talks with several other respondents in the anime events.

²⁶¹ From the interviews mentioned previously

that they will emerge strong after their loss and they always keep their optimistic stance. Their stories are also not complete without the myriad characters they encounter-- friends who help them overcome their tests and encourage them to do better and even enemies who teach them life lessons and provide motivation for their actions. Most of these anime show a certain depth in portraying human relationships.²⁶²

On a rather separate level of explanation, the Philippines does not regularly make its own cartoon series and the few attempts at producing such have been mostly short-lived and not well-received.²⁶³ Anime's sheer variety of genres assured that not only members of the target audience can find something to suit their tastes. The relatively cheaper cost²⁶⁴ also fit the bill for most of the networks. Anime programs are cheaper to acquire than American cartoons and acquisition of foreign programs is cheaper than producing local shows to fill in broadcasting time. Anime is also easily tied to the promotion of commercial products ranging from toys to food items to household products.

The anime fever extended well up to the year 2002. Commonplace was how the programs were branded "the no. 1 from Japan" or tagged as "the most popular in Japan" as a promotional strategy by most networks.²⁶⁵ Elements of Japaneseness in the series were mostly left to their own-- original names and cultural references were retained, and opening and ending credits, which employed Japanese songs and are of course peppered with Japanese characters, were left running in their entirety, a practice

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ From an interview with Ms. Dimaranan, as she expounded on the state of Filipino animation and discussed some of the first few Filipino animation projects.

²⁶⁴ From interviews with Mr. Ang Go and Mr. Barredo.

²⁶⁵ According to Mr. Ang-Go, one of the first steps they practice in researching what anime titles to acquire is go to Anime News Network and other reputable anime websites to find out the popular anime programs in Japan. They also ask the opinions of anime interest groups. This especially became very important when the network wars between the two biggest channels became intense

that was hardly ever done before. More activities and events organized by different anime interest groups were held and these included major ones such as the aforementioned conventions as well as small group gatherings.



Figure 10: A picture showing issues of the Filipino anime magazine *Questor*. Copyright by Mercedes Marie “Chedie” Calayag of www.chibilicious.com.

AXN launched its own anime festival and so did Questor magazine. Culture Crash comics also organized its own convention, the “Culture Crash Comics Conventions” or “C3 Convention”. Other groups set up their own activities such as Anima Anime which held the monthly “Anime Revue” in venues such as Oracafe, a hub for independent artists located in Quezon City, and the main branch of chain bookstore

Powerbooks in Makati City.²⁶⁶ The monthly viewing showcases the latest anime as well as live action films from Japan²⁶⁷. More interest groups were born around this period such as the Organization of AnimeXplosion Volunteers or OAV, Pinoy Otaku, Yaoi Dudes and Filcosplay.

Because of the boom, smaller channels such as ABC 5 got hold of more anime titles. It started airing a number of titles including “*Macron 1*” (*Sengoku Majin Goshogun*), *F!*, “*Dragon League*” and “*Fancy Lala*” (*Mahō no Stage Fancy Lala*)²⁶⁸ in February of 2001. It also re-showed *Time Quest*. GMA 7 and ABS beefed up their line-ups by bringing in new anime titles. GMA also re-aired titles that have had considerable following before. It came up with new anime titles such as “*After War Gundam X*” (*Kidō Shin Seiki Gundam X*), “*Detective Conan*” (*Meitantei Conan*) and “*Sorcerer Hunters*” (*Bakuretsu Hunters*) while re-showing *Saber Marionette R*, *Ranma ½* (in its Tagalog-dubbed version), *Magic Knight Rayearth*, *Dragonball* and *Ghostfighter*.²⁶⁹ ABS CBN 2 added to its line-up titles such as “*Soul Hunter*” (*Senkaiden Hōshin Engi*), “*El Hazard the Mysterious World*” or “*The Wanderers*” and “*Cardcaptor Sakura*” as well as the OAV of *Rayearth*.²⁷⁰ Most of these anime were shown in Tagalog.

A number of titles came to the country the following year, 2002, and some OAVs were broadcasted as series just as in the 80s. IBC 13 started showing *Crayon Shin-chan* and *Cyborg Kuro-chan*. GMA 7 brought in “*Cat’s Eye*”, “*Dragon Creation*”

²⁶⁶ The researcher has attended most of the Anime Revue events. This is where she met a few of the pioneers of some anime interest groups in the Philippines.

²⁶⁷ Hit Japanese movies such as Hiroshi Sugawara’s *Tokimeki Memorial* (1997), Hideo Nakata’s *Ring* (1998), Kinji Fukasaku’s *Battle Royale* (2000) and Shinobu Yaguchi’s *Waterboys* (2001) were shown as intermissions for the main anime features.

²⁶⁸ For a complete list of ABC 5’s anime line-up during this period, please refer to the Appendices section.

²⁶⁹ For GMA 7’s complete anime line-up including new and re-shown titles, please refer to the Appendices section.

²⁷⁰ For ABS CBN 2’s complete anime line-up and re-shown titles, please refer to the Appendices section.

(*Sōryuden*), “*Petshop of Horrors*” and “*Hunter X Hunter*”. The last two were OAVs but were edited and shown as series.²⁷¹ GMA 7 also led the way in the practice of re-airing anime, showing old anime such as *Slam Dunk*. *Slam Dunk* became more popular than it was before and GMA 7 re-showed it several times.²⁷² Its main rival ABS CBN 2 brought in “*Judie*” (*Watashi no Ashinaga Ojisan* which is based on the classic American novel “*Daddy Long Legs*”), *Inuyasha*, “*Beyblade 2002*” and “*Sakura Wars*” (*Sakura Taisen*) as well as re-showed *Samurai X* in its Tagalog version after the said series was re-shown in its English version earlier in the year in Studio 23.²⁷³ *Beyblade* produced yet another craze with plastic spinning toys of the same name and original as well as copycat merchandise abounded.



Figure 11: A picture showing *Beyblade* toys. The anime-- and subsequently the toys themselves-- became popular in the Philippines. Source: www.animecraze.net.

²⁷¹ For a more comprehensive line-up of all the channels with indications if they are regular series or OAVs, please refer to the Appendices Section.

²⁷² From an interview with Mr. Barredo. Other series to be re-shown for several times are *Dragonball*, *Ghostfighter*, *Hunter X Hunter* and *Monster Rancher* to name a few.

²⁷³ The main terrestrial channels usually try to acquire popular anime titles for re-airing as well as transfer it from a subsidiary channel to their program line-ups if it becomes popular enough.

2.4 From 2003 to Contemporary Times

From 2003 to early 2004, there was a noticeable decline in the frenzy for anime even with the entry of new titles. Some anime interest groups disbanded²⁷⁴ and even Questor magazine went on a hiatus.²⁷⁵ Several reasons that can be cited are the entry and popularity of dramas from Taiwan and Korea, saturation of the market, the rise of low-cost, high-speed internet and the increase of technological piracy. While Asian dramas did not necessarily compete with anime since they did not exactly target the same audience segment as far as the TV networks were concerned, the focus of the networks' investment on foreign acquisition went to them along with the important primetime slots especially when their ratings started shooting up²⁷⁶. The effect spread to anime specialty shops such as Comic Alley which started selling merchandise of the newly popular Asian dramas. Even Questor magazine, in its last few issues, began featuring Asian dramas in its pages. The saturation can be attributed to the constant re-airing of anime programs and the fact that immediately before this period, while there is a considerable amount of anime, most of them are of similar themes and plots that there is not much variety—an edge that it used to have before.

At the same time, the rise of low-cost, high-speed internet made it easy for anyone to download, fansub and mass produce anime titles-- whether they are already syndicated, yet to be syndicated, classic or newly-released. Increased technological piracy made possible the cheap purchase and availability of all types of VCDs and DVDs, subsequently pre-empting most anime series that are being shown and those that

²⁷⁴ From the interview with Mr. Coladilla.

²⁷⁵ From the interview with Ms. Enriquez.

²⁷⁶ From interviews with Mr. Barredo, Mr. de Dios and Mr. Guanzon. Incidentally, the first hit Asian drama series in the Philippines, Taiwan's *Meteor Garden* (流星花園 in Mandarin), which was aired by ABS, was based on the manga *Hana Yori Dango* which was also made into an animated series and a live action movie in Japan with the same name. Adapting manga into live action dramas is a common practice among Taiwanese TV productions.

are yet to be shown on TV.²⁷⁷ There are some views compatible to the researcher's, however, that it was not an actual decline but that it has already passed its peak and has become a part of the mainstream TV culture, thus maintaining a steady phase compared to the earlier period of phenomenal rise.²⁷⁸

As it has been since the year 2000, anime productions continue to be a part of ordinary Filipino TV fare. New titles were still acquired, old animes were re-shown and all terrestrial TV channels as well as ultra-high frequency or UHF channel subsidiaries Studio 23 and the newly established QTV (now Q) Channel 11, a subsidiary of GMA 7, air anime programs. Some of the notable anime²⁷⁹ that came in 2003 up to 2005 were: “*Crush Gear Turbo*” (*Gekitō Crush Gear Turbo* on Ch 2), “*Cooking Master Boy*” (Ch 2), “*Ah My Goddess!*” (*Ah! Megami-sama!* on Ch 7), “*Astroboy the New Series*” (Ch 2), *Naruto* (Ch 2), *Hana Yori Dango* (Ch 2), “*Ninja Boy Rantaro*” (Ch 5), “*Dear Boys*” (Ch 2), “*Cowboy Bebop*” (Ch 7), “*One Piece*” (Ch 7), “*Ragnarok the Animation*” (Ch 2 then Ch 23), “*Love Hina*” (Ch 7), “*Gundam Seed*” (Ch 2), “*Gatekeepers*” (Ch 2), “*Shadow Skill*” (Ch 7), “*Striker Hungry Heart*” (*Hungry Heart: Wild Striker* on Ch 7), “*Angelic Layer*” (Ch 2 then Ch 23), *Tenjō Tenge* (Ch 7), “*Full Metal Alchemist*” (Ch 7), “*SD Gundam Force*” (Ch 7), *Hamutaro* (Ch 7) and “*Prince of Tennis*” (*Tenisu no Ōji-sama* on Ch 11). Anime programs re-shown because of sheer popularity were Slam Dunk, Dragonball, Voltes V and Ghostfighter in GMA and Princess Sarah and Crush Gear in ABS.²⁸⁰ At the same time, new anime interest groups are created out of groups

²⁷⁷ The biggest black markets are located in the Greenhills and Quiapo areas of Metro Manila. At the same time, most of these pirated copies are also sold by street peddlers in other commercial centers such as public markets. These peddlers sell their wares in makeshift spaces, usually a spread-out blanket, for increased mobility in case policemen appear for intermittent raids.

²⁷⁸ From interviews with Mr. Guanzon and Mr. de Dios.

²⁷⁹ From interviews with Mr. Ang-Go and Mr. Barredo. Most of these titles were already popular – in Japan, in internet forums and among anime interest groups-- before they were acquired to be shown by the local channels.

²⁸⁰ From interviews with Mr. Ang Go and Mr. Barredo.

of volunteers and cosplayers in most events and conventions, and a new anime magazine, *Otakuzine*, was launched.²⁸¹

Breathing some more life into the anime scene is the birth of all-day anime channels which started in 2004. The first ever 24-hour channel dedicated to anime is Animax which was launched in January 2004. A subsidiary of AXN Asia and Sony Pictures Entertainment Co., it broadcasts region-wide from Singapore to Taiwan, Hong Kong and Southeast Asia. It started transmission to Southeast Asia, including the Philippines, in January 19, 2004 and can be viewed through some cable service providers.²⁸² It took over the anime operations of AXN with the latter returning to its action program repertoire.

ABS-CBN followed suit with its own anime cable channel, Hero TV, which was launched in a two-day event dubbed “Hataw Hanep Hero” (“Groove Cool Hero” in English) or “H3 Grand Channel Launch” in November 2005²⁸³ and was in full broadcast by December. Hero TV is primarily targeted towards the kids and all the anime it shows are Tagalog-dubbed. Immediately after its launch, Animax used to sign off at midnight but subsequently decided to broadcast programs 24 hours-a-day. Both Animax and Hero TV sponsor and take part in anime events. Just like AXN, Animax comes up with its own events such as the Animax Carnival held in April 3, 2004. Hero TV’s aforementioned launch attracted more than 20,000 people and there are plans to hold similar annual events. It also supported other anime events such as UP AME’s “kAME Ulit” (“We Again” in English).

In the later part of the previous decade, anime has consistently been shown in

²⁸¹ From interviews with Mr. de Dios and Mr. Coladilla.

²⁸² From the website of Animax.

²⁸³ The launch was held from November 12 to 13 at the Philippine Trade Training Center in Roxas Boulevard, Pasay City. The researcher attended the second day of the launch and found the place packed with people, most especially kids.

most Philippine TV channels and has become a source of inspiration for local program concepts. The *fantaserye* or *telefantasya*—local drama series with fantasy or magical elements-- trend started in 2005 and some productions were heavily influenced by anime. While the stories and the characters are nonetheless Filipino in flavor, some programs copied elements of anime such as hairstyles, costumes and weaponry such as ABS CBN 2's *Super Inggo* and GMA 7's *Super Twins*. In 2007, two Filipino live action drama series based on popular anime were shown: "Princess Sarah" by ABS CBN 2 and "Lupin" by GMA 7.²⁸⁴ The former is the second such local adaptation of the Princess Sarah franchise.

While the anime fever has cooled down in terms of TV broadcast compared to the years 2000 to 2002, anime continues to be popular with the Filipino youth. No less than the Philippine Catholic Church has tapped into this by making use of anime to spark renewed interest in the Holy Bible. In 2008, the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines or CBCP has introduced the Bible Anime program—a line of manga-inspired religious passages and Bible-based characters which can be downloaded on cellular phones for Php 5 (US\$ 0.12 or ¥ 9) each time and can be passed on to friends. The aim of the program is to reach out to the youth with the Church actively promoting it in schools. The project involved coordination with the Philippine Bible Society or PBS and Enzima International Incorporated—a Japanese-owned company based in Manila that volunteered to do the animation.²⁸⁵ In yet another sign of anime's continuing popularity in the Philippines, the country topped the organic searches for the terms "anime" and "manga" in 2010 according to Google Trends. Google Trends reflect

²⁸⁴ A more detailed discussion of these two live action TV series adaptations will be presented in the third chapter, section on influences on Filipino popular media culture.

²⁸⁵ From Dario Agnote's article "Philippine cellphones get Bible 'anime': Catholic Church taps new, cheap download medium to keep kids inspired" published in *The Japan Times* online on January 30, 2008.

what keywords people are searching for on a daily basis. The now closed OneManga website²⁸⁶—a site showing scanned pages of manga with translations or what is termed as a “scanlation” site—ranked 31st in the Philippines’ Most Visited Websites.²⁸⁷



Figure 12: Picture of the two main characters of the Filipino fantaserye *Super Twins* produced by GMA 7. As most Filipino anime fans noted, the costumes are similar to the classic anime *Sailormoon* (see Figure 4) Source: www.pep.ph.

Aside from these developments, fresh titles are still being acquired and in recent years, titles such as “*Bleach*” which was a smash hit in Japan have been winning Filipino audience over. Relatively old and classic programs such as *Voltes V* and *Ghostfighter* continue to be re-run and even the old sentai series such as *Shaider* were re-shown. It is not an exaggeration to say that currently, anime still holds its grip as the foremost category of cartoons being broadcasted on Philippine TV. Undoubtedly, it had come a long way from the weird-looking, robot-inhabited cartoon that once bore the

²⁸⁶ The website closed down on August 1, 2010 due to pressure from Japanese and US publishers of manga. In June of that year, the said publishers threatened legal action against 30 websites that illegally posted translated scans of their titles if the site administrators did not immediately cease their activities. From Kevin Melrose’s article “Breaking: Scanlation Giant OneManga is shutting down” in *Comic Book Resources* online published July 22, 2010.

²⁸⁷ From the *Kartonista* blog which is maintained by Neil Yamit, a web contents specialist based in Cebu and one of the pioneering Filipino bloggers to comment on the latest developments in anime and Philippine anime subculture scene among others.

brunt of a presidential ban and now, occupies the Filipino TV realm of the mundane.

2.5 Table of Summary

Table 2: Summary of Anime's History in the Philippines

Time Period	Short Description / Highlights	Sources and Channels	Appropriation
Late 70s and into the 80s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - introduction of anime with mecha series such as <i>Voltes V</i> - presidential ban - introduction of wholesome anime such as <i>Candy Candy</i> - eventual lifting of the ban brought back the mecha series - start of the outsourcing of animation labor in Asia - sentai series become popular 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> mostly limited to TV broadcasting - only a few titles were shown by some TV networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - series are English-dubbed and some are acquired from the US - titles and names used follow the US ones - the US-acquired titles were presented as is - censorship of violence and sexual content - marketed towards children
Early to Mid-90s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - increase of titles concentrated around children's timeslots - gradual diversification in the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - mostly TV broadcasting among some TV networks - limited availability on video 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - use of Tagalog-dubbing gaining currency - names and titles are still

	<p>variety of stories and themes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - world-famous titles <i>Dragonball</i> and <i>Sailormoon</i> were shown and became cult hits along with <i>Slam Dunk</i> - beginnings of strong subculture 		<p>Western</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - opening and ending themes are mostly left out; some were changed into English or Tagalog - popular tearjerkers <i>Princess Sarah</i> and <i>Cedie</i> were made into feature films - censorship of violence and sexual content - marketed towards children
Late 90s and Anime Explosion (2000-2002)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - TV networks got hold of more titles from a wider variety of genres - <i>Let's & Go</i> and <i>Pokemon</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - anime shown on most TV channels and satellite or cable TV channels - popular titles are available on 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - anime shown on local TV are mostly Tagalog-dubbed - titles were branded as “the no. 1 from Japan” as a promotional

	<p>created crazes in toy merchandize</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - re-airing of Voltes V - Ghostfighter becomes a big hit - anime reaches the biggest market segment - anime shows takes over primetime slots - first anime convention takes place - many observable signs of the anime boom especially in Metro Manila 	<p>video (official and fan-subtitled versions as well as pirated copies)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - theatrical releases of the most popular ones - private film showings held by different anime interest groups - anime film festivals arranged by organizations such as Japan Foundation Manila Office - can be downloaded through internet 	<p>strategy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Japanese elements were mostly left to their own - opening and ending themes are left running in their entirety - censorship of violence and sexual content
From 2003 to Current Time	- anime fever cools down	- all-day anime channels and	- most of anime shown on local

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - opening of all-day anime TV channels - anime becomes a mainstream part of local TV 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> satellite channels - abundance of cheap, pirated copies - can be downloaded or watched streaming from the internet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> channels are Tagalog-dubbed - Japanese elements are mostly left to their own - titles' popularity in Japan is not singled out for promotional purposes - censorship of violence and sexual content - anime and elements of it become inspirations for some local productions
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2.6 Concluding Remarks for Chapter 2

As what was shown in the preceding sections and in the table of summary, anime programs were initially at the periphery of Philippine television-- first as novelty hits that were banned for a period of time. They eventually became fillers for children's timeslots in TV networks that were just developing and with their wide array of genres and topics, gradually attracted cult attention. After two decades, they became popular with the masses and were even shown on primetime. While it is already past their feverish reception, they are now an undeniable part of the mainstream—thus the everyday life of the Filipino viewers.

Chapter 3

CULTURAL PHENOMENA INFLUENCED BY ANIME

3. Cultural Phenomena Influenced by Anime

This chapter presents examples of cultural phenomena brought about by anime's popularity in the Philippines. It will focus on three specific areas: Japanese language and subject appreciation, influences on Filipino popular media culture, and the creation of the Filipino cosplay subculture. While they are not definitive of the whole spectrum of anime's influence in the Filipino society and do not belong to the same category, these are areas that demonstrate certain perceptible gauges of how anime as a Japanese product has impacted the Filipinos as well as fields that the researcher is more familiar with. In the discussion and analysis of these phenomena, the study aims to establish and define the kind of Japanese cultural influence that results from it.

3.1 Japanese Language and Subject Appreciation

3.1.1 Summary of Survey and Informal Interview Results for University Students in 2005-2006

The popularity of anime has been mentioned in Japan Foundation's annual reports as one of the factors to be taken into consideration in the planning and preparation of their activities in the Philippines and that it could be harnessed in furthering the promotion of the language as well as Japanese culture.³⁶¹ Established in 1972, JF is a special public institution undertaking the international dissemination of Japanese culture and is the main cultural arm of the Japanese government. It became an independent administrative institution or IAI under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or MOFA in 2003 and focuses on three main activities: promotion of Japanese arts and cultural exchange, promotion of overseas Japanese language education and promotion of overseas Japanese studies and intellectual exchange.

³⁶¹ Please see JF Annual Reports' section on the Philippines introductory part from the years 1998 to 2001.

Due in part to this information³⁶², and admittedly, because of some episodes of personal interest and experience³⁶³, the researcher decided to focus on anime's effects in the generation of interest in Japanese language and culture among the Filipino youth. A representative sample of students taking up Japan-related courses³⁶⁴ in UPD, ADMU and DLSU³⁶⁵ in the academic year 2005 to 2006, totaling about 119 respondents, was given survey questionnaires to answer. The researcher also had some informal talks with approximately 30 % of them—35 respondents with 31 from UPD and 4 from DLSU. The average age of the respondents were 20 years old of which 65 % are females and 35% are males. The survey results yielded several important points and the most relevant ones will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

³⁶² The researcher was working on a paper about the activities of Japan Foundation's branch office in Manila and reviewed the abovementioned annual reports.

³⁶³ The researcher's interest in Japan was inspired by her fondness for anime and she has enthusiastically participated in different activities related to the anime subculture such as attending conventions and film showings as well as cosplaying. Because of this, she decided to take up Japan Studies as her MA major. She also has a lot of friends who studied Japan-related subjects which was a result of their initial interest in anime.

³⁶⁴ For the purposes for this study, this means subjects of Japanese language or Japanese culture, history and society. The author did not distinguish between the language course and other kinds of subjects dedicated to Japan but the main criteria is for the subject to be focused on Japan.

³⁶⁵ To reiterate, the three universities house the most developed Japanese Studies program in the Philippines according to Lydia Yu-Jose in her article "Philippine-Japan Relations: the Revolutionary Years and a Century Hence" from the book *Philippine External Relations: A Centennial Vista* (1998).

3.1.1.1 Survey Results

Table 3: Courses of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Master of Arts in Asian Studies	10	8.4	8.4
Non-Major	3	2.5	10.9
Bachelor of Library Science	3	2.5	13.4
Bachelor of Arts in Sociology	3	2.5	16.0
Bachelor of Arts in Tourism	7	5.9	21.8
Bachelor of Arts in Mathematics	4	3.4	25.2
Bachelor of Arts in Speech Communication	1	.8	26.1
Bachelor of Science in Computer Science	3	2.5	28.6
Bachelor of Science in Geology	2	1.7	30.3
Master of Arts in Economics	1	.8	31.1
Bachelor of Arts in Film and Audio Visual Communication	2	1.7	32.8
Master of Arts in German	1	.8	33.6
Bachelor of Arts in Communication Research	2	1.7	35.3
Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology	1	.8	36.1
Bachelor of Arts in English Studies	1	.8	37.0
Bachelor of Arts in Linguistics	15	12.6	49.6
Bachelor of Science in Economics	2	1.7	51.3
Bachelor of Science in Computer Engineering	1	.8	52.1
Bachelor of Science in Materials Engineering	1	.8	52.9
Bachelor of Science in Business Economics	2	1.7	54.6
Bachelor of Science in Education	1	.8	55.5
Master of Arts in Creative Writing	1	.8	56.3
Bachelor of Arts in Creative Writing	3	2.5	58.8
Bachelor of Arts in Political Science	6	5.0	63.9
Bachelor of Arts in Geography	1	.8	64.7
Bachelor of Arts in Psychology	1	.8	65.5
Bachelor of Arts in Art Studies	1	.8	66.4
Bachelor of Science in ECE	1	.8	67.2
Bachelor of Science in Civil Engineering	2	1.7	68.9
Master of Arts in Japanese Studies	3	2.5	71.4
Bachelor of Science in Chemistry	1	.8	72.3
Bachelor of Arts in European Studies	1	.8	73.1
Bachelor of Arts in Communications	4	3.4	76.5
Bachelor of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies	9	7.6	84.0
Bachelor of Science in Biology	3	2.5	86.6
Bachelor of Arts in Management Economics	2	1.7	88.2
Bachelor of Science in Mechanical Engineering	1	.8	89.1
Bachelor of Arts in International Studies	6	5.0	94.1
Bachelor of Science in Management	7	5.9	100.0
Total	119	100.0	

The Japanese subjects offered in the three universities vary and in UPD, are given by different colleges and departments. Of the 119 respondents, 13.3 % are masteral students—10.9 % of which are taking a master’s course in Japanese Studies and 2.4 % are enrolled in other master’s courses such as German, Economics and Creative Writing. The undergraduate respondents, except those from DLSU, come from a variety of courses such as Linguistics, Political Science, Interdisciplinary Studies,

Communications, Mathematics and different fields of engineering. While the highest percentage was of undergraduate Linguistics majors who have Japanese language as their minor, the other figures are scattered among other various courses. (Please Table 3 on the previous page) This shows that not all of these students are required to take a Japan-related course and their enrollment in the courses can either be attributed to interest and or expediency.

Table 4: Reasons for Taking the Subject

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
fascination over Jap culture & opportunities for scholarship to understand Japanese more	1	.8	.8
focus studies on Japan & be part of diplomatic community	2	1.7	2.5
learn more about Japanese culture & career advancement	7	5.9	8.4
strengthen interest & further knowledge about Japan	2	1.7	10.1
deepen understanding of Japan	3	2.5	12.6
self-fulfillment & to learn more on Asian society	7	5.9	18.5
opportunities	1	.8	19.3
interest in Japanese society & culture, language	8	6.7	26.1
no other course available	24	20.2	46.2
learn language and work	1	.8	47.1
study and work	3	2.5	49.6
required	2	1.7	51.3
elective/ thought it was easy	6	5.0	56.3
loving Japanese culture/ Japan or the Japanese	3	2.5	58.8
learn language & express self in Nihongo	4	3.4	62.2
additional skill	18	15.1	77.3
learn language and for scholarship	1	.8	78.2
intriguing and fun	2	1.7	79.8
interested in anime, manga, pop culture, language & culture	1	.8	80.7
learn language & culture & go to Japan someday	12	10.1	90.8
because I want to	4	3.4	94.1
interest in Asia particularly Japan	1	.8	95.0
curiosity	2	1.7	96.6
fits my schedule/convenience	1	.8	97.5
Total	3	2.5	100.0
	119	100.0	

In order to see if the respondents did not take the courses because of expediency, they were asked for their reasons in doing so. The top three answers were

the following: interest in Japanese culture, society and language, 20.2 %; desire to learn Japanese, 15.1 % and interest in pop culture, 10.1 %. Referring to the figures in Table 4 on the previous page, about 89.2 % enrolled because of their interest in Japan and aspects of it as well as opportunities for scholarships and career advancement, and only 10.8 % got into it because of expediency. This means that most have enrolled because of their interest which varies from the very scholastic to the practical such as prospects for job-seeking. It is important to take note, however, that interest in anime, manga and pop culture was mentioned and among the top three reasons. This demonstrates that Japanese pop culture did encourage interest among these students.

To the question “How was Japan first introduced to you?”, the top four answers were: anime (26.9 %), other forms of mass media (16.8 %), books (12.6 %) and friends and relatives (11.8 %). Anime was lumped together with other mass media and other sources as media of introduction (41.1 %). (Please see Table 5 on the next page) This of course validates mass media’s omnipresence and its capacity for spreading information and knowledge. At the same time, the third ranked answer illustrates that a lot of people have also acted as conduits. This was usually made possible by these persons’ close contact and or interaction with Japan as most of them have either worked or have had first hand encounters with Japan. This underscores the fact that as channels widen, and as interaction and exchange especially on the level of people to people contact increase, the possibilities for information and knowledge traveling freely across borders also increase.

Table 5: Respondents' Introduction To Japan

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
media/grade school	20	16.8	16.8
anime	32	26.9	43.7
books, teachers, family & mass media in preparatory grade	2	1.7	45.4
books and mass media	15	12.6	58.0
expressions of popular culture - anime, manga, music	1	.8	58.8
early teens, friend & mass media	3	2.5	61.3
books	7	5.9	67.2
media & relatives/ high school	2	1.7	68.9
friends	4	3.4	72.3
through the class only	1	.8	73.1
anime, friends and books	3	2.5	75.6
books and relatives	3	2.5	78.2
relative/family	14	11.8	89.9
requirement in high school	1	.8	90.8
informative videos from Japan shown in TV	3	2.5	93.3
took Japanese subject in college	1	.8	94.1
mass media & relatives	2	1.7	95.8
books, mass media & relatives	1	.8	96.6
scholarship	1	.8	97.5
work/bosses/colleagues	1	.8	98.3
I am a Japanese	1	.8	99.2
places such as theme parks	1	.8	100.0
Total	119	100.0	

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The students were then asked to rate how interested they are in Japan from a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being the lowest and 5 being the highest. Forty-four point five percent rated their interest as 4, 35.3 % rated their interest as 5, and 15.1 % rated their interest as 3. (Please see Table 6 on the next page) This reveals that the respondents have a fairly high interest in the subjects they took and only a very small percentage had low interest as their decision to take the course was mostly an act of expediency.

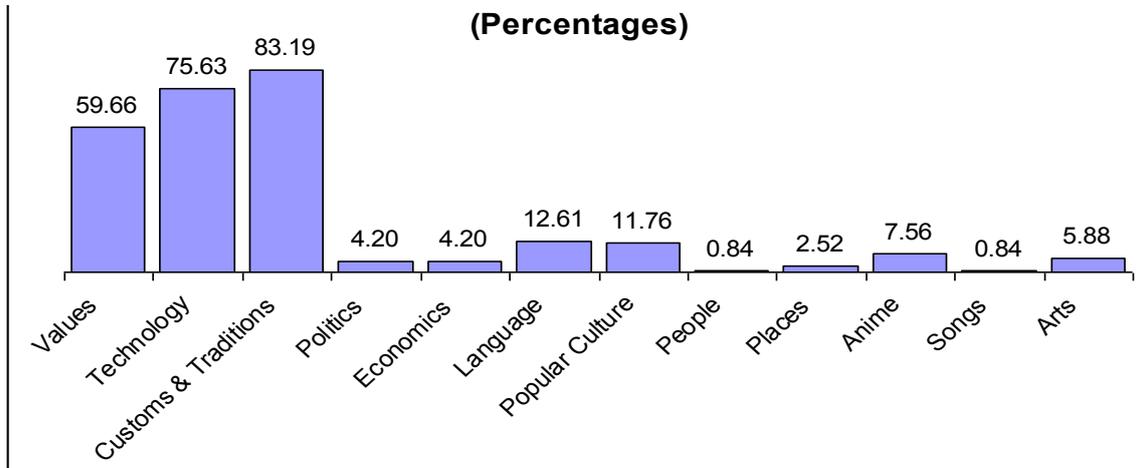
Table 6: Interest in Japan

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Level of intensity	1	1	.8	.8
	2	5	4.2	5.0
	3	18	15.1	20.2
	4	53	44.5	64.7
	5	42	35.3	100.0
	Total	119	100.0	

Next, the respondents were asked to check what aspects of Japan they are interested in and aside from the three givens-- which were values, technology, customs and traditions-- they can choose to specify other aspects. Customs and traditions garnered 83.19 %, technology got 75.63 % and values got 59.99 %. Aside from the givens, other specified aspects of interests are language (12.61 %), popular culture (11.76 %), anime (7.56 %) and arts (5.88 %). (Please refer to Graph 1 on the next page)

This shows that most of the respondents are interested not only in one but also in other aspects of Japan and that most of these are basically aspects of culture. It is also important to note that popular culture and anime were specifically identified by some of the respondents and considered a point of interest.

**Graph 1: Aspects of Japan the Respondents Are Interested In
(Percentages)**



When asked about their perception of Japan, 90.9 % thought of it positively while 9.1 % have negative and neutral views about it. (Please refer to Table 7 on the next page) The top impressions that the respondents have of Japan are: an economically and technologically strong country (17.6 %), a country where traditional values co-exist with modernity (14.3 %), a technologically-advanced country (14.3 %) and a progressive country with strong culture and identity (10.9 %). This shows that most of the respondents' positive impressions of Japan come from its economic status and highly-advanced technology. At the same time, its preservation of its traditional culture and identity despite being a country of high technology renders it more attractive to them.

Table 7: Perception of Japan

	Frequency	Percent
Mecca of pop culture & the arts	1	.8
Capable of helping SEA countries/underdeveloped countries	2	1.7
Stereotyped, misunderstood	1	.8
A country with many weird people/eccentric	2	1.7
Nature-loving country	1	.8
Nationalistic country	1	.8
Maker of quality games	1	.8
Cool	2	1.7
Busy place	2	1.7
Very independent country	1	.8
Paradise	1	.8
Reason why I'm learning the language	1	.8
Rich country	5	4.2
Technologically-advanced, creative & disciplined	5	4.2
Nice country to live in	4	3.4
Technologically-advanced	17	14.3
Land of wealth & interesting people	1	.8
Country with unique, rich & beautiful culture	8	6.7
Dilemma difficult to unravel; interesting & intriguing	6	5.0
Economically & technologically strong; rich in culture	21	17.6
Country where traditional values co-exist with modernity	17	14.3
Industrialized; society of hard work & strict rules	5	4.2
Economically powerful, militarily weak with rigid society	1	.8
Progressive country with strong culture & identity	13	10.9
Total	119	100.0

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The top-ranked bases for these positive descriptions of Japan were: from what was seen in anime and films (13.4 %), from books and mass media which include anime (9.2 %), from Japan's upholding its traditional culture amidst globalization and technology (9.2 %), and Japanese technology and gadgets (8.4 %). (Please refer to Table 8 on the next page) This explains that most of the respondents' views of Japan are from the various images they see from anime and films and from the information they gather from the media. This again points to the media's role as a conveyor of images and information. The Japanese brand of electronic products was also cited as reasons for the positive descriptions.

Table 8: Bases for Respondents' Perception of Japan

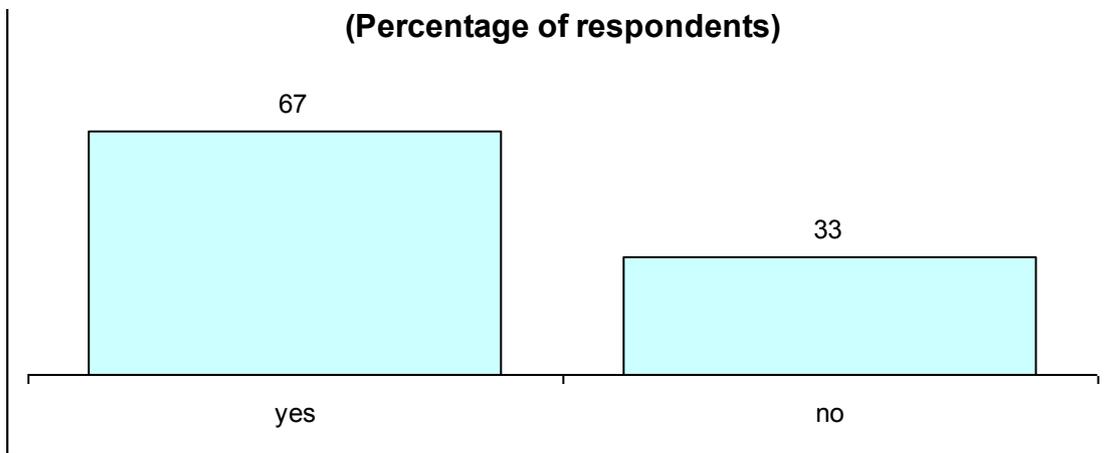
	Frequency	Percent
Personal experience	2	1.7
Behavior of Japanese people	5	4.2
Economically -strong but environment-friendly	1	.8
Japan prioritizes its people	1	.8
Most great games comes from Japan	1	.8
Technology /gadgets	10	8.4
Japan's GNP, GDP	1	.8
From what is seen in anime	1	.8
Many reasons	1	.8
Its history & its current status	4	3.4
Unique culture/ unique country , people	8	6.7
Media & products	6	5.0
Beautiful inventions;traditional crafts,clothes & practices	4	3.4
Creativity in Japanese pop culture; order & cleanliness	1	.8
TV	5	4.2
News about robots	1	.8
Upholding culture amidst globalization & high technology	11	9.2
Books, anime & films, magazines, TV	11	9.2
From what was seen in anime & films	16	13.4
Rose from the ruins of WWII to become 2nd largest economy	1	.8
Books	4	3.4
Empirically verifiable	1	.8
Always been at crossroads of historical experience	1	.8
Books, teachers	2	1.7
Current status of Japan in world affairs	9	7.6
Top 2 economy in the world yet dependent on US for security	1	.8
One of the top economic countries in the world	10	8.4
Total	119	100.0

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The next set of questions concentrated on anime. About 97 percent of the respondents were exposed to it and 94.1 % have watched it before enrolling in the class. This attests to wide dissemination of anime as most of them have had watched at least one anime and almost all of them have been exposed to it before actually enrolling in the subjects. When asked if they have been influenced by anime to take the Japanese class, 67 % responded affirmatively. (Please see Graph 2 on the next page) As to what degree from a scale of 1 to 5 with the latter being the highest, out of these 67 %, 21 %

rated anime's influence as 5, 20.2 % rated its influence as 3 and 19.3 % rated its influence as 4. (Please see Table 9 below) These categorically show that anime had quite strongly influenced most of the respondents to take the subjects. The average degree of intensity of influence as the respondents themselves rated is a markedly substantial 3.79 % .

**Graph 2: Anime's Influence on the Taking of Japanese Subjects
(Percentage of respondents)**



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Table 9: Degree of Anime Influence

		Frequency	Percent
Level of intensity	5	25	21.0
	4	23	19.3
	3	24	20.2
	2	6	5.0
	1	2	1.7
	Total	80	67.2
Missing		39	32.8
Total		119	100.0

Table 10: Respondents Who Consider Themselves Anime Fans

	Frequency	Percent
No	45	37.8
Yes	74	62.2
Total	119	100.0

Regarding the question whether they were anime fans, 62.2 % of them answered positively (please refer to Table 10 above) and as to what degree of being fans, with 1 being the lowest up to 5 being the highest, of the 62.2 %, 24.4 % rated it as 3, 19.3 % rated it as 5 and 15.1 % rated it as 4 (please see Table 11 below). This again demonstrates the effect of anime on the respondents, with an average degree of intensity at 3.8 %. Moreover, while 67 % admitted to have been influenced, only 62.2 % are anime fans. This means that 4.8 % of non-fans have also been influenced and could also mean that anime can somehow pique the interest even of non-fans.

Table 11: Degree of Being Anime Fans

	Frequency	Percent
Level of intensity 1	1	.8
2	3	2.5
3	29	24.4
4	18	15.1
5	23	19.3
Total	74	62.2
Missing	45	37.8
Total	119	100.0

3.1.1.2 Results of the Informal Interviews

While the figures from the survey results reveal indeed that anime did have some influence at least on this particular set of students, the researcher decided that in

order to know more details and delve deeper into the thoughts and attitudes of the respondents, a qualitative approach had to be done. A number of the respondents—approximately 30 % of the total number or 35 of them³⁶⁶-- allowed the researcher to have an informal talk with them after the conduct of the survey and the tone was rather cordial and conversational. Using her own interest in anime and Japan as well as her experiences of participating in the anime subculture activities, taking up Japan-related courses and more importantly, studying and living in Japan, the author was able to break the initial ice and engage the students in a quite “animated” banter so to speak. Most of the questions revolved around their interest in anime and Japan itself-- their perceptions and images of it, their hopes and plans in relation to these.

The talks were very informative but while the most significant points gleaned from these informal interviews did support the preliminary findings, it also disclosed other dimensions that seem to emphasize other factors. While most of the respondents contend that without a doubt, anime made them appreciate Japan and its culture, it is just a starting point or a launching pad. Most of them are anime fans but they are also enjoying or are moving on to other forms of Japanese popular culture such as games, dramas and music. Still others are moving on to other fields such as study of Japanese history and facets of its culture. For some, the characters, places, things and events they have watched and learned from anime inspired them to start their quests into uncovering more information-- be it about the samurai figures, Tokyo Tower, *takoyaki*³⁶⁷ and historical moments referenced to in anime narratives. “I started reading more about the

³⁶⁶ As what was mentioned in footnote 100 and in the introductory part of this section, this is made up of 31 students from UP Diliman and 4 from DLSU. The researcher was not able to meet the students at ADMU face-to-face.

³⁶⁷ Translated as grilled octopus, it is a ball-shaped Japanese dumpling which is savory batter containing octopus pieces, tempura scraps, pickled ginger and green onion. It became famous with Filipino viewers of anime because of the series entitled *Takoyaki Mantoman* broadcasted on Philippine TV.

Edo and Meiji periods in Japanese history because of watching *Rurouni Kenshin*³⁶⁸. Hopefully, I can learn enough Japanese to read about them in the original in the future,” said Patrick, one of the students taking up a basic Japanese class in UP Diliman.³⁶⁹

Not surprisingly, most of them are aware of the scholarship and job opportunities that are available in Japan. It could be an obvious result of their universities being well-informed about these and the fact that they have bigger chances of meeting people who have had experienced studying, working and living in Japan like their professors and lecturers. Almost everyone is acquainted with people who have had first-hand familiarity of Japan and were encouraged in one way or another by these acquaintances. “My father was a trainee under JICA³⁷⁰ and he was in Tokyo for some months. He told me how clean and safe Japan was and it will be good to experience living there. He even gave me his Japanese dictionary to help me with my studies,” shared Tanya, another student in UP Diliman as she showed a small, white Japanese-English dictionary.³⁷¹

A recurring theme of those conversations is that of Japan being undeniably an attractive country in terms of prospects for education and career. The researcher had to reply to queries mostly about her experience as an exchange student and how she was able to obtain a scholarship. Some of the frequent questions asked by the students were: “Do you have any practical advice on how to apply for the scholarship?”, “What kind of questions do they ask in the interview?” and “Do they give priority to people who are

³⁶⁸ Shown in the Philippines as “Samurai X”, the anime series tell the tale of *rounin* or wandering masterless swordsman named Kenshin Himura in the Meiji era. A mild-mannered yet mysterious figure, his background is gradually revealed as the story progresses with flashbacks to the Edo period.

³⁶⁹ From the informal talks with UP Diliman students in December 5, 2005.

³⁷⁰ This acronym stands for Japan International Cooperation Agency, an independent government agency that coordinates ODA or official development assistance for the Japanese government. More details on JICA’s role in the Philippines will be given in Chapter 4, in the section on Japanese Cultural Influence in the Philippines in Historical Perspective.

³⁷¹ From the informal talks with UP Diliman students in December 5, 2005.

already fluent in Japanese?”³⁷² At the end of most talks, practical information about the scholarship as well as student life in Japan had to be provided as some of the respondents are already in the early stages of planning to apply.

3.1.2 Summary of Japan Foundation 2009 Survey Results

The original plan was to replicate the same survey with university students and several attempts were done from 2009 but due to a lot of logistical problems resulting from the researcher being based in Japan, it has been decided that another similar survey—that of the Japan Foundation survey-- will be utilized in the discussion. As an independent administrative institution in charge of Japanese cultural dissemination worldwide, JF counts as one of its main pillars the promotion of Japanese language education overseas. One of its activities in relation to this is the collection and dissemination of information concerning Japanese language education abroad. A survey of organizations providing Japanese language instruction outside of Japan has been conducted since 1974 at regular intervals³⁷³ with the latest one done in fiscal year 2009. With an emphasis on important information for this study, a comprehensive summary of the overall outcome and more specific results pertaining to the situation in the Philippines from this most recent survey will be given in this section.³⁷⁴

3.1.2.1 Worldwide Survey Results

The survey was conducted among overseas institutions offering Japanese language education so that figures given for number of students are those of Japanese language learners enrolled at these institutions. Since people studying Japanese through other means such as television, radio and the internet as well as private tutors were not

³⁷² From the informal talks with UP Diliman students on November 26, 2005, December 5 and 12, 2005.

³⁷³ Summarized reports on the surveys are available as JF publications and can be downloaded from the JF website in English or Japanese. For the web links, please refer to the Bibliography section.

³⁷⁴ From the “Survey of Overseas Organizations Involved in Japanese-Language Education” conducted by JF in fiscal year 2009 and can be downloaded as a PDF file from the abovementioned link in both Japanese and English.

included, it can be assumed that there are a bigger number of people not accounted for. The survey reveals that as of 2009, Japanese language education was carried out in 133 countries outside of Japan and compared to the 2006 survey, there has been a 22.5 % increase in terms of students, institutions and teachers. (Please see Table 12 below)

Table 12: Comparison of 2009 and 2006 Surveys

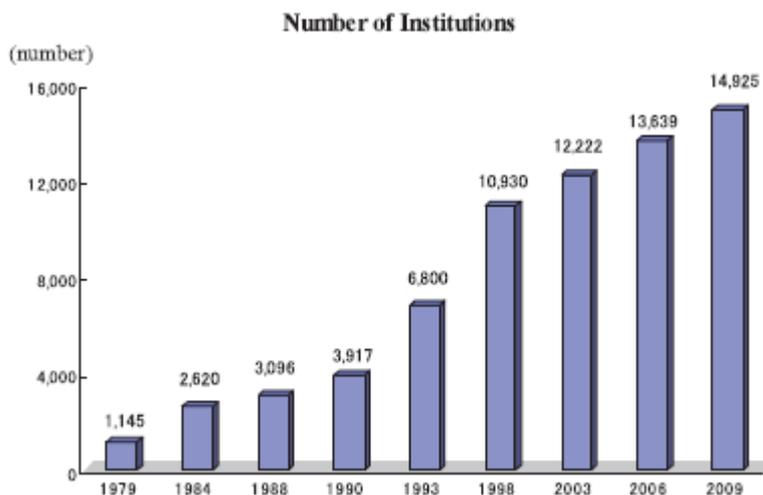
2006 Survey		2009 Survey	
No. of Institutions	13,639		14,925
No. of Teachers	44,321		49,803
No. of Students	2,979,820		3,651,232

Source: Japan Foundation

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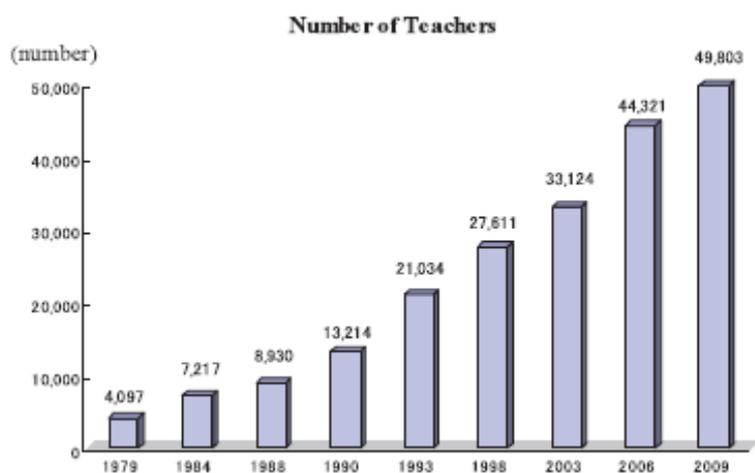
Since 1979, the three figures have been consistently increasing in number worldwide. The category of students in particular showed the largest increase. (Please see Graph 3 below and Graphs 4 to 5 on the next page).

Graph 3: Trends in Numbers in Japanese Language Institutions



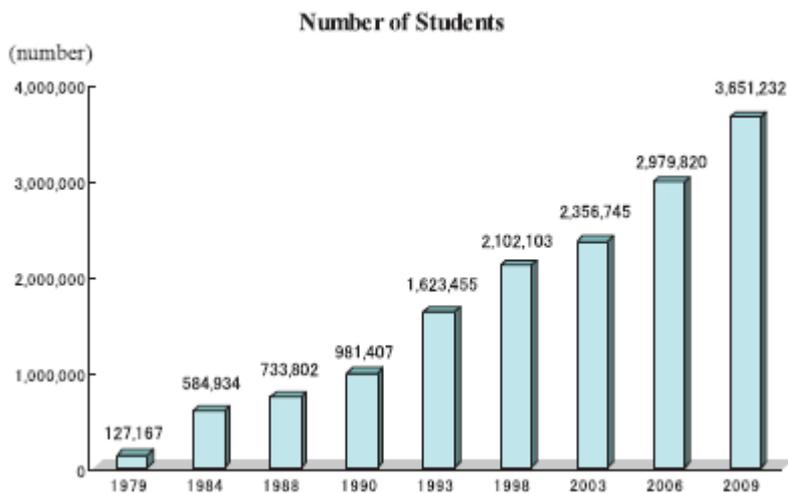
Source: Japan Foundation

Graph 4: Trends in Number of Teachers



Source: Japan Foundation

Graph 5: Trends in Number of Students

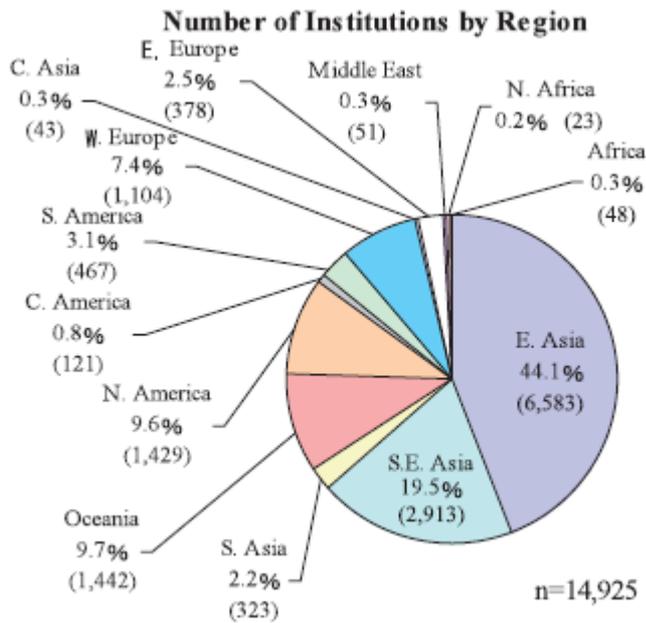


Source: Japan Foundation

A closer look at the three categories by region shows that East Asia had the

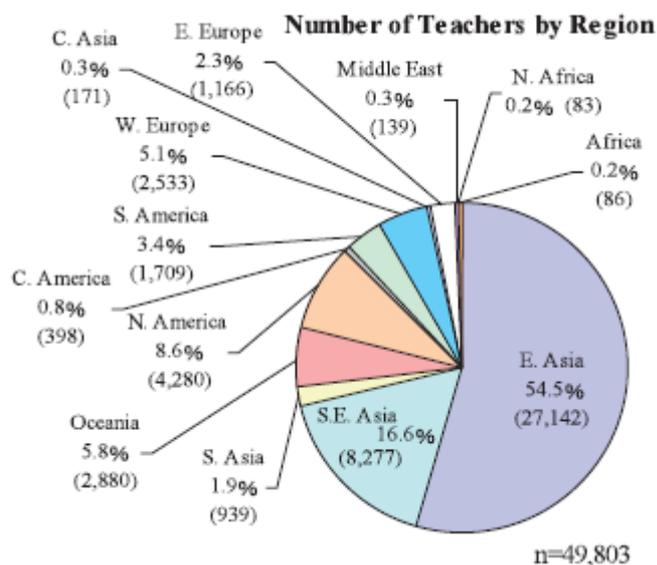
most number of institutions, teachers and students. Together with Southeast Asia, it comprises about 80 % of the total. Southeast Asia accounted for the second largest. The total number of students in both regions is approximately 3 million which is 81.9 % of the worldwide total. (Please see Graph 6 below and Graphs 7 to 8 on the next page)

Graph 6: Shares of Institutions By Region



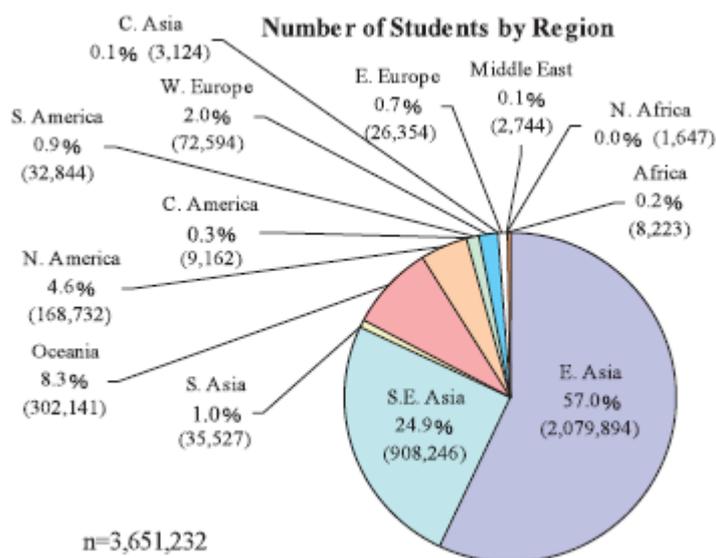
Source: Japan Foundation

Graph 7: Shares of Teachers By Region



Source: Japan Foundation

Graph 8: Shares of Students By Region



Source: Japan Foundation

The top twenty countries with the highest number of students in the 2009 survey are the following in order of rank: Korea, China, Indonesia, Australia, Taiwan,

United States of America, Thailand, Vietnam, Hong Kong, Canada, Malaysia, Philippines, New Zealand, Brazil, United Kingdom, India, France, Singapore, Sri Lanka and Germany. Of these countries, five countries recorded a decrease while 15 showed an increase including the Philippines. The number of students in the Philippines rose by 22.9 % compared to the 2006 survey and its rank went up from 14th to 12th. (Please see Table 13 below)

Table 13: Number of Institutions, Teachers and Students (20 Countries with Highest Number of Students)

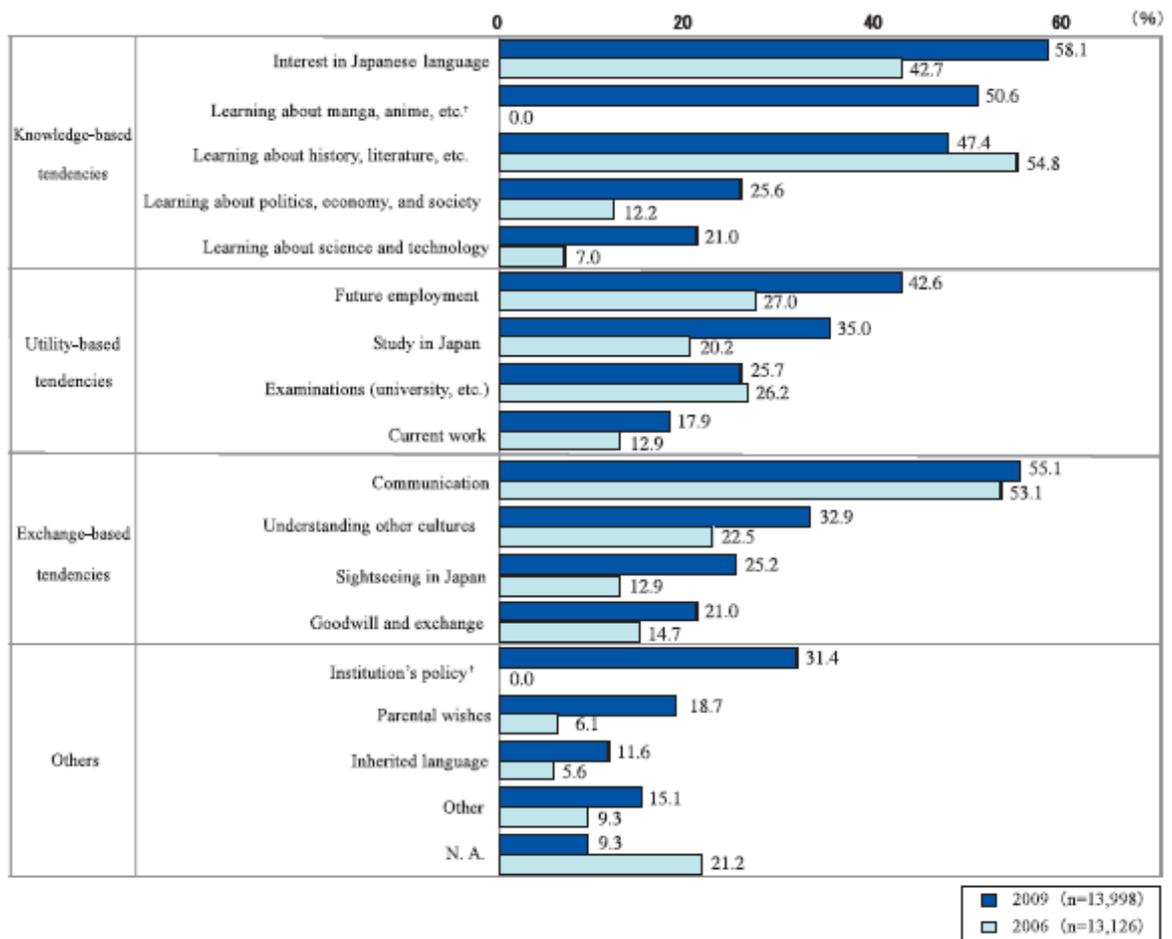
Rank	Rank in 2006	Country/(District)	No. of Students			No. of Institutions			No. of Teachers		
			2009	2006	Rate of change (%)	2009	2006	Rate of change (%)	2009	2006	Rate of change (%)
1	1	Korea	964,014	910,957	5.8	3,799	3,579	6.1	6,577	7,432	▲ 11.5
2	2	China	827,171	684,366	20.9	1,708	1,544	10.6	15,613	12,907	21.0
3	4	Indonesia	716,353	272,719	162.7	1,988	1,084	83.4	4,089	2,651	54.2
4	3	Australia	275,710	366,165	▲ 24.7	1,245	1,692	▲ 26.4	2,547	2,935	▲ 13.2
5	5	Taiwan*	247,641	191,367	29.4	927	513	80.7	3,938	2,791	41.1
6	6	USA	141,244	117,969	19.7	1,206	1,092	10.4	3,541	3,217	10.1
7	7	Thailand	78,802	71,083	10.9	377	385	▲ 2.1	1,240	1,153	7.5
8	9	Vietnam	44,272	29,982	47.7	176	110	60.0	1,565	1,037	50.9
9	8	Hong Kong*	28,224	32,959	▲ 14.4	78	112	▲ 30.4	734	704	4.3
10	11	Canada	27,488	23,834	15.3	223	214	4.2	739	649	13.9
11	12	Malaysia	22,856	22,920	▲ 0.3	124	142	▲ 12.7	388	437	▲ 11.2
12	14	Philippines	22,362	18,199	22.9	156	155	0.6	422	400	5.5
13	10	New Zealand	21,875	29,904	▲ 26.8	147	251	▲ 41.4	258	449	▲ 42.5
14	13	Brazil	21,376	21,631	▲ 1.2	347	544	▲ 36.2	1,167	1,213	▲ 3.8
15	16	UK	19,673	14,928	31.8	389	277	40.4	742	617	20.3
16	20	India	18,372	11,011	66.9	170	106	60.4	484	369	31.2
17	15	France	16,010	15,534	3.1	164	193	▲ 15.0	542	502	8.0
18	18	Singapore	15,864	12,076	31.4	34	29	17.2	225	144	56.3
19	22	Sri Lanka	12,430	9,133	36.1	82	53	54.7	157	116	35.3
20	19	Germany	12,390	11,945	3.7	180	190	▲ 5.3	428	465	▲ 8.0
World's Total			3,651,232	2,979,820	22.5	14,925	13,639	9.4	49,803	44,321	12.4

Source: Japan Foundation

As for the purposes of Japanese language study, “interest in Japanese language”

received the highest response at 58.1 % followed by “communication” at 55.1 % and “learning about manga, anime, etc.” at 50.6 %. The third item was a newly-added one to the 2009 survey and was not included in the 2006 survey. By category, the response to knowledge-based tendencies was high and under this category, it is notable that “learning about manga, anime, etc.” was higher than the older item “learning about history, literature, etc.”. Under the “utility-based tendencies” category, “future employment” garnered the highest at 42.6 % followed by “study in Japan” at 35 %. (Please see Graph 9 below)

Graph 9: Purposes of Japanese Language Study (Comparison with 2006 Survey)



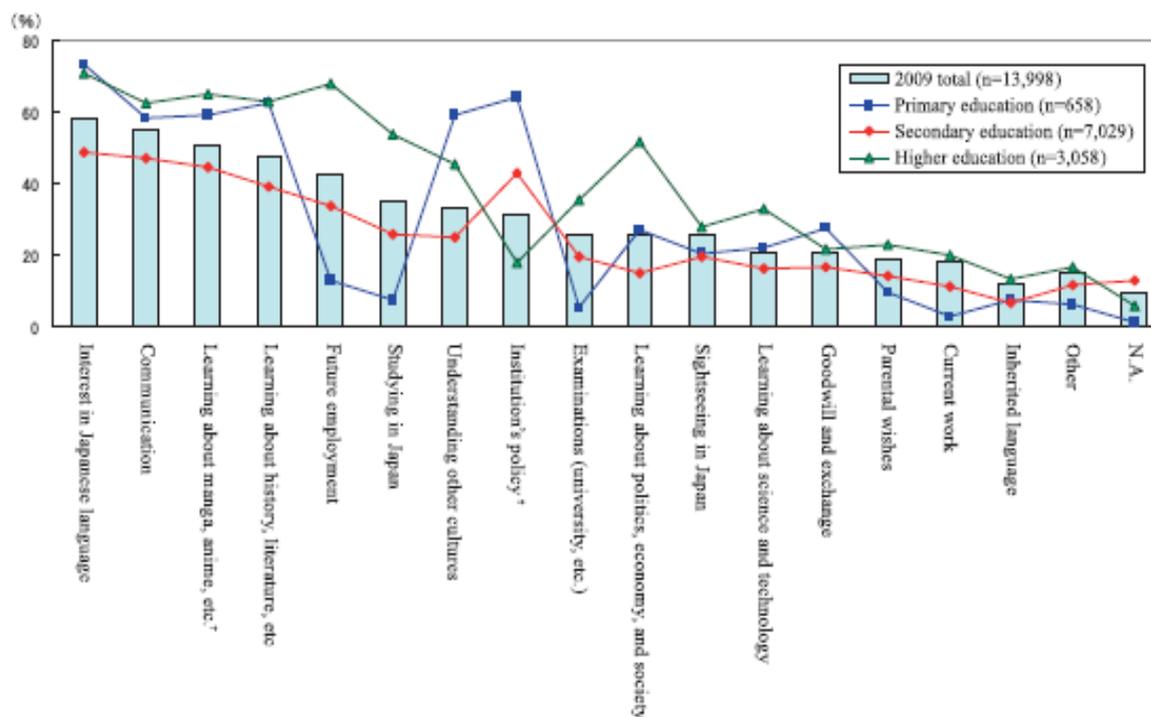
† Items newly added to the 2009 survey.

Source: Japan Foundation

The increase for most items except for two—“learning about history, literature, etc.” which decreased by 7.4 % and “examinations” which went down by 0.5 %-- can be attributed to the difference in instructions between the 2006 and 2009 surveys. In the former, the respondents were asked to select up to five items only while in the latter, they were asked to select as many as applicable. The lower response to “learning about history, literature, etc.” could be explained by the dispersal of responses with the addition of the item “learning about manga, anime, etc.”.

Looking at the purposes of study by level of education, at the primary level the responses were extremely low for “current work” at 2.7 %, “study in Japan” at 7.6 %, “examinations” at 5.3 % and future employment at 12.8 % quite understandably. On the other hand, items such as “interest in Japanese language” at 73.4 %, “institution’s policy” at 64 % and “learning about history, literature, etc.” at 62.3 % received high rates. At the secondary level, the “utility-based tendencies” category items showed lower rates as the primary level. At the same time, however, the differences between categories were not as great as that in the primary level. Except for “institution’s policy” at 42.9 %, responses to all items were lower compared to the whole. (Please see Graph 10 on the next page)

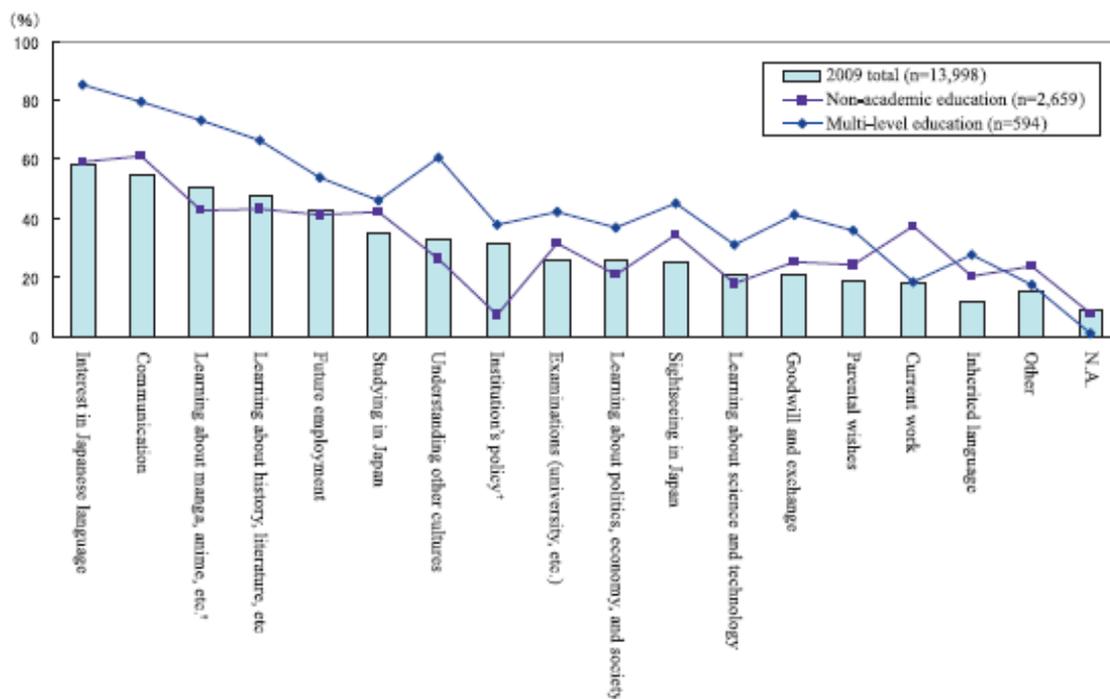
Graph 10: Purposes of Japanese Language Study by Level of Education (Primary, Secondary and Higher Education)



Source: Japan Foundation

At the higher education level, almost all items except “institution’s policy” at 17.8 % showed higher rates in contrast to the secondary level. The items that rated high were “future employment” at 68.1 %, “learning about history, literature, etc.” at 62.9 % and “learning about politics, economy and society” at 51.5 %. Results show that most students in higher education chose to study Japanese due to their own interest and with specific, clear purpose. Non-academic institutions demonstrated higher rates for “current work” at 37.2 % and “sightseeing in Japan” at 37.2 %. “Institution’s policy” garnered a low 7.4 % as students voluntarily chose to study Japanese. (Please see Graph 11 on the next page)

Graph 11: Purposes of Japanese Language Study By Level of Education (Multi-Level and Non-Academic Institutions)



Source: Japan Foundation

3.1.2.2 Philippine Results

Information regarding the state of Japanese language education in specific countries is also given at the JF website³⁷⁵ and the important data from the section on the Philippines will be presented here on. As of 2009, the Philippines has 156 institutions involved in Japanese language education, 422 Japanese language teachers and 22,362 students studying the Japanese language. (Please see Table 14 on the next page)

³⁷⁵ As of this writing, the section for each country is only available in Japanese.

Table 14: Number of Institutions, Teachers and Students As Of 2009: Breakdown by Category

Category	No. of Institutions	No. of Teachers	No. of Students
Primary Level	0	0	0
Secondary Level	14	26	1,218
Higher Education Level	64	128	11,107
Non-academic Institution	58	175	5,053
Multi-Level Academic Institution	20	93	4,984
Total	156	422	22,362

Source: Japan Foundation

In the discussion of the state of Japanese language education in the Philippines, the history, background, special characteristics and recent developments were presented in brief. Historical highlights are mentioned from Japanese language education's formal beginnings in 1923. In recent years, the increasing economic links with Japan and its need for skilled workers in areas such as information technology and nursing care provided the stimulus for the rise in the number of Japanese language students as well as institutions offering Japanese language as a subject.

Because of the economic gap between the two countries and their geographical proximity, motives for learning the Japanese language tended towards tourism and work opportunities. Recently, however, Japanese animation and popular culture has been

popular with the youth thus the increase of students and the widening of the range of Japanese courses offered. The Philippine traditionally has a Western leaning in terms of interest compared to other Southeast Asian countries but in recent times, the interest in Japan has been rising. While this is so, however, Japanese language learning facilities in the country is limited to the basic level. Japanese courses are usually taken as language electives by half of the number of students in the higher education institutions in the survey. In the discussion of Japanese language education in the Philippines by educational level, JF remarks that interest in Japanese language among the foreign language electives in the higher education level has been increasing. Following the anime boom, Japanese has been competing with Spanish and French as the most popular language elective in the universities.³⁷⁶

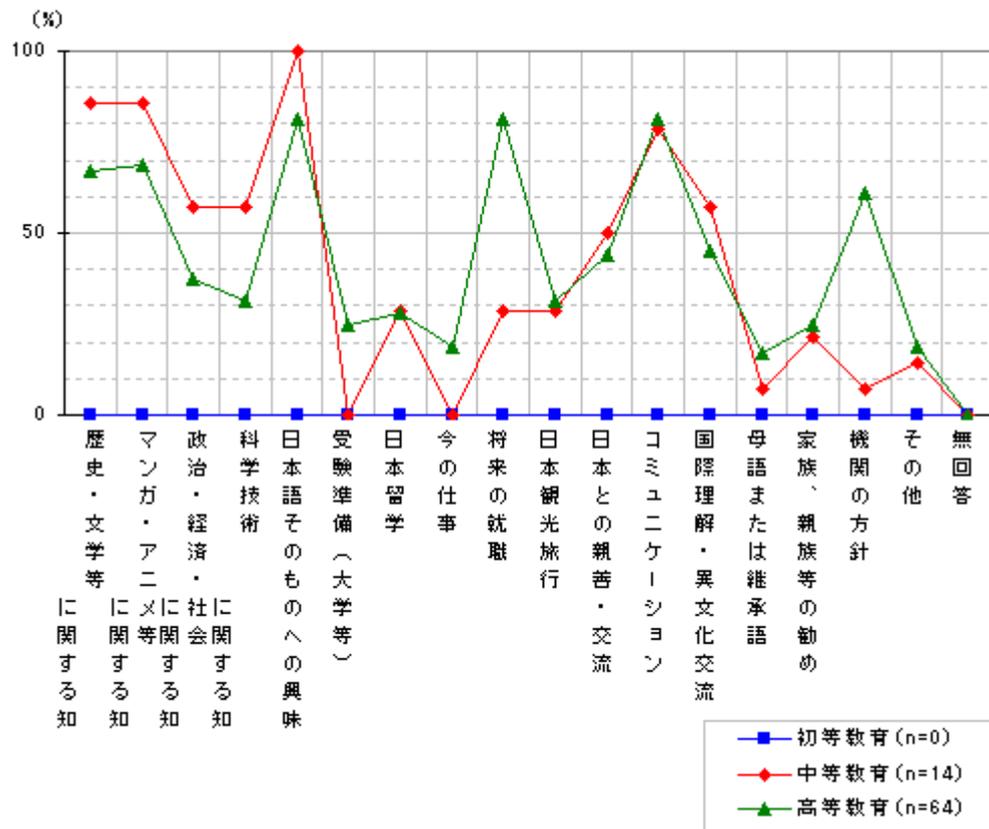
One of the latest developments in the bilateral relations of the two countries is the Japan-Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement or JPEPA which was signed in 2006 and ratified by the Philippine Senate in 2008. Within this agreement, Japan will open its doors to Filipino nurses, caregivers and information technology or IT workers provided they pass Japanese language requirements and board exams. Understandably, it served as a boost to the number of institutions and students. At the same time, in the year 2009, the Philippine government announced that it will include Japanese as a language elective in secondary school and JF states that it is another notable development in terms of the Japanese language education in the country.

As for students' purposes in taking the Japanese course, the responses differed in each level. For the secondary level, the top three were: "interest in Japanese language" at 100% and "learning about history, literature, etc." and "learning about manga, anime,

³⁷⁶ From the Japan Foundation website in Japanese. The English text is the researcher's translation.

etc.” at 85 %. For the higher education level, the top three were: “interest in Japanese language”, “future work” and “communication” all garnering 80 %. “Learning about manga, anime, etc.” came next at 69 %. (Please see Graph 12 below)

Graph 12: Purposes of Japanese Language Study: Secondary and Higher Education Level in the Philippines

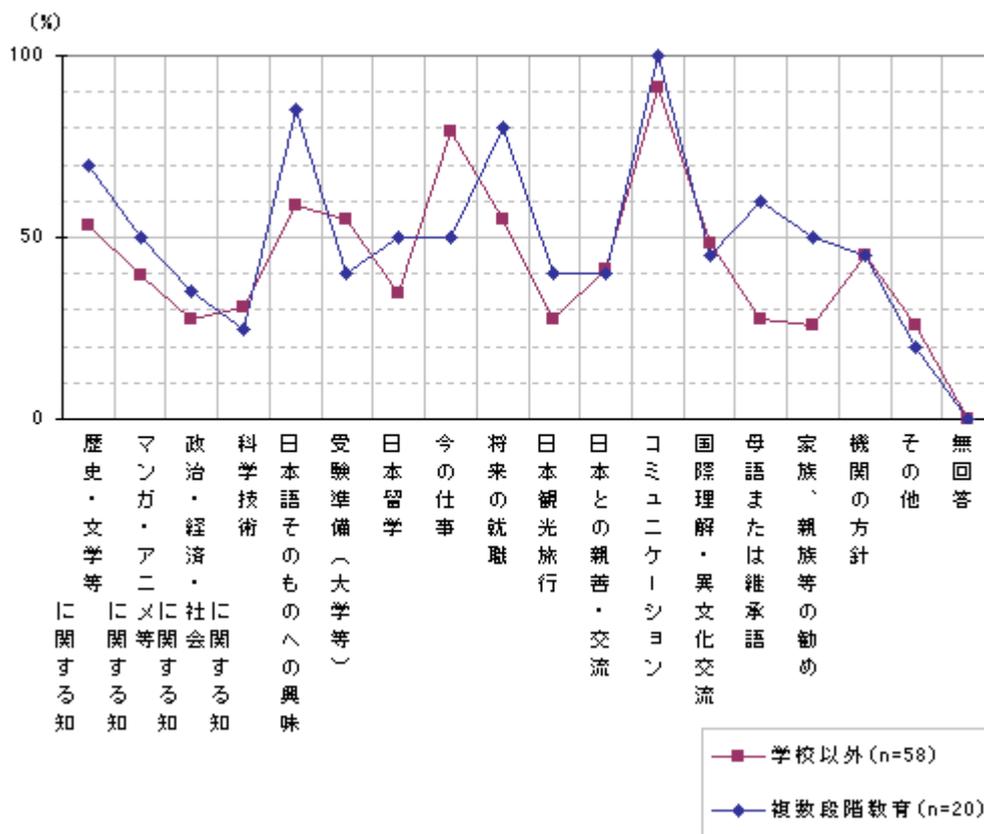


English translation: (Items from left to right) Learning about Japanese history, literature, etc.; learning about manga, anime, etc.; learning about politics, economy and society; learning about science and technology.; interest in the Japanese language; examinations (university, etc.); studying in Japan; current work; future employment; sightseeing in Japan; goodwill and exchange with Japan; communication; understanding other cultures; inherited language; parental wishes; institution's policy; others; not applicable. (Legend inside the box) Blue square symbol for primary school level; red diamond symbol for secondary school level; green triangle symbol for higher education level.

Source: Japan Foundation (Note: Some parts of the translation are the researcher’s own)

As for the students of non-academic institutions, the top three responses were: “communication” at 90 %, “current work” at 80 % and “interest in Japanese language” at 60 %. For students of multi-level educational institutions, the top three responses were: “communication” at 100 %, “interest in Japanese language” at 85 % and “future work” at 80 %. (Please see Graph 13 below)

Graph 13: Purposes of Japanese Language Study: Non-academic Institutions and Multi-Level Educational Institutions in the Philippines



English translation: (Items from left to right) Learning about Japanese history, literature, etc.; learning about manga, anime, etc.; learning about politics, economy and society; learning about science and technology.; interest in the Japanese language; examinations (university, etc.); studying in Japan; current work; future employment; sightseeing in Japan; goodwill and exchange with Japan; communication; understanding other cultures; inherited language; parental wishes; institution's policy; others; not applicable. (Legend inside the box) Purple square symbol for non-academic

Institution; light blue diamond symbol for multi-level educational institution.

Source: Japan Foundation (Note: Some parts of the translation are the researcher's own)

3.1.3 Analysis of Both Surveys

Taking into consideration the differences in scale, scope and objective between the two surveys, there are some points of alignment that are worth mentioning. First point is the evident creation of interest in the Japanese language brought about by the popularity and pervasiveness of anime and second is the combination of this interest with other more practical concerns.

In the first survey, anime clearly contributed to students' interest in Japan and aspects of it. It can also be seen as an introductory tool for some as well as an influencing factor in learning. Such interest could lead to further engagement with things that are related to Japan such as learning its language and culture as well as aspiring for scholarships and jobs in Japan as what was presented in this case. Interest in Japanese studies and the subsequent development of individual experts and institutions in the field has its first step—what is termed as *kikkake* or “prompt” or “trigger” in English. These first steps usually are encounters with Japan, its people, aspects of Japanese culture, ideas and concepts and simply anything Japanese. These first small steps are the beginnings of miles of Japanese studies journeys for individuals and institutions.³⁷⁷

As the survey was followed up with some informal interviews, the researcher was able to probe further beyond the questionnaire answers. It was revealed especially in the outcome of the informal interviews with the subjects that anime does not stand alone in the creation of this interest. In more ways than one, it is usually combined with

³⁷⁷ As mentioned by Sylvano Mahiwo in his essay on Japanese studies in the Philippines in *Japanese Studies in South and Southeast Asia: Japanese Studies Series XXX Essays* (1999).

positive valuations of the country itself-- most especially of its economy and technology, its traditional culture and preservation of it. It is also combined with other practical goals such as plans for future study or work in Japan. Another point not to be dismissed is the reinforcement of these positive valuations by friends, relatives and acquaintances who have had shared their good experiences of Japan and somehow encouraged the subjects to follow suit. It is worth taking note that these reasons that complement anime in generating the students' interest in Japan are more or less tied to Japan's better economic standing relative to the Philippines.

As for the JF survey, the results are very general and extensive in scope to make conclusions focused on anime's influence. It is noteworthy, however, that anime together with manga and other forms of Japanese popular culture were added as an item in the section for purposes of Japanese study. This demonstrates a somewhat higher recognition of their contribution to the interest in Japan but aside from this action, nothing much has been said of the matter except for occasional mentions of the anime boom scattered in the different sections of the JF annual reports.³⁷⁸ For instance, it has been cited that there is a link between the interest in anime and the desire to study the Japanese language in the article regarding the late animator Satoshi Kon's lecture in Sweden, Norway and Finland. In the lecture, it was noted that some attendees asked questions in Japanese. This article is in the section on Arts and Culture of JF 2008 annual report.³⁷⁹

Looking at the results worldwide, it is very striking that "learning about manga, anime, etc." was ranked third in a list of eighteen purposes of Japanese language study.

³⁷⁸ The researcher would like to point out that in fact, the anime boom has been taken note of in JF annual reports almost a decade before the 2009 survey and this action is somewhat belated. The reasons for the delay deserve a separate discussion.

³⁷⁹ JF Annual Report for 2008, p. 9. As with the annual reports from fiscal year 2001, it can be downloaded from the JF website as a PDF file.

This demonstrates the global impact of the Japanese popular culture boom at least in terms of this field. Since there is no section devoted to purposes of Japanese language study by region, it would have been interesting to know how the anime boom figures in the current state of Japanese language education in East and Southeast Asia. The relative geographical and cultural proximity to, the economic status of Japan and the extensive as well as intensive economic links between Japan and East and Southeast Asian countries are very apparent driving factors in the increase of Japanese language institutions, teachers and students.

It is also noticeable that the popularity of anime in recent years has been mentioned several times in the section on the Philippines as stimulating interest in the study of the Japanese language. This is especially pronounced in the survey results regarding the purposes of Japanese language study in the secondary and higher level education. While this is so, the survey did not delve deeper. If the whole scenario is taken into view, it becomes obvious that the Filipinos' interest in studying Japanese cannot be divorced simply from more pragmatic considerations such as opportunities for studying and working in Japan. This is not to discount the interest generated by anime but to stress that, except perhaps for some hardcore aficionados, it is not an end in itself and becomes more effective when in tandem with other factors such as the desire to study and work in Japan.

To reiterate, the two sets of surveys are not the same in terms of scale, scope and objective but the similar conclusions that can be gleaned from their results seem to validate each other. It is rather unclear if anime interest could be detached from the other motivations and incentives for studying Japanese as the correlations have not been explored yet. From the results of both surveys, the popularity and pervasiveness of

anime seems to be an added stimulus and there are bigger, more practical considerations at work—if not more encompassing and more significant factors at play.

3.1.4 Concluding Remarks for Section 3.1

As what was shown in the preceding paragraphs, anime programs are seen as information sources as well as objects that generate interest for Japan and the study of its language. In recent time, with anime’s popularity and pervasiveness, these qualities seem to enhance the Filipinos’ awareness of Japan and add to the latter’s attraction as a place of opportunity for study and work. This awareness is reinforced further by another contributing factor-- the increased people to people interaction between Japan and the Philippines brought about by recent developments.

3.2 Influences on Filipino Popular Media Culture

3.2.1 The Philippine Television Environment

Illustrating anime’s impact on Filipino popular media culture necessitates a discussion of how it is appropriated or adapted by the local TV industries in order to appeal to and be accepted by the audience at large. Before that can be done, a characterization of the Philippine TV environment deserves attention. Philippine television has always had a polymorphous nature best epitomized by the iconic *jeepney*—a Filipino public transport vehicle fashioned to resemble the US military jeep but adjusted in order to have room for fourteen to twenty-two passengers and distinguishable by its decorations that flaunt a mix of art forms and cultural trends. Along with other forms of popular foreign programming, the introduction of anime to this jeepney-like milieu has contributed to the creativity of program development.³⁸⁰

³⁸⁰ From Santos’ article, p. 157.



Figure 13: The iconic and colorful Filipino mode of transportation, the jeepney, with the images of anime characters Naruto and Sasuke of the anime *Naruto* painted on its sides. Source: www.chronicinsatiablewanderlust.wordpress.com.

When it began in 1953 as DZAQ-TV Channel 3, Philippine TV was essentially a re-electoral vehicle for then Philippine President Elpidio Quirino as the owner was his brother, Antonio Quirino. Three years later, it was bought by one of the richest sugar baron families, the Lopezes, and began a tradition of what a scholar termed as rent-taking and political brokerage.³⁸¹ Channel 3 (now ABS CBN Channel 2) was the sole TV station in the Philippines until the 1960s. Along with its political content, it served as a channel for predominantly foreign programming: importing canned shows was substantially less expensive than producing local ones. In contrast to other Asian TV systems that were owned by the government, Philippine TV was mainly private, commercial and entertainment-oriented at the very start to the detriment of

³⁸¹ From Santos' article, p. 159, quoting Alfred McCoy in his article "An anarchy of families: the historiography of state and family in the Philippines" in the book *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines* (1994).

developmental and public service programming. This feature has also been considered by a local media critic as responsible for the oft-mentioned “colonial mentality” or “Americanized” culture among the Filipinos.³⁸²

In the 1960s, other TV channels were established: DZBB-TV 7 (now GMA Channel 7) in 1961, DZFM-TV (now defunct) also in the same year, DZTM-TV 5 (then ABC 5 now TV5) in 1962, DZKB-TV 9 (now RPN 9) in 1969 and DZRH TV 11 (re-launched as Channel 19 in the 1992 to 1997 and now cable channel *TV Natin* or “Our TV” in English). With the added competition, local TV production came of age with the emergence and growing popularity of entertainment-oriented programs such as sitcoms, vaudeville-variety programs, live variety shows and musical contests that thrived on local folk and street humor. The variety shows presented a study in eclecticism and cultural diversity with distinctive subgenres such as slapstick skits for the public, games with prizes for general audience participation and quiz segments for college students and young professionals. The same decade saw the appearance of local sports TV dedicated to basketball, horse-racing and jai alai which captured large audiences and developed an association with street gambling. Another hit genre was the local gag show which took obvious cues from its American predecessors.³⁸³

In the early 70s, the upsurge of local activism and rise in lower-income group interest in media-circulated issues increased the following of the news programs and public affairs talk shows. This development was nipped in the bud by the enforcement of martial law. Additional TV networks were born in this decade: DWGT TV 4 (then PTV 4 now IBN 4) in 1974 and DZTV TV 13 (now IBC 13) in 1977. During this

³⁸² Santos, p. 159, quoting Ramon Tuazon's article “Philippine television: that's entertainment” from the *National Commission on Culture and the Arts* online (1999).

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

decade and in the next, the 1980s, the local soap opera started attracting wide viewership with the characters becoming household names in lower-income and middle-class communities. With the fall of Marcos in 1986, news returned to a prominent place although critics observed that news and public affairs programs tend to be superficial, sensationalist and entertainment-oriented rather than substantive, illuminating and educational.³⁸⁴

This array of TV shows that chiefly used the local languages established a framework of programming that catered to the grassroots or the CDE market. Driving this trend is the spread in the ownership of TV sets and the transformation of this appliance from a luxury item available only to the elite in the mid-50s to a consumption good increasingly affordable to the middle classes and the lower income majority from the 60s. While the canned foreign shows-- in particular, American sitcoms, soaps, movies and cartoons-- did not lose their early audiences made up of the upper class and upper-middle-professional markets, they did lose out to locally produced programs in terms of ratings and profits for the local networks as the CDE viewing markets quickly expanded and widened the gap with the other markets.³⁸⁵

Cable TV has been introduced since 1969 but did not flourish due to a Marcos presidential decree granting exclusive franchise to a firm owned by crony Roberto Benedicto, thus blocking out other capable investors. After the demise of the Marcos regime, cable TV quickly gained a strong foothold and was also patronized by viewers to get a better view of terrestrial channels in places where signals are weak and fuzzy. The launch of the satellite in 1991 spurred cable TV and the new technology allowed the two biggest networks, ABS CBN Channel 2 and GMA Channel 7, to reach 90 % of

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 160.

Filipino households. The following year, commercial stations broadcasting in UHF band emerged and further increased avenues for programming. Cable TV has further eaten into the terrestrial TV market and this major development was spurred by its increasing availability to the grassroots markets.³⁸⁶

Philippine TV has grown considerably in reach and structure over the decades. The wide variety of genres that exemplify contemporary Philippine TV can be said to be the outgrowth of those that became popular in the 60s through the 80s. The most popular genres can be identified through the primetime programming of the largest networks—basically the most widely viewed timeslot from 6:30 pm to 9:00 pm. The leading networks put a premium on programs based on local languages and on local folk and street culture. Except for extremely prominent foreign programs, they usually relegate foreign syndicated shows to secondary channels such as Studio 23 and QTV 11 or sideline them to less important and not so profitable timeslots.³⁸⁷ To date, there are two categories of foreign programs that both channels have allowed to be aired in its primary channels: well-liked foreign dramas which include Latin American telenovelas and more recently, Taiwanese dramas called locally as “Chi-novelas” and Korean dramas termed as “Korea-novelas”; and children’s programs which include American cartoons and anime.³⁸⁸

Anime along with US cartoons and children’s TV shows such as *Sesame Street* broadcasted on the two largest networks form the bulk of Philippine children-oriented programming in terms of airtime. The cartoon genre is where and only where TV format adaptation—in the case of anime, minimal linguistic alteration—can be said to reign

³⁸⁶ Ibid., p.160-161.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 161-162.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 162. The article was written in 2004 before the advent of the Taiwanese and Korean drama booms in the Philippines so the researcher added the two examples of programs to update the text.

supreme in the Philippines. This means that only in this genre do format-adapted programs achieve higher ratings than either their non-format adapted locally produced or foreign syndicated counterparts. While this hegemony is limited to a single genre, the nature and the type of audience -- which is basically Filipinos in their formative years—makes it a significant one. This is because the foreign exporters of such programs are in a highly strategic and advantageous position to shape and influence the life-long viewing habits of Filipino audiences.³⁸⁹

Animations are enormously expensive productions prohibitive to a third-world producer such as the Philippines and cartoon producers in the developed world such as the US and Japan are well-placed to engage in the business because of their market power and reach. Imported cartoons were already popular in the 60s but the change in the class composition of the Philippine TV audience in favor of the lower income groups resulted in the preference for cartoons according to language—thus dubbing in the lingua franca starting in the 90s generated higher ratings for the genre. While the Western colonial influence has remained strong, the cartoon format adaptation demonstrates the recent surge in the influence of Japanese cultural formats particularly anime which is highly adaptable through language-dubbing.³⁹⁰

3.2.2 Levels of Adaptation by Filipino Media

Adaptation is where the main concern of anime as a form of foreign media originating from Japan is addressed. Although this discussion limits itself to practices in broadcasting and production by media establishments, two types of adaptation will be dealt with to arrive at a clearer view of how anime's Japanese origins and perceived Japaneseness figure in the end result. Adaptations for Philippine TV are of two types:

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

minimal adaptation and *format re-versioning*. The first one depicts the process by which the narratives of foreign programs are minimally altered such as when they are dubbed into the local language or are minimally transformed by the addition of a few local features such as a local host. The second and more important in the sense of the generation of new content is the format re-versioning where a local version is made out of the foreign program, whether licensed or cloned.³⁹¹

By no means exhaustive, these two methods are located at points where decisions of erasing, masking or retaining Japanese elements and or if such action mattered at all, lie. The researcher contends that these two types can also be looked at as essentially two levels in terms of resource and effort involvement. As with other examples of foreign programs, anime titles have been subjected to: at the first type or level, treatment for public airing which includes translation, dubbing, cutting and editing of both visual and audio tracks; and the second type or level, full out adaptation which involves actual, whole scale production of a local version. In both types and levels, promotional strategies play an important role as finishing touches and the researcher would insist that they are also part of the appropriation itself. While these kinds of appropriation have already been mentioned in the previous chapter as part of the description of the historical development of anime's popularity and pervasiveness in the Philippines, this section will be dedicated to an examination of how Japaneseness plays an important part in the wider acceptance of the medium.

3.2.2.1 Minimal Adaptation of Anime for Broadcast

In order to be suitable for public viewing, the task of minimally adapting anime is handled either by the TV networks directly or by suppliers such as Telesuccess

³⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 157-158.

Productions³⁹² who act as middle men in the acquisition of the titles from Japanese production companies. The translation of anime is a necessity as most Filipinos do not understand Japanese although the other steps such as dubbing, cutting and editing are comparatively open areas for creative and strategic decision-making. General practices of minimal adaptation vary in four different periods as can be discerned in the summary of anime's presence in the Philippines in the previous chapter.



Figure 14: *Tetsuwan Atomu* is one of the few examples of anime series in the 80s which was acquired from the US, thus the use of the English title “Astroboy” and English names for the characters. It was also shown dubbed in English. Source: www.type44.blogspot.com.

³⁹² Telesuccess Productions was one of the first Filipino suppliers involved in procuring anime titles for Philippine TV and in fact, was responsible for the acquisition of Voltes V and other mecha series that made it big in the Philippines.

The first period was from the late 70s to the 80s where anime was mostly dubbed in English and names were changed to familiar English names. Several factors could account for this—the networks not having enough resources and or capabilities to treat the material, the reliance on US backdoor for easier acquisition and disguising of the Japanese elements in the cartoons. This disguising could be a reaction to the ban on mecha anime in the late 70s and or a desire to render them similar with the more dominant, well-accepted US cartoons. On another level, ownership of television sets especially in the earlier part of this period mostly thrived in the upper and middle classes which relatively put a premium on the use of English. The patterns thus show material expediency, a preference for Western or American influences and language divide among the classes.

There were detectable changes in the early 90s until the late 90s which comprise the second period. Dubbing in Tagalog began gaining currency although some were still being shown in English and English names were still in use. Especially in the earlier part of this period and with regards to the wholesome series, it was still uncertain whether they stand out as Japanese as most signs of Japaneseness were generally excluded or were not given importance. The lyrics of the original theme songs were either translated and sung in English or Tagalog and or completely cut out. Opening and ending credits also suffered the same treatment. Some examples such as in the case of *Ghostfighter*, a song popular locally is used for promotion and minor parts of the whole story which are deemed appealing to the audience such as romantic relationships are emphasized. Overall, there is a trend of reaching out to a wider viewer base—the potential of which was made possible by a certain degree of democratization of

technology and thus the spread of television ownership among the different classes-- through language although the disguising of Japanese elements was still largely at work.



Figure 15: Known in the Philippines as *"Ghostfighter"*, the anime series *Yu Yu Hakusho* was one of the most popular. Its characters'—shown here in their *chibi* or small form-- names were changed into familiar names: (top right) Genma became *"Jericho"*, (from left to right) Kuwabara became *"Alfred"*, Botan became *"Charlene"*, Keiko became *"Jenny"*, Yusuke became *"Eugene"*, Kurama became *"Dennis"* and Hiei became *"Vincent"*. The series was shown dubbed in Tagalog. Source: www.pasumalangkipper.tumblr.com.

From 2000 until 2002, anime were mostly dubbed in Tagalog although Japanese names were retained except for obscene or ridiculous-sounding ones in the local languages. Right after anime's explosion into the primetime, networks hurried to acquire the most popular titles from Japan and even consulted with anime interest

groups on which titles would most likely turn out to be hits.³⁹³ There were lesser attempts to mask the Japanese original-- except of course for instances of sex and violence that were not permitted under local regulations -- and in fact, Japanese elements were oftentimes used as tools for promotion. Heavily butchered before, the opening and ending credits were now hardly ever touched, almost as a service to eager fans.



Figure 16: One of the popular anime titles in recent times, *Naruto* was shown with its Japanese names and elements intact albeit dubbed in Tagalog. Source: www.watchcartoononline.com.

³⁹³ From interviews with Mr. Ang-Go and Mr. Barredo as they discussed their respective channels' anime promotion strategies.

Following the relative decline of anime fever from 2003 up until the present, Tagalog dubbing became a standard component and Japanese names and elements are still left intact although they are not essentially emphasized and or singled out for promotional purposes. For sure, the audience are still aware of anime's Japanese origins but the significance of the difference of anime as Japanese cartoons and other cartoons has somewhat lost its intrinsic value except perhaps for hardcore aficionados. As what was mentioned earlier, it is not entirely because of a total waning of its popularity but rather, that its peak has subsided and its novelty has run out its course—thus becoming a regular part of the local mainstream.

3.2.2.2 Format Re-versioning of Anime

Format re-versioning or a full scale adaptation of anime titles presents another type or level of local appropriation. Compared to the minimal adaptation methods, it obviously involves more production input—resources and efforts that could spell how the end result vary from the original. To begin with, the Filipino examples are in live-action form and could be a consequence of the Philippines not having regular mainstream animation as mentioned previously³⁹⁴. However, the mere fact that the anime titles were adapted for local production demonstrate a certain level of acceptance for the series themselves as the examples given here are based on anime that made it big on Philippine television. So far, there are four Filipino adaptations that directly credit their anime predecessor: “Sarah ang Munting Prinsesa” (1995) and “Cedie” (1996), both feature films, and “Princess Sarah” (2007) and “Lupin” (2007), both TV series.

These adaptations were chosen for discussion precisely because they reference

³⁹⁴ I believe that the question whether Filipinos would actually adapt anime in animation if there is a presence of regular mainstream local animation warrants a separate discussion.

their source but this is not to say that they are the only examples of Filipino programs inspired by anime. Some examples of local TV shows evidently illustrate unreferenced borrowing or copying from anime and are classified by most media experts as “clones”.³⁹⁵ However, the question of whether some TV programs are cloned or just simply indigenized is considered a complicated one since there is lack of definite and clear-cut criteria for judging.³⁹⁶



Figure 17: A scene from Nippon Animation’s *Shoukoujo Purinsesu Se-ra* which was shown dubbed in Tagalog as “*Sarah, ang Munting Prinsesa*” (“Sarah, the Little Princess” in English) in the Philippines. Source: www.sofiesalvador.wordpress.com.



Figure 18: A scene from Star Cinema’s “*Sarah ang Munting Prinsesa*” (“Sarah, the Little Princess” in English), a live action movie inspired by the anime. Filipino child actress Camille Pratts (shown at center with a crown on her head) starred in the title role. Source: www.skyscrapercity.com.

³⁹⁵ The cloning of anime done by local production falls outside the scope of this paper but deserves another discussion in the future.

³⁹⁶ From Santos, pp. 166-167.



Figure 19: A scene from Nippon Animation's *Shokouji Se-di* which was shown dubbed in Tagalog as "*Cedie*" in the Philippines. Source: www.animated-divots.net.

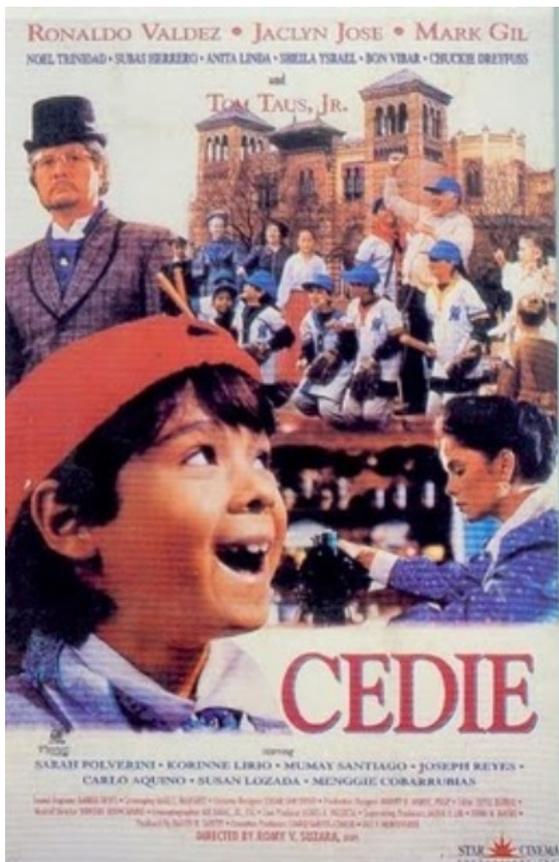


Figure 20: A promotional poster for Star Cinema's "*Cedie*", a feature film based on the anime. Filipino child actor Tom Taus (shown in the foreground with a red hat) starred in the title role. Source: www.oggsmoggs.tumblr.com.

The Sarah and Cedie movies were produced during the mid-90s by Star Cinema, a film production company which is a subsidiary of ABS CBN 2 where the two anime series were shown. The latter was based on *Shokojo Purinsesu Seira* (1985) and

the former on *Shokoshi Sedi* (1988), both produced by Nippon Animation and in turn based from the stories *A Little Princess* and *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, respectively, by English children's writer Frances Hodgson Burnett. The movies were made directly as a result of the cartoons' being runaway hits and their plots were faithful to the anime with only minor changes in details. Sarah was shot partly in Scotland and Cedie retained the songs from the anime versions although with Tagalog lyrics. The elements that were preserved from the anime—the names, costumes, props and locations—were all notably Western.

During this period in relation to anime's history, the Filipino audience was not so aware that the wholesome, family-oriented cartoons were of Japanese origins due to the linguistic alteration or dubbing, the toning down of Japanese elements such as the opening and ending theme songs and the prevailing notion of “cartoons from Japan” as mostly robot series. Also, most of these cartoons derived their plots from Western stories (other examples would include, as mentioned before, *Peter Pan*, *Von Trapp Family Singers* and “*Heidi*” or “*Arupusu no Shoyo Haiji*”) --some of which were already well-known in the Philippines, some of which were not. It is not too far out to say that the Sarah and Cedie stories' Western features somewhat facilitated their acceptance as the audience was more familiar with this set of conventions. It can be said therefore that it was not the series' being anime, or of being from Japan, that made the adaptations attractive but rather the appeal of the story and the Western vestiges. It is also important to take note that these stories from Burnett were adapted numerous times—including Hollywood movie versions with iconic American child actress Shirley Temple portraying the lead role of Sara in 1939 -- and spanning across countries and generations. This brings to light two things: it underlines prevailing acquaintance with

and or preference for Western influences and it puts to question just how much Japanese influence there is.



Figure 21: A promotional picture from ABS CBN’s “Princess Sarah”, a TV drama series based on the anime. This shows the child antagonist, Lavinia Herbert (played by child actress Sophia Baars) and protagonist, Sarah Crewe (played by child actress Sharlene San Pedro). Source: www.pep.ph.

The TV series *Princess Sarah* and *Lupin* were made on the same year by rival networks ABS CBN 2 and GMA 7 respectively. The former was based on the anime version but while it basically followed the storyline of the anime, it took a lot of liberties in its treatment of the genre and original characters. It was presented as a dramatic musical-fantasy—introducing new characters and a number of magical, talking animals. Subplots and twists reminiscent of Filipino teleseryes were also interwoven into the plot such as Sara’s boarding school classmate and child antagonist, Lavinia, turning out to be the secret illegitimate daughter of the boarding school’s headmistress

and adult antagonist, Miss Minchin. In this adaptation too, Miss Minchin's character was made humorous and also did not come off as the main villain, a distinction that was given to a relatively minor character from the anime version, Mr. Burrows.

Lupin, on the other hand, was loosely based on the anime *Lupin III* which was in turned loosely based on the novel, *Arsene Lupin, gentleman-cambrioleur* ("The Extraordinary Adventures of Arsene Lupin, Gentleman-Burglar" in English) by French writer Maurice Leblanc. Except for the main character's name, occupation and some elements that were borrowed from the anime such as some of the characters' choice of weaponry, it was an action-adventure drama Filipino-style. Deviating completely from the anime, the story revolved around Lupin's quest of avenging the killing of his bride, Angelie, whose love convinced him to abandon his life of thievery at the beginning of the series—thus making her a target of Lupin's father, Duroy, who had trained him in the art of stealing from a young age and did not like the idea of losing his greatest pupil.

During this period, anime is already mainstream and in fact, while still popular, the apex of its popularity has already passed. While both series were made building on the anime titles' reputations and in the case of Princess Sarah, also its Filipino movie predecessor, their style and substance strayed from the anime version in more ways than one. With its handling of the material, Princess Sarah appeared more evocative of Disney animated productions and the song-and-dance routines were familiar devices used in Filipino movies. For its part, Lupin slightly came off as a homage to James Bond with a bevy of beauties by the main character's side and a theme song that was arranged to sound like Tom Jones' "Thunderball", song to the Bond movie of the same



Figure 22: A picture showing the characters from Animax's *Rupan Sansei* ("Lupin the Third" in English): (from bottom left to right) marksman Daisuke Jigen, master thief Arsene Lupin, femme fatale Fujiko Mine and master swordsman Goemon Ishikawa XIII. Source: www.gogoanime.com.



Figure 23: A picture of the young cast members of GMA's *Lupin*, an action TV series inspired by the anime: (from left to right) Boy 2 Quizon as Castor, Katrina Halili as Veronica Arkanghel, Richard Gutierrez in the title role of Andre Lupin and Ehra Madrigal as Brigitte Maisog. Source: www.gmanetwork.com.

name. On the whole, the finished products turned out more like Filipino teleseryes and the Japanese influence, if any, is just nominal or mere association with the anime.

On one hand, the examples demonstrate the development of Filipino adaptation of foreign materials even when taking into account the differences between animation, the film and the TV series format. While still opting for foreign inspirations, local adaptation capabilities are evidently maturing and the tendency to indigenize is more apparent. There is no denying that the productions were undoubtedly spurred by the respective anime series' popularity but there is almost no trace of Japanese elements in the productions. Plainly, what are clearly being imported here are the story templates and the basic elements of the story. The stories mentioned have universal appeal— the riches to rags, rags to riches storylines of both Sarah and Cedic and the action adventures of a Robin Hood-ish character like Lupin resonate with, and not only with, the Filipino audience. The adaptations mentioned are classified under the soap opera or drama and action-adventure genres which are arguably the most transferrable across cultures³⁹⁷ To reiterate, of course, the stories themselves did not even originate in Japan and were also adapted only as anime. If any, the Japanese productions introduced malleable storylines which lent themselves nicely to commercial interests and the popularity of the anime versions were mere selling points.

3.2.3 Analysis of the Influences on Filipino Popular Media Culture

Grounded on the above assessment of these two types and levels of adaptation by the Philippine media, anime's Japanese origins and perceived Japaneseness seem to have an uneven clout and have less to do with its attractiveness except for that brief period from the late 90s to 2002 when it enjoyed an ostensibly relentless boom. There is

³⁹⁷ From the article of Denise Bielby and C. Lee Harrington's book *Global TV: Exporting Television and Culture in the World Market* (2008), pp. 66-69.

no denying that Japanese elements are introduced and there is a measure of Japanese cultural influence occurring but it tends to be superficial. More than its national origins and the many cultural references that it brings with it, what is being underlined is anime as an art and media form that serves as a vehicle for fascinating stories, unforgettable characters, a whole new way of visual representation and dramatic storytelling which provides one explanation for its broad acceptance. The equation of the popularity and pervasiveness of anime in the Philippines to the amplification of Japanese cultural influence and accordingly, a creation of a Japanese sphere of influence, is an oversimplification and seems to ignore the many processes that came into play.

Anime's attraction for most audiences outside of Japan seems to be situated in its uniqueness and difference to the usual.³⁹⁸ Visually-striking and with narratives that are strongly compelling, it presents itself as a medium that posits a new type of mythmaking³⁹⁹ and a new kind of global imagination⁴⁰⁰ with which the Filipino audience would willingly engage in. In the Philippine context and in some specific times more than others, it provided a fresh alternative to Western particularly US cartoons and even local entertainment programs—a fact that did not escape the notice of TV networks and production companies with reasonably commercial interests. The anime phenomenon in the Philippines evidently owes more to the practices of the local media industries rather than the distinctiveness that it showcases, the cultural vestiges that it possesses or a deliberate ploy by its Japanese creators and producers. Consequently, through these establishments' intercession, the possible cultural power that it supposedly projects is put into question.

³⁹⁸ This characteristic is of course time-bound and will not be true in the future especially as anime becomes mainstream and commonplace in most other countries.

³⁹⁹ From Antonia Levi's article "New Myths for the Millennium: Japanese Animation" in the book *Animation in Asia and the Pacific* (2001), p. 33.

⁴⁰⁰ From Allison , p. 107.

The enthusiastic reception of anime and its pervasive presence in the local media and popular culture seems to signal a movement away from Western particularly American influences into Japanese ones. However, upon a closer look into Philippine media's practices of appropriation, it is more likely that both influences co-exist in varying degrees with the active reassertion of Filipino particularities and sensibilities. Appropriation is the site where localizing forces stake its possession of the text and ferret out cultural peculiarities—at the first level as seen with minimal adaptation, such elements are softened and at the second level as seen with the examples of local adaptations, they are almost given up in lieu of a more local flavor (sometimes to the chagrin of the anime series' loyal fans). This active reassertion of the local culture is by no means only a propensity exclusive to the Filipinos but a trait observed in many other countries⁴⁰¹, with regards to many kinds of goods including media products⁴⁰² and is profoundly intensified under the process of globalization.⁴⁰³ In a much bigger picture, the anime phenomenon in the Philippines and other countries manifests itself as a facet of the worldwide globalization of cultural commodities.

Globalizing forces work hand in hand with localization and the second level of appropriation powerfully exemplifies this. Anime titles adapted locally were also in turn adapted by Japan from other sources hence reaffirming the contention that the globalization of ideas—story templates and characters— is not just a simple, one way flow from one center of source to another and is complicated. The transnational nature of globalization accounts for this convoluted asymmetry and the process is largely

⁴⁰¹ To name a few works that mention this: Martinez, p. 11; Joseph Straubhaar's article "Beyond Media Imperialism: Assymmetrical Interdependence and Cultural Proximity" in the journal *Critical Studies in Mass Communications* (1991: 8), pp. 39-59; and Joseph Tobin's "Introduction: Domesticating the West" in the book *Re-made in Japan: Everyday Life and Consumer Taste in a Changing Society* (1994), p. 3.

⁴⁰² To mention two examples: Straubhaar's aforementioned article and P.S.N. Lee's article "The Absorption and Indigenization of Foreign Cultures. A Study on A Cultural Meeting Point of East and West: Hong Kong" in the journal *Asian Journal of Communication* (1991: 1), pp. 55-72.

⁴⁰³ Iwabuchi (2002a), p. 90.

facilitated by localizing forces-- in this case represented by the local networks' practices of appropriation. Localization essentially transforms the material and the original ownership of such is increasingly obscured and to a point, almost irrelevant. The consequences of these transnational underpinnings can hardly be contained within nationalist framework.⁴⁰⁴

It has to be conceded of course that a certain amount of cultural influence is viable although it is not straightforward and seems almost rather benign when all the processes have been taken into consideration and even more so as it coincides with a local industry coming on its own. At best, anime's characteristic as a vehicle for distinctive visual representation and potent stories remains and continues to be its main asset as it enters other territories. Its spread and permeation of Philippine popular culture and media-- and other countries' popular culture and media for that matter-- occur in conjunction with other processes which merits reference and contributes to the overall understanding of it.

The acceleration of the worldwide circulation of images, text and materials are the results of the global integration of markets and capital, advancement of technology, the emergence of a middle class especially in non-Western countries and the increasing mobility of people. In such an environment, anime making its way pass national borders is not only plausible but quite manageable. Nevertheless, anime does not stand alone in claiming this advantage. In the same vein, the speed with which it might lose its uniqueness, freshness and novelty is expedited and the public and the media industries are progressively more exposed to alternative sources. In recent times, the Philippine media are moving on to other resources, most notably Korean dramas, and in the future,

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 201.

more materials will present themselves as such.

One thing that has to be noted, however, is that without the initial inroads into and popularity of anime in the Philippine setting, the acceptance of both Taiwanese and Korean dramas would have been limited. Anime served as the precursor to Asian TV programs in a broadcasting environment that was highly Western-leaning and has helped open up the market to more Asian-oriented entertainment fare. The presence of anime for more than two decades and its eventual mainstreaming had the audience gain a certain amount of familiarity with its conventions, most especially its stories and characters. These are the features that anime shares with the Asian dramas as they are mostly inspired by manga. The first Asian drama that became a big hit was *Meteor Garden* (流星花園 in Mandarin), a Taiwanese live action adaptation of the Japanese comic *Hana Yori Dango*.⁴⁰⁵ Incidentally, the Korean version *Boys Over Flowers* was also shown in the country and earned phenomenal success as much as its Taiwanese predecessor. If anything, anime has made possible the so-called “Asian invasion”⁴⁰⁶—the predominance of Asian dramas, locally dubbed as Asia-novelas, on Filipino primetime TV—that subsequently took over its reign.

3.2.4 Concluding Remarks for Section 3.2

As what was shown in the preceding paragraphs, anime programs are seen as additional sources of remarkable characters, narratives and storytelling techniques enriching the already eclectic milieu of Philippine TV. The pattern of adaptation shows the tendency for foreign materials such as anime to be localized and indigenized in

⁴⁰⁵ *Hana Yori Dango* is the best-selling *shojo* or young girl-oriented manga in Japan and was made into a movie in 1995, an anime series in 1997, two seasons of TV drama in 2005 and 2007 and a live action feature film in 2008. Outside of Japan, it was made into two seasons of TV drama in Taiwan as *Meteor Garden* in 2001 and 2002 and a TV drama in Korea as *Boys Over Flowers* in 2009.

⁴⁰⁶ This tag line was also used by ABS CBN Channel 2 in its promotion of sandwiching both popular anime *Naruto* and *Meteor Garden* in the early weekday primetime slot—from 4:30 pm to 6:00 pm—before the daily news program commenced in the year 2004.

accordance to the tastes of the Filipino viewers in due time. While the recognition of anime as a product of Japanese origin has gained wider prevalence in recent times, it does not necessarily mean that it has completely replaced the audience's preference for the West. In more ways than one, this tendency has facilitated its acceptance especially in the beginning and at the moment, both Japanese and Western elements seem to co-mingle with Filipino particularities in terms of local programming.

3.3 Creation of the Filipino Cosplay Subculture



Figure 24: The 3rd Philippine Cosplay Convention held last March 2010. Originally a part of anime conventions, cosplay has become an event in itself and about 2 or 3 cosplay events are held every month in the Greater Manila area. Cosplay events are typically held in shopping malls and attract crowds of onlookers. Source: www.weareanime-cosplay.blogspot.com.

One of the most visible subcultures to emerge from the popularity and

pervasiveness of anime in the Philippines is the cosplay subculture. Before the anime explosion into mass consciousness in the year 2000, a subculture among anime enthusiasts especially in the urban areas already existed and their activities centered around the appreciation of anime. Their activities, however, often overlapped with other similar interests such as comic books—both manga and comics from other countries, collectible toys—most likely action figurines, robots and character merchandise, video games and gadgets and role-playing games involving cards. The members met regularly and engaged in different activities which eventually became the springboard for



Figure 25: Cosplayers taking a rest on the big footbridge leading to the entrance of the Meiji Shrine in Harajuku. Cosplaying among some Japanese youngsters is a regular Sunday afternoon activity that has attracted camera-toting tourists. Source: www.trekearth.com.

conventions on anime open to the public. With the first anime convention held for 3 days in November 2000, one of the main features was a cosplay competition where

participants dressed as anime characters. The event's main guest manga artist from Japan, Yu Watase, judged the competition.



Figure 26: A scanned copy of an issue of “My Anime” magazine in 1983 where the word cosplay in Japanese katakana, コスプレ (please look at the upper right hand corner) apparently first appeared. This word is coined by Nobuyuki Takahashi of Studio Hard. Source: <http://yeinjee.com/tag/nobuyuki-nov-takahashi/>.

3.3.1 The Cosplay Subculture

The practice of cosplay (コスプレー in Japanese) is defined as a performance art wherein participants wear costumes and accessories representing a specific character which is often based from, but not limited to, Japanese popular fiction. It is widely-believed especially among cosplayers and some cosplay observers that the practice originated in Japan—with the hundreds of cosplayers appearing at the world’s

largest comic market *Comiket* held bi-annually in Tokyo and with the Sunday afternoon gatherings of cosplaying youngsters near the entrance of Meiji Shrine in Harajuku featured in many travel accounts on Japan.

While it was popularized in Japan, it has its roots in the mid-80s science fiction and fantasy conventions in the United States. The term cosplay is a Japanese-style abbreviation of the two English words costume and play and is credited to Nobuyuki Takahashi, the current president of the Japanese animation studio, Studio Hard. As an anime producer and planner before, he attended the 1984 Worldcon, a sci-fi convention in Los Angeles and was impressed by the costumed fans at the event. He coined the term as he was describing his experience in reports about the said convention in Japanese science fiction magazines. The enthusiastic write-ups supposedly sparked the Japanese cosplay movement. In a matter of years, Japanese fans started putting on costumes in local comic book and sci-fi events albeit with their own twist—they dressed up as their favorite anime characters. In the mid-90s when anime, manga and other forms of Japanese pop culture became all the rage in North America, costumed fandom became fashionable again and cosplay was re-introduced on a bigger, wider scale—with some North American cosplayers unaware of cosplay’s actual origins.⁴⁰⁷

The cosplay subculture has been observed in different countries encompassing Asia, North America, South America, Oceania and Europe together with the rise in popularity of anime and manga. While respective countries has their own cosplay events, international ones are also held annually such as the World Cosplay Summit or WCS

⁴⁰⁷ From the following internet resources by John Flynn entitled “Costume Fandom: All Dressed Up and Ready to Go!” and Yein Jee, a blogger from Malaysia who comments about Asian cultural tidbits. The latter’s journal shows a scanned picture of the Japanese sci-fi magazine where Takahashi used the term first. For the links to these resources, please look at the Bibliography section

(世界コスプレサミット in Japanese) organized by TV Aichi in Nagoya, Japan. The first one was held in 2003 with the aim of promoting Japanese anime and manga internationally. Two years later, it was held in conjunction with the Aichi Expo and featured a World Cosplay Championship won by Italy. The competition, together with the Cosplay Parade in Nagoya's Osu shopping area, was to become a regular component of WCS and attracted media attention from abroad. This prompted the support of three Japanese government ministries-- MOFA, the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport or MLIT and METI-- in 2008. WCS has grown each year and in the last one held for two days in August 2011, cosplayers from seventeen countries participated.⁴⁰⁸



Figure 27:
Cosplayers from different countries gather in Nagoya every year for the World Cosplay Summit. This picture was from the 2007 event. Source: www.anipockexpress.blogspot.com.

3.3.2 Cosplay in the Philippines: Origins, Development and Current State

As what was mentioned before, the first anime convention dubbed “Anime Explosion” was held for 3 days at the SM Megamall Megatrade Center, Mandaluyong City, in November 2000. It marked the first time cosplay was held as an official activity in public. Participants, mostly high school and college students from Metro Manila and

⁴⁰⁸ From the WCS website. For the link, please see the Bibliography section.

surrounding areas, donned costumes from popular anime series of that time such as Fushigi Yugi, Samurai X, Dragonball and Knight Hunters and even characters from the role-playing video game Final Fantasy. Since then, it has become a habitual element of anime conventions that were to be organized by different interest groups and sponsors in varying intervals.



Figure 28: Grand finalists for the AXN Anime Festival Cosplay Competition held in 2001. Characters being cosplayed include Edea Kramer from Final Fantasy VIII, Yahiko Myojin and Hajime Saito of Rurouni Kenshin. JM Chua (center, in the blue Meiji police uniform) who was cosplaying as Saito, won the grand prize and was the Philippines' representative to the Hong Kong regional competition. Photos courtesy of www.magneticrose.net.

It was not the first instance, however, that cosplay was done. Before the first

anime convention and in the late 90s, the various subculture groups whose activities revolved around anime had informal gatherings marked by some members wearing the costumes of their favorite characters and acting out these characters' expressions, actions and gestures. Members of the Anime at Arki group of UP Diliman sometimes dressed up as anime characters when they held anime film showings. Students from the same university from the faculties of Architecture and Fine Arts and the College of Arts and Letters as well as members of student organizations such as Tomokai donned anime character costumes as they participated in the annual Lantern Parade, an event usually held on the third week of December and on the last day of school before Christmas break commences. Members of the online community, Weareanime.com, also organized eyeball meetings where some attendants would show up in their anime costumes

During the period of anime boom, cosplay did not only become an integral constituent of the anime conventions that were done frequently but also a customary element in events pertaining to popular culture characters held in the Philippines such as conventions on collectible toys, comics and gaming. It has also been tied to the launch and promotion of television networks, stores and products such as technological gadgets. When the anime fever cooled down in 2003, the number of anime events decreased although the cosplay scene did not completely suffer as cosplayers joined other related events instead. Cosplay's popularity as a related activity in an anime event bounced back in 2005 when Hero TV was launched with a 2-day event that included a cosplay competition. Through the years, the range of characters being cosplayed also has expanded outside of the standard anime, manga and video games to include Japanese visual kei⁴⁰⁹ pop rock acts, American cartoons and video games, science fiction, fantasy

⁴⁰⁹ The term describes a movement among Japanese musicians typified by the use of make-up, elaborate hairstyles and flamboyant costumes. Famous bands that exemplified this movement are X Japan, Luna Sea and Malice Mizer.

movies, graphic novels and even pop culture icons such as Michael Jackson.



Figure 29: Pictures from the Culture Crash Convention or C3 event cosplaying competition in 2002. Culture Crash was the name of the bi-monthly Filipino manga created by Jescie James Palabay and his group of artist friends in 1999. The manga folded in 2004. Photos courtesy of www.magneticrose.net.

Also, while it started out merely as a part of anime and pop culture conventions, events concentrating solely on cosplay have been established and run on a regular basis. There are two to three major cosplay events in a year and about two cosplay events per month in the Metro Manila and surrounding areas.⁴¹⁰ Other major Philippine cities such as Cebu, Davao and Baguio are also organizing their own cosplay events although not

⁴¹⁰ From the interview with Henry de Dios of Cosplay.ph. It was also mentioned in the Fuji TV program "Real Scope" which featured the Filipino anime scene in its episode aired January 18, 2011.

as frequent as in the Metro Manila areas.⁴¹¹ One such example is the annual Cosplay Mania organized by Cosplay.ph or the Philippine Cosplaying Compendium, a website dedicated to Filipino cosplay. The last one which was held in October 2011 featured the typical costume competition as well as appearances and workshops by renowned cosplayers from Singapore, Indonesia and Thailand.⁴¹²



Figure 30: Famous Filipino cosplayer, Alodia Gosiengfiao, dressed up as the character Ayano Kannagi of the anime series *Kaze no Seikon* or “*Stigma of the Wind*” in English. Source: www.listal.com.

Cosplay seems to serve as an avenue for informal, region-wide networking among Southeast Asians. According to cosplay organizers, cosplayers from the

⁴¹¹ From the interview with Henry de Dios.

⁴¹² From the Cosplay Mania website at <http://cosplaymania.com>.

neighboring countries mentioned above have been visiting the major events in the Philippines to participate in the competition or just to hobnob with their Filipino counterparts since 2007.⁴¹³ For their part, Filipino organizers and cosplayers also join key events in nearby countries to take part, observe and build connections with the local cosplaying scene. The Philippine cosplay scene has produced a celebrity, Alodia Gosiengfiao, who started engaging in it as a hobby in 2003. Now dubbed as the Filipino cosplay queen, her fame extends not only to Philippine entertainment world but to the cosplay scenes in other countries such as in Singapore, US and Hong Kong.

For Filipinos, the appeal of cosplay can be attributed to both the preparation and the performance part. First, it is an activity where both creativity and ingenuity can be showcased. Unlike in Japan, Korea and other well-off Asian countries, costumes and accessories for cosplay especially the intricate ones are not ready-made and cannot be bought. Most of them have to construct a costume from scratch or adjust existing outfits. Many Filipino cosplayers use found objects and improvise with cheap, available materials. Some of the activities of cosplay groups such as Cosplay.ph—a website forum dedicated to Filipino cosplay—are tutorials and workshops where not only costume-making can be learned but also other related skills such as hairdressing, make-up and even photography. For those who prefer to have their costumes and accessories made, the prices of sewing and tailoring as well as the making of accessories are quite reasonable and affordable. Part of the information shared on the said cosplay website is where to locate cheap resources such as textiles, rubber and corrugated cardboard, junkyards and junkshops where car spare parts used for robot costumes can be obtained and also dressmakers and tailors who offer lower prices and

⁴¹³ From the interviews with de Dios and Azrael Coladilla.

discounts for cosplayers.⁴¹⁴

Another appeal is how the hobby can become an avenue for self-expression. In the events, cosplayers can act out their fantasies without fear of being judged-- a kind of wish fulfillment scenario wherein they can live out the life of their favorite hero or idol even for a day. Parts of the programs in cosplay events are skits and catwalk performances where cosplayers mimic the personality, mannerisms and even fighting sequences of their chosen characters. It is a chance for others to be literally anyone they want to be. "I am quite shy in real life but when I put on this costume, I feel like I am a different person and I have less inhibitions," commented Ellen, a fourth-year high school student who dressed up as the character Sakura Haruno of the Naruto series. She was with her friends in school who also put on costumes of different Naruto characters and they came as a group.⁴¹⁵

While some parents and onlookers comment that it is just a waste of time and money, cosplay organizers such as Cosplay.ph's Pablo Bairan counters that youths spending time, energy and small fortune on something constructive and creative is better than engaging in vices such as gambling, drinking and smoking. One of the success stories to come out of the cosplaying scene is that of a small street gang who were involved in a lot of trouble before they discovered the hobby. After becoming interested, they decided to form a cosplay group and in fact got a lot of recognition not only for their costumes but also their realistic action performances onstage.⁴¹⁶

Cosplay events can also be considered a chance for social bonding not only

⁴¹⁴ From the interview with de Dios and Kristine Servando's article "Pinoy cosplay craze getting bigger, better" published on September 23, 2009 at *ABS CBN News* online.

⁴¹⁵ From the informal interview with cosplay participants at the 2nd Philippine Cosplay Convention on March 28, 2009.

⁴¹⁶ From the abovementioned interview and article.

among friends and acquaintances sharing their interest in anime and other forms of popular culture but also for the family. Perhaps a unique characteristic of Filipino cosplay events is the participation of entire families with examples ranging from parents and grandparents who accompany, cheer for and support their children and grandchildren who are in costumes to the whole family cosplaying as characters from an anime series. This is especially true with veteran cosplayers who met through the hobby and became couples-- eventually bringing their kids to participate with them. One of the leaders of Cosplay.ph and a regular cosplay events organizer, Mr. Henry de Dios, shared that “I personally know a couple that met in the cosplay events and got married. Now, they are bringing their kid to events and they dress him up at his very young age.”⁴¹⁷



Figure 31: Famous Filipina cosplayers at Toycon 2010 pictured here with their mothers: (from left to right) cosplaying sisters Ashley and Alodia Gosiengfiao with their mother, Mariglor, cosplayer from Cebu Jessica Ouano, cosplayer Monica Dimanlig with mother Winnie, US-based Filipina cosplayer, Jan Illenberger, with mother Eva Pesino-Labadie. Source: www.gameops.net.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

A significant factor that should not be ignored is the amount of business potential available in cosplay events. As they involve elements which do not only mean ready-made or customized products for the actual cosplay such as costumes, accessories, headdress, footwear, make-up, hairstyling products and weapon replicas, but also services such as venues, booths and stages, catering, audiovisual and lighting systems, logistics, printing, publishing and broadcasting, they can present a lot of money-making opportunities for both the participants and the corporate sponsors. The income-generating prospects of the hobby are highlighted by stories such as that of a teenager who attended a workshop and set-up his own booth of customized masks and costumes afterwards.⁴¹⁸

There are also the cases of individuals who discovered their costume-making skills upon joining the events. While handling day jobs, they are now also moonlighting as costume-makers. “Some people discover that they have gifts for costume-making by becoming participants first. Attendees recognize the craftsmanship of their work and they eventually find their network of customers through our cosplay events or by word of mouth among the cosplayers,” Mr. de Dios explained.⁴¹⁹ The prices of costumes made by Filipino costumer makers are also relatively cheaper. Many foreign cosplayers are ordering custom-made gear online from Filipino Guy Singson who used to be a social worker. His clients ship their materials, have them done by him and have the final products shipped back. An artisan specializing in rubber costumes, he sells them for about Php 6,000 (approximately ¥ 10,700 or \$ 138 at the current exchange rate) to Php 10,000 (approximately ¥ 17,700 or \$ 230) or rents them out for Php 2,000

⁴¹⁸ From Servando's article. According to Mr. de Dios, a few of their workshop attendees opened their own booths selling masks and accessories such as sword replicas in the following cosplay events.

⁴¹⁹ From the interview with Mr. de Dios.

(approximately ¥ 3,546 or \$ 46).⁴²⁰

Corporate sponsors such as television networks, video game companies and retail shops are also tapping into the cosplay scene and are asking the services of cosplay event organizers in their product launches and promotions. Cable network Hero TV included a cosplay competition for their launching event dubbed “Hataw Hanep Hero” (“Groove Cool Hero” in English) or H3 event which was a success in terms of the number of attendees. To create a buzz for their image overhaul and revitalized programming, TV5 (formerly ABC Channel 5) also featured a cosplay competition in their re-launch, thus drumming up interest in their anime line-up.

During the financial crisis in 2008, small video game companies cut down on costs by hiring the services of cosplayers instead of well-known models in their product launches. The talent fee was less than those of established celebrities and as most cosplayers start out as anime or video game fans, they already knew the mechanics of video game play. They also already own sets of costumes and knew how to make themselves up for photo shoots and appearances. It was a business model that worked. Stores specializing in wigs and optical shops selling ornamental contact lenses as well as cosmetic retailers selling temporary hair color sprays are just some examples of other kinds of businesses signing up to sponsor cosplay events as they noticed that their merchandise are enjoying higher sales because of them. “Watson’s⁴²¹ approached us one time because they realized the sales of some of their goods such as their leave-on, temporary hair dyes were going up every time there was an upcoming cosplay event,”

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Watson’s is one of the largest health and beauty retail chain store in Asia and it operates in the Philippines through a partnership with SM Prime Holdings, a leading shopping mall developer in the country. From the website of Watson’s Philippines. Most cosplay events are held in shopping malls and some of the major anime and cosplay events are held in SM Megamall, one of the largest shopping malls operated by SM Prime Holdings.

Mr. de Dios shared.⁴²² Organizing cosplay events has also become a career for some individuals such as Mr. Bairan and Mr. de Dios.⁴²³

For the level of cosplay most especially in the creation of “road-grade”⁴²⁴ or world-class costumes, the Philippines still has a lot of catching up to do with other countries such as Japan, US, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan as the subculture arrived relatively late in the country. However, the use and democratization of internet and different forms of information technology has greatly facilitated the spread and development of the hobby. The above-mentioned Cosplay.ph is one such online platform where cosplayers can keep in touch and know upcoming events. It features news articles, photo galleries, videos, blogs, forums and almost all pertinent stuff related to cosplaying. It is also includes “cosplay resumes” where photographs of cosplayers can be uploaded.



Figure 32: Filipino nursing students posing with a cosplayer for a picture. Source: www.cosplayandcamera.com.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ This means quality costumes that can be packed and brought for traveling with the cosplayer wherever he or she goes to participate.

As an umbrella organization which serves as the hub of smaller cosplay groups and cosplay cliques, Cosplay.ph's aim is to gain recognition for Filipino cosplaying and to be able to field in notable representatives to regional events such as the Animefest in Singapore and international cosplay events such as the World Cosplay Summit in Japan. The internet has also become a facility of networking between cosplayers around the globe and in recent times, there is an exchange of ideas and know-hows between cosplayers from the East and Southeast Asian region.⁴²⁵ As what was stated before, in this sense, cosplay had become an informal way of connecting youth in this region. "Recently, we have cosplayers from neighboring Asian countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand visiting our events so that our websites have to be with information such as maps to the venue as well as hotel accommodations," said Mr. de Dios.⁴²⁶

The number of cosplayers has grown exponentially since 2000 from about 30 participants in the first stages to about hundreds at the moment.⁴²⁷ The organizers of Cosplay Mania say that the number is steadily growing annually and that looking into their data, it appears to cut across all income brackets, lifestyles and ages. While the major demographic are youths from ages 16 to 25, there are cosplayers as young as 5 years and as old as above 50 years. The oldest cosplayer to have attended their event on record is aged 55 years and portrayed Queen Amidala of the *Star Wars* movie franchise. Other organizers such as the Collectibles Unlimited Association who manages the annual Philippine Toys, Hobbies and Collectibles Convention or Toycon said that around 23,000 people attended their June 2011 event. In the said event, there were about

⁴²⁵ From the interview with Mr. de Dios and Servando's article..

⁴²⁶ From the interview with Mr. de Dios.

⁴²⁷ From interviews with Mr. de Dios and Mr. Coladilla.

200 cosplayers who joined the cosplay competition with an age range of about 4 to 40 years old and with an income bracket of about Php 15 000 (about ¥ 26,600 or \$ 342) per month.⁴²⁸

With their popularity and attractiveness, the cosplay events have recently become avenues for socially-relevant concerns. The Cosplay Mania event of September 2009 included environmental awareness as one of its advocacies and included a costume-building contest that focused on using recycled materials. “We wanted to show that we want to help the society, too. Since a lot of people watch our events, we thought it was a good idea to use it to advance certain advocacies that we support,” Mr. de Dios stated.⁴²⁹

Other cosplay events also featured the appearance of members of societies promoting historical awareness and preservation. In these instances, the members were given time onstage to talk about their society’s aims while donning accurate costumes of historical importance to the Filipinos such as national hero Jose Rizal’s or of the Katipunan revolutionaries who fought against the Spanish regime in the 1800s.⁴³⁰ There were also movements within the cosplay community to promote original characters from Filipino comics⁴³¹ such as *Darna* and *Lastikman* as well as local cartoonist Pol Medina’s *Pugad Baboy* (Pig’s Nest in English) characters, homegrown manga *Kubori Kikiam* and even Filipino celebrities like world-class Filipino boxer

⁴²⁸ From Servando’s article as well as the interviews with de Dios and Coladilla. While the data from the cosplay organizers seems to indicate that cosplaying cuts across the ABCDE markets, the researcher contends that most of the cosplay participants are youth from the ABC markets. Cosplay is a comparatively costly hobby that upper and middle class youth can afford.

⁴²⁹ From the interview with Mr. de Dios.

⁴³⁰ The researcher witnessed this first hand when she attended the Philcosplay Event in Robinsons Mall Manila in March 2009.

⁴³¹ The origins of the Filipino comics or “*komiks*”—an adaptation of the English word to fit the orthography of native Filipino languages— industry can be traced to the early 20th century during the American occupation. In the beginning, around 1920s, komiks were inspired by American comic strips and comic books but thirty years after, in the 50s, they started to draw more inspiration from local folklore and mythology. After the anime phenomenon, what is termed as *pinoy manga*—local comics inspired by the manga-style of drawing and rendition – began to be produced. An example is *Culture Crash* which was mentioned in Chapter 2. Please refer to Figure 9 in Chapter 2



Figure 33: A promotional poster for the Gaming-Toys-Manga/Anime-Cosplay-Comics Convention or GTMACCon held in October 2011 which focused the spotlight on Filipino independent comic book characters in their cosplay competition. The slogan at the upper left hand corner, “Basta Likhang Pinoy ASTIG!” can be translated in English as “If it’s a Filipino creation, it is cool!”. Source: www.flipgeeks.com.

3.3.3 Analysis of the Filipino Cosplay Subculture

The Filipino cosplay subculture has come a long way from its beginnings in 2000 as an activity that was undoubtedly spurred by the anime phenomenon. The basis for analyzing the Japanese cultural influence that is demonstrated from it comes from

⁴³² Ibid.

personal familiarity as the researcher has attended the first major conventions and has also dabbled with the hobby for several years from 2001 to 2003. It also comes from regular attendance and observations of anime events with cosplay competitions, both formal and informal interviews with cosplay organizers and some cosplayers and constant communication with friends and acquaintances who have been and are still instrumental in the local cosplay movement.

The direct Japanese influence is of course very obvious as most characters being cosplayed are based from anime, manga and video game personas. As part of the cosplay performance, participants have to mimic the characters and in the role-play, certain Japanese expressions are used. Parts of the programs are also peppered with Japanese elements. The masters of ceremonies in these events would sometimes utter greetings and phrases in Japanese such as “*minna-san, konnichiwa!*” (“hello, everyone!” in English), “*arigatou gozaimasu*” (“thank you”) and “*daijoubu?*” (“are you alright?”) during the program. The events’ proceedings also often feature independent local bands performing covers of Japanese songs, most of which were popularized through anime.

Understandably, some of participants are also interested in other forms of Japanese popular culture like music from Japanese rock bands and idolize Japanese musicians and voice actors. In these events, it is common to see booths that sell Japanese products such as original character merchandize, music CDs and even back issues of specialized Japanese magazines pertaining to popular culture which are not readily available in Philippine shops. Especially in the events during the beginning of the cosplay subculture, there is a palpable feeling of admiration towards Japan. Cosplayers and attendees alike seem to view Japan and things from it positively and even consume Japanese products as a result.

However, the Filipino cosplay subculture has come into its own especially after the anime fever cooled down in 2003. While there seems to be a unanimous agreement that the Japanese practice is the model for cosplaying to strive for and a rich source of inspiration, the main focus remains to be the hobby itself, the art and performance aspects of it. Some expressed interest in visiting Japan and joining the cosplaying events there but it does not go beyond the simple appreciation for what they consider as the birthplace of the subculture.

In the course of the development of the subculture, Filipino cosplayers have turned towards other sources of inspiration such as Western comics and even their own comics and popular culture. Especially in recent times, there is an attempt to establish the uniqueness and distinctiveness of Filipino-style cosplay and this can be seen with the events promotion itself and the attitude of cosplayers. There is an obvious drive to be recognized worldwide for their skills, craftsmanship and artistry. It does not seem farfetched to say that the cosplayers are a bunch of proud Filipino youths who just happen to channel their creativity and ingenuity in constructing costumes and love of performance skills through a practice that was popularized in Japan.

While the researcher has yet to research intensively about the cosplay subcultures in other countries in order to compare, the Filipino cosplay subculture appears to have developed its own peculiar characteristics. One of this is the family bonding component observed in instances where families cosplayed together and where family members such as parents supported cosplayers by attending the events. As what was pointed out in the earlier section discussing the appropriation and adaptation of anime, the cosplay subculture presents yet another concrete example of the globalization of cultural products.

Just as Allison stated, the anime phenomenon created a new kind of global imagination⁴³³ and in this instance, the cosplay subculture embodies a new type of practice or performance art that has captured international participation and engagement. At the same time, the cosplay subculture also exhibits the twin processes of globalization and glocalization. This practice presents itself as sort of a template that is, in due course, adapted and adjusted to the specificities of the local culture—thus creating a local, indigenized version just as with other forms of cultural products that are transmitted beyond national boundaries.

3.3.4 Concluding Remarks for Section 3.3

As what was shown in the previous paragraphs, the cosplay subculture in the Philippines was initially a homage to the Japanese practice as it is clearly borne out of the anime phenomenon. However, the course of the subculture's development through the years portrays a process of localization—the cosplay practice has become an avenue for Filipino self-expression and creativity and its events became social ones that even included family participation. It has also come to stimulate businesses and informal regional as well as global networking among cosplay practitioners. In this sense, while the practice itself is expanding, the practitioners of each country are pursuing their own version of it at the same time.

3.4 Summary of the Analyses of the Cultural Phenomena and Concluding Remarks for Chapter 3

The three areas expounded on in this chapter illustrates anime's influence as existing but uneven. While it could also be a manifestation of the fact that these areas do not belong in the same specific category—the first area has an educational-institutional

⁴³³ From Allison, p. 107.

leaning, the second area tends towards the commercial mass media and the third refers to a subculture practice—the analyses on them points to certain qualities of the Japanese cultural influence resulting from anime’s popularity and pervasiveness.

For the first area of Japanese language and subject appreciation, anime piques the interest of students to a degree that they are influenced to study Japanese. But especially for the Filipinos, it is an additional push that works well in combination with other utility-based tendencies such as for study and work opportunities in Japan. The reinforcement of this influence in taking-up Japanese courses can also come from people who have had positive encounters with Japan such as professors, relatives and friends. In this scenario, it is difficult to isolate interest based solely on anime and other Japanese pop culture products with other pragmatic ramifications stemming from the two countries’ economic differences.

For the second area focusing on Filipino popular media culture, a closer look into the levels of appropriation betrays a somewhat superficial influence that was stronger for a period of time. There was a slight Japan boom that lasted from 2000 to 2002 when anime first burst into mainstream consciousness although the novelty subsequently wore out. Especially in terms of the local adaptations of anime, it just proved to be the source of storylines and characters. More so in the recent ones, there has been a stronger reassertion of local flavor and preferences and this tendency is becoming more pronounced as Filipino media capabilities are developing.

As for the third area which is the creation of Filipino cosplay subculture, Japanese influence was very prominent in the beginning. In the course of the subculture’s growth, however, there has been more concentration on the improvement of the craft and practice itself using Filipino creativity and ingenuity. While anime and

Japanese pop culture continue to be an inspiration especially in terms of characters, there has been more emphasis on the uniqueness of Filipino-style cosplay in the recent events.

Findings seem to align in the last two areas-- in the period of anime boom from 2000 to 2002, there was a manifestly strong Japanese influence on them. But after the boom died down and anime became a regular part of the mainstream, the development seems to incline towards a more localized, indigenized version. As mentioned before, the power of anime seems to rest on its ability to inspire a new kind of imagination in new territories wherein it provides templates for storylines, characters and even subculture practices. These templates are subsequently adjusted accordingly to local specificities—revealing both globalization and glocalization at work.

Chapter 4

**JAPANESE CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN THE PHILIPPINES IN
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE AND A DISCUSSION OF THE
ANIME PHENOMENON BEYOND
PHILIPPINE – JAPAN RELATIONS**

4. Japanese Cultural Influence in the Philippines in Historical Perspective and the Anime Phenomenon Beyond Philippine – Japan Relations

This chapter endeavors to present Japanese cultural influence in the Philippines throughout history and discusses whether the one resulting from anime's popularity and pervasiveness constitutes a turning point in the relations of the two countries. The final section evaluates the phenomenon beyond the dynamics of the bilateral relations and in terms of the worldwide trend of globalization. It is divided into five parts: first, a brief overview of the cultural influence of Japan in the Philippines in different periods of history; second, a discussion of the contemporary factors concurrent with the anime phenomenon that also produces cultural influence; third, an analysis of the anime boom as a critical juncture in the said countries' cultural links; fourth, an examination of the phenomenon's effects, relevance and implications on Philippines' relations with Japan; and, lastly, an assessment of this phenomena through the framework of various processes occurring within international relations in contemporary times.

4.1 Overview of Japanese Cultural Influence in the Philippines

As what was delineated in the introductory chapter, the discussion of cultural influence in this study includes both the formal ways of cultural exchange and unofficial diffusion of cultural elements as well as significant events in history that formed and shaped images and impressions. In order to discuss Japanese cultural influence in the Philippines, it is necessary to focus on the cultural component of the history of relations between the two countries. This aspect is integrated into the many areas in which Philippines and Japan interacted, inside and outside of formal bilateral relations. Spheres in which features of cultural elements may be found are: Japan's international

cultural diplomacy, cultural exchanges made possible by private organizations and or exposure resulting naturally from contacts between the Japanese and Filipinos down to the individual level, even outside of official, legal channels and without deliberate efforts.⁵⁰⁷

The relations between the two countries go as far back as unwritten history⁵⁰⁸ and even before the Spanish colonial period from 1521 to 1898, the Philippines and Japan have been linked in the social, economic and cultural spheres and more oftentimes than not, these spheres have overlapped.⁵⁰⁹ There were only people-to-people relations before the advent of nations and governments and in the case of the two countries, Japanese fishermen and traders—mostly from Nagasaki—would sail to Manila, Philippines in October and May and sail back to Japan in June or July. They formed small communities called *Nihonmachi* or Japanese towns in Manila, Cagayan and Pangasinan before the Spanish came.⁵¹⁰

The interaction that resulted from this meeting between people from different countries was in itself a dialogue between cultures for humans are both objects and conveyors of cultural influences.⁵¹¹ However, as the history of relations between the two countries span several centuries and is extremely rich in detail, this overview will

⁵⁰⁷ From Yu-Jose's aforementioned article in *Philippine-External Relations: A Centennial Vista* (1998), p.327.

⁵⁰⁸ From the introductory chapter of *Philippines-Japan Relations* (Quezon City, 2003) edited by Lydia Yu-Jose and Setsuho Ikehata, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁹ For more detailed readings on Philippine-Japan relations in general, please refer to Yu-Jose's aforementioned article from the book *Philippine External Relations: A Centennial Vista* (1998) and as well as the above mentioned book *Philippine-Japan Relations* (2003) .

⁵¹⁰ Yu-Jose (1998), p. 279.

⁵¹¹ From Lydia Yu-Jose's article "The Politics of an Economic Partnership" in the book *Asian Cooperation: Problems and Challenges in the New Century* (2005), p. 40.

not attempt to cover the entire expanse but merely focus on the facets of cultural relations, exchange and historical events that are relevant to this study. Thus, it limits itself to and starts from the 1930s—the period when Japan began officially promoting cultural exchange in the Philippines mainly to protect its economic interests and promote a feeling of goodwill.⁵¹²

4.1.1 Goodwill Activities in the 1930s to 1940

In terms of a growing interest in each other, the decade from 1930 to 1940 showed the closest relationship between Philippines and Japan as exemplified by the various friendship and goodwill organizations as well as exchange programs participated in by both sides.⁵¹³ The main reasons behind this surge in activities were: first, the forthcoming Philippine independence from American colonial rule as institutionalized by the passing of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, otherwise known as Philippine Independence Act, by the US Congress and second, Japan's economic expansion in the southern areas—otherwise considered as one pillar of the ideological advocacy *Nanshin-ron* (southward advance in English) popular during that time.⁵¹⁴

This period is characterized by Japan's increasingly forceful foreign policies as highlighted by the Manchurian Incident in 1931 and the ensuing Sino-Japanese War in 1937. Concurrently, the Philippine government was preparing for its eventual self-rule and in contemplation of its situation once the free trade with the US is brought to a halt, was eager to build good economic and political relations with Japan. This enthusiasm,

⁵¹² As discussed by Yu-Jose in her aforementioned article and also, by Motoe Terami-Wada in her article "Cultivating Goodwill between Japan and the Philippines in the 1930s" in the book *Philippines-Japan Relations* (2003).

⁵¹³ Terami-Wada, p. 155.

⁵¹⁴ Terami-Wada, p. 155, quoting scholar Grant Goodman in his numerous articles on the cultural exchange between the Philippines and Japan in the 30s.

however, existed side by side with fear and suspicion not only as a result of Japan's aggression in China but also, the growing Japanese population and their control over the Philippine economy.

By 1930, the Japanese population in the country surged to 19,600 especially concentrated in Davao because of the abaca plantations⁵¹⁵. This was the biggest concentration of Japanese immigrants in Southeast Asia during that period.⁵¹⁶ The Japanese, together with the Chinese, were the key foreign nationals exerting influence on the country's economy with the latter mostly dealing with retailing businesses. The Filipino government's response through the passing of various bills limiting foreign participation in the country's economy was viewed as anti-Japanese by Japan.⁵¹⁷ In other words, the situation was ripe for the creation of avenues for closer ties and the supposed benefits that it would entail including mutual understanding.

The first move towards this goal came from the Philippine side. In view of the islands' imminent autonomy, the Philippine House of Representatives created the Philippine Legislature Trade Mission to Japan in 1933. The mission was composed of thirty members and emphasized friendship and closer cooperation between the two

⁵¹⁵ Abaca (scientific name: *Musa textilis*) is a species of banana native to the Philippines and grown for its fiber, once generally called Manila hemp. It was of great economic importance as it was originally used in the manufacture of twines and ropes. The Manila hemp exported to Japan was grown in Japanese-run plantations in Davao in Mindanao which started after the end of World War I. The Japanese community in that area grew together with the plantations and during the Great Depression, the Davao production surpassed the one in Bicol region of the Philippines which was geared towards the US market. This information is from Yoshiko Nagano's article "Philippines and Japan in the Intra-Asian Trade, 1868-1941" in the book *Philippines-Japan Relations* (2003) where she quotes Shinzo Hayase's PhD dissertation entitled "Tribes, Settlers, and Administrators on a Frontier: Economic Development and Social Change in Davao, Southeastern Mindanao, the Philippines, 1899-1941" which was submitted to Murdoch University in 1984.

⁵¹⁶ For a more detailed discussion on this topic, please refer to the aforementioned articles and books.

⁵¹⁷ Terami-Wada, p. 169.

countries. It was warmly welcomed by Japan, even inspiring the latter to organize a Japan-Philippine Society. The following year, the organization called *Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai* (Society for the Promotion of Cultural Relations in English) or KBS was established in Japan.

KBS' objective was akin to propaganda agencies run by other Western powers and one of its activities was the introduction of books on Japan and the Japanese language to the Philippines.⁵¹⁸ In 1935, two years after the mission, the *Firipin Kyokai* (Philippine Society of Japan in English) or FK⁵¹⁹ was inaugurated with the purpose of promoting and strengthening cultural and economic relations by assisting in the arrangement of visits and student exchanges. It was the main vehicle for the cultural contact between the two countries until the outbreak of World War II in the Pacific.⁵²⁰

The motivation of both sides, especially the Japanese, was spurred mainly by economic interests. FK was made up of Japanese businessmen with investments in the Philippines and headed by Japanese aristocrats. FK's main purpose, as manifested by its monthly publication *Firipin Joho* (Information on the Philippines in English) was to provide information to Japanese traders, investors and immigrants. In cooperation with KBS, the society also entertained visiting students and professionals in Japan. It was also assigned the task of accommodating visiting Filipino government officials and also functioned as the main organization that attended to Filipino scholars in Japan in the 1930s.

⁵¹⁸ KBS is much like a forerunner of what Japan Foundation or JF as an agency is doing at the moment. The Japan Foundation library in Tokyo holds all the documents and works that belonged to KBS which as an organization lasted from 1934 to 1972. From the Japan Foundation website.

⁵¹⁹ Compared to KBS, FK is made up of mostly Japanese businessmen and aristocrats whose main interest was doing business in the Philippines.

⁵²⁰ Ibid, p. 157.

In 1936, FK's Filipino counterpart, the Philippine-Japan Society, was established with then Philippine Commonwealth President Manuel L. Quezon as honorary president. The members of PJS were distinguished people in their respective fields and its activities were similar to FK with regards to welcoming Japanese visitors. Together with FK, it broadcasted a 45-minute radio program called "The Land of Cherry Blossoms" twice a week where Filipinos and Americans knowledgeable in Japanese culture, history and way of life were invited to speak. With the exception of these two activities, however, PJS was inactive.⁵²¹ With the eruption of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the tone of FK's activities became increasingly political. Members defended Japan's actions in China and solicited support from their Filipino counterparts.

From 1935 to 1940, exchange programs from both sides were also arranged with the aim of promoting goodwill. The most significant exchange programs included Philippine educational tours to Japan, Japanese student study tours to the Philippines, professorial exchange and the Philippine-Japan student conferences.⁵²² The first educational tour was organized in April and May of 1935 under the guidance of the Japanese Consulate in Manila, with sixty people composed of mostly students and professionals such as lawyers, social workers and journalists. In the pamphlet published upon their return, members of the tour wrote about their admiration of Japan especially with its developed agricultural system and the industry, simplicity and the nationalism they have observed of its people.

The success of this first educational tour led to the establishment of the

⁵²¹ Ibid., p. 158.

⁵²² Ibid., pp. 158-167

Philippine Student Travel Association or PSTA, the Manila Japanese Language School or MJLS and the Japan Information Bureau or JIB. Subsequent tours were held annually until 1940 with the biggest number of participants at around ninety participants in 1937 that even included a personal representative of Pres. Quezon.⁵²³ By 1938, however, the number went down and in the final one, only nine Filipinos joined. This is viewed as the result of the widening disagreement between the Filipino and Japanese perception of Japan's activities in China.

From the Japanese side, a similar kind of tour, dubbed the "Student Study Tour Party to the Philippines", was sponsored by Japanese newspapers *Osaka Mainichi* and *Tokyo Nichi Nichi* starting in 1936. The Japanese students who joined these tours were treated as state guests and met notable Filipino figures during their stay. One of the results of these occasions is the forming of stereotypes of people from both countries: Japanese found Filipino students frivolous and childlike while the former found the latter austere, intense and dull.⁵²⁴

Aside from these student exchanges, professorial exchanges were also organized from 1936. In the first occasion, Professor Vicente Sinco from the University of the Philippines was sent to Japan and Professor Kojiro Sugimori from Waseda University was sent to the Philippines. Through Prof. Sinco's urging, the president of UP Jorge Bocobo created a program of exchange professorships. The success of both the student and professorial exchange led to the formation of the annual student conference between Philippines and Japan with the venue alternating between Manila and Tokyo.⁵²⁵

⁵²³ Ibid., p. 160.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., p. 163.

⁵²⁵ This activity was similar to the America-Japan Student Conferences held from 1934 to 1941 with the identical purpose

In March of 1937, twenty seven Filipino students arrived in Tokyo to exchange views on current issues with their Japanese counterparts in a two-day conference under the supervision of KBS. The next conference was held for three days in Manila in August of 1938 and the twenty Japanese student-participants were invited by Pres. Quezon to his official residence. The last one was held in 1940 as the US government decided not to issue passports in the following year for people who would like to travel to Japan. The enthusiasm expressed in the initial stages seemed to have died down not only in the light of Japan's activities in China but also with regards to the Davao problem⁵²⁶, with the last conference marked by a confrontational character.⁵²⁷ For the Japanese, the conference turned into a propaganda vehicle in their attempts to convince the Filipinos that Japan is the leader of Asia and their Chinese incursion was just.

In the analysis of these activities, there appears to be a divergence between the intentions of the two countries. Japan participated chiefly to advance its economic interests rather than to understand Philippine society and culture. The keenness that participants had in learning about the Philippines was mostly to facilitate the promotion of Japanese economic aims. One main reason is that the Japanese considered its culture superior to that of the Philippines and found nothing worth learning from the latter.⁵²⁸

of exchanging views between students of the concerned countries. However, it is not clear in the available readings whether the Philippine or the Japanese side were inspired by these conferences to do the same. After WWII, the conferences were referred to as Japan-America Student Conference and at present, the organization founded from them is celebrating its 70th anniversary. Details about these conferences can be found on their website.

⁵²⁶ As what was mentioned in the initial part of this section, one of the sensitive issues between the Filipinos and Japanese during this period was the apparent encroachment of the latter into Philippine economy by way of the Japanese-controlled abaca plantations in Davao, southern part of the Philippines.

⁵²⁷ Terami-Wada, p. 166.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., p. 168, quoting Yu-Jose in her book *Japan Views the Philippines: 1900-1944*. (1992), pp. 156-159.

This sentiment could also be the reason for the patronizing attitude of the Japanese towards the Filipinos.⁵²⁹

On the other hand, the Filipinos' eagerness and effort to learn from Japan and build closer links are for the sake of their future independent country. While wary of Japan's military strength and aggressive nature, Filipino intellectuals and thinkers admire how Japan rose to become a powerful and nationalistic Asian country. For them, there were lessons to be emulated from Japan's success story especially in the process of constructing the Philippines' nationhood.⁵³⁰ If the whole picture is taken into account, it is also noteworthy that the Japanese side's efforts for cultural diplomacy reached only a handful of privileged Filipinos. The attraction of the Japanese national strength, orderly systems and traditional arts was simply irrelevant to the majority whose notion of Japanese culture is limited to cheap and low-quality toys, bicycles, fountain pens, make-up and hair dyes which were made in Japan and sold in the Philippines.⁵³¹

4.1.2 The Japanese Occupation Period from 1941 to 1945

The Japanese army began its systematic invasion of the Philippines on December 8, 1941, ten hours after it attacked the US naval base at Pearl Harbor—effectively instigating the Pacific arm of World War II. After staging a beachhead at Bataan in the northern island of Luzon, it ordered strikes on the island proper and launched assaults in Davao in the southern island of Mindanao. On January 2, 1942, the army took over the capital of Manila and on the next day, set up a military

⁵²⁹ Ibid., p. 168.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., pp. 169-178.

⁵³¹ From Lydia Yu-Jose's article "Japan's Cultural Diplomacy in the Philippines in the Last Fifty Years: An Assessment" in the book *The Past, Love, Money and Much More: Philippines-Japan Relations Since the End of the Second World War* (2008), p. 44.

government—the Japanese Military Administration or JMA-- that would run the occupied country for three years and eight months. The Commonwealth government headed by Pres. Quezon and Vice President Sergio Osmena was moved to Corregidor and later to the US to set up a government in exile.

One of JMA's priorities was to institute a local administrative body with Filipino staff members. Prewar Filipino officials such as the remaining Commonwealth officers were coerced by Japanese military officers to form what became the Philippine Executive Commission. With the orders and policies coming from JMA, PEC was obviously in an inferior position and there is very little room for maneuver.⁵³² To serve as balance to JMA's military character, a civilian advisor, Shozo Murata, was assigned to the occupation army although his recommendations were not taken seriously. Through his efforts, however, the Research Commission on the Philippines headed by esteemed scholar Masamichi Royama studied Filipino economy, education, religion, population and government in 1943. These activities eventually succumbed to more urgent military objectives and did not have any direct impact.⁵³³

Another person to encourage Philippine-Japan cultural exchange during WWII was Marquis Yorisada Tokugawa who, as head of the Philippine Association of Japan or PAJ, visited the Philippines in 1942. In the following year, nineteen Filipinos were sent to Japan to observe actual conditions. In addition, young Filipino men—mostly sons of prominent government officials and constabulary officers-- were selected for a student program similar to the US *pensionado* scholarship. Together with other students from Japanese-occupied areas in Southeast Asia, they were termed *Nanpou ryuugakusei*

⁵³² From Ricardo T. Jose's article "Test of Wills: Diplomacy between Japan and the Laurel Government" in the book *Philippines-Japan Relations*, p. 186.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

(exchange students from the southern regions in English) and were sent to Japan to study. Most of these initiatives reflected Japan's short and long-term plans for the Philippines and the Filipinos did not have a choice in the matter.⁵³⁴

In October 1943, the Second Philippine Republic headed by Jose P. Laurel replaced JMA in a calculated move to demonstrate Japan's benevolence to the world by allowing Philippine independence. One of the first acts of the newly-formed National Assembly was to launch the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with Claro M. Recto as minister. Jorge B. Vargas, formerly the chairman of the PEC, was appointed as the ambassador to Japan. He looked at his role as an emissary of goodwill and noted the importance of developing relations in commerce, culture, arts and especially sports.⁵³⁵ From the Japanese side, the Japanese embassy, under the auspices of Japan's own *Gaimusho* (now Ministry of Foreign Affairs in English or MOFA) was tasked to iron out potential problems between the two countries. Murata was officially appointed as the ambassador to the Philippines.

It took almost a year before the Philippine embassy in Tokyo would open. All these changes were nonetheless cosmetic in nature and the Japanese continued their maltreatment of Filipinos. Pres. Laurel and Vice Pres. Recto documented and submitted these numerous complaints to the embassy which in turn passed them on to the Army or Navy attaches which hardly responded with actions. Despite their protests and intercessions, the abuses continued and both prominent and ordinary Filipino men and

⁵³⁴ Ibid. and also from Yu-Jose's article, (1998) p. 186-187. For a more detailed account of this wartime pensionados or *Nanpou ryuugakusei* from the Philippines, please take a look at Grant Goodman's *An Experiment in Wartime Intercultural Relations: Philippine Students in Japan, 1943-1945* (1962) where the two articles quoted from.

⁵³⁵ Jose, p. 202.

women were killed.⁵³⁶

Even with the installation of the Laurel government, the Japanese retained control in actuality and there was not any significant change in the day-to-day existence of the Filipinos. Culturally, the policies that the Japanese implemented sought to reorient Filipino culture away from Western influence and into Japanese. The study of the Japanese language, history and culture became a requirement in all schools and the use of Tagalog was promoted. There were exercise commands broadcasted by radio everyday and everyone was made to bow to Japanese guards and even towards the direction of Tokyo where the emperor resides. In the books, references to US, democracy and freedom were crossed out.⁵³⁷

This application of severe discipline coupled with copious incidences of cruelty and violence became the reality of the general Filipino populace—most of which were encountering the Japanese face to face for the first time. All in all, only a few Filipinos survived the war without horror and suffering.⁵³⁸ Japan finally surrendered to the Allied Forces in September 1945 and the Filipino pensionados in Japan were repatriated almost immediately. Most of them became successful and played important roles in postwar Philippines. With their knowledge in Japan and their maintenance of ties with their Japanese colleagues, they became bridges for rebuilding the broken relationship between Philippines and Japan.⁵³⁹

Compared to other countries in Southeast Asia that were under the control of Japan during World War II, the occupation of the Philippines stands out as an extreme

⁵³⁶ Ibid., pp. 200-207.

⁵³⁷ Yu, Jose (1998), p. 304.

⁵³⁸ Yu-Jose (2008), p. 45-46

⁵³⁹ Yu-Jose (1998), p. 308.

example of both human and material devastation.⁵⁴⁰ According to an official Philippine government assessment submitted to the Japanese government in 1952, the number of Filipino lives lost in the war was estimated at 1,111,983.⁵⁴¹ The victimization of the Philippines extends beyond the battlefield as the Filipinos were forced to suffer loss of jobs, starvation, lack of the basic necessities of life, forced labor, forced prostitution, torture, insult, plunder, rape, violence and deprivation of human rights.⁵⁴² It is the single most defining moment in the history of Philippine – Japan relations—etched deep in the collective Filipino memory and a dark specter of the past that still hovers even at the present.

4.1.3 Immediate Postwar Up to the Mid-1950s

The wounds dealt by the war had yet to heal but trade already resumed as early as 1947. Despite this, both countries were technically still at war before a peace treaty could be agreed upon. The first postwar major negotiations between the two countries which involved the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the War Reparations Agreement encountered a lot of difficulties. As the Philippine side did not want to ratify the peace treaty without any agreement on reparations, the negotiations revolved around Japan's insistence on paying them only according to its ability and in terms of the measurable damages and losses the Philippines suffered during the war.⁵⁴³ The biggest stumbling blocks were the severe anti-Japanese mood and public opinion in the Philippines as well as the sincere desire of Filipinos to be compensated, and not just the mere politicking of

⁵⁴⁰ From Setsuho Ikehata's introduction to the book *The Philippines Under Japan: Occupation Policy and Reaction* (1999), p. 1.

⁵⁴¹ From Hitoshi Nagai's article "The Tokyo War Crimes Trial" in the book *Philippines-Japan Relations*, p. 261.

⁵⁴² Ikehata, p. 1.

⁵⁴³ Yu-Jose (2008), p. 46, quoting Yoko Yoshikawa's article "War Reparations Implementation, Reparations-Secured Loans and a Treaty of Commerce" in the book *Philippines-Japan Relations* (2003).

the two governments.⁵⁴⁴

Clearly, the task for the Japanese was to appease the Filipinos but especially in the first half of the 50s, it seemed farfetched to use its cultural assets such as ikebana, Noh performances, origami demonstration and the like to placate the strong anti-Japanese feeling. At the same time, it could not afford cultural diplomacy as heavy reconstruction was still ongoing. Another problem that presented itself was the renewed fears among the Asian countries regarding Japan's re-militarization—a result of its concession to the US request which was in turn due to the Communist invasion of Korea in 1950. To add to the dilemma, Japan could not use its fast recovery from the war to promote itself as obviously the Philippine side would demand bigger compensation. It also could not employ anti-communist policy—although an attractive ploy for the Philippines as it is fighting local communist factions and is threatened by communist expansion-- as it might jeopardize relations with China and the Soviet Union.⁵⁴⁵

Sports was one of the limited resources that Japan could utilize and before the restoration of normal relations, cultural exchanges occurred especially through “sports diplomacy”. In March 1951, the first Asian Games was held in New Delhi, India and it presented a chance for both countries to explore sports as a means to slowly mend the strained relationship.⁵⁴⁶ In the next year, the Philippines sent a basketball team to Japan in February and games took place in Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya where the Philippine Air

⁵⁴⁴ Yu, Jose (2008), p. 47, quoting Milton Walter Meyer's book *A Diplomatic History of the Philippine Republic* (1965), p. 63.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., p.47.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., quoting a newspaper article by Ernesto T. Bitong entitled “The Japanese are Back!” in *Philippine Free Press*, May, 18, 1957 issue., p. 27.

Lines Basketball Team played against Japanese company and university basketball teams. These matches aimed to promote friendship and mutual understanding and was organized by Japan Basketball Association and sponsored by *Yomiuri Shimbunsha* (Yomiuri Newspaper Company in English) in cooperation with the MOFA and *Firipin Tomo no Kai* (Philippine Friendship Club in English). Filipino tennis players and swimmers were also sent to Japan in July of the same year and Japanese tennis players also visited the Philippines to play. In 1953, the Osaka baseball team Kanebo All Stars came and played with the Canlubang Sugar Barons. The second Asian Games was held in Manila in 1953 and saw the arrival of the largest contingent of Japanese in the country since the end of the war.

Aside from sports diplomacy, other means of cultural exchange especially involving students were arranged. Around the same time, the first batch of Japanese students came to the Philippines to study and *Mombukagakusho* (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology or MEXT in English) welcomed Filipino recipients in Japan in 1952.⁵⁴⁷ There were pen pal clubs wherein Japanese and Filipino students exchanged letters with each other and in January 1953, four Japanese students came to attend the first postwar Philippine-Japan student conference. In the following year, Japanese boy scouts came to participate in the first Philippine National Boy Scouts Jamboree in Quezon City.

While these cultural exchanges did not necessarily motivate the Philippine Senate in the eventual ratification of the peace treaty and the reparations agreement on July 23, 1956, they are evidences that the Japanese side did not merely rely on practical economic arguments in convincing the Philippine side. The Filipino government was

⁵⁴⁷ From the article "Philippine-Japan Relations: A Chronology of Events", p. 4 of *Japan Bulletin* January 2006 issue.

visibly driven by pragmatic concerns—the realities of the Cold War and assurances of trade, aid, grants, loans and investments-- in its ratification of the treaty and agreement. However, the fact remained that it was obstructed by the Filipino public's strong anti-Japanese sentiments which could prove harmful to the future of the leaders' political careers. The insufficient results of Japanese cultural diplomacy in this period, however, were reflected in the uphill climb of the ratification of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation or the commercial treaty.⁵⁴⁸

4.1.4 Initial Part of the Reparation Years, the 1960s and Early 1970s

According to the agreement signed between Philippines and Japan, the duration of war reparations would take twenty years from the agreement's promulgation in 1956. In the beginning of this reparation period, Japan made staunch efforts to have a commercial treaty signed by the Philippines as it had a stable economy second only to Japan in Asia. It used then Philippine President Carlos P. Garcia's political need to carry out development projects from proposed adjustments in the reparations agreement as a bargaining tool to kick start the negotiations.⁵⁴⁹ In December 1960, the two governments signed the commercial treaty but while the Japanese Diet ratified it the next year, the Philippine Senate persistently refused to do so.

In November 1962, the then Crown Prince (now Emperor) Akihito and Princess (now Empress) Michiko visited the Philippines with the announcement that the purpose was to promote friendship and goodwill. Nevertheless, the Philippine mass media reported speculations that the underlying aim was to charm the public into a favorable opinion for the treaty ratification. During this period, the media continuously

⁵⁴⁸ Yu, Jose (2008), p. 48-49.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 49, quoting Yoshikawa's aforementioned article in *Philippines-Japan Relations*.

expressed great uncertainty about the treaty's benefits to the Filipinos and constantly revived memories of the war and occupation as cautionary tales for the readers. The passing of two decades did not lessen the potency of war recollection as a device in rallying up suspicions about Japanese intentions.⁵⁵⁰

By this time, however, Japan was ready to present an image of a peaceful, modern, friendly, generous and trustworthy nation as it was already economically confident. It was also resolute in expanding the markets for its exports and obtaining raw materials from its neighboring countries to facilitate its booming manufacturing industry. The 1960s marked the beginning of the Japanese practice of inviting journalists, educators and artists to see the economic development of Japan and asking them to write about their experiences when they go back to their respective countries. In the Philippines, articles with positive views about the new Japan were published.

In January 1966, the weekly Manila Chronicle Magazine featured Japan in a special issue and used an image of the Toshogu Shrine in Nikko, Tochigi Prefecture as cover. The associate editor of the magazine, Ileana Maramag, who have had toured Tokyo, Kyoto and Nara through the assistance of MOFA, wrote about Japan's pursuit of a policy of progress through peace. In another article written by a law professor of the University of Santo Tomas or UST who was also invited by the Japanese government, Japan was praised for its review of its educational system and advocated that Filipino educators do the same. Other articles introduced Japanese traditional arts, a woman novelist, transistors and satellite transmitters, the Toyota car, Hotel Okura and the Japanese shipping industry—all with a substantial amount of admiration.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., p. 50.

Other examples of efforts for cultural diplomacy were well underway. In December 1966, MOFA donated the first Japanese Studies Program in the Philippines to Ateneo de Manila University and it included salaries of visiting Japanese professors as well as free tuition for students in the subjects. The following year, the Japan Information and Cultural Center or JICC in Manila was established and it became the main source of information related to Japan. JICC was also tasked to screen applicants for the Japanese government scholarship and offer Japanese language lessons. In 1968, the Ship for Southeast Asian Youth Program or SSEAYP ship arrived for the first time in Manila and the Japanese Garden in Luneta Park—an important historical landmark for the Filipinos⁵⁵²—was completed. On the local government level, sister city relationships were formed from this decade on until the next with the purpose of goodwill through friendship and cultural exchanges. The cities involved were Caba and Oizumi in 1964, Manila and Yokohama in 1965, Baguio and Hanyu in 1969, Pasig and Marugame in 1972, Quezon City and Chiba in 1972 and again, Baguio and Wakkanai in 1973.

Still another kind of approach was what can be termed as “people to people” had its roots in this period with the launch of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers or JOCV by the Japanese government in 1965. Similar to the US Peace Corps, JOVC dispatched volunteers to the Philippines with a particular goal of assistance, usually technical training. Within a few years, a private organization with government assistance called the Organization for Industrial, Spiritual and Cultural Achievement or OISCA began sending young Japanese agriculturists to provide assistance in the

⁵⁵² Luneta Park which is now called Rizal Park was formerly Bagumbayan—the place where Philippine national hero, Jose Rizal, was executed through firing squad by the Spanish colonial government on December 30, 1896. The execution helped brought about the Philippine Revolution and the date is observed annually as a national holiday called Rizal Day.

Philippines. It also started bringing in young Filipinos to train in Japan.⁵⁵³ Both groups continued well into the 80s and in contemporary times.⁵⁵⁴

Whether or not these efforts were solely intended to win over the Philippine side to ratify the treaty, they were not successful in changing the stance of the Philippine Senate. Only after the declaration of martial law in September 1972 was the treaty proclaimed as approved by then Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos who effectively started ruling as a dictator. Public opinion which proved to be a very tough deterrent against the ratification of the treaty was silenced during the dictatorship and the unilateral approval of it illustrates that Japan was attractive to Marcos, not the general public.⁵⁵⁵

4.1.5 The Marcos Regime from the Martial Law Years (1972 to 1981) to the Mid-1980s

The martial law years which lasted from 1972 to 1981 and Marcos' remaining rule up to the year 1986 corresponded to the commencement of the Fukuda Doctrine in August 1977. A response to the anti-Japanese demonstrations during then Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka's visits in many Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN countries in 1974 due to unfair trade practices, the doctrine pledged a change of policy from that of aggressive trade and profit-making to one of fostering "heart to

⁵⁵³ From David Wurfel's article "Japan-Philippine Relations: Economic and Cultural Determinants of Mutual Images in an Unequal Cooperative Dyad", a paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Association of Asian Studies in Chicago, March 21-23, 1986. This article can be accessed online.

⁵⁵⁴ In fact, OISCA is one of the 15 Japanese non-governmental organizations or NGOs active in the Philippines under the NGO-JICA Japan Desk at present. For more information, please see NGO-JICA's website at the Bibliography section.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., pp 51-52.

heart relations”-- the increase of economic aid, promotion of friendship and cultivation of cultural relations. Then Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda articulated this in a speech delivered in Manila which essentially was more dramatic than its actual impact— aid thus doubled but trade surplus remained tilted in favor of Japan and cultural policy was halfheartedly implemented.⁵⁵⁶

The enhancement of economic aid, however, was an advantage to Marcos who found it easier to obtain and control Japanese official development assistance or ODA as it came without any conditions compared to those from the US, the International Monetary Fund or IMF and the World Bank or WB. Utilizing the Japanese ODA, his administration implemented extensive infrastructure construction but the process was tainted with corruption. Having the sole authority to make decisions, he arranged for the contracts afforded by the loans and aids to be distributed among his cronies. In fact, a straightforward accounting of what has transpired is yet to be done even to this date. While the Fukuda Doctrine represented a turning point in Japan’s relations with ASEAN in terms of the official promise to give support to the countries’ economic development despite its limited impact, it is rather inopportune that the Philippines was under a dictatorship and also unfortunate that Japan did not discriminate against a dictator owing to the principle of separating economics and politics.⁵⁵⁷

The relationship between Philippines and Japan was mostly in economic terms during this period. The 1970s saw an increase in the volume of Philippine-Japan

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 53 quoting Sueo Sudo in his book *The Fukuda Doctrine and ASEAN* (1992), pp. 71-72, pp. 233-234. In the first stages, the implementation of the cultural policy appeared one-sided as it essentially was focused on Japan showcasing its culture to the ASEAN countries rather than an actual exchange to reaching a cultural dialogue which was the main objective

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 54-53.

trade and Japan became the second largest trading partner of the Philippines after the US, at times having a better record. Also, from this decade on, Japan has become the country's biggest source of grants and loans.⁵⁵⁸ On the other hand, this decade also paved the way for an institutionalization of cultural exchanges on the Japanese side.⁵⁵⁹ The foremost organization tasked with cultural affairs, the *Kokusai Kōryū Kikin* or Japan Foundation or JF, was established in 1972 under Law Number 48 or the Japan Foundation Law. The operational funds came from an initial government endowment of 5 billion yen and the main purpose of the foundation is to carry on activities for international exchange. Aside from its activities, the foundation is also authorized to extend financial assistance and support to private sector organizations involved in cultural exchange programs or educational programs through undertaking joint sponsorship programs or providing grants.⁵⁶⁰

Japanese cooperation in terms of volunteerism and non-governmental organizations or NGOs also started to take off. The Philippine contingent of JOVC has become the largest in the world with 98 resident volunteers in 1984. By this time, about 700 volunteers has come and gone since the start of the initiative and nearly ten percent of them have married Filipino nationals. As for OISCA, 336 agricultural experts had been sent to the Philippines and 245 Filipinos had been trained at centers in Japan by 1983. It has also organized a national chapter which had nineteen branches with seven rural development and youth training projects in Mindanao. Certificates of appreciation for OISCA were presented by the former First Lady Imelda Marcos in Malacanang in October 1983. The Ajia Idobata-kai or Deep Well Society of Asia also started to teach

⁵⁵⁸ Yu-Jose's (1998) p. 321, p. 324.

⁵⁵⁹ From "Philippine-Japan Relations: A Chronology of Events", p. 4.

⁵⁶⁰ From the Background Section of the *Japan Foundation Annual Report 1999*.

the traditional method of digging a well to a group of farmers in Mindanao.

At around this time, Japan had already built an enviable image of itself. Its economic miracle that saw it rise from the ashes of war and accumulate a huge amount of capital through labor-intensive industrialization starting from 1960s to the 1970s had a tremendous impact on government officials and intellectual leaders. It was an esteemed model of modernization while at the same time, its traditional arts such as ikebana, Noh, Kabuki, origami, literature and films attracted the elite. The wives of Filipino cabinet members were usually present at ikebana demonstrations and exhibits. Members of the high society, the diplomatic corps, professionals, businessmen and students were invited to Japanese cultural performances and film screenings at the Marcos-built Cultural Center of the Philippines or CCP and the Film Center. Teachers from selected high schools were taught literature and origami. The majority of Filipinos, however, remained oblivious to these developments. Nevertheless, this decade marks the beginning of Filipino migration to Japan which will prove to be a significant factor in the future of the relations.

4.1.6 Restoration of Democracy in 1986 to Early 1990s

A great deal of optimism greeted Corazon Aquino's assumption of the presidency in 1986 after the People Power Revolution that facilitated the overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship. Bilateral trade between the Philippines and Japan flourished even more although it continued to be in favor of the latter. In the area of grants, the amount of Japanese aid doubled after the launching of the Philippine Assistance Program or PAP ⁵⁶¹ in 1989 and thereafter, Japan played the leading role in doling out

⁵⁶¹ It was proposed by the US Congress as the Multi-lateral Assistance Initiative or MAI in 1987 to help the newly-restored democracy. As quoted by Yu-Jose (1998) from Akira Takahashi's "Japan's Development Cooperation in the Philippines", this reflected the new power structure in Asia with US providing the military leadership and Japan plus other donor countries giving out economic aid.

economic assistance. This expansion of the Japanese ODA was a welcome development for the newly-restored democratic government that was faced with carrying out economic and administrative reforms including the payment of huge foreign debts incurred by the previous regime. This time, however, Japan agreed to let the WB monitor the Philippines' management of the ODA as a result of the PAP initiative and thus to a certain extent, it was able to correct its ODA policy in comparison to its implementation during the Marcos rule.⁵⁶²

The relationship in terms of cultural exchange also intensified and in one way, especially through the auspices of the Japanese ODA. The Japan International Cooperation Agency or JICA which was primarily set up to serve as an agency responsible for the technical cooperation component of the ODA programs, was put in charge of the Friendship Program for the 21st century in 1984. In the program, later called the ASEAN-Japan Friendship Program, members of the youth sectors of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN countries were invited to tour Japan and listen to lectures about it. In another development, Filipino students availing of the Japanese government or *Mombusho* scholarship relatively increased between 1986 and 1987 from the time of its establishment in the early 50s. One factor is the addition of scholarship categories such as technical and vocational training starting in the 80s. It was also around this time that the number of students taking up Japanese language and courses increased. Older Japanese studies programs such as that in Ateneo de Manila University stabilized and younger Japanese studies programs in other universities were launched.⁵⁶³

⁵⁶² Yu-Jose (2008), p. 53-54, quoting Temario Rivera's article "The Politics of Japanese ODA in the Philippines" from the book *Philippines-Japan Relations* (2003), pp. 525-526, p. 529.

⁵⁶³ Yu-Jose (1998), p. 329-330.

The discernible surge in the Filipinos' interest in Japan in this period—late 1980s to the 1990s-- can be traced to the appreciation of the yen and the economic opportunities that it brought. It drove large numbers of Filipinos to seek job opportunities in Japan with the number of Filipinos entering Japan dramatically increasing from 65,529 people in 1985 to 125,329 people in 1991 (Please refer to Table 15 below) ⁵⁶⁴ and the number of registered ones surging from 12,261 people in 1985 to 61,837 people in 1991 (Please see Table 16 on the next page).⁵⁶⁵ Moreover, Japanese foreign direct investments or FDI swelled due to the high domestic labor cost in Japan in the mid-80s as a result of its remarkable economic growth, compelling many Japanese companies to relocate to Southeast Asia to outsource cheaper labor.⁵⁶⁶

Table 15: Changes in the Number of Foreign Nationals Entering Japan by Major Nationality (Place of Origin) from 1985 to 2004

Nationality (Place of Origin) \ Year	1985	1988	1991	1994	1997	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Total	2,259,894	2,414,447	3,855,952	3,831,367	4,669,514	5,272,095	5,286,310	5,771,975	5,727,240	6,756,830
R.O.Korea	296,708	515,807	1,097,601	1,140,372	1,236,597	1,286,583	1,342,987	1,472,096	1,621,903	1,774,872
China(Taiwan)	356,934	392,723	686,076	681,183	857,877	944,019	838,001	909,654	816,692	1,117,950
United States of America	487,713	457,620	554,147	548,265	642,933	749,343	715,036	755,196	678,935	785,916
China	100,972	112,389	142,150	210,476	283,467	385,296	444,441	527,796	537,700	741,659
Philippines	65,529	86,567	125,329	126,739	124,856	169,755	186,262	197,136	209,525	236,291
China(Hong Kong)	Counted separately from the United Kingdom since 1991		37,483	31,535	30,806	49,423	74,704	136,482	163,254	226,321
United Kingdom	183,863	149,954	105,535	123,638	170,251	198,675	203,551	225,074	206,331	222,284
Australia	53,553	40,568	52,058	63,323	79,548	150,046	152,480	167,868	175,315	197,940
Canada	61,270	58,583	63,120	75,560	96,516	122,260	128,707	134,845	129,460	146,109
Thailand	44,123	41,994	105,666	63,812	67,015	73,472	77,521	86,683	95,018	121,963
Others	560,076	529,115	886,787	766,464	1,079,648	1,143,223	1,122,620	1,159,145	1,093,107	1,185,525

Source: MOJ Immigration Bureau

⁵⁶⁴ From the Immigration Bureau of the Ministry of Justice or MOJ's *Immigration Control Report 2005* which can be accessed online, p. 4.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 30.

⁵⁶⁶ Yu-Jose (2008), p. 56., quoting Gwendolyn Tecson's article "Postwar Japanese Direct Investments" from the book *Philippines-Japan Relations* (2003), pp. 465-475.

Table 16: Changes in the Number of Registered Foreign Nationals by Nationality (Place of Origin) from 1985 to 2004

Nationality (Place of Origin)	1985	1988	1991	1994	1997	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Total	850,612	941,005	1,218,891	1,354,011	1,482,707	1,686,444	1,778,462	1,851,758	1,915,030	1,973,747
Korea	683,313	677,140	693,050	676,793	645,373	635,269	632,405	625,422	613,791	607,419
China	74,924	129,269	171,071	218,585	252,164	335,575	381,225	424,282	462,396	487,570
Brazil	1,955	4,159	119,333	159,619	233,254	254,394	265,962	268,332	274,700	286,557
Philippines	12,261	32,185	61,837	85,968	93,265	144,871	156,667	169,359	185,237	199,394
Peru	480	864	26,281	35,382	40,394	46,171	50,052	51,772	53,649	55,750
United States of America	29,044	32,766	42,498	43,320	43,690	44,856	46,244	47,970	47,836	48,844
Thailand	2,642	5,277	8,912	13,997	20,669	29,289	31,685	33,736	34,825	36,347
Viet Nam	4,126	4,763	6,410	8,229	11,897	16,908	19,140	21,050	23,853	26,018
Indonesia	1,704	2,379	4,574	6,282	11,936	19,346	20,831	21,671	22,862	23,890
United Kingdom	6,792	8,523	11,794	12,453	14,438	16,525	17,527	18,508	18,230	18,082
Others	33,371	43,680	73,131	93,383	115,627	143,240	156,724	169,656	177,651	183,876

Source: MOJ Immigration Bureau

The chance to work in these Japanese companies propelled college students to take Japanese courses as elective subjects. The demand was not limited to students but to other segments of the society-- men and women who wanted to work in Japan and in Japanese companies as well as those married to Japanese spouses. To cater to this, a number of Japanese schools outside of the university systems opened. The pronounced economic gap between the two countries led to the *Japayuki*⁵⁶⁷ phenomenon or the influx of Filipina entertainers to Japan, an increase in the number of students who want to study in Japan and increase in the number of Filipino-Japanese marriages. It also led to some disagreeable outcomes such as the overstaying of some workers and also, their

⁵⁶⁷ The term which literally means "Japan-bound" denotes an entertainer or hostess in a pub and does not necessarily mean one from the Philippines although a significantly large number are Filipinas. A Japayuki could come from other countries such as Thailand and the term was apparently coined in the 1980s with connotations of sexual servicing. The term can be most likely traced from the Japanese term *karayuki-san* or literally "overseas-bound" in the latter half of the 19th century which referred to Japanese women who travelled to East and Southeast Asia to become prostitutes. This is from the article "Invisible Women: Illegal Immigrants Face Sinister Work in Japan" by Chieko Kuriki dated December 4, 1988 from the *Chicago Tribune* online.

maltreatment by employers and recruitment agencies. These incidences have caused friction between the two countries but there is not any proof that they have discouraged Filipino job seekers to Japan.⁵⁶⁸

In a sense, this period marked a turning point in Philippine-Japan relations especially in terms of popular attraction. The Filipino upper and upper middle classes who have had some admiration for Japanese culture especially with regards to its history of modernization and economic success were joined by the lower middle and lower classes that were drawn by the economic prospects that Japan offered. Compared to the decades before, in the 50s and the 70s, Filipinos knowledgeable about Japan and appreciative of things Japanese were less elitist.

On another level, the dissemination of Japanese culture by returning migrant workers in Japan paralleled the cultural diplomacy conducted by Japanese institutions which usually focused their efforts to the officials, leaders and members of the elite. What the Filipino elite studied in the classroom and the activities sponsored by Japanese agencies probably differed from what a neighbor of a Filipina entertainer from Japan learned from her stories.⁵⁶⁹ While there might be a possible gap between the elite and popular attraction to Japan, it is obvious that the Philippine government appreciates Japan not only as the source of ODA, investments and trade but also as the destination of overseas Filipino workers or OFWs who contribute to the economy by sending remittances back home.

⁵⁶⁸ Yu-Jose (2008), p.56.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 58-57.

4.1.7 The Ramos Administration from 1992 to the First Decade of the 21st Century

Succeeding the Aquino government, the Ramos administration was credited with bringing about economic recovery and political stability to the Philippines. It also enabled laws to realize economic liberalization.⁵⁷⁰ Former President Fidel Ramos' credentials as a military general, his choice of ambassadors to Japan in the persons of Domingo Siazon and Alfonso Yuchengco and diplomatic initiatives have effectively strengthened Philippine-Japan relations.⁵⁷¹ As an ambassador, Yuchengco sponsored cultural performances, academic forums and the construction of Philippine national hero Jose Rizal's bust in Tokyo's Hibiya Park in order to create awareness and promote Philippine culture in Japan.

Bilateral economic negotiations achieved unprecedented level of development. This was also true with all types of cooperation from the Japanese government such as technical assistance, grant aids, yen loans and concessional financing. As a result, the Philippine government has become an important supporter of Japan in international affairs—withdrawing its bid for a non-permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council in favor of Japan in 1995 and supporting Japan's current bid for a permanent

⁵⁷⁰ This was a move by the Ramos administration to tap the potential of Asian capital flows which were in boom during the early 90s. Surplus capital was not only pouring in from newly-industrialized economies or NIEs (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore) but also from other ASEAN countries such as Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia. This was an excerpt in Takashi Shiraishi's article "The Third Wave: Southeast Asia and Middle-Class Formation in the Making of a Region" in the book *Beyond Japan: The Dynamics of East Asian Regionalism* (2006), p. 265.

⁵⁷¹ As stated by Wilfrido Villacorta in his article "Political Relations between Japan and the Philippines during the Aquino and Ramos Administrations" in the book *Philippine-Japan Relations* (2003). Siazon is married to a Japanese national, is fluent with Nihongo and had his postgraduate training in Japan. Succeeding him was Yuchengco, a leading industrialist who had extensive links with the Japanese business community.

seat in the UN Security Council as well as its participation in ASEAN as a dialogue partner.⁵⁷²

Cultural exchanges were also taking place among private organizations during this time. Student exchanges were held by major Philippine universities and Japanese universities. These programs are most especially carried out by universities with developed Japanese studies programs such as UP, ADMU and DLSU. Scholarships and immersion activities are also offered by private firms such as Japan Air Lines or JAL. There were also private organizations such as Philippine-Japan Cultural Institute or PJCI which gives services such as *ikebana* and *origami* demonstrations. Associations of former Filipino scholars in Japan such as Philippine-Japan Society⁵⁷³ and foundations such as the Philippine-Japan Friendship Foundation or PJFF also contribute to promoting cultural exchange. PJFF runs the Philippine Institute of Japanese Language and Culture or PIJLC which started giving intensive lessons on Nihongo as well as orientation courses on Japanese history and culture in 1992. Its aim is to prepare students for taking the Japanese university entrance examinations. Under the auspices of PJFF, the Nihongo Center Foundation was established in 1997.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷² Yu-Jose (2008), p. 57, quoting Villacorta (see previous footnote), pp. 587-588.

⁵⁷³ It is a pivot organization for Philippine-Japan related associations such as the Philippines-Japan Economic Cooperation or PHILJEC, the abovementioned Philippines-Japan Friendship Foundation, the Philippines-Japan Ladies Association and the Philippine Federation of Japan Alumni (PHILFEJA). Its main purpose is for developing and maintaining close Philippine-Japan relations and its annual event, the Philippines-Japan Friendship Celebration, gives recognition to prominent contributors to the development of the bilateral relations. Former recipients included former Chairman of Toyota Motors Corporation, Dr. Shoichiro Toyoda. From the press release of JICC on November 3, 2011. While sharing the same, this organization should not to be confused with the Philippine-Japan Society established in the 1930s with then Philippine Commonwealth President Manuel Quezon as honorary president.

⁵⁷⁴ As discussed by Yu-Jose (1998), the creation of Philippine-Japan Friendship Foundation was due to then Pres. Marcos' declination of the Japanese government's gift of 300 million yen. The gift was given in gratitude to Marcos government's rescue and return to Japan of Japanese straggler Hiroo Onoda. As the money could not be returned to the Japanese treasury, it was instead used to establish the PJFF.

The Japanese government also started to focus on the “people to people” dimension of Japanese aid, setting up subsidies for Japanese NGOs working in developing countries and small-scale grant assistance schemes. In April 1996, the Japanese embassy in the Philippines introduced Grant Assistance for Grassroots Project or GAGRP which is a program for assistance in response to requests from local governments, research institutions, medical organizations, NGOs and other organizations in developing countries using ODA funds. Through partnerships with mature and reputable civil society resource organizations or CSROs—for example, the Philippine Business for Social Progress or PBSP and the Foundation for a Sustainable Society, Incorporated or FSSI, the scheme fundamentally humanizes Japanese ODA by reaching out to small-scale initiatives that fall outside of the conventional criteria for recipients but were essentially complementing development assistance projects.⁵⁷⁵ In a study conducted by the Asian Community Center 21 or ACC 21, about eighty to ninety of around 400 to 500 Japanese NGOs involved in international development assistance have been doing projects in the Philippines—making it the most popular country for Japanese NGOs.⁵⁷⁶

Around this period, developments in areas such as commerce, international marriages, mass media and the export of Philippine labor had come to facilitate Japanese cultural dissemination in informal ways. Japanese products and establishments in the country act as agents of cultural influence. Intermarriages between Filipinos and Japanese involve exchange of cultural influences and adaptation as well. Mass media

⁵⁷⁵ From Angelita Gregorio-Medel's article “Optimizing Japanese ODA: The GAGRP Partnership with Philippine CSROs” published in October 2001 and can be accessed online.

⁵⁷⁶ From Junefe Gilig Payot's article “The Role of Japanese NGOs in Philippines-Japan Relations” in the book *The Past, Love, Money and Much More: Philippines-Japan Relations Since the End of the Second World War* (2008), p. 165. According to the study, it is mainly so because of the Philippines' geographical proximity to Japan.

also brought Japanese programs especially anime to the Filipino audience. The OFWs in Japan are also agents of culture, bringing Filipino culture to Japan and bringing Japanese culture to the Philippines upon their return.⁵⁷⁷

As of 1992, there were 62,218 registered Filipinos in Japan (Please see Table 17 the next page)⁵⁷⁸, thirty four percent of which are employed and among those employed, ninety four percent worked as entertainers.⁵⁷⁹ As of 2000, Filipino residents in Japan numbered approximately 144,871 with the registered number of newly-arriving Filipino spouses or children of Japanese nationals averaging about 4,871 per year since then (Please take a look at Tables 18 and 19 on page 191 and Table 16 on page 184).⁵⁸⁰ The number of people entering Japan from the Philippines is the biggest among all Southeast Asian countries and the burgeoning personnel exchanges is one of the major points stressed in the directives given to Japan Foundation Manila Office.⁵⁸¹

The Japan Foundation office in Manila or JFMO was inaugurated on June 18, 1996 and it is the 18th branch to be established overseas.⁵⁸² As the major conveyor of Japanese culture and arts to the Philippines, it has yearly activities such as showcasing Japanese traditional arts and festival of selected Japanese films or *Eigasai*. The themes for yearly projects vary and in the Japanese fiscal year 1999, the main theme was Okinawa wherein Okinawan folk songs and dances were performed and Okinawan crafts were exhibited.⁵⁸³ JFMO also brings Japanese scholars and experts on the fields

⁵⁷⁷ From Yu-Jose (1998), p. 332-334.

⁵⁷⁸ From the Immigration Bureau's *Immigration Control Report 2006* which is accessible online, p. 29.

⁵⁷⁹ Quoted by Yu-Jose (1998) from Elena Samonte's "Revisiting Philippine-Japan Relations Beyond Economic Parameters" in the book *Image and Reality: Philippine-Japan Relations Towards the 21st Century* (1997). Also according to the Immigration Bureau's *Immigration Control Report 2006* which can be accessed online, p. 29.

⁵⁸⁰ From the *Immigration Control Report 2005*, p. 30, p. 176.. From the *Immigration Control Report 2011*, p.120

⁵⁸¹ From the *JF Annual Report for 2002*, p. 34.

⁵⁸² From JFMO's official website..

⁵⁸³ The Japanese fiscal year starts on the 1st of April and ends on the 31st of March the following year, so that fiscal year

of performing, visual and traditional Japanese arts to the Philippines to lecture and showcase their works. At the same time, it also invites Filipino scholars and experts to Japan for study tours, immersions and training. Much of JFMO's work also centers on the promotion of the Japanese language and aside from dispatching Japanese language instructors to different parts of the country, it has other programs such as subsidizing language teachers and institutions and sponsoring Japanese speech contests.⁵⁸⁴

Table 17: Changes in the Number of Registered Foreign Nationals by Nationality (Place of Origin) from 1986 to 2005

Year Nationality (Place of Origin)	1986	1989	1992	1995	1998	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Total	867,237	984,455	1,281,644	1,362,371	1,512,116	1,778,462	1,851,758	1,915,030	1,973,747	2,011,555
Korea	677,959	681,838	688,144	666,376	638,828	632,405	625,422	613,791	607,419	598,687
China	84,397	137,499	195,334	222,991	272,230	381,225	424,282	462,396	487,570	519,561
Brazil	2,135	14,528	147,803	176,440	222,217	265,962	268,332	274,700	286,557	302,080
Philippines	18,897	38,925	62,218	74,297	105,308	156,667	169,359	185,237	199,394	187,261
Peru	553	4,121	31,051	36,269	41,317	50,052	51,772	53,649	55,750	57,728
United States of America	30,695	34,900	42,482	43,198	42,774	46,244	47,970	47,836	48,844	49,390
Thailand	2,981	5,542	10,460	16,035	23,562	31,685	33,736	34,825	36,347	37,703
Viet Nam	4,388	6,316	6,883	9,099	13,505	19,140	21,050	23,853	26,018	28,932
Indonesia	1,839	2,781	5,201	6,956	14,962	20,831	21,671	22,862	23,890	25,097
United Kingdom	7,426	9,272	12,021	12,485	14,762	17,527	18,508	18,230	18,082	17,494
Others	35,967	48,733	80,047	98,225	122,651	156,724	169,656	177,651	183,876	187,622

Source: MOJ Immigration Bureau

There are several discernible trends in JFMO's activities from the fiscal years 1999 to 2003. One is that the activities are being extended outside of Metro Manila to include regional centers in Visayas and Mindanao. Another is the diversification of culture-introducing methods. Not only is it limited to the showcase of Japanese

1999 is from April 1, 1999 to March 31, 2000. From the *JF Annual Report for 1999*, p. 30.

⁵⁸⁴ From the *JF Annual Reports* from fiscal years 1999 to 2003.

traditional arts and crafts but it has widened to include contemporary arts such as visual graphics and pop music. For instance, posters about contemporary Japan done by Japanese graphic designers were exhibited in 2002 and a popular music concert dubbed “J-ASEAN Pops” was held in 2003, bringing together youth performers from Japan and other ASEAN countries.

Table 18: Number of New Arrivals of “Spouse or Child of Japanese National” by Nationality (Place of Origin)

Nationality (Place of Origin) \ Year	200	2001	2002	2003	2004
Total	33,167	27,461	20,857	23,398	23,083
Brazil	14,544	8,627	6,978	9,902	8,893
Philippines	5,477	5,382	4,884	4,887	5,038
China	6,713	7,421	4,572	3,940	4,483
R.O.Korea	1,341	1,149	684	618	682
Peru	844	979	441	536	580
Thailand	1,089	893	560	584	548
United States of America	518	498	430	502	500
Indonesia	182	192	209	253	213
United Kingdom	140	160	168	187	169
China (Taiwan)	238	190	143	145	147
Others	2,081	1,970	1,788	1,844	1,830

Source: MOJ Immigration Bureau

Table 19: Number of New Arrivals of “Spouse or Child of Japanese National” by Nationality (Place of Origin)

Nationality(Place of Origin) \ Year	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Total	26,087	24,421	19,975	14,951	11,452
China	5,399	6,602	6,552	6,251	4,099
Philippines	8,257	6,687	5,133	3,308	2,384
Brazil	6,745	5,146	2,895	483	921
United States of America	730	716	730	701	635
R.O. Korea	891	904	873	852	565
Thailand	695	807	743	706	510
China (Taiwan)	257	293	293	257	211
Indonesia	288	344	253	267	205
United Kingdom	248	206	237	173	201
Viet Nam	177	167	194	210	155
Others	2,400	2,549	2,072	1,743	1,566

Source: MOJ Immigration Bureau

Also, activities tended towards joint projects between Japanese institutions and organizations from individual countries or with ASEAN as a whole. In 2002, a UP theater company *Dulaang UP* (UP Theater in English) performed in Japanese and Tagalog the Kabuki play entitled *Kanjincho* (“The Subscription List” in English) under the guidance of a Japanese specialist. The following year was designated as the “Japan-ASEAN Exchange Year” and a lot of activities united delegates from the ASEAN countries. It was the same year that Japan Foundation was reorganized into an IAI which means that it is now a self-governing body under the auspices of MOFA.⁵⁸⁵

Other trends included the gearing of the activities towards what the younger generation would appreciate. As JFMO itself declares in its section in the JF annual reports, the youth are important for the future of Philippine-Japan relations. In September 2001, the “1st Children’s Weekend” was observed wherein Japanese toys, fairytales and origami were introduced to 300 participating children. On that same year, “Anime on Parade” was screened in Manila and other regional cities, and anime classics such as *Akira*, “*Barefoot Gen*” (*Hadashi no Gen*) and “*Grave of the Fireflies*” (*Hotaru no haka*) were shown.

Still another trend is the budding emphasis on the Japanese language education of technically-skilled workers. The first experimental Philippine version of the official information processing examinations, the Japanese Information Technology Standards Examinations Philippines or JITSE-Phil in short, was held in September 2002. In addition, policies for the fiscal year 2003 stressed the Japanese education of IT

⁵⁸⁵ Condensed from the researcher’s final paper entitled “Developments in Japanese Cultural Diplomacy in the Philippines from 2000 – 2003 as Seen Through Japan Foundation Manila Office’s Cultural Exchange Activities” which she submitted as a requirement for her Asian Studies 253 class on April 2, 2005.

engineers, nurses and elderly caregivers.⁵⁸⁶

The year 2006 marked the 50th anniversary of the normalization of diplomatic relations between Philippines and Japan and it was designated as the “Philippine-Japan Friendship Year” by then President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo with a presidential proclamation. The festivities kicked off in January with activities such as lectures on Noh in UP, joint performances by the Wadaiko Yamato Group of Japan and the Pasasalamat Drumbeaters of Negros Occidental and a charity concert of Filipino pianist Nena del Rosario and Japanese violinist Reiko Otari. Numerous activities were also done for the rest of the year such as the Philippine Fiesta held in Tokyo on July 21 to 23, in Nagoya on July 28 to 30, and in Osaka on August 4 to 6.⁵⁸⁷

That the passage of half a century from the promulgation of the peace treaty and reparations agreement was commemorated by a presidential decree proves that the Philippine government considers relations with Japan as important. As for JFMO, the line up of activities for this year included a “J-pop Concert” where a Japanese rock band performed with local artists and “J-pop Showcase” where posters and CDs of contemporary Japanese pop and rock artists were exhibited to the public.⁵⁸⁸ These again attest to the importance placed on the introduction and promotion of Japan to the younger generation of Filipinos through the use of contemporary Japanese popular culture.

In the same year in September, a significant development occurred in the bilateral relations of the two countries—the signing of the Japan-Philippines Economic

⁵⁸⁶ Also from the researcher's aforementioned final paper.

⁵⁸⁷ From the article “RP-Japan Friendship Year kicks off; Philippine fiestas in 3 Japan cities set” published on January 14, 2006 in *Manila Bulletin* online.

⁵⁸⁸ From the JFMO website.

Partnership Agreement or JPEPA in Helsinki by Pres. Arroyo and then Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi. While this was the first instance since the commerce treaty that a significant agreement was signed, JPEPA did not see much public discussion compared to the three previous treaties that were meticulously deliberated with and mostly resisted to by popular opinion. What is notable this time around is that criticisms in the media regarding the pact did not refer to the Japanese occupation period or any anti-Japanese sentiment but instead targeted the Philippine government for lack of transparency.

After the signing, several newspapers expressed concerns over the supposed export of toxic waste materials to the Philippines which made the Senate urge Pres. Arroyo to submit the agreement for review. The biggest consideration for the Arroyo administration was the provision allowing the entry of Filipino IT workers, nurses and caregivers to Japan and bilateral free trade seems to be of secondary importance.⁵⁸⁹ Despite facing controversies, the Philippine Senate ratified JPEPA on October 8, 2008. As of this writing, different sectors are still divided on JPEPA's effects-- while some reports lauded the pact as having boosted trade between the two countries⁵⁹⁰, some others conveyed strong reservations about its supposed economic benefits and pushed for a stringent review.⁵⁹¹

Aside from this development on the economic side, the use of the appeal of

⁵⁸⁹ Yu-Jose (2008), p 58.

⁵⁹⁰ Please see for example "JPEPA boosted trade between PHL, Japan in 2010" published on September 15, 2011 in *GMA News* online, Edu Lopez' "RP benefited from JPEPA – PIDS" published on August 26, 2011 in *Manila Bulletin* online and Jerry Esplanada's "Philippines, Japan set to review JPEPA" published on September 13, 2011 in *Philippine Daily Inquirer* online.

⁵⁹¹ Please see for example Julito Rada's "Japan reneges on JPEPA commitment" published on November 9, 2011 in *Manila Standard Today* online and Jonathan Mayuga's "JPEPA Independent Review Pushed" published on December 14, 2011 in *Business Mirror* online.

popular culture as a tool for the promotion of Japanese culture and language in the Philippines by Japanese agencies has become more visible and pronounced. The Japanese embassy's JICC, in coordination with JFMO, has been organizing the annual "JPop Anime Singing Contest"⁵⁹² in celebration of the Philippine-Japan Friendship Month of July since 2010.⁵⁹³ A new event for this year's friendship month is a cosplay mini-contest of characters from anime, manga, movies and TV series as well as Japanese rock and pop acts to be held on the same date and venue, on July 21, 2012.⁵⁹⁴ In addition to the advertising of these activities in the embassy's website, the JICC is also disseminating this information as well as the application forms to potential participants through the use of the social networking site Facebook⁵⁹⁵ which it has joined on May 3, 2012.⁵⁹⁶ This move is likely to enhance the spread of the information more than usual as Filipinos, especially the young, are active in social networking sites. It has earned the Philippines the moniker "the social networking capital of the world" in 2011.⁵⁹⁷

Nevertheless, as what was seen in contemporary times, closer economic ties between the Philippines and Japan have undoubtedly resulted in the burgeoning of

⁵⁹² From the Embassy of Japan in the Philippines's May 9, 2012 press release which is accessible online.

⁵⁹³ From my correspondence with Henry de Dios who shared the information.

⁵⁹⁴ From the Embassy of Japan' in the Philippines's May 9, 2012 press release which is accessible online.

⁵⁹⁵ Facebook is a social networking service and website that was founded in February 2004 and is operated and owned by Facebook Incorporated. It has more than 900 million active users as of April 2012.

⁵⁹⁶ From the Facebook account of the JICC. Newer Facebook accounts and older accounts that were updated have the timeline feature where the date of joining can be seen.

⁵⁹⁷ From Jon Russell's article, "Philippines named the social networking capital of the world" published in *Asian Correspondent* online on May 15, 2011. According to the article, social network penetration is at 95% which means Philippines has the highest proportion of users per population and Facebook is the most popular website with a penetration rate of 93.9%.

cultural influence in different levels and ways. The examples that were mentioned here can be roughly classified into the state-sponsored, the private-institutional and the unofficial. In the first category, JFMO is the primary agency for dissemination and the majority of its activities target students and institutions that focus on Japanese language education. Scholarships, training and grants serve as means for developing and enhancing local talent while simultaneously promoting Japanese know-hows and exhibiting benevolence. In the process, recipients of such also become agents of Japanese culture.

In the second category, private institutions such as Japanese companies and universities act as conduits of cultural propagation and immersion. Japanese NGOs improve the lives of a number of Filipinos and create a good image of Japan among local communities. Again, the beneficiaries of these exchanges become acquainted with Japan and pass on these impressions to other Filipinos. In the last category which started intensifying from the previous decade, the flow of Japanese goods such as consumer and media contents products into the Philippines as well as the movement of people due to Filipino export of labor—including its various ramifications such as international marriages—has resulted in the influx of cultural elements and influences on a scale and on different levels that was never seen before.

4.2 Major Contemporary Factors Producing Japanese Cultural Influence

This section will focus on major factors concurrent with the popularity and pervasiveness of anime that are also unquestionably producing powerful Japanese cultural influence in the contemporary Philippine setting—first, the notion of Japan as a land of opportunity which has been principally accounting for the export of Philippine labor and the increasing Filipino migration to Japan, and, second, the ratification and

implementation of the provisions of the JPEPA. Both of them have already been mentioned in the previous passages as their beginnings can be traced in the past decades and through the course of the development of the relations between Philippines and Japan. It should be mentioned first and foremost that they are necessary offshoots of the eminence of Japanese economic clout vis-a-vis the Philippines—a reality that permeates and essentially impinges on most aspects of the relationship. While this is so, however, their corollary effects cannot be dismissed as mere functions of economy but encompasses cultural influences as well—both in the informal and official levels.

4.2.1 Japan as a Land of Economic Opportunity and Its Corollaries

The first factor is both an image and an actuality that generates a potent Filipino popular attraction to Japan, encouraging most to try their luck in the country. The flow of OFWs towards migrant-receiving countries is very much pronounced even at present, with the Philippines as the world's second-largest sources of migrant workers after Mexico. According to the Asian Development Bank, Japan is among the top five destinations of OFWs and more than 65 percent of them are women.⁵⁹⁸ This wave of migration started in the mid-1970s when Filipino migrant workers headed for destinations within Asian countries closer to home and intensified in the next decades.

From 1970 to 1998, the number of Filipino migrants in Japan jumped sixfold—from 20,477 to 129,053. From 1980s onwards, the growing number of Filipino migrants was predominantly female.⁵⁹⁹ The yearly estimated number of Filipinos who

⁵⁹⁸ From Dario Agnote's article "A glimmer of hope for cast-offs: NGOs finding jobs for young, desperate Japanese-Filipinos" published October 11, 2006 in *Japan Times* online and can be accessed at <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/text/nn20061011f1.html>.

⁵⁹⁹ From Ma. Rosario Piquero Ballescas' article "Filipino Migration to Japan, 1970s to 1990s" from the book *Philippines-Japan Relations* (2003), pp. 546-548.

are overstaying their visas and are in effect illegal—termed *bilog* meaning round in Tagalog, referring to the first letter of the OS which is short for overstayer⁶⁰⁰-- from 1990 to 2007 is about 32,312 (Please see Table 20 below) although is it on a downward trend from 2008 to 2011 with the average of around 16,050 in those last four years (Please see Table 21 on page 199).⁶⁰¹ Filipinos still currently account for the largest Southeast Asian population in Japan with about 210,181 registered Filipino nationals residing in the country as of the year 2010 (Please look at Graph 14 on page 201).⁶⁰²

Table 20: Changes in the Estimated Number of Overstayers by Major Nationality (Place of Origin) from 1990 to 2005

Nationality (Place of Origin)	Date															
	July 1 1990	May 1 1991	May 1 1992	May 1 1993	May 1 1994	May 1 1995	May 1 1996	January 1 1997	January 1 1998	January 1 1999	January 1 2000	January 1 2001	January 1 2002	January 1 2003	January 1 2004	January 1 2005
Total	106,497	159,828	278,892	298,646	293,800	286,704	284,500	282,986	276,810	271,048	251,697	232,121	224,067	220,552	219,418	207,299
R.O.Korea	13,876	25,848	35,687	39,455	43,369	47,544	51,580	52,387	52,123	62,577	60,693	56,023	55,164	49,874	46,425	43,151
China	10,039	17,535	25,737	33,312	39,738	39,511	39,140	38,296	37,590	34,800	32,896	30,975	27,582	29,676	33,522	32,683
Philippines	23,805	27,228	31,974	35,392	37,544	39,763	41,997	42,547	42,608	40,420	36,379	31,666	29,649	30,100	31,428	30,619
Thailand	11,523	19,093	44,354	55,383	49,992	44,794	41,280	39,513	37,046	30,065	23,503	19,500	16,925	15,693	14,334	12,787
Malaysia	7,550	14,413	38,529	30,840	20,313	14,511	11,525	10,390	10,141	9,989	9,701	9,651	10,097	9,442	8,476	7,431
Indonesia	315	582	1,955	2,969	3,198	3,205	3,481	3,758	4,692	4,930	4,947	5,315	6,393	6,546	7,246	7,169
China(Taiwan)	4,775	5,241	6,729	7,457	7,871	7,974	8,502	9,409	9,430	9,437	9,243	8,849	8,990	9,126	7,611	6,760
Peru	242	487	2,783	9,038	12,918	15,301	13,836	12,942	11,606	10,320	9,158	8,502	7,744	7,322	7,230	6,624
Brazil	664	944	2,703	2,210	2,603	3,104	3,763	5,026	4,334	3,288	3,266	3,578	3,697	3,865	4,728	4,905
Sri Lanka	1,668	2,281	3,217	3,763	3,395	2,980	2,783	2,751	3,071	3,734	3,907	3,489	3,730	3,909	4,242	4,209
Others	32,040	46,176	85,224	78,827	72,859	68,017	66,613	65,967	64,169	61,488	58,004	54,573	54,096	54,999	54,176	50,961

Source: MOJ Immigration Bureau

As with other cases of migrations, there is a push and pull mechanism for this phenomenon. The Filipino migrants and their households consider migration as a means

⁶⁰⁰ Balleascas, p. 560.

⁶⁰¹ In the *Immigration Control Report 2005*, p. 45. In the *Immigration Control Report 2011*, p. 40.

⁶⁰² From the *Immigration Control Report 2011*, p. 25. For this year, there was not any table provided for the registered foreigners by major nationality.

of improving their lot especially in the light of poverty, unemployment and underemployment in the Philippines. On the other hand, capital sees it as a labor-supply mechanism and businesses and governments recognize the profits, remittances and the employment-generating capacity that comes from it. This is especially true with regards to the Philippines as evidenced by statistics alone. For example, an estimated 7.4 million Filipinos—about ten percent of the whole population and twenty-one percent of the labor force—working in 182 foreign countries remitted a total of US\$ 7.4 billion in the year 2002. This amount is equivalent to nine percent of the country's GNP for that year. It was also estimated that 22.5 million to 35 million Filipinos—roughly half of the Philippine population—are directly or indirectly dependent on these remittances.⁶⁰³

Table 21: Changes in the Estimated Number of Overstayers by Major Nationality (Place of Origin) from 1991 to 2011.

Nationality (Place of Origin)	Date																				
	May 1 1991	May 1 1992	May 1 1993	May 1 1994	May 1 1995	May 1 1996	January 1 1997	January 1 1998	January 1 1999	January 1 2000	January 1 2001	January 1 2002	January 1 2003	January 1 2004	January 1 2005	January 1 2006	January 1 2007	January 1 2008	January 1 2009	January 1 2010	January 1 2011
Total	158,928	278,842	298,645	293,800	286,704	284,500	282,986	274,810	271,048	251,037	232,121	224,047	220,552	219,418	207,299	193,745	170,819	148,795	113,972	91,779	78,488
R.O. Korea	25,848	35,687	39,455	43,349	47,544	51,580	52,387	52,123	62,577	60,693	56,023	55,164	49,874	46,425	43,151	40,203	36,321	31,758	24,138	21,660	19,271
China	17,535	25,737	33,312	39,738	39,511	39,140	38,296	37,380	34,800	32,866	30,975	27,882	29,676	33,522	32,683	31,074	27,638	25,657	18,385	12,933	10,337
Philippines	27,228	31,974	35,392	37,544	39,763	41,997	42,547	42,828	40,420	36,379	31,666	29,649	30,100	31,428	30,619	30,777	28,431	24,741	17,287	12,842	9,329
China (Taiwan)	5,241	6,729	7,457	7,871	7,974	8,502	9,009	9,400	9,437	9,243	8,849	8,990	9,126	7,611	6,760	6,036	6,347	6,031	4,950	4,889	4,774
Thailand	18,093	44,354	55,383	49,992	44,754	41,280	39,513	37,046	30,065	23,503	19,500	16,925	15,680	14,334	12,787	10,352	8,493	7,314	6,023	4,836	4,284
Malaysia	14,413	38,529	30,840	20,313	14,511	11,525	10,390	10,141	9,989	9,701	9,651	10,097	9,442	8,476	7,431	6,922	6,397	4,814	2,985	2,661	2,442
Peru	487	2,783	9,038	12,918	15,301	13,816	12,942	11,806	10,320	9,158	8,502	7,744	7,322	7,230	6,624	5,997	5,283	4,481	3,395	2,402	1,794
Singapore	1,425	1,712	1,914	2,342	2,600	2,850	2,945	3,027	3,084	3,178	3,302	3,454	3,556	3,216	3,075	3,587	3,241	2,207	2,128	2,107	1,789
Brazil	944	2,703	2,210	2,603	3,104	3,763	5,026	4,334	3,288	3,266	3,578	3,697	3,865	4,728	4,905	2,752	2,286	2,297	1,939	1,645	1,536
Sri Lanka	2,281	3,217	3,763	3,395	2,980	2,783	2,751	3,071	3,734	3,907	3,489	3,730	3,909	4,242	4,209	4,590	4,042	3,615	2,796	1,952	1,498
Others	45,323	85,407	79,882	73,715	68,622	67,314	66,779	65,834	63,334	59,773	56,586	56,995	57,989	58,206	55,055	50,895	43,273	37,480	28,984	23,651	21,454

(*) "China" does not include Taiwan, Hong Kong or others.

Source: MOJ Immigration Bureau

The de-territorialization of Filipino labor was not only due to the Philippines'

⁶⁰³ Shiraishi, p. 265.

stunted economic growth coupled with educational development⁶⁰⁴ but also progress outside of the country. The Middle East oil boom in the 70s and East Asian rapid growth in the 80s and 90s made countries such as Saudi Arabia, Japan, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore major sources of overseas employment. The tendency is for Filipino workers to fill in gender and occupational niches vacated in the respective countries.⁶⁰⁵

In the case of Japan, pull factors present since the 1970s include: labor shortages due to a declining birth rate and an aging society; negative attitude by the young Japanese regarding jobs considered 3Ks or 3Ds—*kitanai* (dirty), *kiken* (dangerous) and *kitsui* (difficult); expansion of the Japanese economy; the appreciation of yen; and the spectacular increase in the average wage and per capita income among Japanese employees. The prevalence of females among the Filipino migrants is a response to the demand created by more and more Japanese women rejecting domesticity and eschewing professions such as entertaining, giving of sexual services, domestic work and care-giving. Evidence suggests for example that Japan opted for the import of brides to ease the female labor shortage in agriculture⁶⁰⁶ and supply

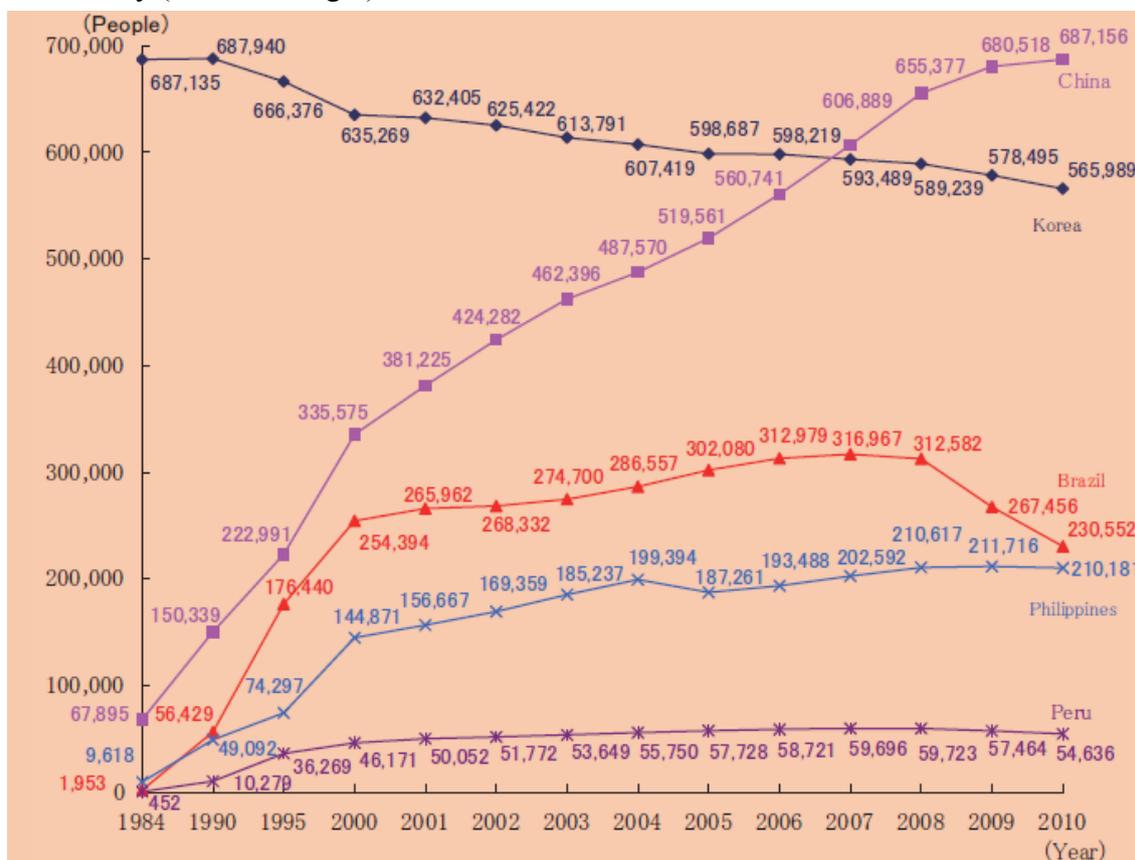
⁶⁰⁴ According to Shiraishi, educational development in the Philippines started earlier and proceeded steadily more than in any other Southeast Asian country. The number of students in higher education for every 100,000 people was 1,808 in 1975, 2,641 in 1980 and 2,760 in 1995. This is in contrast with figures from Thailand with 316 in 1975 and 2,096 in 1995 and Malaysia with 266 in 1975 and 971 in 1995. From p. 264.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 264-265.

⁶⁰⁶ In Masaaki Satake's article "At the Core of Filipina-Japanese Intercultural Marriages: Family, Gender, Love and Cross-Cultural Understanding" in the book *The Past, Love, Money and Much More: Philippines-Japan Relations Since The End of the Second World War* (2008), he mentions the practice of acquiring *noson hanayome* or rural brides from the Philippines by the local governments of several villages in the agricultural countryside of Japan such as Yamagata, Shikoku, Akita and Niigata in the mid to late 1980s. This is due to the shortage of brides in these depopulated areas. This practice was stopped in the 1990s due to media criticisms of "purchasing" and "human trafficking". (pp. 118-120)

entertainers for its service sector.⁶⁰⁷

Graph 14: Changes in the Number of Registered Foreign Nationals by Major Nationality (Place of Origin) from 1984 to 2010



Note: Numbers for the Philippines are marked with the symbol x.

Source: MOJ Immigration Bureau

Even with the low rate of formal employment in Japan and its high standard of living which should have put off migrants from a poor developing country, Filipino migration remains incessant. The stricter penalties for violators of immigration rules and regulations prescribed in the 1990 Immigration Control Act have not been effective in dissuading Filipinos to enter and even overstay in Japan.⁶⁰⁸ Available figures for

⁶⁰⁷ Ballescas, pp. 565-567.

⁶⁰⁸ To date, there have been changes in the immigration law and policies since Ms. Ballescas' article was published. In November 2007, Japanese airports implemented a system modeled after the U.S.-VISIT program where the fingerprints

Filipinos who stayed illegally in Japan from 1990 to 1999 showed a steady increase—from 23,805 in January 1990 to about 41,646 towards the end of the decade.

In 2004, the US government listed Japan in its *Trafficking in Persons Report* as one of the countries that needed surveillance due to the large number of foreign women entertainers.⁶⁰⁹ It dealt a serious problem to both the Japanese and the Philippine governments. For the Japanese side, it was a matter of image especially with regards to its efforts of increasing its global political presence as it was the only developed country in the list.⁶¹⁰ At the same time, however, this discourse of entertainers—mostly Filipinas⁶¹¹—as victims of trafficking dovetailed nicely with its desire to achieve its own goals of curtailing unwanted immigration.⁶¹² In December 2004, Japan developed an “Action Plan Against Trafficking” which aimed at taking comprehensive countermeasures and in February 2005, the Ministry of Justice or MOJ revised the criteria for the “entertainer” visa status.⁶¹³ It was expected that the number of entertainer visas, about 80,000 of which were issued to Filipinos annually, would be

and photographs of foreigners entering the country were taken digitally. From *Immigration Control Report 2008*, p. 58. In July 2009, the government enacted significant revisions to its Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act such as in the establishment of a new resident card program, the extension of period for visas and re-entry permits, the creation of a work visa status for on-the-job trainees and the provision of grace period for renewals and changes of visa. From *Immigration Control Report 2010*, pp. 79-81.

⁶⁰⁹ From the US Department of State's *Trafficking in Persons Report 2005*, p. 132.

⁶¹⁰ From Nobue Suzuki's article “Filipino Migrations to Japan: From Surrogate Americans to Feminized Workers” in *Transnational Migration in East Asia* (2008:77), p.72.

⁶¹¹ From the *Immigration Report 2006*, p. 14, Philippines have consistently topped the list of countries of origin of entertainer visa holders and most of them are singers and dancers. On p. 148 is the actual table showing the numbers of entertainers from the Philippines from 2001 to 2005 (Shown as Table 22 within the text).

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

⁶¹³ From the *Immigration Control Report 2005*, pp. 93-97.

drastically reduced to 8,000.⁶¹⁴ This would effectively cut down the yearly flow of \$400 million remittances to the Philippines by Filipino workers in Japan, thus the Philippine government's urge for leniency—dispatching several missions to Japan to request policy consideration.⁶¹⁵ Critics were also concerned that the stricter regulations would drive aspiring entertainers to forge documents, enter into sham marriages with Japanese nationals and other illegal means.⁶¹⁶ Despite these protestations, the law went into full effect in March 15, 2005.⁶¹⁷

Because of the crackdown, the number of new Filipino entertainers entering Japan decreased from 82,741 in 2004 to 47,765 in 2005 (Please check Table 22 on the next page) and went down drastically to 8,608 in 2006 with a continuing downward trend to only about 1,506 in 2010 (Please see Table 23 on page 205).⁶¹⁸ Looking at the total number of registered Filipinos in Japan, however, while it fell in 2005, it was on an increasing trend until 2010 where there was a slight 0.7 % decrease from the year before (Please see Graph 14 on page 201).⁶¹⁹ The continuous migration regardless of the many impediments only proves that the perceived and actual gains overshadow the costs for those who wanted a better life. At the same time, migration is in fact a scheme that

⁶¹⁴ From Norimitsu Onishi's article "Japan, Easygoing Till Now, Plans Sex Traffic Crackdown" in the *New York Times* online published on February 16, 2005. Also in Natalie Obiko Pearson's article "Japan Considers Crackdown on Sex Trafficking" in the *Los Angeles Times* online published on May 8, 2005.

⁶¹⁵ From Pearson's article and additional information from Tina Arceo-Dumlao's article "Filipino entertainers' days in Japan numbered" published in *Inquirer* online on November 20, 2005.

⁶¹⁶ From the articles of Onishi, Pearson and Arceo-Dumlao. Also from Suzuki's article (2008), p. 73 as well as Jun Hongo's article "New round of entertainer visa changes—help or hindrance" published in *Japan Times* online on June 2, 2006.

⁶¹⁷ From Immigration Control Report 2005, p. 97.

⁶¹⁸ From the *Immigration Control Report 2011*, p., 116.

⁶¹⁹ From the *Immigration Control Report 2011*, p. 24.

yields income for businesses, brokers and governments-- notwithstanding the common belief that it is profitable only to the migrants and is only their deliberate and free choice. This is due to the presence of several human channels and networks involved in a migrant's journey. Beyond the economic dimension, however, are the realities of the social consequences of this continuing migration to and increasing settlement of Filipinos in Japan.

Table 22: Changes in the Number of New Arrivals of “Entertainer” by Nationality (Place of Origin) from 2001 to 2005

Nationality/ Place of Origin	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Total	117,839	123,322	133,103	134,879	99,342
Philippines	71,678	74,729	80,048	82,741	47,765
China	3,730	5,670	6,486	8,277	8,263
United States of America	6,488	6,887	7,066	6,704	6,852
Russia	4,944	5,068	6,240	5,775	4,325
Indonesia	2,296	2,334	2,447	3,012	4,086
Romania	4,030	4,710	4,871	4,500	3,201
United Kingdom	2,956	2,854	2,724	2,665	2,763
Germany	1,527	1,625	1,749	1,750	2,435
R.O. Korea	2,991	2,519	2,184	2,141	1,954
Ukraine	1,545	2,176	2,585	2,129	1,783
Others	15,654	14,750	16,703	15,185	15,915

Source: MOJ Immigration Bureau

Two of the chief consequences are the rise in the number of marriages between Japanese and Filipino nationals and the birth of Japanese-Filipino children called *Japinos*—short for Japanese-Filipinos.⁶²⁰ The estimated number of Japanese-Filipino marriages since the beginning of the 21st century is around 8000 per year and the

⁶²⁰ According to Yu-Jose (2008), the term refers to the young generation and should not be confused with the older children of Japanese-Filipino couples born before or during WWII who are called *nikkeijin* or Japanese descendants. The Japinos are clearly binational and bicultural compared to the former. (pp.4-5)

approximate number of Japinos born each year is at least 10,000.⁶²¹ As of 2005, Filipino ranked second to Chinese as the nationality of most foreign women marrying Japanese men and ranked sixth behind Korean, American, Chinese, British and Brazilian as the nationality of most foreign men marrying Japanese women.⁶²² Besides these social consequences of course are the accelerated people to people contact that results in a kind of cultural exposure and dialogue.

Table 23: Changes in the Number of New Arrivals of “Entertainer” by Nationality (Place of Origin) from 2006 to 2010

Nationality/Place of Origin \ Year	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Total	48,249	38,855	34,994	31,170	28,612
United States of America	6,772	6,075	6,653	7,288	6,785
United Kingdom	2,712	2,500	2,908	2,575	3,009
Philippines	8,608	5,533	3,185	1,873	1,506
R.O. Korea	1,674	1,553	1,329	1,173	1,450
Russia	3,454	2,562	2,249	2,467	1,432
China	4,978	3,156	1,820	1,694	1,386
Germany	1,868	2,052	1,682	1,601	1,241
France	1,150	1,417	1,605	1,246	1,116
Italy	1,867	1,575	1,130	1,325	1,105
Austria	868	644	1,160	759	826
Others	14,298	11,788	11,273	9,169	8,756

Source: MOJ Immigration Bureau

As what was mentioned before, these encounters almost parallel the exchange and dissemination of culture although in an unofficial and informal way with Filipinos also acting as agents. Filipinos who have had lived in Japan share these experiences—whether good or bad-- with their loved ones, relatives and friends and intentionally or unwittingly, convey their images and impressions of the country and its people. Their success—and on the other hand, horror—stories become a part of other

⁶²¹ From Agnote's article (2006), quoting Akira Ota of the Shin-nikkeijin Network Association, Cebu. Inc. or SNN, a Japanese NGO that helps abandoned Japinos in the Philippines locate their Japanese fathers and seek financial support.

⁶²² Satake, p. 113.

Filipinos' general notion and awareness of Japan. In the process, even some cultural practices such as customs and traditions are also passed on by these Filipino agents to their circle of people such as cuisine and pastimes. Positive evaluations of Japan become a tool for influencing other Filipinos to follow their footsteps and negative evaluations works to the contrary. If it is any indication, the continued migration points towards a more affirmative note. The movement of Filipinos and Japanese across their national borders is the most sustained and intense of all aspects of the relationship between the two peoples.⁶²³

4.2.2 The Ratification and Implementation of the JPEPA

The second factor is also a derivative of the first one albeit an institutionalized permutation and a variant that outwardly combines both economic and cultural policies. As what was expounded on in the previous sections, Japan used cultural diplomacy not only for its own sake but also more importantly to promote trade and investment. Japan's economic and cultural policies are so intertwined that the latter showed signs of success only in the 1980s when incentives for it appeared in the form of job opportunities in Japan or in Japanese companies that relocated in the Philippines. The ratification of the Japan-Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement signifies the deepening of this interweaving of the relationship between economics and culture which began in the 1980s. Compared to the three earlier treaties between the two countries, JPEPA embodies the close link between the economic and the cultural. It attests to the fact that the economic needs of the Filipinos created opportunities for Japan to promote Japanese culture, especially the Japanese language.⁶²⁴

⁶²³ From Yu-Jose's article "State and Non-state Actors in Philippines-Japan Relations" in the journal *Philippine Studies* (Volume 51, Issue No. 2; 2003), p. 202-210.

⁶²⁴ Yu-Jose (2008), p. 7, pp. 58-59.

This deeper intertwining between economics and culture is noticeably demonstrated in the provision to allow the entry of skilled Filipino labor in the areas of information technology, nursing and caregiving.⁶²⁵ For the last two categories, the candidates will have to undergo both introductory on-the-job and language training for six months after which they relocate to hospitals to work as assistant nurses or “candidate nurses” or “candidate caregivers” regardless of their qualifications outside of Japan. The nurses will have to take the Japanese national certification examination within three years while the caregivers are given four years before taking the exam.⁶²⁶ If they fail to pass the certification exam, they will have to return to the Philippines immediately. While nevertheless a necessity to assure efficient performance in the workplace, the language requirement opened an opportunity for the Japanese government to push for the learning of Japanese and thus further promote its wider use in Asia if not the whole world.⁶²⁷ Aside from the Philippines, the Japanese government is also looking to Indonesia for qualified nurses in the light of alleviating manpower shortage in the healthcare industry as its population continues to age and decline.⁶²⁸

The first batch of 226 nurses and caregivers were sent to Japan in May 2009 in time to prepare for the nursing licensure examinations to be held in February the following year. The candidates were hired by 134 Japanese institutions and facilities through the Japan International Corporation of Welfare Services or JICWELS in a memorandum of understanding with the Philippine Overseas Employment Agency or

⁶²⁵ Ibid., p. 58.

⁶²⁶ From Gabriele Vogt’s article “The Political Economy of Healthcare Migration: A Japanese Perspective” in *Imploding Populations in Japan and Germany: A Comparison* (2011), pp. 331-332.

⁶²⁷ Ibid., p. 59.

⁶²⁸ Japan’s EPA with Indonesia was signed in 2007.

POEA. Two-hundred sixty six of these women studied Japanese in five designated language institutions in Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya and Hiroshima while undergoing practical training, with the remaining ten exempted from the same training program as they have already passed the pre-qualifying exams for Japanese language proficiency. Unfortunately, only one Filipino was able to pass the national nursing exams and it has been noted that difficulties in the Japanese language rather than inaptitude in skills and competence caused the poor performance.⁶²⁹

After the disappointing outcome, the Japanese government stated that it was open to easing the exams to accommodate more Filipino nurses and came up with new assistance measures to help them succeed in the test. It was realized that six months of language training is not sufficient but the Philippine side should acknowledge that Japanese language requirement is important. Some of the measures for supporting the candidates include the replacement of technical terms in the test with familiar or easier language, the introduction of e-learning systems that would facilitate self-learning for candidates in their home countries and the giving of grants for language training in coordinating facilities.⁶³⁰

Even before the ratification and its actual implementation, this portion of the JPEPA has received flak not only for the huge stumbling block that is the Japanese language requirement but also in terms of its implications on the acquisition of foreign labor. Critics argue that under the arrangement, qualified Filipino nurses and caregivers are treated as “candidate nurses” and “candidate caregivers” are paid lower wages as

⁶²⁹ From Tessa Jamandre’s article “JPEPA sends nurses, caregivers to Japan” published in *The Philippine Star* online on May 17, 2009 and from Hannah Torregoza’s article “Japan eases exams for Filipino nurses” published in *Manila Bulletin* online on July 7, 2010.

⁶³⁰ From Torregoza’s article..

they go through training thus legitimizing the exploitation of Filipino workers.⁶³¹ Moreover, other groups concerned with livelihood such as local organizations for fishermen belittle the economic impact of the scheme with only the likelihood of employing around 400 skilled Filipino workers when the whole scenario is taken into account—and thus are pushing for an independent review of the agreement by NGOs and people’s organizations or POs.⁶³²

JPEPA is still in the early stages of execution and it will take a longer time to assess its full impact on the two nations’ relations. However, no less than the current president of the Philippines, President Benigno Aquino III, has pressed the current Japanese Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda for its review in his visit to Tokyo in September 2011. In Pres. Aquino’s meeting with PM Noda, the former has asked the latter to look into the possibility of relaxing some provisions to allow more OFWs to enter the Japanese labor force and suggested that Filipino nurses could be hired in other sectors such as in health insurance and other related health services. While the latter has responded positively, he has not given any commitments during the meeting and instead mentioned about the Japanese side’s offer of “people to people exchange” to enhance cultural and educational ties. This exchange would have 400 slots for Filipino youths to study and visit Japan next year and the prime minister expressed the desire for such exchanges in the past between the two countries to be revived, commenting that one of his Cabinet officials was a product of such exchange.⁶³³

⁶³¹ From Jamandre’s article. However, it is pointed out by Vogt (2011) that while the pay during the period of candidacy is low, the actual pay of full nurses or registered nurses in Japan is low compared to the wages that nurses can receive in the US and Canada, p. 332. It seems like these comments are made because of misinformation.

⁶³² From Mayuga’s article..

⁶³³ From Raymund Antonio’s article “Aquino asks for JPEPA review” published in Tempo online on September 29, 2011.

It still remains to be seen if the meeting will bear fruits and the future revisions of the agreement will depend not only on the actual results of the execution of the program but also on the negotiation skills and deliberation of both parties. For now, JPEPA embodies an institutionalized mechanism that largely emphasizes the discrepancy of the economic situation of both countries—a state of affairs that ultimately determines each side’s capacity to bargain and settle. While to a certain extent it accommodates the desire of the Philippine government to send its workers, the rigid prerequisites are formidable and can only be satisfied by obliging to the cultural inclinations of Japan.⁶³⁴ Unquestionably, a good amount of cultural deference is in order if the perceived economic benefits are to be had. Therefore, this JPEPA provision represents in the simplest terms economic power extending its clout over cultural prerogatives.

4.3 Assessment of the Anime Phenomenon In Relation to the Overview of Japanese Cultural Influence in the Philippines

This section gives an evaluation of the anime boom and its impact within the context of Japanese cultural influence in the Philippines throughout history that was presented in the previous sections. The appraisal addresses the question whether the popularity and pervasiveness of anime and its influences on the Philippine society can be considered a crucial juncture in the conduct of the cultural relationship of the two countries or not. It has now been established quite strongly from the previous discussions that the fundamental nub that outlines Philippine-Japan links is economics

⁶³⁴ Vogt (2011) states in her conclusion that the implementation of Japan’s EPAs with Indonesia and the Philippines reinforces rather than challenges social models that underlie the gendered division of Japan’s labor market and the marginalized role of migrants as non-citizens of Japanese society. It is ironic that this new avenue for migration should skillfully strengthen old patterns prevalent in Japan’s society and economy.,p,346.

and its many consequences.

Japan's economic objectives shape the conduct of cultural diplomacy and as what was seen since the 1980s and most especially since the JPEPA, economic objectives from the Philippine side—ranging from the administration's to the common, ordinary Filipino's-- compel the people to engage in activities to learn about Japan and its culture. In order to locate the anime phenomenon's significance within this milieu of historical occurrences and highlights, emphasis is placed in the characteristics and the scope of its impact. Three of its attributes stand out: first, the attraction from it exemplifies a departure from the elite to the popular; second, it illustrates an informal manner of cultural diffusion as an outcome of a market-driven process; and, third, it chiefly involves the participation of the youth sector.

The cultural influence resulting from anime is unique in the sense that it manifests popular attraction as opposed to the official and institutional strategies of cultural propagation that are somehow limited and elitist in orientation. Drawing from the abovementioned examples of Japanese cultural diplomatic activities in the Philippines, for example, institutions and organizations involved in cultural promotion and exchange such as JFMO and the ones preceding it tend to target and or attract only the distinguished and privileged few. While in some cases open to the general public especially in recent times, exhibitions on and performances of Japanese traditional arts such as ikebana, Kabuki and tea ceremony were attended to mostly by the political, social and intellectual elite. They are also mostly held in urban city centers such as the Metro Manila area and sometimes in provincial capital cities such as Cebu, Baguio and Davao. Scholarships and grants are typically accessible only to those with good academic, professional and public service credentials. State-sponsored tours and

excursions are made available only to a small number of chosen, eminent personalities such as government officials, affluent businessmen, well-published writers, accomplished journalists, artists, students and other opinion-leaders.

On the other hand, anime is more accessible to the common, ordinary Filipino. Accounting for anime's popular attraction are its nationwide broadcast on terrestrial television as well as its accessibility within other channels such as the cable TV, the internet and cheap illegal copies such as pirated DVDs. The local media companies' minimal adaptation of anime especially in terms of the dubbing of programs in the local language also extended the scope of viewers to the CDE income brackets. Moreover, as a popular culture and media content product, it has a more approachable quality that appeals to the masses in contrast with the high-brow nature of most traditional Japanese arts which necessitate a certain level of knowledge, understanding and even exposure. At the same time, its storylines and characters resonate with the Filipino fondness for overwrought drama and fantastic narratives. As it was well-accepted by the general audience and also cheaper to acquire than other program formats, local TV networks were quick to capitalize on it. Accordingly, it has come to occupy a segment of children and young adult entertainment in the Filipino mainstream TV fare and has become a part of Filipino popular consciousness.

The anime phenomenon also demonstrates the dissemination of cultural elements outside of the state-sanctioned agencies as it is primarily a market-driven phenomenon. Anime's spread is largely ungoverned by any Japanese ministry and rather propelled by transnational enterprises and local media corporations. There is also the added impetus provided by unauthorized intermediaries facilitating the illegal procurement of copies and downloads. Of course, there are many instances that speak of

state control over cultural products such as with the ban imposed on Japanese media goods by former Japanese colonies Taiwan and Korea that were lifted just recently as well as the previously mentioned prohibition of the broadcast of mecha anime in the Philippines itself by former Pres. Marcos in the late 70s in the light of its supposed violence. By and large, however, the current diffusion of cultural products such as anime is not within the reach of government control especially with the advancement and democratization of technology and thus, the circumstance points to the limits of state power in terms of the regulation of cultural flow and the influence that results from it.

On the other hand, governments sometimes take their cue from the popular recognition of their cultural products and incorporate this in the formulation of policies and directives. Japan itself is now carrying out a national policy or a public diplomacy that focuses on pop culture products such as anime and video games. Brought up beforehand was METI's launching of the CIPO operating under the concept of "Cool Japan". Also, as what was previously expounded on, JFMO has recently added popular culture especially anime in their repertoire of cultural promotion activities. JICC has also been sponsoring activities such as anime song and cosplay competitions. It is still subject to inquiry, however, if such instances of official efforts are as effective as the informal developments in the realization of cultural transmission. Some scholars and even artists note that one of the reasons why Japanese pop culture has become well-liked in the world is that it has not been under state control and has flourished freely. Too much governmental rein might turn people off and actually obstruct its development.⁶³⁵

⁶³⁵ From Tsutomu Sugiura's article "Japan's Creative Industries: Culture as a Source of Soft Power in the Industrial

The cultural influence from anime phenomenon is also conspicuously different as it is principally composed of the participation of the youth sector of the society. Understandably, youth leaders and promising students constitute one of the target groups of official Japanese cultural diplomacy since the 1930s and in contemporary times, JF explicitly stresses the importance of engaging with the younger generation as they are the future of the Philippine nation. Statistically-speaking, the Philippines is a country of the young. In the latest data on Philippine population, the total number of Filipinos is about 99,900,177 with the average age of 22.7 years as of July 2010.⁶³⁶ This means that half of the entire population is relatively young and that there is the presence of what demographers call the youth bulge⁶³⁷. This youth bulge means that the Filipino youth and their culture certainly belong to the wider Philippine social system.⁶³⁸

The medium of anime is obviously successful in reaching a large number of

Sector” from the book *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and National Assets of Japan and the United States* (2008), p. 149. In this article, he mentions how Eiji Otsuka, an author of comics and writer of junior novels, felt embarrassed by what seems to be the state act of trying to incorporate the comic subculture or even counterculture into the mainstream market in the light of the Japanese economy’s poor performance. He translates a portion of Otsuka and Nobuaki Osawa’s book *Japanimation wa naze yabureruka* (“Why does Japanimation lose?” in English, 2005) where they lament about this situation.

⁶³⁶ This data is from the CIA World Factbook accessible online.

⁶³⁷ Youth bulge is a demographic period in which the proportion of youth in the population increases significantly compared to other age groups, both older and younger. Some studies define youth bulge as large cohorts in the ages 15–29 relative to the total adult population. Other studies define youth bulge in the age group 15-24. Whichever definition one chooses to use, youth bulge refers to a growing population of a country which is younger (median age 20-26) and more urban. From Tsegaye Tegenu’s introduction to his article “The Youth Bulge, Rapid Urbanization and Political Violence: Understanding Egyptian Revolution” accessible online.

⁶³⁸ From Gerry Lanuza’s article “The theoretical state of Philippine youth studies: Current trends and future directions” in the journal *Young: Nordic Journal of Youth Research* (Vol. 12, 2004), p.358.

Filipino youths. As what was described in the previous chapter, most of those exposed to and are avid viewers of anime are young children, teenagers and young adults. They comprise the largest segment of attendees and participants in anime-related activities such as conventions and they form the core membership of most anime interest groups. This is of course due to the marketing of anime by TV networks and their dominant placement of these cartoons in children's programming. At the same time, tie-ins with children and young adult's goods such as toys, video games and character merchandise increase their appeal with the youthful crowd. Another factor is the increasing engagement of the Filipino youth with the internet which is an encyclopedic resource for many of their interests—one of which is anime.⁶³⁹ The internet also helps facilitate forums on anime and disseminates information regarding activities connected to it.

Anime and related subcultures meet the youth's need and desire for entertainment, leisure and even self-expression, creativity and social interaction. Especially at the moment, most of these youths are in fact knowledgeable that anime is a media product from Japan and this leads to an awareness of Japan if not an interest or admiration of it. Their engagement with an audiovisual medium such as anime makes them receptive to cultural elements from it as well as guides them in their construction of images and impressions of Japan. Some of them might choose to integrate these in their habits and lifestyles as with the decision to take up Japanese language subject or Japanese studies course in school. A number of them could include Japanese details in their artworks and projects. Some of them may also opt to see Japan for themselves through tourism or applying for opportunities to study in Japan. Whatever their interests

⁶³⁹ Ibid., p. 360. The article explicitly mentions anime as one of the interests of the Filipino youth in the growing mediatization of youth culture.

might direct them, it is clear that anime has become an avenue for the generation of an awareness of Japan at least for young viewers.

Taking into consideration the three qualities of the cultural influence from the anime phenomenon explained above, it can be said to portray a turning point to a certain extent. Through anime, an acquaintance with and a consciousness of Japan has reached a wider social base and has become available to a younger age bracket in the Philippines. The essence of this awareness can of course run the gamut from a very deep understanding to a stereotypical familiarity depending on how the recipients become keen on it but the fact remains that it has become a medium that contributes to a kind of recognition of Japan. It has also resulted in cultural practices that are nonetheless contributing to the vibrancy in the creative, imaginative and commercial undertakings of not only the local media networks, other companies and interest groups but also the individual members of the society such as the youths themselves. Its appreciation has added another perspective in the overall view of Japan's image: as a country that turns out cool, inventive products and generates ingenious, enviable practices.

Nevertheless, the regard for anime boom as a watershed in terms of Philippine-Japan relations should be deemed cautiously in the light of the other factors that produce Japanese cultural influence. While it is indeed a turning point in terms of cultural relations, it does not have any significant reverberations on the other aspects of the relationship. It does not seem to hold a candle in comparison with the notion of Japan as a country of economic opportunities and its many ramifications including the installation of JPEPA. This is entirely true in the conception, development and institution of policies and procedures on the Philippine side.

One thing that is evidently expressed in the spread of anime and its propensity

for cultural influence is the primacy of economy on another stage: wealthy countries such as Japan with their highly-developed capabilities for producing and distributing media products are in a very advantageous position to pass on aspects of their culture. Notwithstanding the Japanese government's endeavors pertaining to cultural diplomacy and exchange, the undertakings and ventures of Japan's media industries and the transnational companies they do business with has furnished a pathway of promoting Japanese culture overseas.

4.4 The Anime Phenomenon's Effects, Relevance and Implications on Philippine Relations with Japan

An examination of the anime phenomenon as a critical juncture in the history of Japanese cultural influence in the Philippines naturally leads one to ponder upon its impact on the relations of the two countries. This section concentrates on the anime boom's effects, relevance and implications to the development of the relationship on a macro-level scale—acknowledging that in the process of discussion, the three aspects might be overlapping. While some of the arguments here may have already been noted and alluded to in the previous parts and paragraphs, this segment focuses on fleshing them out to provide a more well-rounded analysis. They essentially are ascribed to the traits of the anime phenomenon itself that were explored and expounded on beforehand.

As it has been recognized as the outcome of commercially driven processes, the anime phenomenon's impact seems to lie first and foremost in introducing a new range of cultural consumption options and images thereby in turn, the shaping of a cultural market receptive to Japanese ideas, goods and even practices.⁶⁴⁰ The Philippines has typically exhibited a strong Western leaning as a result of its

⁶⁴⁰ From Otmazgin, p. 73-75.

centuries-long colonization by two Western countries and this is expressed even in terms of the consumption of cultural products such as TV programs and cartoons. The influx of anime presented an alternative and while it took two decades in the making, its subsequent inroad into the mainstream provides evidence for the gradual development of the audience preference and consumer taste for Japanese flavor. This is also in part due to the appropriation and adaptation of the local media networks which found in anime a viable option conducive to their financial, technological and creative capabilities. This mediation by Filipino companies could also be taken as illustrating the influence of the Japanese popular culture industries as a model for indigenous ones, at least in terms of stories and characters.⁶⁴¹

This conspicuous impact which is not only observed in the Philippines but in other countries in East and Southeast Asia is not lost on the Japanese government. As one of its agencies, METI has been looking into ways of promoting the country's cultural exports since the realization that multi-media and culture-related industries are occupying a growing segment of the economy more than two decades ago.⁶⁴² But while the cultural export promotion is clearly underway, the gaining of economic benefits takes precedence over cultivating a positive cultural appreciation of Japan.⁶⁴³ The

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., p.75, p. 90. This however is more pronounced in the Chinese and Korean cultural industries in East Asia where, for example, Japanese comics became the inspiration for Taiwanese and Korean dramas that made it big in the same geographical area. Another oft-mentioned influence is the development of idols and idol groups.

⁶⁴² In 1992, METI estimated that of the ¥ 55.3 trillion projected earnings from the said industry, 62 percent would come from sales of software, motion pictures, artistic images and sound, video games and broadcasting. It also predicted that the said industry will soon take up the largest segment of Japan's economy. (Otmazgin, pp. 81-82)

⁶⁴³ Leheny (2006) also notes that METI has taken an impressively ambitious approach to the issue since 2002. He also observes that the goals appear largely economic even for MOFA as he cites the January 2003 issue of *Gaiko Forumu* which carried the slogan "*Nihon Burando': Kokka no Miryoku o Kangaeru*" ("Brand Japan: Considering the Appeal of the Nation"—his translation in English), pp. 227-228.

cultural advantages that Japan may achieve from these undertakings are regarded as complimentary and there is no deliberate intention of disseminating Japanese values or ideals through popular culture. This shows that there have not been any existing concrete plans but that the measures were a reaction to the country's newly emerging industrial sector.⁶⁴⁴ This observation entails that if the Japanese side has to intervene for the export of its cultural products to recipient countries such as the Philippines, it will primarily be for its economic value and the expansion of the overseas market.

Of course, the avid consumption of anime in the Philippines as well as in other countries should not be dismissed only as a function of economics. Other Japanese government agencies have been clearly taking some cues from this boom and integrating it into their activities and examples were given with the activities of JICC and JFMO in the last ten years.⁶⁴⁵ Aside from the facilitating of commercial enterprises, the phenomenon also results to the diffusion of new images of Japan. These images

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 82-83.

⁶⁴⁵ Due to the division of labor, the different agencies essentially have different approaches on how to tap into this boom. For example, METI emphasizes the economic benefits, MOFA stresses cultural exchange and MLIT focuses on tourism promotion. Of course, there are instances of the agencies working together such as in the case of the yearly WCS in Nagoya. As Leheny mentions (2006), government agencies now working with popular culture are trying to do what they have always done which is to promote the development of industrial forces that can serve national goals, p.226. On the other hand, editorials in the online English versions of Japanese newspapers such as "Time to capitalize on Cool Japan boom" in *Yomiuri Shimbun* (August 30, 2010) and "South Korea overtakes Japan in pop culture" in *Asahi Shimbun* (July 26, 2010) argues that the Japanese government has not been doing enough to advance the country's interests in this area and has been overtaken by South Korea. The first article specifically points out that one problem is the structural deficiencies that plague the ministries and their lack of coordination—while METI promotes *Cool Japan*, MOFA is in charge of cultural affairs and the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries is responsible for Japanese foods. Lecturer Roland Kelts writes in his article, "Japanamerica: Why Cool Japan is over" for the online magazine *3AM* (May 17, 2010) that the failure to fully distinguish, brand and engage the overseas audience and market may have resulted in the end of Cool Japan.

revitalize especially the young Filipinos in developing an alternative view of the contemporary aspects of Japanese culture and society—possibly bringing them to respect its achievements and follow its example. The general appreciation of Japanese popular culture products such as anime often heralds the development of a new, respectful and positive image of Japan. It also serves to stimulate interest in other aspects of Japan such as its traditions, customs, fashion, history and literature.

While this is so, it has to be emphasized that this attraction to Japan has neither nationalistic nor political connotations. There is in fact a compartmentalization between the admiration of Japan for its pop culture products and patriotic feelings as clearly observed in the case of the Filipino cosplayers who, while acknowledging the subculture's roots, want to promote a distinct Filipino way of cosplaying and are proud of the Filipino essence of their activities. This also rang true in studies done on other Asian countries where Japanese popular culture is widely-accepted and admired.⁶⁴⁶ This fundamental difference between cultural attraction and partisanship is one obvious reason that belies the excessive nationalistic and or political expectations attributed to the power of cultural transmission brought about by anime and other Japanese pop culture products.

Consumption of these products and engaging in subculture activities related to it does not automatically amount to the consumers' adaptation of the culture of the source country or identifying themselves with Japan. These conscious choices do not in any way conflict with their sense of national identity as well as being loyal Filipinos. Also, to reiterate, in the process of the popularization of these products and the practices originating from Japan, they are necessarily adjusted to local particularities in order for

⁶⁴⁶ See for example the aforementioned works by Otmazgin (2008), Befu (2003) and Nakano (2008).

them to be accepted—in other words, hybridized and indigenized. This facet of the phenomenon clearly makes the concrete use of this cultural influence to wield political influence very much questionable and dubious. If any, the tangible utility that can be gleaned from this very much stays at the cultural level—in the forming of new found admiration for and receptivity to elements of Japanese culture and in the fashioning of trends related to lifestyles and consumerism.

The anime phenomenon in the Philippines embodies a non-traditional extension of cultural influence from Japan. While effective in reaching a number of Filipinos, the process of its diffusion and the dynamics of its acceptance into the ways of life and cultural practices of the Filipinos somehow contradict a purportedly direct correlation between cultural attraction and political power. In this matter, the sway of Japan's economic might has more weight than its cultural influence. This does not mean, however, that the generation of cultural attraction—both formal and informal-- is a futile exercise in terms of bilateral or even multilateral relationships. Just as in the case of the official Japanese cultural diplomacy done in the Philippines, experience shows that cultural exchange does not always produce the desired results and neither does it turn out immediate outcomes. It took about half a century and a combination of some internal and external factors in the Philippines for results to come out in the surface. Like cultural diplomacy, cultural attraction is on one hand a valuable capital that is useful for its own sake and may become useful for other purposes in due time.⁶⁴⁷

It has to be taken note of that the anime boom has created new dimensions in assessing Japan's role for the Philippines. Through its stimulus, the way the Filipinos

⁶⁴⁷ This statement was borrowed from Yu-Jose (2008), p. 61, although the researcher used it to describe cultural attraction.

relate to Japan has evolved anew. In the 1930s, it was a nation viewed as a commendable Asian neighbor to emulate by leaders and intellectuals in the onset of Filipino independence as it had managed to become an empire much like the European colonizers but at the same time, considered as a threat for its population's encroachment on the local economy and forceful incursion in other Asian lands. During the occupation, it was categorically seen as a vicious enemy and a ruthless aggressor that ravaged the country. This persisted for a while until four decades later, it has become an impressive economic powerhouse that presents itself as an industrial model, as a land of opportunity for migrants and as a generous donor of much-needed aid in the eyes of most Filipinos. Now, Japan has emerged as a source of imaginative pop culture products and for some youths, the epitome of cool.

Much like its economic relationship, Philippine-Japan cultural relations remain largely unequal. This broad inequality has basically prevented a cultural exchange in a fairer and truer sense of the expression. While the Philippines receive a lot of Japanese media products, the opposite cannot be said at all. In contrast to the Korean wave or *Hanryu*⁶⁴⁸ phenomenon in Japan, the anime boom in the Philippines has not resulted in such outcomes as increased outbound tourism and massive consumption of original, licensed products.⁶⁴⁹ This has more to do with the disparity in both income and living

⁶⁴⁸ From one of the Japanese readings of the Chinese expression *Hallyu* (韓流 in Chinese characters) which refers to the spread of South Korean culture around the world. Another reading would be *kanryu*. The term was coined by journalists in Beijing in 1999 as they were surprised by the fast-growing popularity of Korean entertainment and culture in China

⁶⁴⁹ Among other things, the Korean wave in Japan-- which started with the phenomenal success of the TV drama *Winter Sonata* (*Yoon Seok-ho* in Korean, 冬のソナタ in Japanese) broadcasted in 2003-- triggered a 40 % increase in outbound travel to Korea in 2004 and huge sales of merchandise related to the drama and its lead actor, Yong-joon Bae. Bae was fondly called by adoring Japanese fans as "Yon-sama", the suffix meaning honorable in Japanese. From Laura Miller's

standards of both countries rather than actual desire. At the same time, this economic discrepancy makes collaborative projects such as media co-productions of TV programs, which have been practiced by Japan in coordination with Hong Kong, Taiwanese and Korean media companies for years, seem improbable. Another example of cultural cooperation, the joint digital multimedia broadcasting or DMB which has been done by Japanese and Korean media enterprises⁶⁵⁰, simply cannot be realized because of the incompatibility of technological infrastructure. Mutual projects such as that of the establishment of the Japan Center – a base for disseminating cultural information about Japan as well as foundation for shared TV productions and interactive media industry partnership—in Singapore in March 2007⁶⁵¹ do not appear to be in the immediate horizon for the Philippines. With all these matters taken into consideration, it appears that Philippines is being envisaged by Japan as more of a market in the future.⁶⁵²

This status quo will probably stay the same in the foreseeable future as the

article “Korean TV Dramas and the Japan-Style Korean Wave” in the journal *Post Script* (2008: 27), pp.18-19

⁶⁵⁰ In March 2004, a DMB satellite named MBSat or Hanbyol in Korean was launched in Florida, US. It was a joint venture of Japan’s MBCo and Korea’s TU Media. This allowed broadcasters to transmit digital TV programming to mobile phones through conventional terrestrial transmitters. The Electronic Times of Korea even hailed it as a symbol of the technological and cultural bond between Japan and Korea in its online issue published on March 15, 2004. From the article “Attitudes of Japanese Audience toward Korean Popular Culture and East Asian Community” written by Inhee Lee, Eun-jung Kim, Myoung-hoon Sung and Eun-young Lee of Kyung Hee University accessible online, pp. 4-6.

⁶⁵¹ From Per Eng Lam’s article “Japan’s Quest for ‘Soft Power’: Attraction and Limitation” in the journal *East Asia* (2007: 24), p. 360.

⁶⁵² An observation by the researcher’s adviser, Masaya Shiraiishi.

latter's economic strength relative to the former does not only extend to affording a well-defined cultural policy in its dealings with other countries. It also means that activities emanating from its comparatively higher economic status such as trade, commerce, labor and mass media export are tilted in its favor especially when it comes to the diffusion of culture and aspects of it. The Philippines understandably has to prioritize other concerns when it comes to channeling vital resources and currently, there is no exact Philippine counterpart for JF. At present, there is more evidence of Japanese influence in the Philippine society than there is of Philippine culture in the Japanese society.⁶⁵³ Only time will tell if factors on the rise in contemporary times-- such as the aging and declining population of Japan in contrast with the young and still growing population of the Philippines and others-- can offset the continuing balance.

4.5 The Anime Phenomenon Beyond Philippine-Japan Relations

While in the previous sections, the phenomenon's effects were compared to major concurrent factors producing cultural sway and set against the backdrop of Philippine-Japan relations, this section emphasizes processes that go beyond the bilateral links and connect the phenomenon to the ongoing dynamics of international developments. The anime phenomenon in the Philippines and its distinctive cultural effects has its ties to the following occurrences: cultural globalization, regionalization in the East Asian bloc and the third wave of middle class formation in Southeast Asia. All three of these developments are facets, layers and even stages of the worldwide trend of globalization.

Globalization has become the buzzword expressing the dramatic and

⁶⁵³ Yu-Jose (1998), p. 327. While the article was written more than a decade ago, the researcher thinks that this still rings true at the moment.

significant changes in the economic, social, cultural and political lives of people in the past fifty years. The term presupposes that a worldwide system of economic, cultural and political interdependence has come into being or in the process of forming. While it is too premature to declare that the world is an entirely globalized one especially in terms of economic integration, it is indeed a highly internationalized environment. Together with this notion is the concept that cultures are moving towards homogenization into a global one facilitated by the increasingly universal media of mass communications.⁶⁵⁴ The US hegemony over media and cultural products has led observers to declare that a global “Americanization” was in the offing. This view of course has been refuted by many empirical studies and instead of the emergence of a global village just as media scholar Marshall McLuhan has conceptualized, the cultural leg of globalization is now recognized as a complex and diverse phenomenon composed of global cultures that originate from many different regions and nations.⁶⁵⁵

The anime phenomenon in the Philippines is a manifestation of cultural globalization on a national level. To reiterate Iwabuchi’s ideas about the said process, it is fraught with intricacy and disjunctiveness as it is transnational in nature while at the same time, it vitalizes practices of local appropriation. The Philippine anime boom highlights the hybridity that is a hallmark of the anime medium itself and the diverging ways that it reaches the viewers. Stories, characters and techniques have been adapted from various sources that include the West. The Western characteristics have helped and in a way, continue to help in its acceptance in the Philippines. Also, distribution patterns are diffused and some anime titles were obtained from the US, not Japan.

⁶⁵⁴ From Albert Moran’s article “Television formats in the world/ the world of television formats” in the book *Television Across Asia: Television Industries, programme formats and globalization* (2004), pp. 1-3.

⁶⁵⁵ Crane (2002), p. 1.

Throughout these developments, the medium has been adjusted to fit into several particularities and suit different sets of conventions and tastes-- thus a straightforward Japanization does not appear plausible. At the same time, the phenomenon portrays the meeting point between global and local with the indigenization not only of the medium itself but also practices related to it such as cosplay. However, it should be borne in mind that this process does not mean the elimination of the dominance of a few nations in supplying transnational cultural products such as Japan. As it has been established previously, the influx of anime into the Philippines illustrates a highly unequal set-up.

Another observation stated beforehand is that the anime phenomenon extends to and is more pronounced in the countries in the East Asian bloc. This aspect has given rise to high expectations regarding the possibility of cultural exchanges and the potential for sharing cultural commonalities among these nations. There are two perspectives in relation to this dimension-- optimists insist that the spread of Japanese popular culture in East Asia can contribute to the formation of Asia's common cultural community based on a regional media system while on the other hand, naysayers maintain that unbalanced flows of cultural products could result to media imperialism where only one country controls its production and marketing regulations.

Both views appear to have their own merits but it remains that the strong cooperation of East Asian countries in the fields of politics, economy and culture will help the community acquire global competitiveness. Cooperation in all aspects is in line with the current trend of forging regionally adjacent communities such as the North American Free Trade Agreement or NAFTA, the European Union or EU and the Caribbean Community or CARICOM. These regional groups were originally formed for

economic and trade purposes but have become more and more like cultural footholds.⁶⁵⁶

The proposal for an East Asian Community or EAC which will arise either from the ASEAN Plus Three (ASEAN countries plus Japan, China and South Korea) or the East Asia Summit or EAS forum (ASEAN including Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand and US) has been put forth and there is still an ongoing discourse of what form it should take especially as key players have differing views. What is glaringly obvious is the group of nations' diversity in terms of culture, religion, language and ethnicity as well as the huge disparity in the scale and level of economic development and population. To bridge these gaps is one of the formidable challenges facing this community-building and hopes are up that some shared commonalities—one of which is the appreciation of Japanese popular culture-- can help contribute to it.

It will not be direct and simple but small steps can be the beginning of remarkable developments. If it is any indication, the cosplay subculture produced by anime and described in Chapter 3 gave rise to an informal network where youths in East and Southeast Asia are communicating and sharing knowledge with each other—in a way, transcending the boundaries of culture through their love of a performance art. Such example shows not only the hybridization of a practice but also a regionalistic tone in shared leisure activities. At the same time, it underlines the intrinsic consequences of commercial and market forces which the region is subjected to.

On account of these market dynamics, the process of region-making in the East

⁶⁵⁶ Most of the ideas expressed here are borrowed from the aforementioned article by Lee, Kim, Sung and Lee. While the article focuses on the Korean wave, the researcher has used the same concepts to reflect the spread of Japanese popular culture as the ideas can be applied to it too. Both phenomena share some similarities and are popular in the same regional bloc.

Asian bloc does not only mean the active participation of governments. It necessitates complex and active interactions between state and non-state actors. More importantly, regionalization and regionalism are driven by the formation of middle classes as they are the main engines of hybridization. These ample middle classes emerged from successive waves of regional development-- made possible by developmental states as well as national and transnational capitalism—and they have a lot in common with their consumer culture and ways of life

While their national significance may vary across countries, their regional importance is quite clear as they constitute the expanding consumer market. This regional market mediates new forms of national and regional identities that can potentially advance regional integration.⁶⁵⁷ For one, fascination with anime and other forms of Japanese popular culture show the yearnings of the new urban middle classes in Southeast Asia-- and other parts of East Asia as well such as China-- as these products represent modernity to them and they appropriate these products according to their middle class aspirations.⁶⁵⁸

To give a concrete example, Japan is considered to be a “mecca of pop culture” by Mr. Azrael Coladilla-- an event organizer for anime, pop culture and other lifestyle trends such as collectible toys and technological gadgets in the Metro Manila area and some major cities in the Philippines as well as a prolific blogger on the same topics-- like most of the participants in the events he organizes whom he identified as belonging

⁶⁵⁷ Shiraishi (2006), p. 237-238.

⁶⁵⁸ Leheny, p. 230-232. This concept was also elaborated upon by Iwabuchi in his many works on regional cultural flows. The examples they give basically show Japan acting as a combination crystal ball and mirror to the modernizing economies of Asia-- providing them an example of what they hope to achieve in the future.

to the middle class.⁶⁵⁹ He felt that Japan is the model to look up to but countered that they also appreciate popular culture from other Asian countries such as South Korea. In fact, he explains that the people attending anime and J-pop events also take part in other conventions such as on Korean pop and that it is not unusual to crossover from one to the other.⁶⁶⁰ At the same time, he asserts that while they immerse themselves in “Asian culture”⁶⁶¹ they do not lose their being Filipinos. He also adds that they like Asian products such as cartoons, TV series and gadgets because “they are cool, fashionable and well, it fits better.”⁶⁶² He predicts that Filipinos will come to enjoy Asian products more in the future because of their ongoing familiarity with anime, manga, Korean dramas and pop acts.⁶⁶³

Another demonstration of this notion of Japanese pop culture as the object of yearning for Southeast Asian middle classes is through the cosplay subculture. Cosplay event organizer Mr. de Dios said that Filipino cosplayers have been reaching out to their counterparts in countries such as Singapore, Indonesia and Thailand and vice versa. The interaction between the groups is not just participating in each other’s major events but also sharing techniques and know-hows whether through organized lectures or exchanging messages through websites, forums and social networking sites. He pointed out that while there many differences and uniqueness in the cosplaying styles of each place, the communication between groups have been instrumental in developing their crafts further. He also mentioned that all of them look to Japan’s cosplay subculture as

⁶⁵⁹ From the interview with Mr. Coladilla.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁶¹ Quotations are Mr. Coladilla’s.

⁶⁶² Direct quote from Mr. Coladilla’s interview.

⁶⁶³ From the interview with Mr. Coladilla.

an inspiration and wish to be able to join the WCS in Japan—what they consider as the most prestigious of all international cosplay events.⁶⁶⁴

Especially since 2008, they have been observing each other’s major events first hand and fielding their contestants in the competitions.⁶⁶⁵ He also proudly maintained that while Filipinos do not have as much resources as the others, they manage to at least represent well because they are ingenuous as he noted in attending cosplay events outside of the Philippines.⁶⁶⁶ He remarked that “We are not yet there...but we are getting there.”⁶⁶⁷

Avid anime consumers who are also enthusiastic participants in its subcultures are mostly of the Filipino urban middle classes. The rise of the middle classes in Southeast Asia represents the third wave of class formation following economic development in the region from the mid-80s to the late 90s.⁶⁶⁸ While the first and second waves that involved Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore were mostly due to developmental states and national capitalism, the third wave was created by global and regional transnational capitalism working in tandem with national

⁶⁶⁴ From the interview with Mr. de Dios.

⁶⁶⁵ In fact, one of the new rules in some Filipino cosplay contests that serve as preliminary events and stepping stones to the regional ones is for aspiring contestants to have a valid passport in anticipation of being sent as a Philippine representative abroad. In some cases, too, the winning contestant is expected to shoulder all the expenses including airline ticket, hotel accommodations and pocket money.

⁶⁶⁶ From the interview with Mr. de Dios.

⁶⁶⁷ Direct quote from the interview with Mr. de Dios.

⁶⁶⁸ The first wave of regional economic development that formed middle classes took place in Japan in the mid-50s to the early 70s. The second wave occurred between the 1960s and 1980s and included South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. Currently, the fourth wave is happening in the urban centers of China. Shiraishi, p. 242.

governments.⁶⁶⁹ Through this process, these third wave countries' major urban centers were increasingly integrated into the global and regional system of finance and production.

As a result, these third wave middle classes share not only a similarity in terms of jobs, education and income with their counterparts in the first and second wave nations but also when it comes to their lifestyles to match their relatively new affluent status. Compared with their parents' generation, these first, second and third wave middle classes have more in common with their fashion, leisure and entertainment choices, even aspirations and dreams. Engaging in pastimes such as watching anime, playing video games, singing in a karaoke place and eating in a Japanese restaurant, consuming Japan-made goods such as high-tech gadgets as well as character merchandize and also taking part in geek subcultures such as cosplay are some of the widespread preoccupations of the young generation that belong to this classification.

While these middle classes' long-term cultural hegemony⁶⁷⁰ fundamentally relies on the economic performances of their countries, their constitution of an expanding regional market are important for multinational corporations who are now targeting them. In April 2002, the purchasing and consuming power of East Asia stood at US \$ 5 trillion which is equal to that of EU and not far behind US at US \$ 6.9 trillion. Businesses concerned with fashion, lifestyle and music thrive in capturing this regional

⁶⁶⁹ The mid-80s to early 90s saw global financial transactions expanding exponentially and these countries liberalized their banking and portfolio investment regimes to make it easier for foreign banks to set up branches and for foreign institutional investors to enter their stock markets. They also deregulated their FDI regimes thus attracting firms to move their production facilities into their territories after the 1985 Plaza Accord that led to the appreciation of the currencies of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore. Shiraishi, p. 242.

⁶⁷⁰ Political ascendancy is also included in this sentence in Shiraishi's article, p. 268. The researcher, however, decided to focus only on the cultural part to make arguments more focused.

market as products are tailored to it. This situation opens up the possibility of constructing market-mediated national and regional cultural identities with the assembling and reassembling of cultural entrepreneurs of commodities to construct an “Asian-ness”⁶⁷¹ that is not against national identities.⁶⁷²

As what was mentioned in chapter 3, the anime phenomenon did not only open doors for Japanese media products and subsequently some elements of Japaneseness to be widely accepted in the Philippines. The exposure to characteristics more Asian than Western that it provided has also made it possible for Filipinos to appreciate media and other products of Asian origins such as those of the Taiwanese and Koreans. This relatively new positive reception for things not only Japanese but Asian implies an openness if not interest in the participation towards the building of such a community that share cultural inclinations.

Looking back at what was mentioned earlier, one example is interviewee Mr. Coladilla describing how participants in J-pop events are seamlessly branching out to other interests such as K-pop.⁶⁷³ Another example is that of Shinya⁶⁷⁴, one of the respondents in the informal interview in 2009, who is an avid participant in the anime subculture and events since the year 2000. Aside from joining the conventions, she has a

⁶⁷¹ One concrete example of this is the formation of the pan-Asian girl group called *Blush* which is composed of five members from the Philippines, India, South Korea, Hong Kong and Japan respectively in 2010 by FarWest Entertainment, an independent production company based in Hong Kong, Shanghai and Singapore. While they are singing mostly in English, in their debut song “Undivided”, the members were saying “I love you” in their respective languages.

⁶⁷² Ibid., p. 268-269.

⁶⁷³ From the interview with Mr. Coladilla.

⁶⁷⁴ The respondent specifically asked for her nickname among her circle of anime enthusiast friends to be used instead of her real name. She explained that she did not want her parents, who are both overseas workers in Italy, to see the video. The researcher assured her that the video is just for academic purposes and will not be uploaded in the internet. At the same time, the researcher also did not press for more details regarding this.

vast collection of DVDs, CDs, comics, magazines, merchandize, gadgets and even costumes as she did a bit of cosplaying also. She said that her love for anime has opened her eyes to the wonders of other Asian popular culture such as that of Taiwan and Korea and that she found it natural to admire other Asian creations, too.⁶⁷⁵ Recently⁶⁷⁶, she and her friends have been traveling throughout Asia especially Southeast Asia to watch the concerts of some Korean pop acts that they have been religiously following. In these concerts, they met fans like them from Vietnam, Thailand and Malaysia and she excitedly shares that her personal network of fans is growing and “becoming more international”.⁶⁷⁷

Having spelled out its connections to the three ongoing trends in international relations, the anime phenomenon in the Philippines appears to be an area of exploration that cannot simply be isolated from a lot of intersecting realities—as what were discussed here: the realities of history, economic interchange including migration and transnational marriages and social class aspects—and many interconnecting factors. This necessarily complicates—and enriches—its character as well as the discussion and understanding of it.

4.6 Concluding Remarks for Chapter 4

As what was shown in the paragraphs before, major historical developments as well as efforts from the states and private institutions from both sides have shaped Japanese cultural influence in the Philippines throughout the last century and the

⁶⁷⁵ From the informal interview done at the 2nd Philippine Cosplay Convention on March 28, 2009.

⁶⁷⁶ The researcher has since been regularly communicating with her through social networking websites as well as electronic mails.

⁶⁷⁷ From correspondence with the respondent and the section with the quotation marks is a direct quote from one of her electronic mails.

beginning of the new one. Among other recent occurrences, the anime phenomenon—in its generation of cultural influence-- demonstrates characteristics that set it apart from those of the traditional conduct of cultural diplomacy and promotion usually overseen by the Japanese government, its agencies and other Japanese organizations. It illustrates a transition from the elite to the popular, from state-sponsored to market-driven and from the elder generation-oriented to youth-oriented—thus adding a new dimension to Philippine-Japan relations. Beyond the bilateral frame, the phenomenon appears to have strong connections to the ongoing processes of cultural globalization, East Asian regionalization and the Southeast Asian middle class formation which are parts and parcel of globalization.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

5. Conclusion

This chapter serves as the concluding part of the study. It gives a summary of the previous chapters and focuses on the salient points that were raised in the discussions. The answer to the main research problem posted at the beginning—a characterization of the Japanese cultural influence from the anime phenomenon in the Philippines—is given and its importance to the bilateral relations and its connections to globalizing processes are outlined. Last but not the least is a presentation of a set of possible future topics for further inquiry in view of the limitations of this study, the developments that are still ongoing and the questions that arose in relation to the analysis provided in the research.

5.1. Summary of the Previous Chapters

5.1.1 Summary of Chapter 1

The first chapter introduced the study and started off with the background and reasons for the research. Anime has become a household name that came to embody Japanese animation in recent times and this is due to its surge to global popularity in the last twenty years-- even if the practice of exporting Japanese animation titles to various other countries has its beginnings in the 1950s. While children in some Asian countries grew up watching anime series, its recognition by Western audiences in the 90s gave anime an international regard that for one, aroused scholarly discussions. This same impetus prompted the Japanese government to make declarations regarding anime and other forms of Japanese pop culture products' utility for cultural diplomacy. The anime phenomenon is also observed in the Philippines with anime earning a niche in youth lifestyles and Filipino popular consciousness. The dynamics of anime's popularity and pervasiveness in the Philippine context was this study's main topic of inquiry in view of

the scarcity of writings on the subject matter.

The research problems and objectives were also delineated in the introductory chapter. The general objective was to analyze the anime phenomenon in the Philippine setting by characterizing the Japanese cultural influence that results from it and framing it within the development of Philippine-Japan relations and within the process of globalization in cultural terms. The specific objectives were the following: to present a historical account of anime's presence in the Philippines; to take a closer look into the cultural phenomena brought about by anime's popularity; to evaluate the Japanese cultural influence from the anime phenomenon in terms of the history of Philippine-Japan relations and to assess this occurrence in the light of contemporary processes taking place in the international scene.

In order to achieve the said objectives, a research framework was established using important concepts gleaned from the theoretical models of cultural globalization which were presented using a table of summary. While the study acknowledged their relevance in directing the course of the research, it does not wish to be firmly categorized within any of the three main categories-- namely cultural imperialism, cultural flows model and reception theory-- and intends to occupy a middle ground as it recognizes the significant points from each of them. The concepts of cultural transmission central to this study's analysis are Nye's soft power, Iwabuchi's decentralization of globalization and Benu's bottom-up globalization. The principles of each notion relevant to the research topics were discussed and their usefulness in making sense of the anime phenomenon was outlined.

This is followed by a review of studies on anime which dealt with the subject in different angles: chronicles of its entry in specific countries; popularization and effect

in specific countries; and, redefinition of the soft power approach through examples of its application on the spread of Japanese pop culture products. These studies provided practical guides in undertaking the research topic —ways to discern what perspectives have not been touched upon yet, what aspects should be highlighted and what methods can be employed in the conduct of the study. The methodologies used in information gathering and analysis as well as the scope and limitation were given at the end of this chapter.

5.1.2 Summary of Chapter 2

The second chapter provided an account of anime's presence in the Philippines which began in the late 70s and dealt with the important highlights of its influx, its sources and channels, reasons for its popularization and mainstreaming, and practices of Filipino appropriation. The showing of mecha anime—the most famous of which is *Voltes V*-- by GMA Channel 7 in the late 70s marked the entry of anime into Filipino TV broadcast. The supposed violence of the series led to a ban by then President Marcos⁸⁴⁹ and this in turn paved the way for the import of wholesome, family-oriented anime in the 80s. With the lifting of the prohibition, channels such as RPN Channel 9 aired anime titles such as *Astroboy* and *Robotech* as a cost-effective measure.

Most of the anime series during this period are in English and some were acquired through the US. The OAV trend of distribution-- which was a cheaper alternative in terms of license fees-- facilitated the entry of titles in the US market and some of these OAVs were edited into series that were broadcasted in the Philippines. Also in the 80s, Japanese animation companies started outsourcing animation

⁸⁴⁹ As what was discussed in Chapter 2, the official stance was that the ban was due to parents' complaints but there were many allegations regarding the actual motive such as ex-Pres. Marcos not wanting Filipinos to get inspired by the "revolutionary" ideas from the particular series as well as the government-run networks' losing out in terms of ratings to GMA 7.

production labor to Asia—thereby increasing output. The popularity of sentai series in the Philippines such as Bioman, Maskman and Shaider also renewed interest in mecha anime as they share similarities in terms of stories, plots and characters.

The early 90s saw anime titles concentrated around the children’s weekday and weekend morning time slots with ABS CBN Channel 2 airing tearjerkers such as Cedie, Sarah and A Dog of Flanders. Available genres also started to diversify and internationally famous titles such as Dragonball and Sailormoon made it to Philippine television. In the mid-90s, dubbing the anime series in Tagalog began gaining currency although anime is still comparatively scattered. Since most of the Japanese elements in the programs such as names and theme songs were changed, it is doubtful if the Filipino audience were aware that some of the wholesome series were from Japan. The mere variety of anime genres however started attracting a wider audience base and at the end of this decade, a strong subculture revolving around it emerged.

In 1999, a combination of nostalgic clamor for the re-airing of Voltes V due to a hit comedy show’s use of its theme song and the marketing of Ghostfighter like a drama series generated high ratings for GMA 7. Its rival, ABS CBN 2, and other channels followed suit and anime titles were put on primetime TV. Capitalizing on the trend, GMA 7 also launched the Weareanime.com website which became an avenue for fans to organize anime-related events. Anime subculture groups also came out and held their own gatherings. Anime merchandise shops started setting up stores in big malls. These were the key precursors of the anime explosion—when anime reached the masses-- that occurred in the year 2000. One of the hallmarks was the well-attended first ever anime convention aptly entitled “Anime Explosion” held in November 2000 at one of the country’s largest shopping malls, SM Megamall. After the convention, the

boom became even more pronounced especially in the Metro Manila area.

The anime fever peaked in 2002 and it became common to tag the programs as top-rated in Japan for promotion. At the same time, Japanese elements were mostly left to their own and more anime titles were made available locally. Activities related to anime grew in number along with the anime-interest groups that were established. From 2003 to early 2004, however, there was a noticeable decline in anime interest even with the entry of new titles. It affected the anime interest community with groups disbanding and even local anime magazine *Questor* going on a hiatus.

The reasons for this are the entry and popularity of dramas from Taiwan and Korea, the saturation of the market due to the constant re-airing of series, the rise of low-cost, high-speed internet and the increase of technological piracy which facilitated viewing of the anime before its actual TV debut. One view which the author shares is that what transpired was not an actual decline but more of the last stages of a mainstreaming process. The launch of two all-day anime channels, Animax and Hero TV, in 2004 and 2005 respectively, breathed life into the Philippine anime scene. While its peak is past, however, anime remains to be a regular part of local TV offerings and in the latter part of the previous decade, have been inspiring local productions.

5.1.3 Summary of Chapter 3

The third chapter presented three examples of cultural phenomena brought about by the anime's popularity and pervasiveness in the Philippines namely: Japanese language and subject appreciation, influences on popular media culture and the creation of the Filipino cosplay subculture. These areas represent observable gauges of how anime has impacted the Filipino society and in the analysis, careful attention was paid to define the Japanese cultural influence that they portray. By looking at how the Japanese

elements of anime was dealt with, the influence of anime as a media product from Japan can be established.

In the section on Japanese language and subject appreciation, the results of two surveys were utilized: the first were the results of a survey and informal interviews done by the researcher on university students in 2005 to 2006 and second was the results of the Japan Foundation 2009 survey. The surveys were different in terms of scale, scope and objective but there are two points of alignment that can be surmised from their findings—first, there is indeed a strong evidence of anime and other Japanese popular culture products' creating interest for Japanese language for the students, and, second, this interest is combined with other practical concerns in the decision to take the subjects. The latter is especially true with regards to the JF survey's results from the Philippines. It was not clearly established if interest in anime could be detached from the other pragmatic motivations such as work and study opportunities in Japan but it seems to be an added stimulus in the overall generation of interest for taking up Japanese courses.

In the section on influences on Filipino popular media culture, the Philippine TV environment was first described with the metaphor of a jeepney-- owing to its polymorphous nature and its eclecticism. What follows is a discussion of the two levels of appropriation in the Philippine TV industry-- minimal adaptation and format re-versioning—and how they are applied to anime as a foreign media product in relation to anime's history in the Philippines. In the analysis, particular consideration was given to how Japaneseness plays an important part and how Japanese elements are dealt with. In the assessment of the two levels of Filipino adaptation, it was ascertained that anime's Japaneseness seem to have an influence on its attractiveness and acceptance

only for a brief period of time—during the anime boom from late 90s to 2002.

While it is undeniable that there is Japanese cultural influence, it is rather superficial. More than its being a product from Japan and the cultural elements it has, its quality as a vehicle for unforgettable stories and characters explains its broad acceptance. Above all, the anime phenomenon in the Philippines has more to do with the practices of appropriation done by the local media industries. While some observers hail the anime phenomenon as a movement away from Western or American influences, it is more likely that both influences co-exist in varying degrees with the active reassertion of Filipino elements. It has to be emphasized though that this indigenizing tendency is not an exclusive Filipino trait but has also been demonstrated in other countries.

In the section on the creation of the Filipino cosplay subculture, the subculture itself was first briefly introduced through a definition and a short history of its roots. It also described cosplay events that are international in scope such as the World Cosplay Summit held every year in Nagoya since 2005. This is followed by a description of the Filipino take on the subculture: from its beginnings, development and current state. The first time cosplay was done as a public event was in the Anime Explosion convention in 2000. It became an integral part of the anime conventions and events that were regularly done especially during the period of anime boom from 2000 to 2002. Although the anime fever cooled down in 2003, cosplayers joined other events such as comics, video game and collective toy conventions. The range of characters being cosplayed also expanded outside of the usual anime and manga personas and came to include video game characters, Japanese rock band members, American cartoon figures and even pop culture icons.

While in the early stages, cosplay events were mere parts of anime and other pop culture conventions, events concentrating only on cosplay started to be organized. At the moment, there are about two or three events every month in the Metro Manila and surrounding areas. The appeal of cosplay among the Filipino youth lies in the many opportunities for creativity, ingenuity, self-expression and social bonding it presents. Another significant aspect is its business potential which encompasses the cosplayers themselves, event organizers, corporate and minor sponsors, dressmakers, tailors, costume-makers and artisans. The number of cosplayers has grown exponentially since the year 2000 with a hundred or so regular cosplayers attending events at the moment. In recent times, the subculture's popularity made the cosplay events ideal as avenues for raising awareness of socially-relevant issues such as environmental concern.

In the early period of the cosplay subculture, there is a very obvious feeling of admiration towards Japan with cosplayers and attendees raving about its popular culture and consuming its products which are available in special booths set up in the events. After the anime fever cooled down in 2003, however, the subculture came into its own and acquired a Filipino flavor. While cosplaying in Japan is acknowledged as a source of inspiration, the focus for most cosplayers is the improvement of the hobby and craft itself. In recent times, Filipino cosplayers are overtly determined to promote the uniqueness of Filipino-style cosplay.

The three areas discussed in the third chapter portrays how anime's influence is existing but uneven. While it may be because the three phenomena do not belong to the same category, comparison of the analyses on them gives rise to the quality of Japanese cultural influence that actually results from anime. In first instance, it proves difficult to isolate interest based purely on anime with other practical considerations in Japanese

language education. In the last two areas, findings seem to align with Japanese influences manifesting strongly during the anime boom from 2000 to 2002 but outside of this period—especially after anime became mainstream – there is a tendency towards a more indigenized tone. It again displays a process of ideas and practices being simultaneously globalized and localized.

5.1.4 Summary of Chapter 4

The fourth chapter gave an account of Japanese cultural influence in the Philippines throughout history and weighed in on the question whether the influence from the anime phenomenon is a watershed within Philippine-Japan relations. This chapter also connects the phenomenon with other processes underlining globalization. The first part was a brief overview of the cultural influence of Japan in the Philippines in history; second was a discussion of concurrent factors producing cultural influence; third was an analysis of the phenomenon as a turning point in Philippine-Japan relations; fourth, an assessment of its impact on the relations and, finally, a portrayal of its ties to the ongoing globalization. The links between the two countries extend as far back as unwritten history but for the purposes of the study, the general summary starts from the 1930s when Japan started promoting official cultural exchange.

The decade from 1930 to 1940 represent the closest relationship between the Philippines and Japan as demonstrated by a surge in friendship and goodwill activities. This is due to impending Philippine dependence and Japan's desire to further its economic interests. Semi-governmental organizations such as KBS and FK were established and they facilitated personnel and cultural exchange. The most significant exchange programs included educational tours from both sides, professorial exchange and the Philippine-Japan student conferences.

The subsequent Japanese occupation, however, eliminated all the goodwill that was forged and the cruelty of the atrocities committed during the 3-year period was deeply etched in the Filipino collective memory. In the immediate post war until the 50s, sports diplomacy was utilized and the first batch of Japanese government scholars from the Philippines was welcomed. There were also student exchanges in terms of pen pal clubs and scout jamborees. Nevertheless, the strong anti-Japanese sentiment lingered and it was shown in the struggle to have the commercial treaty ratified by the Philippine Senate in the 60s.

The Philippine media continued to use the horror stories of the war to warn Filipino readers of Japan's intentions but by this time, the Japanese side is all ready to present an image of a peaceful and prosperous country. It started inviting journalists, educators and artists to see the new Japan and write about it. Other cultural diplomatic efforts were also done such as the foundation of the JICC and SSEAYP. Sister-city ties were also forged between Philippine and Japanese cities, and JOVC and OISCA dispatched volunteers to the Philippines. In 1972, then Pres. Marcos declared martial law and unilaterally sanctioned the commercial treaty. His dictatorship was marked by a lot of corruption which unfortunately coincided with the Fukuda doctrine of increased Japanese ODA to ASEAN countries. During this time, Japan becomes the Philippines' second largest trading partner and the biggest source of aids. Filipino migration to Japan has also begun.

After the restoration of democracy to the Philippines in 1986, Japanese aid doubled after the PAP initiative. Cultural exchange also intensified and Filipino students availing of the Monbusho scholarship increased. The appreciation of the yen and the economic opportunities that it entailed resulted in the surge of the Filipinos' interest in

Japan in the late 80s to the 90s. The economic realities of this period resulted to the Japayuki phenomenon, the increase of students wanting to study in Japan and Filipino-Japanese marriages. This period marked the turning point towards a more popular attraction to Japan as the lower classes saw it as a land of economic opportunity. During the Ramos administration, bilateral economic negotiations and all types of cooperation from the Japanese government grew to a level unparalleled before. Thus, the Philippine government became a supporter of Japan in international affairs. Semi-governmental and private organizations continued cultural exchanges and ODA support was extended to NGOs.

The developments in commerce, international marriages, mass media and export of Philippine labor came to facilitate Japanese cultural dissemination in informal ways starting in the 90s. The Manila branch of Japan Foundation was inaugurated in 1996 and it became the official cultural arm of the Japanese government in the Philippines. Its many activities are in support of and complementary to state policies and recent ones have made use of contemporary popular culture to reach the younger generation. One of the biggest issues the two countries faced in the last ten years is the 2005 crackdown on entertainer visas that curbed the number of new Filipino entertainers from the year 2006 on. The latest development in Philippine-Japan relations in the 21st century is the signing and ratification of JPEPA despite the presence of adverse public opinion and controversies surrounding its many provisions. This just proves that the Philippine government has put its priority on the economic benefits from the agreement. At this point, it has become quite clear that closer economic ties between the two countries have resulted in the flourishing of cultural influence in different levels and ways.

The major factors concurrent with the anime phenomenon that produces Japanese cultural influence are: the notion of Japan as a land of opportunity and the implementation of the JPEPA. Both are the consequences of Japan's higher economic standing relative to the Philippines although their effects cover cultural influences as well. The first factor is both an image and a reality with Japan serving as one of the top five destinations of OFWs which are predominantly female. Filipino migration to Japan is the result of a combination of push and pull factors. Its persistence in the face of many hurdles demonstrates that gains trump costs for migrants, businesses, brokers and even governments. The social outcomes are the rise in Filipino-Japanese marriages and births of Japinos as well as the accelerated human to human contact between the two countries.

The second factor is an institutionalized mechanism derivative from the first one and embodies the deepening of the connection between economic and cultural relations. This is especially manifested in the provision to allow the entry of skilled Filipino labor in the areas of information technology, nursing and caregiving to Japan albeit with the requisite training in the Japanese language. The disappointing outcome of the first instance of the trainees taking the certification examinations led officials to push for reforms to ease the language requirements as well as expand the possible work areas.⁸⁵⁰ As it is still in the early stages of implementation, it remains to be seen if substantial adjustments will be made to the provision. At the moment, what is emphasized here is a concession towards Japan's cultural inclinations is needed in order to obtain economic benefits.

In the assessment of the anime phenomenon in relation to the overview of

⁸⁵⁰ From Antonio's article (2011) regarding current Pres. Aquino's talks with incumbent PM Noda in the former's September visit to Tokyo. Please see footnote 368.

Japan's cultural influence in the Philippines, three attributes stand out-- first, the attraction from anime shows a more popular orientation compared to the official cultural exchange activities with an elitist bent; second, it is an example of an informal way of cultural transmission as it is primarily the result of market dynamics; and lastly, the main participants are the Filipino youth. These three characteristics imbue the anime phenomenon as having the quality of a turning point to a certain extent—through anime, an awareness of Japan has extended to a broader and younger social base. However, it should not be taken as at par with the first two factors mentioned beforehand as obviously both have more clout in terms of policy-making on the Philippine side.

The following section describes the overlapping categories of effects, relevance and implications of the anime phenomenon to the development of Philippine-Japan relations. The first on the list is its introduction of a new range of cultural consumption alternatives that fashions a cultural market conducive to Japanese ideas and products. Aside from this, the anime phenomenon also spreads new images and ideas about Japan which stimulates people's interest in it. This interest, however, is not necessarily nationalistic or political in nature and more of an admiration that is most likely affecting choices in trends and lifestyles. The cultural capital gained from this attraction might prove useful in the future of Philippine-Japan relations. Finally, the anime boom has also generated a new facet in assessing Japan's image for the Filipinos—the country of origin for some cool pop cultural products. The relationship remains up to the present an unequal one and will probably stay as such at least in the near future.

The last part of Chapter 4 evaluates the anime phenomenon in terms of the ongoing processes that underlie globalization: cultural globalization, East Asian regionalization and the third wave of middle-class formation in Southeast Asia. The

anime boom is a demonstration of cultural globalization on a national level—it has a transnational nature and it stimulates local appropriation. Indigenization is not limited to the medium itself but to practices related to it. The phenomenon is also strongly manifested in East Asian countries and thus, there are high hopes for its potential for bridging the gap between these countries. As described in the previous chapter, the cosplay subculture has created an informal network among youth practitioners in East and Southeast Asia. Regionalization is also driven by the formation of middle classes across Asia. These middle classes make up the growing consumer market and compared to the generations before, they share a lot in common especially in terms of consumption, lifestyle and leisure. Along this line, they arbitrate new forms of national and regional identities that can advance integration as well as open prospects for cultural entrepreneurs’ construction of “Asian” products. In the Philippines, the anime phenomenon did not only facilitate the wider acceptance of Japanese products and elements but also exposed the Filipino audience to more “Asian” elements, thus paving the way for the eventual popularity of other products of Asian origins such as those of Taiwan and Korea. Within and beyond Philippine – Japan relations, the anime phenomenon is interconnected with a lot of factors that needed to be discussed in order to arrive at a characterization of it.

5.2 Concluding Remarks: Characterizing the Anime Phenomenon

The main purpose of this study is to analyze the anime phenomenon in the Philippine context through a characterization of the Japanese cultural influence that comes from it. In conclusion, it can be stated based on the previous discussions and analyses that there is a certain level of influence resulting from the anime boom. This is especially in terms of engaging the imagination and introducing remarkable stories,

characters and way of storytelling not only to the audience but also to cultural industries such as the local TV networks that saw the cartoons' potential for business. In line with this, the anime phenomenon is contributing to and further enriching the creative milieu of the Philippine media and as well as popularizing practices related to lifestyle and trends—revitalizing appropriation, localization and indigenization.

As it is mainly the result of commercially driven processes, the anime phenomenon's influence is primarily related to the forging of a market predisposed to Japanese ideas, goods and even practices. This influence, however, does not necessarily possess any political or nationalistic implications. While it invigorates especially the young with new images of Japan as well as possibly leads them to a positive cultural appreciation of it, it does not seem to clash with their national identities nor amount to the subjects being loyal to Japan. This characteristic belies a straightforward association between cultural attraction and political power.

The influence from anime phenomenon also appears rather uneven and superficial especially when other related and overarching processes are taken into consideration. At the level of cultural relations between Philippines and Japan, the anime phenomenon has made its mark by reaching out to a wider, more youthful social base. More young Filipinos are aware of Japan and are exposed to Japanese elements. When it comes to the other aspects of the relationship, however, it is somewhat benign and it is economics that continues to be the main crux that outlines the developments in the two countries' links. It has to be emphasized though that it has added a new dimension in how Filipinos view Japan—as a country that produces cool popular culture products and practices.

The anime phenomenon in the country does not occur in isolation from other

interrelated, contemporary realities and beyond the frame of Philippine – Japan relations, it has connections to the processes of cultural globalization, East Asian regionalization and the formation of middle classes in Southeast Asia which are components of globalization. While this provides many opportunities, angles and frames for interpretation and analysis, it also means that it will take a much longer time and more tedious efforts to uncover all its essence. If any, the study has managed to characterize certain qualities that deserve attention in the light of pressing matters and significant issues at the moment. Since it is a current and continuing phenomenon, there is a high probability of changes and evolution not only with its aspects and features but also with the factors that are driving it as well as the ways of looking into it.

5.3 Possible Future Topics as Extensions of the Research

As the topic is a multi-faceted phenomenon that is still ongoing as well as in the interest of meeting deadlines and staying consistently focused, there were a lot of stones still left unturned so to speak. Further inquiry into what the research missed and lacked is necessary. This is especially in terms of questions that remain unanswered such as the correlation between Filipino students' anime interest and pragmatic considerations in the taking up of Japanese language courses and how anime fans view the Japanese occupation in Philippine history.

Another suggestion is to extend the discussion to other areas where anime influenced the Filipino society such as the publishing of Filipino manga, the incorporation of the anime-style in artistic works and designs and its effects on consuming Japanese products such as food, gadgets, clothes and accessories. There is also a need to focus on other Japanese media and pop cultural products such as manga, video games, live action drama and music. These products' effects on Filipino

consumers, their appropriation by cultural industries and what kind of influence they have in the society should be looked into and analyzed.

As they have been brought up in the course of the study, other waves of cultural influence in the Philippines should also be given a spotlight to. The country presents a unique case study both empirically and theoretically for cultural research. Its historical background provides a distinctive environment for expounding on the dynamics of the meeting of different cultural influences. While geographically located in Southeast Asia, its experience of having been colonized for more than three centuries by Spain and having been under American rule for half a century gave it a particular affinity for Western culture. This Western leaning is featured prominently in the choice of foreign television programs acquired and emulated by the local networks until recently. For most observers, the popularity of anime and Asian dramas in the last two decades represent a departure from the usual Western inclination towards a preference for more Japanese or Asian flavor.

Before the anime craze was the Latin American telenovela frenzy that was sparked by the Mexican TV drama, *Marimar*. Broadcasted in the Philippines in 1996 to high ratings, the series' star, Thalia, visited the Philippines, had concerts and recorded a Tagalog song. *Marimar* has also been adapted as a Filipino teleserye in the year 2007 by GMA 2. The telenovela craze owes as much to the cultural proximity between the Latin American and Filipino culture. The series explicitly demonstrate the Roman Catholic faith and Hispanic structures of human relationships that clearly resonate with the Filipino audience. At the same time, most of the main actors are European-looking and are embodiments of the so-called "ideals of beauty" valued by a still prevailing colonial mentality pervading the society. It would be very interesting to expound on this

phenomenon in terms of identity, cultural meaning and yearning.

Another set of cultural waves worth examining is the so-called “Asian invasion”-- the Taiwanese and Korean ones that came after the anime boom. The Taiwanese wave was triggered by the hit drama series *Meteor Garden* aired in 2003-- ending the reign of the anime series as the foremost foreign program. The series’ four main actors Jerry Yan, Vic Zhou, Ken Chu and Vanness Wu, known collectively as F4 from the drama’s clique of wealthy boys of the same name⁸⁵¹, had performed in the Philippines to jam-packed crowds. Their concerts and musical albums sold well and they were even asked by prominent local companies to endorse their products. The next batch of Taiwanese dramas that were to be broadcasted was effectively christened “Chi-novelas”—short for “Chinese telenovelas”-- by the local media in obvious reference to their Latin American predecessors.

No less potent was the Korean wave which began with the drama series *Lovers in Paris* shown in the Philippines in 2004. The TV drama was eventually remade into a Filipino teleserye of the same name in 2009. The Korean dramas that followed were dubbed “Korea-novelas”—abbreviated form of “Korean telenovelas”-- and they ignited interest not only in TV dramas but also Korean pop music and other consumer products of Korean origin. This craze has also gained its own loyal interest groups and generated a lively subculture. In fact, the Philippine Kpop Convention is already on its third year and the latest one was held in Manila last December 30, 2011. It would also be fascinating to compare these waves with the Japanese one and examine their points of similarities and uniqueness. An exploration of the three would also lead to an inquiry of

⁸⁵¹ In 2007, the group changed their name into *JVKV* because of the objection of Shueisha, the copyright owner of the name F4 and the Japanese publisher of manga *Hana Yori Dango* where the drama was based from, in order to avoid any confusion with the Japanese live action version.

what the researcher observes as the Philippines' "return to Asia"⁸⁵² as least in terms of media and cultural product consumption.

⁸⁵² This expression was borrowed from Iwabuchi (2002a) and he used it with Japan. The researcher, however, does not employ the phrase in the same context. Iwabuchi's discussion about Japan which utilizes the expression has more to do with its regional role in Asia while it is used here to mean Philippine society's preference for media and cultural products.

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APPENDICES

List of Anime Programs Shown on Local Terrestrial Television

List of Anime with Broadcast Timetables

Survey Questionnaire for University Students (2005-2006)

LIST OF ANIME SHOWN IN ABS-CBN

-- A --

A Dog of Flanders

[Ai no Gakko Cuore Monogatari \(see Cuore\)](#)

[Ai no Shoujo Polyanna Monogatari \(see Polyanna\)](#)

[Ai Tenchi Densetsu Wedding Peach \(see Wedding Peach\)](#)

Akazukin Chacha

[Alps no Shojo Heidi \(see Heidi\)](#)

Ang Alamat ni Snow White

Angelic Layer [ABS-CBN 2]

Angelic Layer [Studio 23]

Angie Girl

Ang Mahiwagang Kuwintas

Ang Pasko ni Santa

[Anime Himitsu no Hanazono \(see Si Mary...\)](#)

[Anime Sanjuushi \(see The Musketeers\)](#)

Anne of Green Gables

[Aoi Blink \(see Blue Blink\)](#)

Astroboy 2003 [ABS-CBN 2]

Astroboy 2003 [Studio 23]

-- B --

Beyblade [ABS-CBN 2]

Beyblade [Studio 23]

Beyblade 2002

Bikkuri Man 2000

Blue Blink

Brain Powered [Cinema One]

B t'X

B t'X Neo

Bubu ChaCha

-- C --

Card Captor Sakura

Cedie, Ang Munting Prinsipe

Charlotte

Cooking Master Boy

Cinderella

Crush Gear Turbo [ABS-CBN 2]

Crush Gear Turbo [Studio 23]

Cuore

Cyborg009

-- D --

[Daa! Daa! Daa! \(see UFO Baby\)](#)

[Daisougen no Chiisana Tenshi Bush Baby \(see Jackie\)](#)

Dear Boys

Digimon Adventures

Digimon Adventures 02

Duel Masters [ABS-CBN 2]
Duel Masters [Studio 23]

-- E --

El Hazard (The Wanderers)

-- F --

Final Fantasy Unlimited [ABS-CBN 2]
Final Fantasy Unlimited [Studio 23]
[Flanders no Inu \(see A Dog of...\)](#)
Fortune Quest L
Fruits Basket
[Fushigina Shima no Flone \(see Swiss Family...\)](#)
[Fushigi no Umi no Nadia \(see Ang Mahiwagang...\)](#)

-- G --

G-Force
[Gashin Sentai Mechander Robo \(see Mekanda Robot\)](#)
Gatekeepers
[Gekitou Crush Gear Turbo \(see Crush...\[ABS-CBN 2\]\)](#)
[Gekitou Crush Gear Turbo \(see Crush...\[Studio 23\]\)](#)
Get Backers [ABS-CBN 2]
Get Backers [Studio 23]
Ghostfighter The Movie: Invaders From Hell
[Ginga Sengoku Gunyuuden Rai \(see Thunder Jet\)](#)
[Gokudo kun Manyuki \(see Jester...\)](#)
Groove Adventure Rave [ABS-CBN 2]
Groove Adventure Rave [Studio 23]
Gundam Seed

-- H --

Hana Yori Dango
Heidi
[Hello! Lady Lynn \(see Lady! Lady!\)](#)
His and Her Circumstances [ABS-CBN 2]
His and Her Circumstances [Studio 23]
[Huckleberry Finn Monogatari \(see The Adventures...\)](#)
[Hyakuju Ou Golion \(see Voltron Lions\)](#)

-- I --

[Ienaki ko Remi \(see Remi: Nobody's Girl\)](#)
Inu Yasha

-- J --

Jackie
Jenny
Jester the Adventurer
[Jouo Heika no Petite Angie \(see Angie Girl\)](#)
Judie

-- K --

[Kagaku Ninja tai Gatchaman \(see G-Force\)](#)
[Kaiketsu Zorro \(see Zorro\)](#)
[Kamen Rider Ryuuki \(see Masked Rider...\)](#)
[Kareshi Kanojyo no Jijyou \(see His and Her... \[ABS-CBN 2\]\)](#)
[Kareshi Kanojyo no Jijyou \(see His and Her... \[Studio 23\]\)](#)
[Kaze no Naka no Shoujo Kinpatsu no Jeanie \(see Jenny\)](#)
[Kenyu Densetsu Yaiba \(see Yaiba\)](#)
[Kidou Tenshi Angelic Layer \(see Angelic...\)](#)
[Kidou Tenshi Angelic Layer \(see Angelic...\)](#)
[Kikou Kantai Dairugger XV \(see Voltron Vehicles\)](#)
[Kishin Douji Zenki \(see Zenki\)](#)

-- L --

Lady Georgie
Lady! Lady!
Little Women
Little Women 2
Lost Universe

-- M --

Magic Girls (Miracle Girls)
Magic Knight Rayearth
Magic Knight Rayearth OAV (Rayearth)
MAPS
[Mary and The Secret Garden \(see Si Mary...\)](#)
Masked Rider Ryuki
Mekanda Robot
Mga Munting Pangarap ni Romeo
[Mr. Surprise \(see Bikkuri Man...\)](#)

-- N --

[Nanatsu no Umi no Tico \(see Tico and Friends\)](#)
Naruto
Neon Genesis Evangelion

-- O --

[Ochame na Futago \(see Twins at...\)](#)

-- P --

Paul in Fantasy Land
Peter Pan: The Animated Series
Polyanna
Popolocrois
[Princess Sarah \(see Sarah...\)](#)
Project Arms [ABS-CBN 2]
Project Arms [Studio 23]

-- R --

Ragnarok The Animation [ABS-CBN 2]

Ragnarok The Animation [Studio 23]
Remi Nobody's Boy
Remi: Nobody's Girl
Robin Hood
Robotech
[Romeo no Aoi Sora \(see Mga Munting...\)](#)
[Rurouni Kenshin \(see Samurai X\)](#)

-- S --

Saber Marionette J
Saber Marionette J to X
Sakura Wars (Sakura Taisen)
Samurai Deeper Kyo [Studio 23]
Samurai X
Sarah, ang Munting Prinsesa
Soul Hunters (Senkaiden Houshin Engi)
[Shirayuki Hime no Densetsu \(see Ang Alamat...\)](#)
[Shoukoushi Cedie \(see Cedie...\)](#)
Si Mary at Ang Lihim na Hardin
Slayers
Slayers Next
Slayers Try
Street Fighter II V
[Super Dimensional Fortress Macross \(see Robotech\)](#)
Super Doll Licca
Super GALS! Kotobuki Ran [ABS-CBN 2]
Super GALS! Kotobuki Ran [Studio 23]
Swiss Family Robinson

-- T --

Tenchi Muyo
Tenchi in Tokyo (Shin Tenchi Muyo)
The Adventures of Huck Finn
The Adventures of Tom Sawyer
The Musketeers
Thunder Jet
Tico and Friends
Tobe! Isami
Tokyo Underground
Trapp Family Singers
Twins at St. Claire

-- U --

Uchu Densetsu Ulysses 31 (Ulysses 2031)
UFO Baby

-- V --

Video Senshi Laserion
Voltron Lions (Hyakuju Ou Golion)
Voltron Vehicles (Kikou Kantai Dairugger XV)

-- W --

[Wakakusa Monogatari: Nan to Jou Sensei \(see Little Women 2\)](#)

[Wakakusa Monogatari Yori Wakakusa no Yon Shimai \(see Little Women\)](#)

[Wakasuka no Charlotte \(see Charlotte\)](#)

[Watashi no Ashinaga Ojisan \(see Judie\)](#)

Wedding Peach

-- Y --

Yaiba (Kenyu Densetsu Yaiba)

Yu-Gi-Oh Duel Monsters [ABS-CBN 2]

Yu-Gi-Oh Duel Monsters [Studio 23]

[Yu Yu Hakusho The Movie \(see Ghostfighter...\)](#)

-- Z --

Zenki

Zorro

***** Courtesy of Eric Ang Go of ABS-CBN**

LIST OF ANIME SHOWN IN DIFFERENT CHANNELS

NBN 4 List

Choudenji Mashin Voltes V
Dragon Quest (Dai's Adventure)
Force Five
Gaiking
Getta Robo
Starzinger
Tosho Daimos
UFO Grendizer

ABC 5 List

Ai no Shoujo Polyanna Monogatari (Polyanna)
Bishoujo Senshi Sailormoon
Bishoujo Senshi Sailormoon R
Bishoujo Senshi Sailormoon S
Bishoujo Senshi Sailormoon SS
Bishoujo Senshi Sailorstars
Cyborg Kuro Chan
Dragon League
F
G Force
Jungle Taitei (Kimba, The White Lion)
Juu Ni Senshi Bakuretsu Eto Rangers (Eto Rangers)
Kenyuu Densetsu Yaiba
Kyoryuu Boukenki Jura Tripper (2 Years Vacation with Dinosaurs)
Mahha GoGoGo
Mahou no Stage Fancy LaLa (Fancy Lala)
Metal Fighter Miku (Metal Fighters)
Mon Colle Knights
Ninja Boy Rantaro
Pygmalio
Sengoku Majin Goshogun (Macron One)
Slam Dunk
Tenku Senki Shurato (Shurato)
Time Travel Tondekeman (Time Quest)

RPN 9 List

Blue Noah (Thundersub)
Chou Jiku Yosai Macross (Robotech)
Dragonball
Dragonball Z
Genesis Climber Mospeada (Robotech 2)
Hyakuju Ou Golion (Voltron Lions)
Crayon Shin Chan
Kikou Kantai Dairugger XV (Voltron Vehicles)
Kaitou Saint Tail (Sweet Tales of St. Tail)
Kido Keisatsu Patlabor (Patlabor)
Ninja Senshi Tobikage (Ninja Robots)

Ranma 1/2
Sei Jyushi Bismarck (Saber Rider and the Star Sheriffs)
Tetsuwan Atom (Astroboy)
Zettai Muteki Raijin-Oh (Raijin Oh)
Zoids: Fuzors

IBC 13 List

Ai to Yuuki no Pig Girl Tonde Buurin (Super Boink)
Go Q Choji Ikkiman (Battle Ball)
Candy Candy
Crayon Shin Chan
Cyborg Kuro Chan
Dragon Quest (Abel Yuusha)
Dragon Quest (Dai's Adventure)
Hyakuju Ou Golion (Voltron Lions)
Kikou Kantai Dairugger XV (Voltron Vehicles)
Time Travel Tondekeman (Time Quest)
Uchu Senkan Yamato (Starblazers)
Yu Yu Hakusho (Ghostfighter)
Yu Yu Hakusho The Movie: Invaders From Hell

***** Courtesy of Eric Ang Go of ABS-CBN**

LIST OF ANIME SHOWN IN GMA (from late 70s to 2005)

-- A --

After War Gundam X

[Ai no Shoujo Polyanna Monogatari \(see Polyanna\)](#)

Ah! My Goddess OAV

Alice in Wonderland

[Alps Monogatari Watash no Annette \(see My Annette\)](#)

Anne of Green Gables (Akage no Anne)

Ashita no Nadja

[Anime Oyako Gekijo \(see Super Book\)](#)

-- B --

Baki The Grappler

[Bakuretsu Hunters \(see Sorcerer Hunters\)](#)

[Bakusou Kyoudai Let's & Go \(see Let's Go!\)](#)

Birdy the Mighty (OAV)

Bubblegum Crisis Tokyo 2040

Bush Baby

-- C --

Captain Fatz and the Seamorphs

Cats Eye

Combattler V

Charlotte

[Choudenji Mashin Voltes V \(see Voltes V\)](#)

[Chou Hatsumei Boy Kanipan \(see Gadget Boy 2\)](#)

Chou Mashin Eiyuuden Wataru

[Chousoku Spinner \(see Super Yoyo\)](#)

Cinderella

Cowboy Bebop

-- D --

Daimos

[Daisougen no Chiisana Tenshi Bush Baby \(see Bush Baby\)](#)

[Daisuke Hello Kitty \(see Hello Kitty's...\)](#)

Detective Conan

Dragon Creation

Dragonball

Dragonball GT

Dragonball Z

Doraemon

-- F --

Flame of Recca

Flint, the Time Detective

Flying House

Full Metal Alchemist

Full Metal Fumoffu?

Full Metal Panic

[Fushigi no Kuni no Alice \(see Alice...\)](#)

Fushigi Yuugi

-- G --

Gadget Boy

Gadget Boy 2

Ghost in the Shell (OAV)

Ghostfighter

Ghostfighter The Movie: Invaders from Hell

[Grappler Baki \(see Baki...\)](#)

Grimm's Fairy Tales

Gundam G

Gundam Wing

Gunsmith Cats (OAV)

[Gyouten Ningen Batseelor \(see Captain Fatz...\)](#)

-- H --

[Haha wo Tazunete Sanzen Ri \(see Marco\)](#)

[Hare Tokidoki Buta \(see Sunny Pig\)](#)

[Hajime no Ippo \(see Knockout\)](#)

Hamtaro

Happy Tales

[Hatsumei Boy Kanipan \(see Gadget Boy\)](#)

Heidi [QTV 11]

Hello Kitty's Furry Tale Theater

Hell Teacher Nube

[Hungry Heart: Wild Striker \(see Striker...\)](#)

Hunter X Hunter

Hunter X Hunter OAV 1

Hunter X Hunter OAV 2 (Greed Island)

Hyper Speed Gran Doll (OAV)

-- J --

Jackie and Jill [QTV 11]

Jewel Bem Hunter Lime (OAV)

[Jigoku Sensei Nube \(see Hell...\)](#)

[Jikuu Tantei Genshikun \(see Flint the Time Detective\)](#)

Jungle Book

-- K --

Katri, Ang Batang Pastol

[Kidou Butoden G Gundam \(see Gundam G\)](#)

[Kidou Shin Seiki Gundam X \(see After War...\)](#)

[Kinkyuu Hashhin Saver Kids \(see The Rescue...\)](#)

Knight Hunters

Knockout

-- L --

Let's Go!

Love Hina [GMA 7]
Love Hina [QTV 11]
Lupin III (Shin)
Lucy Mae and the Southern Rainbow

-- M --

[Makiba no Shoujo Katori \(see Katri...\)](#)
Magical Doremi
Magic Knight Rayearth
Marco
Marmalade Boy
Master of Mosquiton '99
Medabots
[Meitantei Conan \(see Detective Conan\)](#)
Mojacko
Monster Rancher
My Annette

-- N --

Ninja Robots

-- O --

[Ojamajo Doremi \(see Magical Doremi\)](#)
One Piece
Outlaw Star

-- P --

Perrine
Petshop of Horrors (OAV)
Pokemon
Polyanna

-- R --

Ranma 1/2 Nettouhen
[Recca no Honoo \(see Flame of Recca\)](#)
Rune Soldier

-- S --

SD Gundam Force
Saber Marionette R (OAV)
Shadow Skill
Shaman King
Shamanic Princess (OAV)
[Shin Kidou Senki Gundam W \(see Gundam Wing\)](#)
Slam Dunk
[Sohryuden \(see Dragon Creation\)](#)
Sorcerer Hunters
Sorcerer Orphen
Starlight Scramble (OAV)
Striker: Hungry Heart

Sunny Pig
Super Book
Super Yoyo

-- T --

Takoyaki Manto Man
[Tenkuu no Escaflowne \(see Vision of...\)](#)
Tenjou Tenge
The Rescue Kids
The Wizard of OZ
[Tondera House no Daiboken \(see Flying House\)](#)
Tokyo Jushoden (OAV)
Transformers: Armada
Trigun
Twelve Kingdoms
Twin Signal (OAV)

-- V --

Virtua Fighter
Vision of Escaflowne
Voltes V

-- W --

[Wakasuka no Charlotte \(see Charlotte\)](#)
[Weiss Kreuz \(see Knight Hunters\)](#)
Witch Hunter Robin
World Famous Tales

-- Y --

[Yu Yu Hakusho \(see Ghostfighter\)](#)
[Yu Yu Hakusho The Movie \(see Ghostfighter The Movie...\)](#)

-- Z --

Zeguy (OAV)
ZOIDS (Chaotic Century)
ZOIDS Shinseiki Slash Zero (New Century)

***** Courtesy of Eric Ang Go of ABS-CBN**

**List of Anime Shown in GMA Channel 7
(from December 2000 – 2005)**

Titles	Date Started	Date Ended	Days of the Week	Start Time	End Time
Bubblegum Crisis Tokyo 2040	12/5/2000 12/21/2000	12/26/2000 12/28/2000	Tuesday Thursday	6:30 pm	7:00 pm
Chomajin Hero Wataru	12/5/2000 12/11/2000 12/18/2000 12/25/2000	12/5/2000 12/12/2000 12/22/2000 12/29/2000	Tuesday Mon-Tues Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	3:45 pm 3:45 pm 3:45 pm 4:00 pm	4:15 pm 4:15 pm 4:15 pm 4:30 pm
Doraemon	12/1/2000 12/4/2000 12/12/2000 12/21/2000 12/28/2000	12/1/2000 12/6/2000 12/19/2000 12/26/2000 12/28/2000	Friday Mon/Wed Tuesday Thurs/Tues Thursday	4:45 pm 5:00 pm 5:00 pm 4:45 pm 5:00 pm	5:15 pm 5:30 pm 5:30 pm 5:15 pm 5:30 pm
Dragonball	12/1/2000 12/4/2000 12/11/2000 12/13/2000 12/15/2000 12/18/2000	12/8/2000 12/6/2000 12/11/2000 12/13/2000 12/15/2000 12/29/2000	Friday Mon/Wed Monday Wednesday Friday MWF	7:00 pm 7:15 pm 7:15 pm 8:00 pm 7:00 pm 7:00 pm	7:30 pm 7:45 pm 7:45 pm 8:30 pm 7:30 pm 7:30 pm
Fushigi Yuugi	12/1/2000 12/29/2000	12/15/2000 12/29/2000	Friday Friday	8:00 pm 7:45 pm	8:30 pm 8:15 pm
Gadget Boy	12/1/2000 12/4/2000 12/11/2000 12/18/2000	12/1/2000 12/6/2000 12/12/2000 12/29/2000	Friday Mon-Wed Mon-Tues Mon-Fri	3:45 pm 4:00 pm 4:30 pm 4:30 pm	4:15 pm 4:30 pm 5:00 pm 5:00 pm

Mojacko	12/1/2000 12/4/2000 12/11/2000 12/18/2000	12/1/2000 12/6/2000 12/11/2000 12/29/2000	Friday Mon-Wed Monday MWF	4:15 pm 4:30 pm 5:00 pm 5:00 pm	4:45 pm 5:00 pm 5:30 pm 5:30 pm
Pokemon	12/1/2000	12/29/2000	Friday	7:30 pm	8:00 pm
Trigun	12/1/2000 12/4/2000 12/11/2000 12/18/2000 12/25/2000	12/5/2000 12/6/2000 12/11/2000 12/20/2000 12/29/2000	Friday Mon-Fri Monday Mon/Wed MWF	6:30 pm 6:45 pm 7:45 pm 6:30 pm 6:30 pm	7:00 pm 7:15 pm 8:15 pm 7:00 pm 7:00 pm
Virtua Fighter	12/5/2000	12/28/2000	Tues/Thurs	7:00 pm	7:30 pm
After War Gundam X	5/15/2001	9/7/2001	Mon-Fri	4:30 pm	5:00 pm
Bubblegum Crisis Tokyo 2040	1/23/2001	3/22/2001	Tues/ Thurs	6:30 pm	7:00 pm
Chomajin Hero Wataru	1/22/2001 1/1/2001 1/18/2001	4/27/2001 1/1/2001 1/18/2001	Mon-Fri Monday Thursday	4:00 pm 4:00 pm 3:15 pm	4:30 pm 4:30 pm 4:00 pm
Detective Conan	9/10/2001	11/23/2001	Mon-Fri	4:30 pm	5:00 pm
Doraemon	1/23/2001 5/21/2001 9/10/2001 10/22/2001	5/17/2001 9/7/2001 10/19/2001 12/31/2001	Tues/ Thurs Mon-Fri MWF MWF	5:00 pm 5:00 pm 5:00 pm 4:00 pm	5:30 pm 5:30 pm 5:30 pm 4:30 pm

Dragonball	1/1/2001 1/3/2001 1/17/2001 4/2/2001 9/17/2001 11/5/2001 11/19/2001	1/15/2001 3/30/2001 9/14/2001 11/2/2001 11/16/2001 11/30/2001	Monday MWF MWF Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	7:00 pm 8:30 pm 7:00 pm 7:00 pm 7:30 pm 7:00 pm 6:45 pm	7:30 pm 9:00 pm 7:30 pm 7:30 pm 8:00 pm 7:30 pm 7:15 pm
Fushigi Yuugi	2/2/2001 9/10/2001 10/22/2001	2/2/2001 10/19/2001 11/23/2001	Friday Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	8:00 pm 4:00 pm 5:00 pm	8:30 pm 4:30 pm 5:30 pm
Gadget Boy	1/1/2001	1/1/2001	Monday	4:30 pm	5:00 pm
Genshi-kun	1/22/2001	5/11/2001	Mon-Fri	4:30 pm	5:00 pm
Ghostfighter The Return	11/26/2001	12/31/2001	Mon-Fri	5:00 pm	5:30 pm
Let's & Go!!	2/3/2001	9/29/2001	Saturday	9:30 am	10:00 am
Lupin III	5/14/2001 5/16/2001 7/9/2001 9/17/2001 11/5/2001	5/15/2001 7/6/2001 9/14/2001 11/2/2001 11/16/2001	Mon/Tues Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	7:30 pm 7:00 pm 6:30 pm 7:00 pm 6:30 pm	8:00 pm 7:30 pm 7:00 pm 7:30 pm 7:00 pm
Magic Knight Rayearth	11/26/2001	12/31/2001	Mon-Fri	4:30 pm	5:00 pm
Mojacko	1/1/2001 9/11/2001 10/23/2001	5/18/2001 10/18/2001 12/27/2001	MWF Tues/Thurs Mon/Wed	5:00 pm 5:00 pm 4:00 pm	5:30 pm 5:30 pm 4:30 pm
Monster Rancher	10/10/2001 11/3/2001 12/16/2001	10/19/2001 12/1/2001 12/30/2001	Mon-Fri Saturday Sunday	10:00 am 10:00 am 10:30 am	10:30 am 10:30 am 11:00 am

Pokemon	1/5/2001 1/26/2001 7/13/2001 9/7/2001 9/16/2001 10/21/2001 11/25/2001 12/08/2001	1/12/2001 7/6/2001 8/31/2001 9/14/2001 10/14/2001 11/18/2001 12/2/2001 12/29/2001	Friday Friday Friday Friday Sunday Sunday Sunday Saturday	9:00 pm 7:30 pm 8:30 pm 8:45 pm 7:00 pm 7:15 pm 7:00 pm 6:30 pm	9:30 pm 8:00 pm 9:00 pm 9:15 pm 7:30 pm 7:45 pm 7:30 pm 7:00 pm
Ranma 1/2	7/30/2001	10/9/2001	Mon-Fri	10:00 am	10:30 am
Takoyaki	1/22/2001	3/2/2001	Mon-Fri	8:30 am	9:00 am
The Sorcerer Hunters	11/19/2001 12/5/2001	11/30/2001 12/31/2001	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	7:15 pm 7:30 pm	7:45 pm 8:00 pm
Trigun	1/1/2001 3/5/2001	3/2/2001 3/23/2001	MWF MWF	6:30 pm 6:45 pm	7:00 pm 7:15 pm
Twin Signal	12/25/2001	12/25/2001	Tuesday	4:00 pm	5:30 pm
Virtua Fighter	1/2/2001 1/18/2001 3/6/2001 3/20/2001 11/3/2001 12/16/2001	1/11/2001 3/1/2001 3/15/2001 3/29/2001 12/1/2001 12/30/2001	Tues/Thurs Tues/Thurs Tues/Thurs Tues/Thurs Saturday Sunday	8:30 pm 7:00 pm 7:15 pm 7:00 pm 10:30 am 11:30 am	9:00 pm 7:30 pm 7:45 pm 7:30 pm 11:00 am 12:00 nn
Cat's Eye	6/10/2002 8/26/2002	8/23/2002 9/20/2002	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	4:30 pm 4:00 pm	5:00 pm 4:30 pm
Charlotte	6/10/2002 6/20/2002 10/7/2002	6/19/2002 7/19/2002 11/15/2002	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	9:15 am 9:30 am 9:00 am	9:45 am 10:00 am 9:30 am
Detective Conan	9/23/2002	12/31/2002	Mon-Fri	4:00 pm	4:30 pm

Hunter X Hunter	1/7/2002 1/14/2002 1/28/2002 2/18/2002 3/16/2002 3/18/2002 4/6/2002 6/8/2002 8/26/2002	1/11/2002 1/25/2002 2/15/2002 3/15/2002 3/16/2002 4/5/2002 6/1/2002 6/8/2002 12/6/2002	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Saturday Mon-Fri Saturday Saturday Mon-Fri	7:00 pm 7:15 pm 7:00 pm 7:15 pm 5:45 pm 7:00 pm 5:30 pm 5:45 pm 4:30 pm	7:30 pm 7:45 pm 7:30 pm 7:45 pm 6:00 pm 7:30 pm 6:00 pm 6:15 pm 5:00 pm
Lupin III	11/25/2002	12/20/2002	Mon-Fri	5:00 pm	5:30 pm
Magic Knight Rayearth	1/1/2002	12/20/2002	Mon-Fri	4:30 pm	5:00 pm
Mojacko	1/1/2002 7/21/2002 11/17/2002	1/31/2002 11/10/2002 12/1/2002	Tues/Thurs Sunday Sunday	4:00 pm 9:30 am 8:00 am	4:30 pm 10:00 am 9:00 am
Monster Rancher	1/6/2002	7/14/2002	Sunday	11:00 am	11:30 am
Pokemon	1/5/2002 1/12/2002 2/2/2002 2/9/2002 8/31/2002 10/19/2002 11/9/2002 11/10/2002 11/17/2002 12/8/2002	1/5/2002 2/9/2002 2/2/2002 2/9/2002 10/12/2002 11/3/2002 12/14/2002 11/10/2002 12/1/2002 12/29/2002	Saturday Saturday Saturday Saturday Saturday Sat/Sun Saturday Sunday Sunday Sunday	6:30 pm 5:30 pm 5:45 pm 5:30 pm 8:30 am 8:30 am 9:30 am 8:30 am 10:00 am 8:00 am	7:00 pm 6:00 pm 6:15 pm 6:00 pm 9:00 am 9:00 am 10:00 am 9:00 am 11:00 am 9:00 am
Pollyanna	7/22/2002	10/4/2002	Mon-Fri	9:30 am	10:00 am
Slam Dunk	5/6/2002	12/31/2002	Mon-Fri	5:00 pm	5:30 pm

The Sorcerer Hunters	1/1/2002	1/4/2002	Tues-Fri	7:30 pm	8:00 pm
Virtua Fighter	1/6/2002	7/14/2002	Sunday	11:30 am	12:00 nn
Ah! My Goddess!	5/26/2003	6/3/2003	Sunday	8:30 am	9:00 am
Animatrix: The Final Flight of the Osiris	5/24/2003	5/24/2003	Saturday	6:20 pm	6:40 pm
Baki The Grappler	8/18/2003	10/31/2003	Mon-Fri	4:30 pm	5:00 pm
Birdy the Mighty	6/16/2003	6/20/2003	Mon-Fri	3:50 pm	4:10 pm
Detective Conan	1/1/2003 1/30/2003	1/29/2003 2/14/2003	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	4:00 pm 4:30 pm	4:30 pm 5:00 pm
Doraemon	1/5/2003 2/16/2003 7/6/2003	2/9/2003 6/22/2003 7/20/2003	Sunday Sunday Sunday	10:00 am 8:00 am 8:00 am	11:00 am 10:30 am 8:30 am
Dragonball	1/1/2003 1/20/2003 12/15/2003 1/4/2003	1/17/2003 2/14/2003 12/31/2003 1/18/2003	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Saturday	4:30 pm 5:00 pm 4:30 pm 6:00 pm	5:00 pm 5:30 pm 5:00 pm 6:30 pm
Dragonball GT	2/1/2003 4/26/2003 5/12/2003 5/26/2003 6/9/2003 6/27/2003 7/9/2003 7/14/2003	3/15/2003 4/16/2003 5/23/2003 6/6/2003 6/26/2003 7/8/2003 7/11/2003 8/1/2003	Saturday Saturday Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	6:00 pm 6:30 pm 4:30 pm 4:00 pm 4:30 pm 5:00 pm 4:00 pm 5:00 pm	6:30 pm 7:00 pm 5:00 pm 4:30 pm 5:00 pm 5:30 pm 4:30 pm 5:30 pm

Ghostfighter	11/3/2003 11/17/2003	11/14/2003 12/31/2003	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	4:30 pm 5:00 pm	5:00 pm 5:30 pm
Ghost in the Shell	6/11/2003	6/13/2003	Wed-Fri	3:50 pm	4:10 pm
Gran Doll	6/23/2003	6/25/2003	Mon-Wed	5:30 pm	6:00 pm
Knock Out	2/17/2003	6/6/2003	Mon-Fri	5:00 pm	5:30 pm
Let's & Go!!!	9/21/2003	12/28/2003	Sunday	7:00 am	7:30 am
Lupin III	7/3/2003	7/8/2003	Mon-Fri	4:00 pm	4:30 pm
Magic Knight Rayearth	4/13/2003	11/9/2003	Sunday	8:30 am	9:00 am
Magical Doremi	7/14/2003 12/13/2003	9/26/2003 12/27/2003	Mon-Fri Saturday	4:00 pm 8:00 am	4:30 pm 8:30 pm
Mojacko	2/2/2003	6/29/2003	Sunday	7:30 am	8:00 am
Monster Rancher	9/21/2003	12/28/2003	Sunday	7:30 am	8:00 am
Pokemon	1/4/2003 1/5/2003	2/1/2003 1/19/2003	Saturday Sunday	9:30 am 8:00 am	10:00 am 9:00 am
Shaman King	5/19/2003 6/9/2003 6/27/2003 7/9/2003 7/14/2003	6/6/2003 6/26/2003 7/8/2003 7/11/2003 8/15/2003	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	4:30 pm 4:00 pm 4:30 pm 3:30 pm 4:30 pm	5:00 pm 4:30 pm 5:00 pm 4:00 pm 5:00 pm
Shamanic Princess	6/4/2003 6/9/2003 6/10/2003	6/6/2003 6/9/2003 6/10/2003	Mon-Fri Monday Tuesday	5:20 pm 4:00 pm 3:50 pm	5:50 pm 4:20 pm 4:10 pm
Slam Dunk	1/1/2003 1/20/2003	1/17/2003 5/16/2003	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	5:00 pm 4:30 pm	5:30 pm 5:00 pm
Super Yo-Yo	10/4/2003	12/27/2003	Saturday	10:00 am	10:30 am

Virtua Fighter	8/3/2003	12/28/2003	Sunday	8:00 am	8:30 am
Voltes V	2/17/2003 12/13/2003	4/16/2003 12/27/2003	Mon-Fri Saturday	4:15 pm 8:30 am	4:45 pm 9:00 am
Zeguy	6/30/2003	7/2/2003	Mon-Fri	4:00 pm	4:30 pm
Zoids	8/4/2003 11/17/2003	11/14/2003 12/12/2003	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	5:00 pm 4:30 pm	5:30 pm 5:00 pm
Baki The Grappler	11/14/2004 12/5/2004 12/12/2004	11/28/2004 12/5/2004 12/26/2004	Sunday Sunday Sunday	10:20 am 9:50 am 9:50 am	10:40 am 10:30 am 10:00 am
Captain Fatz	1/4/2004 9/19/2004 9/4/2004 11/20/2004	9/12/2004 12/26/2004 11/13/2004 12/25/2004	Sunday Sunday Saturday Saturday	8:30 am 8:00 am 9:30 am 8:00 am	9:00 am 8:30 am 10:00 am 8:30 am
Cowboy Bebop	8/23/2004	9/27/2004	Mon-Fri	5:30 pm	6:00 pm
Daimos	1/3/2004 5/15/2004 6/19/2004 8/22/2004	5/1/2004 6/12/2004 8/14/2004 10/10/2004	Saturday Saturday Saturday Sunday	9:00 am 9:30 am 7:30 am 7:30 am	9:30 am 10:00 am 8:00 am 8:00 am
Dragon Ball	1/1/2004 2/19/2004 3/22/2004 4/5/2004 6/7/2004 6/14/2004	2/18/2004 3/19/2004 4/2/2004 6/4/2004 6/11/2004 6/18/2004	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	4:30 pm 5:00 pm 4:30 pm 4:45 pm 5:00 pm 4:30 pm	5:00 pm 5:30 pm 5:00 pm 5:15 pm 5:30 pm 5:00 pm
Dragonball GT	4/14/2004	9/17/2004	Mon-Fri	5:00 pm	5:30 pm
Flame of Recca	4/14/2004	6/11/2004	Mon-Fri	5:15 pm	5:45 pm
Full Metal Panic	12/14/2004	12/31/2004	Mon-Fri	5:30 pm	6:00 pm
Ghostfighter	1/1/2004 2/19/2004 3/22/2004	2/18/2004 3/19/2004 4/13/2004	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	5:00 pm 5:30 pm 5:10 pm	5:30 pm 6:00 pm 5:40 pm

Hunter X Hunter	6/14/2004 6/21/2004 7/26/2004	6/18/2004 7/23/2004 10/1/2004	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	5:00 pm 5:30 pm 6:00 pm	5:30 pm 6:00 pm 6:30 pm
Let's & Go!	1/4/2004 2/15/2004 5/16/2004	2/8/2004 5/9/2004 9/12/2004	Sunday Sunday Sunday	7:00 am 7:30 am 8:00 am	7:30 am 8:00 am 8:30 am
Love Hina	12/12/2004	12/26/2004	Sunday	10:00 am	10:30 am
Magical Doremi	1/3/2004	5/8/2004	Saturday	8:00 am	8:30 am
Medabots	4/25/2004	5/30/2004	Sunday	10:00 am	10:30 am
Monster Rancher	1/4/2004 2/15/2004 8/1/2004 8/15/2004 8/22/2004	2/8/2004 5/9/2004 8/8/2004 8/15/2004 8/29/2004	Sunday Sunday Sunday Sunday Sunday	7:30 am 8:00 am 6:00 am 6:00 am 7:00 am	8:00 am 8:30 am 7:00 am 7:30 am 7:30 am
One Piece	9/20/2004 11/17/2004	11/16/2004 12/31/2004	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	5:30 pm 5:00 pm	6:00 pm 5:30 pm
Outlaw Star	7/15/2004	8/20/2004	Mon-Fri	5:30 pm	6:00 pm
Rune Soldier	10/4/2004	11/5/2004	Mon-Fri	5:30 pm	6:00 pm
Shaman King	5/15/2004 11/20/2004 6/6/2004 11/21/2004 12/12/2004	11/13/2004 12/15/2004 11/14/2004 12/5/2004 12/16/2004	Saturday Saturday Sunday Sunday Sunday	8:30 am 9:30 am 10:00 am 9:30 am 9:00 am	9:00 am 10:00 am 10:30 am 10:00 am 9:30 am
Slam Dunk	9/28/2004 10/4/2004	10/1/2004 12/31/2004	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	5:30 pm 6:00 pm	6:00 pm 6:30 pm
Super Yo-Yo	1/3/2004	3/6/2004	Saturday	10:00 am	10:30 am

Tokyo Jushowden	3/13/2004	3/13/2004	Saturday	10:00 am	10:30 am
Virtua Fighter	1/4/2004 8/21/2004	2/8/2004 11/13/2004	Sunday Saturday	8:00 am 8:00 am	8:30 am 8:30 am
Voltes V	1/3/2004 5/15/2004 8/21/2004	5/1/2004 8/14/2004 10/9/2004	Saturday Saturday Saturday	8:30 am 8:00 am 7:30 am	9:00 am 8:30 am 8:00 am
Witch Hunter Robin	11/8/2004	12/13/2004	Mon-Fri	5:30 pm	6:00 pm
Zoids	10/16/2004	12/26/2004	Sat/Sun	7:30 am	8:00 am
Baki the Grappler	1/2/2005 3/13/2005 1/8/2005	3/6/2005 4/10/2005 4/16/2005	Sunday Sunday Saturday	9:00 am 9:30 am 9:30 am	10:00 am 10:00 am 10:00 am
Bush Baby	7/18/2005	9/9/2005	Mon-Fri	8:30 am	9:00 am
Captain Fatz	1/1/2005	3/6/2005	Sat/Sun	8:00 am	8:30 am
Cowboy Bebop	6/5/2005	9/4/2005	Sat/Sun	8:30 am	9:00 am
Dragonball GT	4/17/2005	11/5/2005	Sat/Sun	9:30 am	10:00 am
Dragonball Z	10/17/2005	12/13/2005	Mon-Fri	5:00 pm	5:30 pm
Flame of Recca	5/12/2005 5/16/2005 5/30/2005	5/13/2005 5/27/2005 7/11/2005	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	5:30 pm 5:00 pm 5:30 pm	6:00 pm 5:30 pm 6:00 pm
Full Metal Alchemist	7/13/2005 7/24/2005	7/22/2005 12/11/2005	Mon-Fri Sunday	5:30 pm 10:00 am	6:00 pm 10:30 am
Full Metal Panic	1/3/2005 9/10/2005	2/1/2005 12/11/2005	Mon-Fri Sunday	5:30 pm 10:00 am	6:00 pm 10:30 am
Hamtaro	9/12/2005	12/13/2005	Mon-Fri	8:30 am	9:00 am

Love Hina	1/2/2005	6/5/2005	Sunday	10:00 am	10:30 am
Magical Doremi	3/24/2005 3/26/2005	3/25/2005 3/26/2005	Thurs & Fri Saturday	7:00 am 7:30 am	8:00 am 8:00 am
Marmalade Boy	3/7/2005 3/14/2005	3/11/2005 4/15/2005	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	9:30 am 8:30 am	10:00 am 9:00 am
Medabots	9/10/2005	12/11/2005	Sat/Sun	8:00 am	8:30 am
Nadja	5/24/2005	7/15/2005	Mon-Fri	8:30 am	9:00 am
One Piece	1/3/2005 5/16/2005	5/13/2005 6/3/2005	Mon-Fri Mon-Fri	5:00 pm 4:45 pm	5:30 pm 5:15 pm
Outlaw Star	3/6/2005	6/4/2005	Sat/Sun	8:30 am	9:00 am
Rune Soldier	6/19/2005	11/27/2005	Sunday	9:00 am	9:30 am
SD Gundam Force	9/11/2005	12/11/2005	Sat/Sun	7:30 am	8:00 am
Shadow Skill	2/12/2005 3/13/2005	3/5/2005 5/15/2005	Saturday Sunday	8:30 am 9:00 am	9:00 am 9:30 am
Shaman King	1/1/2005 5/30/2005	1/1/2005 8/26/2005	Saturday Mon-Fri	9:30 am 5:00 pm	10:00 am 5:30 am
Slam Dunk	1/3/2005	2/25/2005	Mon-Fri	6:00 pm	6:30 pm
Slam Dunk Returns	7/26/2005	12/13/2005	Mon-Fri	5:30 pm	6:00 pm
Sorcerer Orphen	5/2/2005 5/9/2005	5/6/2005 5/9/2005	Mon-Fri Monday	6:00 pm 5:45 pm	6:30 pm 6:05 pm
Striker Hungry Heart	2/28/2005	4/29/2005	Mon-Fri	5:30 pm	6:00 pm
Super Yo-Yo	10/31/2005	11/18/2005	Mon-Fri	9:30 am	10:00 am

Tenjou Tenge	6/6/2005	7/12/2005	Mon-Fri	4:45 pm	5:15 pm
The Twelve Kingdoms	8/29/2005 11/6/2005	10/14/2005 12/10/2005	Mon-Fri Sat/Sun	5:00 pm 9:30 am	5:30 pm 10:00 am
Transformers Armada	3/12/2005	9/10/2005	Sat/Sun	7:30 am	8:00 am
Zoids	1/1/2005 3/12/2005	3/6/2005 9/4/2005	Sat/Sun Sat/Sun	7:30 am 8:00 am	8:00 am 8:30 am

***Courtesy of Ryan Barredo of GMA Network.

ANIME LIST TIMETABLE

Late 1970s

- Daimos (Ch 7)
- Mazinger Z
- Voltes V

1980s

- Astroboy (Ch 9)
- Voltes V (reshown by Ch 4)
- Voltron (Lions & Vehicles) (Ch 9)

Late 1980s

- Robotech (Macross, Southern Cross & Mospeda) (Ch 9)
- The Transformers Saga (Ch 9)
- Thundersub (Ch 9)

1992

- Cedic Ang Munting Prinsipe (shown Dec at Ch 2)
- Dragonball (Ch 9)
- Dragonball Z (Ch 9)
- Peter Pan (Ch 2)

1993

- Dragonball (Ch 9)
- Dragonball Z (Ch 9)
- Peter Pan (Ch 2)
- Princess Sarah (Ch 2)
- Sailormoon R, S, Super S and Sailor Stars (Ch 5)
- Trapp Family Singers (Ch 2)

1994

- A Dog of Flanders (Ch 2)
- Julio at Julia, Ang Kambal ng Tadhana (Ch 2)
- Pollyanna (Ch 5)
- Remi (Ch 2)

1995

- A Dog of Flanders (Ch 2)
- Battle Ball (Ch 13)
- Dragon Quest (Ch 13)
- Ghostfighter (Ch 13)
- Julio at Julia, Ang Kambal ng Tadhana (Ch 2)
- Pollyanna (Ch 5)
- Raijin-Oh (Ch 9)
- Remi (Ch 2)
- Slam Dunk (Ch 5)
- Super Boink (Ch 13)
- Time Quest (Ch 13)
- Yaiba (Ch 5)

1996

- Battle Ball (Ch 13)
- Dragon Quest (Ch 13)
- ETO Rangers (Ch 5)
- Little Women 2 (Ch 2)
- Magic Knight Rayearth (Ch 2)
- Pollyanna (reshown at Ch 2)
- Raijin-Oh (Ch 9)
- Si Mary at ang Lihim na Hardin (Ch 2)
- Super Boink (Ch 13)
- Time Quest (Ch 13)
- Ranma ½ (1st shown Mar 15 at Ch 9)

1997

- Ang Mahiwagang Kwintas/ Nadia (Ch 2)
- Heidi (Ch 2)
- The Adventures of Huck Finn (Ch 2)
- Tico and Friends (Ch 2)
- The Slayers (1st shown Feb 1 at Ch 2)
- Zenki (1st shown Mar 10 at Ch 2)
- Mga Munting Pangarap ni Romeo (Romeo's Blue Sky) (1st shown April 14 at Ch 2)
- Zorro (1st shown April 14 at Ch 2)
- Thunder Jet (1st shown Sept 22 at Ch 2)
- Adventures of Tom Sawyer (1st shown Oct. 13 at Ch 2, TD)
- B'TX (1st shown Dec 22 at Ch 2)

1998

- Ang Mahiwagang Kwintas/ Nadia (Ch 2)
- Charlotte (Ch 2)
- Georgie (Ch 2)
- Mojacko (Ch 7)
- Ninja Robots (Ch 7)
- Perrine (Ch 7)
- Sweet Tales of St. Tail (1st shown Mar 6 at Ch 9)
- The Musketeers (1st shown Mar 23 at Ch 2)
- Anne of the Green Gables (1st shown June 29 at Ch 2)
- Robin Hood (1st shown June 29 at Ch 2)
- Samurai X (1st shown Oct 18 at Ch 23, ED)
- Saber Marionette J (1st shown Oct 19 at Ch 2)

1999

- Jackie (Bush Baby) (Ch 2)
- Marco (Ch 7)
- Paul in Fantasy Land (Ch 2)
- Robotech (Macross, Southern Cross & Mospeda) (Ch 2)

- Sanrio World of Animation (Ch 2)
- Cinderella (1st shown Jan 11 at Ch 2)
- Gundam Wing (1st shown Jan 11 at Ch 7)
- Remi: Nobody's Girl (1st shown Jan 11 at Ch 2)
- Daimos (reshown Jan 15 at Ch 7)
- Voltes V (reshown Jan 15 at Ch 7)
- Akazukin Cha Cha (1st shown Jan 18 at Ch 2)
- Yaiba (reshown Jan 25 at Ch 2)
- Fortune Quest (1st shown Mar 1 at Ch 2)
- Ghostfighter (reshown Mar 1 at Ch 7)
- Blue Blink (1st shown Mar 8 at Ch 2)
- Lost Universe (1st shown June 21 at Ch 2)
- Lupin III (1st shown Aug 9 at Ch 7)
- Flame of Recca (1st shown Aug 10 at Ch 7)
- Isami (1st shown Aug 16 at Ch 2)
- Gundam G (1st shown Aug 16 at Ch 7)
- The Rescue Kids (1st shown Aug 16 at Ch 7)
- Knight Hunters (1st shown Sept 19 at Ch 7)
- Let's & Go (1st shown Sept 19 at Ch 7)
- Samurai X (reshown Sept 20 at Ch 2, TD)
- Pokemon (1st shown Oct 1 at Ch 7)
- Tenchi Muyo TV (1st shown Oct 25 at Ch 2)
- The Twins at St. Clare's (1st shown Nov 15 at Ch 2)
- Combattler V (1st shown Nov 26 at Ch 7)
- Shin Tenchi Muyo (1st shown Nov 30 at Ch 2)
- Neon Genesis Evangelion (1st shown Dec 6 at Ch 2)
- Doraemon (1st shown Dec 27 at Ch 7)

2000

- Monkey Magic (Ch 9)
- Dragonball (reshown Jan at Ch 7)
- Dragonball Z (reshown Jan at Ch 7)

- Magic Girls (Miracle Girls) (1st shown Jan 31 at Ch 2)
- Little Women (1st shown Feb 7 at Ch 2)
- Wedding Peach (1st shown Feb 7 at Ch 2)
- Saber Marionette J to X (shown Feb 14 at Ch 2)
- Hell Teacher Nube (1st shown Mar 20 at Ch 7)
- Master of Mosquitos (1st shown Mar 22 at Ch 7)
- Monster Rancher (1st shown Mar 23 at Ch 7)
- Fushigi Yuugi (1st shown Mar 24 at Ch 7)
- Vision of Escaflowne (1st shown Mar 24 at Ch 7)
- Sunny Pig (1st shown Mar 24 at Ch 7)
- Gran Doll (Hyper Speed Gran Doll) (shown Mar 20 & 27 at Ch 7)
- Street Fighter IIV (1st shown April 3 at Ch 2)
- Super Doll Licca (1st shown April 24 at Ch 2)
- Digimon (1st shown June 2 at Ch 2)
- Jester the Adventurer (1st shown June 5 at Ch 2)
- Takoyaki Mantleman (1st shown June 19 at Ch 7)
- Swiss Family Robinson (1st shown June 26 at Ch 2)
- Gadget Boy Kanipan (1st shown July 31 at Ch 7)
- Chomajin Hero Wataru (1st shown Oct 16 at Ch 7)
- Angie Girl (1st shown Oct 30 at Ch 2)
- Trigun (1st shown Oct 30 at Ch 7)
- Virtua Fighter (1st shown Oct 31 at Ch 7)
- Bubblegum Crisis Tokyo 2040 (1st shown Nov 28 at Ch 7)

2001

- Macron 1 (Ch 5)
- Popolocrois (1st shown Jan 7 at Ch 2)
- Flint, the Time Detective (1st shown Jan 22 at Ch 7)
- Cuore (1st shown Feb 12 at Ch 2)
- F! (1st shown Feb 12 at Ch 5)
- Mahha Go Go Go! (1st shown Feb 12 at Ch 5)

- Dragon League (1st shown Feb 13 at Ch 5)
- Two Years Vacation with Dinosaurs (1st shown Feb 13 at Ch 5)
- Pygmalio (1st shown Feb 14 at Ch 5)
- Time Quest (reshown Feb 14 at Ch 5)
- Fancy Lala (1st shown Feb 15 at Ch 5)
- Shullato (1st shown Feb 15 at Ch 5)
- Ranma ½ (reshown Mar 21 at Ch 7, TV)
- Soul Hunter (1st shown May 7 at Ch 2)
- After War Gundam X (1st shown May 16 at Ch 7)
- El Hazard the Mysterious World (The Wanderers) (1st shown May 21 at Ch 2)
- Cardcaptor Sakura (1st shown July 23 at Ch 2)
- Detective Conan (1st shown Sept 10 at Ch 7)
- Sorcerer Hunters (1st shown Nov 19 at Ch 7)
- Magic Knight Rayearth (reshown Nov 26 at Ch 7)
- Maps (1st shown Dec 10 at Ch 2)
- Rayearth OVA (shown Dec 10 at Ch 2)
- Saber Marionette R (1st shown Dec 23 at Ch 7)
- Twin Signal (1st shown Dec 25 at Ch 7)

2002

- Hunter X Hunter (OVA 1 & 2) (1st shown Jan 7 at Ch 7)
- Gunsmith Cats (1st shown Jan 28 at Ch 7)
- Dragon Creation (1st shown Feb 16 at Ch 7)
- Jewel Bem Hunter Lime (1st shown Feb 25 at Ch 7)
- Crayon Shin Chan (1st shown Mar 4 at Ch 13)
- Kurochan Cyborg Cat (1st shown Mar 4 at Ch 13)
- Judie (1st shown Mar 18 at Ch 2)
- Petshop of Horrors (1st shown Mar 25 at Ch 7)
- Slam Dunk (reshown May 6 at Ch 7)
- Samurai X (reshown May 20 at Ch 23, ED)

- Bubu Cha cha (1st shown April 2 at Ch 2)
- Cat's Eye (1st shown June 10 at Ch 7)
- Charlotte (reshown June 10 at Ch 7)
- UFO Baby (1st shown Aug 10 at Ch 2)
- Jenny (1st shown July 15 at Ch 2)
- Pollyanna (reshown July 22 at Ch 7)
- Inuyasha (1st shown Aug 12 at Ch 2)
- Samurai X (reshown Aug 12 at Ch 2, TD)
- Beyblade 2002 (1st shown Dec 9 at Ch 2)
- Sakura Wars (1st shown Dec 9 at Ch 2)

2003

- Dragonball GT (1st shown Feb 1 at Ch 7)
- Hajime no Ippo (Knockout) (1st shown Feb 17 at Ch 7)
- Final Fantasy Unlimited (1st shown Mar 17 at Ch 2)
- Crush Gear Turbo (1st shown April 21 at Ch 2)
- Cooking Master Boy (1st shown May 5 at Ch 2)
- Shaman King (1st shown May 19 at Ch 7)
- Ah My Goddess (1st shown May 26 at Ch 7)
- Shamanic Princess (1st shown June 4 at Ch 7)
- Ghost in the Shell movie (shown June 11 at Ch 7)
- Birdy the Mighty (1st shown June 16 at Ch 7)
- Gran Doll (Hyper Speed Gran Doll) (reshown June 23-25 at Ch 7)
- Starlight Scramble (1st shown June 26 at Ch 7)
- Zeguy (1st shown June 30 at Ch 7)
- Alice in Wonderland (shown July 9 at Ch 7, RV)
- Anne of Green Gables (reshown July 9 at Ch 7, RV)
- Magical Doremi (1st shown July 14 at Ch 7)
- Zoids: Chaotic Century (1st shown Aug 4 at Ch 7)
- Super Gals Kotobuki Ran (1st shown Aug 9 at Ch 2)
- Baki the Grappler (1st shown Aug 18 at Ch 7)

- Groove Adventure Rave (1st shown Aug 18 at Ch 2)
- Project Arms (1st shown Sept 15 at Ch 2)
- Katri, Ang Batang Pastol (1st shown Sept 22 at Ch 7)
- Super Yo-yo (1st shown Oct 3 at Ch 7)
- Yu-Gi-Oh! Duel Masters (1st shown Oct 6 at Ch 2)
- Zoids: New Century (1st shown Nov 5 at Ch 7)
- Captain Fatz (1st shown Nov 16 at Ch 7)
- Lady Lady (1st shown Dec 1 at Ch 2)
- My Annette (1st shown Dec 1 at Ch 7)
- Astroboy the New Series (1st shown Dec 8 at Ch 2)

2004

- Naruto (1st shown Mar 1 at Ch 2)
- Hana Yori Dango (1st shown Mar 6 at Ch 2)
- Tokyo Jushoden (1st shown Mar 13 at Ch 7)
- Lucy Mae and the Southern Rainbow (1st shown Mar 22 at Ch 7)
- Medabots (1st shown April 25 at Ch 7)
- Tokyo Underground (1st shown June 21 at Ch 2)
- Ninja Boy Rantaro (1st shown July 5 at Ch 5)
- Dear Boys (1st shown July 5 at Ch 2)
- Samurai Deeper Kyo (1st shown July 5 at Ch 23)
- Happy Tales (1st shown July 14 at Ch 7)
- Outlaw Star (1st shown July 15 at Ch 7)
- Cinderella (reshown Aug 23 at Ch 7, RV)
- Duel Masters (1st shown Aug 30 at Ch 2, reshowed Nov 14 at Ch 23)
- Cowboy Bebop (1st shown Aug 23 at Ch 7)
- One Piece (1st shown Sept 20 at Ch 7)
- Rune Soldier (1st shown Oct 4 at Ch 7)
- Get Backers (1st shown Oct 11 at Ch 2)

- Ragnarok the Animation (1st shown Oct 11 at Ch 2, reshown Dec 27 at Ch 23)
- Fruits Basket (1st shown Oct 23 at Ch 2)
- Witch Hunter Robin (1st shown Nov 8 at Ch 7)
- Cyborg 009 (1st shown Nov 14 at Ch 2)
- Project Arms (reshown Nov 29 at Ch 23)
- Love Hina (1st shown Dec 12 at Ch 7)
- Full Metal Panic (1st shown Dec 14 at Ch 7)
- Gundam Seed (1st shown Dec 20 at Ch 2)
- Mon Colle Knights (1st shown Dec 27 at Ch 5)

2005

- Gatekeepers (1st shown Jan 24 at Ch 2)
- Jungle Book (1st shown Feb 1, 2005)
- Shadow Skill (1st shown Feb 12 at Ch 7)
- Beyblade 2002 (reshown Feb 28 at Ch 23, reshown again Aug 1 at Ch 2)
- Striker Hungry Heart (1st shown Feb 28 at Ch 7)
- Angelic Layer (1st shown Mar 5 at Ch 2, reshown Oct 11 at Ch 23)
- His and Her Circumstances (1st shown Mar 5 at Ch 2, reshown Nov 14 at Ch 23)
- Marmalade Boy (1st shown Mar 7 at Ch 7)
- Transformers Armada (1st shown Mar 12 at Ch 7)
- Get Backers (reshown Mar 28 at Ch 23)
- World Famous Tales (1st shown April 18 at Ch 7)
- Super Gals Kotobuki Ran (reshown April 25 at Ch 23)
- Nadja (1st shown May 24 at Ch 7)
- Mr. Surprise (Bikkuri Man) (1st shown May 30 at Ch 2)
- Sorcerer Orphen (1st shown May 2 at Ch 7)
- Tenjou Tenge (1st shown June 6 at Ch 7)
- Crush Gear Turbo (reshown July 4 at Ch 23)

- Final Fantasy Unlimited (reshown July 4 at Ch 23)
- Full Metal Alchemist (1st shown July 13 at Ch 7)
- Jackie (Bush Baby) (reshown July 18 at Ch 7)
- Zoids: Fuzors (1st shown July 30 at Ch 9)
- Yu-Gi-Oh! Duel Masters (reshown Aug 8 at Ch 23)
- Twelve Kingdoms (1st shown Aug 29 at Ch 7)
- Astroboy the New Series (reshown Sept 5 at Ch 23)
- Princess Sarah (reshown Sept 5 at Ch 2, RV)
- SD Gundam Force (1st shown Sept 11 at Ch 7)
- Hamtaro (1st shown Sept 12 at Ch 7)
- Groove Adventure Rave (reshown Oct 3 at Ch 23)
- Heidi (reshown Nov 11 at Ch 11, RV)
- Jackie and Jill (1st shown Nov 11 at Ch 11)
- Love Hina (reshown Nov 11 at Ch 11)
- The Wizard of Oz (1st shown Nov 30 at Ch 7)

Legend

ED – English-Dubbed

TD – Tagalog-Dubbed

RV – Re-dubbed Version

*** Courtesy of Eric Ang Go of ABS-CBN

Control # _____

Age: _____ Sex: F () M ()

Course: _____

School/ Learning Institution: _____

What kind of Japanese course are you taking?

- () a Japanese language course
() a Japan studies course [about Japanese society, culture, etc.]

This Japanese course is...

- () a short term course [less than 5 months]
() a class subject [1 semester]
() an undergraduate course [ex. B.A. Japanese Studies]
() others, pls. specify

I. Why are you taking up a Japanese course?

—

II. How and when was Japan first introduced to you? (ex. through books, through family, relatives or friends, through mass media, etc.)

—

III. A. How interested are you in Japan? (Please encircle the number of intensity, from 1 being the lowest and 5 being the highest).

1 2 3 4 5

B. What aspects of Japan are you interested in? (Check as many as you

can.)

- () values
 - () technology
 - () customs and traditions
 - () others, pls. specify
-

IV. A. Would you like to go to Japan?

- () Yes
- () No

If yes, why?

—

V. A. How do you see Japan? Please describe.

—

B. Please provide the basis for your answer to the above question.

—

VI. A. Have you ever watched anime (for the purpose of this study, anime here is defined as Japanese animation)?

- () Yes
- () No

B. If yes, when was it?

- () before enrolling in Japanese class

() after enrolling in Japanese class

Did it somehow influence you to take Japanese class?

() Yes

() No

If yes, to what degree? (Please encircle the number of intensity, from 1 being the lowest to 5 being the highest.)

1

2

3

4

5

Do you consider yourself an anime fan?

() Yes

() No

If yes, to what degree? (Please encircle the number of intensity, from 1 being the lowest to 5 being the highest.)

1

2

3

4

5

What do you think about anime? Please elaborate.

—

VII. What is the most convenient medium for you to get information about Japan? Please rank the following media from 1-11, with 1 being the highest.

() books

() newspapers and magazines

() anime

() video games

() comics

() friends

() other people

() radio

() television

() films

() internet