"OPPA SCAM" AND ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS IN K-DRAMAS: IDOLATRY AND FAN ACTIVISM IN BRAZIL

"GOLPE DO OPPA" E RELACIONAMENTOS ROMÂNTICOS EM K-DRAMAS: IDOLATRIA E ATIVISMO DE FÃS NO BRASIL

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> Recebido em: 9 de março de 2024 Aprovado em: 18 de junho de 2024 Sistema de Avaliação: Double Blind Review BCIJ | v. 4 | n. 2 | p. 256-276 | jul./dez. 2024 DOI: https://doi.org/10.25112/bcij.v4i2.3704



ABSTRACT

The research addresses the reception of K-dramas by Brazilian fandom in terms of transculturality, in which fans from Brazil play a fundamental role in the dialogue about, promotion and sharing of content related to both actors and characters. From there, it explores issues of representation and gender roles. Based on previous research findings, it uses qualitative methods, without seeking generalizations, but highlighting aspects related to fan idolatry and activism. It focuses on analyzing issues related to masculinity and the idealization of South Korean men in K-dramas, which can lead to the dissociation between fiction and reality. This dissociation is exemplified by the "oppa scam", in which people pretend to be South Korean actors to extort money from Brazilian fans. It concludes that Brazilian fans are inserted in a global and local environment that can generate unexpected situations regarding the assimilation of pop culture in specific contexts.

Keywords: Transculturality. Pop Culture. Transcultural Fandoms. Brazilian Fans. K-Dramas.

RESUMO

A pesquisa aborda a recepção de K-dramas pelo fandom brasileiro em termos de transculturalidade, em que fãs do Brasil exercem um papel fundamental na promoção, diálogo e compartilhamento de conteúdo relacionado tanto a atores quanto a personagens. A partir daí, explora questões de representação e papeis de gênero. Com base em achados de pesquisa anterior, utiliza métodos qualitativos, sem buscar generalizações, mas destacando aspectos relacionados à idolatria e ativismo de fãs. Concentra-se na análise de questões relacionadas à masculinidade e à idealização do homem sul-coreano nos K-dramas, o que pode levar à dissociação entre ficção e realidade. Tal dissociação é exemplificada pelo "golpe do oppa", em que pessoas se passam por atores sul-coreanos para extorquir dinheiro de fãs brasileiras. Conclui que os fãs brasileiros estão inseridos em um ambiente global e local que pode gerar situações inesperadas no que se refere à assimilação da cultura pop em contextos específicos.

Palavras-chave: Transculturalidade. Cultura Pop. Fandoms Transculturais. Fãs Brasileiros. K-Dramas.







1 INTRODUCTION

The circulation of South Korean pop culture, especially K-dramas in Brazil began to grow in the 2010s, a phenomenon that indicates that TV distributed over the internet (LOTZ, 2017) stimulated the advancement of the so-called hallyu (KIM, 2011; LEE, 2015; MAZUR, 2021)¹. This first unfolded through unofficial streaming platforms, managed by fansubs specialized in translation, subtitling, and distribution of K-dramas. Fansubs are characterized by amateur and voluntary work and their community, within the fandom, is founded on the idea of fans carrying out activities for fans (WANG, 2014; URBANO, 2020; ANDRADE, 2021). Despite being amateur, Brazilian fansubs manage their own content streaming platforms which have cutting-edge navigation technology, specialized design interfaces and offer a wide variety of content, being similar to commercial platforms. They also operate heavily on social media, distributing links to their work and stimulating discussions about K-drama's narratives as a way of disseminating and reverberating their content. We understand that there are three factors that made fansub activity viable: the improvement of streaming technology, the increase in internet speed and, mainly, the expansion of the population's access to broadband connection in Brazil (NERI, 2008; LOPES, 2012). Over time, in this new landscape, fansubs also began to supply translation and subtitling for some streaming companies, Brazilian and foreign, small and large, specializing in the distribution of licensed content from South Korea, such as, for example, Viki Rakuten, Dramafever (extinguished in 2018), IQIYI, WeTV, and later Netflix.

In 2016, the Netflix Brazil catalog already included some scattered K-dramas titles such as "Boys Over Flowers" (KBS2, 2009), "Playful Kiss" (MBC, 2010) and "Coffee Prince" (MBC, 2007). Gradually, the West was increasingly impacted by the expansion of pop culture in South Korea (SACOMAN, 2015; MAZUR, 2021). Currently, the success of South Korean works in Brazil can be seen by the growth in the number of South Korean original Netflix productions in the general composition of the Brazilian catalog – from 1.59% of original titles in 2018 to 4.51% in 2022 (MUNGIOLI et al., 2023). In this way, Netflix



¹ Hallyu, or Korean wave, is a phenomenon related to the global diffusion of South Korean pop culture products, which emerged in the late 90s. The promotion of South Korea through soft power (NYE JR., 2004) (the ability to influence and attract other countries and cultures through resources such as culture, values, diplomacy and ideas) aims to establish transnational dialogues and boost the country's economic development.



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responds and serves a very active transcultural fandom² in Brazil. In spite of being considered a niche culture, Brazilian K-drama fandom is keen, with countless fansubs, and large platforms such as Netflix are increasingly launching new titles in the country. Also, during the pandemic period (2020-2023), Brazil became the third largest consumer of K-dramas in the world, according to research by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of South Korea carried out in 2020 (MARQUES, 2021).

The acceptance of K-dramas in Brazil – and their consequent transcultural path – is related to the narratives themselves, however, actors and characters exert a strong power of magnetism in the audience. Brazilian fans play a fundamental role in promoting actors and characters from K-dramas, sharing and distributing content in fandoms, such as video excerpts, promotional images, publicizing social actions, memes, etc. The reach of these artists as public personalities is also reverberated by fans due to the fact that they are often also singers and dancers, integrating what is called Idol culture (LEE et al., 2020; SANTOS, 2016).

We chose three characteristics based on the proposals of Sukendi et al. (2023) and Lee (2015) to understand the magnetism of these artists and these receptivity factors. Thus, the aspects we selected to demonstrate the impression that actors and characters make in Brazil are: attractiveness, credibility, and connection. These attributes may indicate the power that the idealized conception of masculinity represented in the K-dramas exerts, as we will analyze below.

Until recently, the transcultural relationship – between the Global South (Latin America, Brazil) and the eastern side of the planet (East Asia, South Korea) – established outside the mainstream was considered almost insignificant in the field of global television production and reception, when "transnational media distribution and circulation were firmly under the control of media corporations, and fandoms around the world seldom mixed" (MORIMOTO, 2018, p. 280). This environment has been changing and, in this article, we aim to discuss the definitions of masculinity, related to romanticism, presented in the television fiction of South Korea that brought with them a potential to produce deceptions, with consequences in the offline world.

One of these consequences in real life which we analyze is the "oppa scam", crimes of embezzlement committed by criminals who pose as South Korean K-drama actors who deceive and extort their Brazilian victims. To understand the issue, we articulate the concepts of idolatry and activism of fandoms in



² We align ourselves with the idea that "the understanding of transcultural fandom goes beyond the mere transposition of a pop culture product to another context, or appropriation of it for a culture, but can also be understood as fandoms that are constituted beyond the Western products and related to the constitution of national pop culture outside the borders (and/or peripheral) (...) (AMARAL, 2016, p. 72, our translation).



social media in Brazil. Before analyzing the "oppa scam", it is important to clarify that the Korean word "oppa" (오빠) is a term used by women when referring to a man who is older than them, usually a brother, close friend or boyfriend. Although the meaning varies according to the context, the word has a connotation of affection and respect, and is used to express the intimacy of a close and affectionate relationship (TINALIGA, 2018). The term became popular in Brazil through K-dramas and was later used in the context of the felonies.

2 "OPPA SCAM"

The so-called "oppa scam" is configured as a crime of embezzlement in which criminals use a trick or artifice to deceive their victims. The term "oppa scam" was created in 2020 by Edvan Fleury, a Brazilian YouTuber based in China³, who exposes cases of wrongdoing like these ones. According to Brazilian law, the crime can be understood as a love/sentimental fraud and is configured as psychological and property violence against women, provided for by the Maria da Penha Law (BRASIL, 2006). The scam presents several configurations, but what is observed in the cases is the illegal use of the image of famous South Korean actors, such as Park Bo Gum, Lee Min Ho, Park Seo Joon, Lee Jong Suk, and Hyun Bin, for extortion purposes. This crime starts with contact via social networks, mostly Instagram. Once contact has been established through social media, conversations begin. One of the victims claims that she is a fan of South Korean culture and explains that in her case it started in January 2022, when she accepted the request from a (fake) profile that used the image of South Korean actor Park Bo Gum. Then, at the request of the scammer, she began exchanging messages via email, believing she was speaking to the artist himself (CARVALHO & BERBERT, 2022).

Extortion occurs almost imperceptibly, as in the case of asking for the shipment of gifts from South Korea to Brazil that requires, as criminals claim, that victims pay the customs costs. In reality, these costs do not exist, as both countries are part of international agreements, with no monetary obligations to disembark parcels in Brazil. In general, conversations follow a very specific and usual model for this type of crime: flirting, intense demonstration of interest, and promises to send gifts. These fake "oppa" profiles aim to establish a loving bond with the victim.

In addition to gifts that never arrive after the payment of these alleged costs, another approach is the fake actor saying that he wants to come to Brazil, but does not have the financial conditions to do



³ Edvan Fleury's channel is available at: https://www.youtube.com/@Edvanfleury Access 02.25.2024.

so, as his alleged agent does not allow him to control his own social media, nor his bank accounts. In this way, they explain that they created a new account, different from the official one, to be able to contact and chat with this specific fan. The fake artists also mention that, despite the difficulties, they would very much like to travel to Brazil and meet that woman, but due to this control, they are unable to travel. So, they ask the woman for money to pay for their trip. Later she sends a certain amount that, according to the criminal, is not enough and he continues to make excuses for not making the trip. Finally, after they receive a certain amount of money, these criminals disappear and delete their social media accounts. Then, these women find out it is a scam. The reported lost amounts reach 100,000 Brazilian Reais, which is approximately equivalent to U\$18,800. These amounts are considerably high when compared to the Brazilian minimum wage, which is around US\$250 per month.

There are cases considered even more serious, as they involve blackmail related to intimate photos and/or videos. In this context, the thieves threaten to expose on social media the content that was shared with them by the victims who, to prevent this from happening, send large amounts of money.

On September 20, 2022, the General Consulate of South Korea in São Paulo issued a warning about these scams indicating ways to prevent them after a scammer claimed seven victims in July and August 2022 (REDAÇÃO, 2022)⁴. The consulate's legal sector reported that according to information from influencers who create content about Korean culture, "there are hundreds of victims (attempted and completed)" (CARVALHO, 2022). The actor Park Bo Gum⁵ himself, also in September 2022, tweeted that he only uses Twitter and that other accounts using his name are fake (QUEIROGA, 2022). Although there have been reports from fans on social media about the "oppa scam" since mid-2020 (MITI, 2021), major Brazilian television channels and news sites began to highlight the crime only when the Consulate issued the alert. From 2020 to today different K-drama fandoms also highlighted the cases mainly on Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube and, from then onwards, reinforced the warning about these scams.

What stands out when listening to the details reported by the victims of the cases is that the dialogues between victims and criminals use codes and expressions similar to those observed in romantic K-dramas. In this case, we are talking about how relationships are portrayed in fiction and how they are translated into real life. In a report from the "g1" news portal there is a screenshot that shows that the fake profile of Park Bo Gum, managed by a scammer, sends messages in Portuguese to the victim. One



⁴ The website of the General Consulate of South Korea in São Paulo is available at: https://overseas.mofa.go.kr/http://overseas.go.kr/http://overseas.mofa.go.kr/http://overseas.go.kr/http://overs

⁵ Park Bo Gum's Twitter profile is available at: https://twitter.com/BOGUMMY Access 02.25.2024.



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of the messages says: "I love you so much and I can't live without you. Sweet dreams to you, my love" (CARVALHO & BERBERT, 2022).

According to Silva (2022) this type of scam had a significant increase in the years of the pandemic (especially between 2020 and 2022), in which contact via social media was intensified, because many people were emotionally vulnerable. Instagram was the most used app by cis-gender women in Brazil and this occurred because online interactions have alleviated some relational difficulties caused by social isolation (PRIMO, 2020).

Similar scams, like those showcased in documentary "The Tinder Swindler" (Netflix, 2022), detailing the deception of three women by an Israeli fraudster, are not a recent phenomenon. However, what stands out in the "oppa scam" is its use of an ideal from television fiction that reinvents South Korean masculinity. Scammers use this construction of the perfect South Korean man created by fiction to deceive victims. Here, we are talking about an ideal of masculinity that, to date, has no evidence of existing in real life, whether in Brazil or South Korea.

3 METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

The authors of this work are female researchers from the Global South, Latinas, Brazilians, one black and one white, one young, the other older, both fans of serial television fiction, focusing on East and Southeast Asian productions, in addition to those in Brazil. It can be said that we are acafans (HILLS, 2002; JENKINS, 1992). In this article, we investigate female, Latin-American, Brazilian fans, and remember that our country is not homogeneous in terms of race, class, ideology, and education.

Fans studying other fans could reveal some methodological challenges in fan studies, especially with regard to autoethnography (POPOVA, 2020). Thus, we consider the aspects mentioned above with the awareness that we study online communities of which we are also members and, therefore, we move with familiarity from the phase of collecting data, to its analysis (COPPA, 2014; JENKINS, 1992; POPOVA, 2020). We seek to insert ourselves within an emic perspective, an internal or insider understanding of the communities researched, in which we aim to understand practices within a specific cultural context to which we also belong (KELLEY, 2016).

To contextualize the study, it is necessary to say that previously, in July 2022, we carried out another field research, exploratory, of a netnographic nature (FRAGOSO et al., 2016), which aims to understand the impressions and perceptions of Brazilian fans about the South Korean culture portrayed in dramas, particularly with regard to masculinity and relationships (LEMOS & LIMA, 2024). Thusly, we applied a guestionnaire, with six guestions, which was answered by 63 fans who were members of seven





Brazilian fan communities on Facebook⁶. Next, we worked with content analysis (BARDIN, 2011), carried out pre-analysis and, subsequently, developed a categorization proposal, with the aid of word clouds (LEMOS, 2016). Then, we examined the responses regarding perceptions of distinctions related to South Korean culture, regarding issues of identity (HALL, 2016, 2019) and otherness (MERLEAU-PONTY, 2019; TROUILLOT, 2011; MOTTA, 2021), with the aim of understanding how they are assimilated.

That survey surprised us with a very interesting finding. Three respondents sent us links referring to the "oppa scam", which caught our attention, however, at that time, we did not have the opportunity to delve into the topic in more depth.

This research builds on that previous study that offered us this unexpected finding. In these terms, we began this study through exploratory research, also of a netnographic nature, carried out from January 15 to February 15, 2023, with content exclusively related to the "oppa scam", from March 2020 to February 2023.

We analyzed videos, posts and comments on the social networks Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube using search tools for the expression "oppa scam" and other related terms. We found hundreds of posts – narrating how some cases happened, warning fans not to fall for the scam, some with links to other social networks, in a traffic that intertwines information. From Facebook we selected 42 posts, mainly from those seven Brazilian communities previously researched, including publications, videos (reels), memes and responses; two Instagram accounts with alert posts; 50 tweets from Twitter; and 18 YouTube videos. The investigation indicated that the material was redundant and repetitive, and that these posts and videos had been shared and commented on in different fandoms on these social networks, confirming the relevance of the subject researched.

Considering that any quantitative aspect of the findings was not of our interest, it was possible to synthesize this content into two types: informative, narrating how the "oppa scam" occurs, or in the form of a warning, advising how to avoid it. Finally, we selected for this article eight posts from social media (2 from Facebook, 2 from Instagram, 3 from Twitter, 1 from YouTube) that we understand as representing the aspects most discussed on the networks by Brazilian fans. In addition to the redundancy of posts found on the topic, we also took into account critical concerns related to fans' privacy when searching online (KELLEY, 2016). Hereafter, we extend our study to newspapers and TV shows beyond social networks for a broader perspective. Amidst this material, we selected a victim's TV interview.



⁶ The communities are: *Séries e Filmes Coreanos/Doramas/kdramas*; *Doramas coreanos*; *K-Drama Series*; *Doramas Coreanos e outros*; *Dorama Lovers*; *Dorameiras(o) de Plantão!!!*; and *Eu amo Doramas*.



Finally, we categorized the set of researched material according to two perspectives, as we will detail below: (1) the concept of hyperreality, which in this case is aligned with the concept of idolatry; and (2) the concept of fan activism. We start from the hypothesis that the transcultural circulation of idealized masculinity present in K-dramas overflows from television serial fiction to offline life. Consequently, we apprehend that it is essential to observe the situation regarding the reception of South Korean products by Brazilian fans so that we can, by all means supported by facts, discuss local and global cultures and cultural exchanges through fandom (CLICK & SCOTT, 2017).

4 IDEALIZED SOUTH KOREAN MASCULINITY

K-dramaland designates an imagined world created through the collective activity of K-drama writers, directors, actors, and viewers – and does not exactly represent South Korean culture or society (SCHULZE 2013, p. 373). Among other aspects, it is possible to perceive the masculinity portrayed in K-dramas, and often stereotyped, as belonging to the codes created and perpetuated by K-dramaland. On the other hand, relationships between men and women in K-dramas can be understood as a reflection of part of a patriarchal Korean culture (SCHULZE, 2013).

There are few cultural differences regarding gender roles and ideals of masculinity in Brazil and South Korea. In Brazil, heterosexual practices reinforce gender norms (RIBEIRO, 2009; NATT et al., 2015), promoting competitiveness and valuing rationality as a masculine trait (LOURO, 1997). These norms define roles for heterosexual, white, young, thin, tall, and Christian men, sustaining male dominance (SILVA, 2009). Women are often subjected to sexist ideals (RIBEIRO, 2009), expected to embody femininity in private, domestic spheres emphasizing emotions over reason (MENEZES et al., 2013). They face limited access to power and decision-making compared to men (MENEZES et al., 2013).

In South Korea, men are expected to be primary providers, emphasized by mandatory military service that shapes an image of strength (KIM & PYKE, 2015; MA et al., 2021; KIM, 2016). This stereotype of the working man creates social inequalities, leading to physical and mental strain for men and barriers to employment for women (NEMOTO, 2016). Confucianism historically influences gender roles, emphasizing men working outside the home while women are expected to serve their husbands (KIM & PYKE, 2015).

Romantic relationships in K-dramas show that romantic love is culturally specific and strongly gendered, affecting female aspirations (LEE, 2019). Our focus is on an exaggerated representation of a cisgender male ideal in search of romantic love that, throughout the plots, aims to establish a perfect relationship. This South Korean man is mostly seen in romantic comedy series, a genre that is successful



among Brazilian audiences. The idealization of South Korean masculinity in K-dramas is based on fictional images of men who inspire women to seek real relationships, including influencing transnational desires – which leads women from different parts of the globe to travel to the country in order to fulfill their romantic dreams (LEE et al., 2020; LEE & HOW, 2022). On this subject, we also bring to the discussion the concept of "soft masculinity" within the context of contemporary South Korean culture. This idea arises as a response to traditional expectations, valuing men with a greater variety of gender expressions and behaviors such as, for example, appreciating their personal appearance, expressing emotions, demonstrating sensitivity, empathy and being willing to have intimate and more collaborative interpersonal relationships (JUNG, 2010; LEE, 2020).

It is important to note that we are touching on aspects related to Orientalism, which concerns representations of the East historically constructed by the West, and which perpetuate stereotypes and inequalities in West-East relations (SAID, 2007). This leads us to understand that fetishism is also somehow related to our theme, as the gaze at the male body highlighted by these productions is sexualized, highlighting characteristics of Asian fetishization. We emphasize that the outlines of Asian fetishization are of a social and sexual nature, and the racist terms are disguised as compliments, such as that Asians would be excellent in subjects like math and sciences, or that women are submissive and exotic. Racist terms also highlight phenotypical characteristics, such as depreciations about the size of the male sexual organ of Asian people, revealing how, in this context, to speak of Asian fetishization is to verify bodily aspects. It is worth remembering that racial prejudice in Brazil is marked by phenotype, in other words by "brand racial prejudice" (NOGUEIRA, 2007), in which discrimination is subjective and can depend on degrees of crossbreeding, regions and social class. Therefore, Asian fetishization in Brazil is linked to sexual predilection and such racial fetishes can even cause psychological suffering and psychological burdens such as doubts, suspicions and insecurities in their targets (ZHENG, 2016). Thus, this predilection can cause depersonalization due to race and originate stereotypes about a certain group of individuals.

With these factors in mind, to analyze the "oppa scam", we remember that the search for emotionally assertive but sexually restrained men might reveal a contrast between sexually aggressive Western men and more reserved South Korean men (LEE, 2019). We were inspired by Sukendi et al. (2023) and Lee (2015) to analyze the factors of acceptance and receptivity of male characters present in K-dramas. We propose that the idealization of the South Korean man in K-dramas is a narrative construction that is based on three factors: (1) the physical attributes of the characters and actors, (2) personality attributes, and (3) connection to the audience.



Physical attributes (1) include bodily aspects such as height, beauty, physical size, and are directly related to attractiveness. Beauty is a determining factor and is linked to cultural elements, and the greater the beauty the more "significantly greater pleasure, arousal and dominance" (MUDA et al., 2012, p. 378). Personality attributes (2) correspond to psychological and moral aspects developed in the plot, such as being understanding, attentive, sensitive, confident, romantic, and loving. Such attributes increase the credibility of the actor who plays that role, due to a transposition of those qualities of the character to him. These attributes are able to broaden their (3) connection to the audience, increasing the degree of emotional involvement of viewers. When observing the "oppa scam", it seems to us that the use of the real names of the actors by the scammers activates an association with the characteristics of idealization of masculinity represented by the fictional characters, which involves and captivates the victims.

Keeping these components in view, these characters, with attractive attributes, credibility, and power to connect with the audience, still carry within them the gift of fulfilling a female desire: to change men. Female expectations in relation to their partners include this desire for change, in search of more egalitarian relationships, which reconfigure gender roles in contemporary society. Brazilian anthropologist Goldenberg (2005) questions traditional standards of masculinity and women's desires considering these standards. The author discusses the need to deconstruct these masculinity stereotypes, allowing men to express feelings, be more sensitive and participate more equally in relationships and family life.

Among gender roles, there are different symbolic attributions between men and women, and it is very difficult for men in general to display characteristics related to women, such as sensitivity or fragility. But we observe precisely these symbolic qualities, especially this pattern in the plots in which the man, throughout the narrative, transforms through the influence of the woman, in such K-dramas as "Because This Is My First Life" (tvN, 2017), "What's Wrong with Secretary Kim" (tvN, 2018), "Crash Landing on You" (tvN, 2019), "It's Okay to Not Be Okay" (tvN, 2020), "Mad for Each Other" (KakaoTV, Netflix, 2021), "Crazy Love" (KBS2, 2022), and "Crash Course in Romance" (TvN, 2023).

Mexican fans perceive South Korean men in K-dramas as handsome, polite, protective, responsible, and more respectful than Latin American men. They admire these men for embodying traditional values like being "reliable spouses and family-oriented men" (ROCHA & RYZHKOV, 2023, p. 165). In a romantic relationship, female transformative power is an element that resonates deeply in Latin American societies, many still with misogynistic characteristics. This dynamic of patriarchal relationship pleases the Brazilian public, especially women, because for many years the role of the woman within a heterosexual relationship was to satisfy the desires of the partner, often nullifying herself. From these questions presented we arrive at two interpretative possibilities: a) The idea of this perfect man who was shaped and transformed by the woman creates a distorted notion that every South Korean man would behave





in this way; and b) the desire on the part of fans for this fictional man leads them to possible distortions of reality.

5 MEDIA COMPETENCE, IDOLATRY, AND FAN ACTIVISM

Studying how South Korean TV shows spread in Brazil is key to understanding fandoms and their critical analysis skills (CHIN et al., 2017). Fans demonstrate media competence (BORGES et al., 2022; FERRÉS & PISCITELLI, 2015), engaging deeply with the layers of TV fiction interpretation. We focus on their ability to interpret diverse media content, including intertextual elements, and express themselves across different systems of meaning (FERRÉS & PISCITELLI, 2015). Fan's knowledge, skills, and critical attitudes help them navigate the media landscape effectively. What happened to the fans who fell for the scam?

Some fans construct an idea of South Korean men via the media, without personal experience, idealize men based on cultural products, creating imaginaries and stereotypes in which they are deified in contrast to the sexist characteristics of Latin men, in a kind of hyper-reality (ROCHA & RYZHKOV, 2023). The concept of hyper-reality (ECO, 1984) fits with the phenomenon of the "oppa scam," as the victims of this crime have never interacted with a South Korean man in reality, nor are they accustomed to the social dynamics of South Korea. Thus, media representations can affect perceptions of reality and influence people's actions in pursuit of these romantic ideals.

Our interest is in discussing the symbolic dimensions that are perceived in some Brazilian fans who fell for the scam. They idealize and dream about their idols, experiencing romances in their imagination, fascinated, because, after all, being a fan is a form of love (GITLIN, 2003). These fans who were victims of the "oppa scam" show a behavior that is closer to the idea of idolatry. The idol is that person to whom excessive affection is dedicated and this affection is capable of influencing attitudes (TEIXEIRA, 2007). There are certain aspects of the victims' conduct that make it seem problematic to us to insert these fans in a locus related to participatory culture or shared affection, as they are immersed in an illusion of faithful, romantic, heterosexual, monogamous love, belonging to a context of idealization.

The core of the issue here is precisely in this idealized context that is captured by criminals who, through dialogues and dramatic constructions, simulate affections and therefore, manipulate and dominate the situation, leading the actions of that fan in the direction they want, especially with financial objectives. We watched some of the victims of the scam, in Brazilian television news programs (GLOBOPLAY, 2021; RECORDTV, 2022). One of the victims says that she started talking to the scammer on Instagram in February 2022 and reports: "I am really bad, psychologically, physically. There are days





I can't even eat. It's over... It ends the person's life. It's something I ask myself every day: How could I fall for this conversation? How? How? I do not accept it" (RECORDTV, 2022). Her statement indicates that there was a sentimental relationship, based on devotion and trust, that was broken generating love disillusionment. In this situation of idolatry, the fan verbally expresses her high degree of involvement, which led her to commit herself romantically and financially to this alleged actor. It is also noticeable, when listening to her statement, that the consequences go beyond the crime of embezzlement itself and reach the person in her mental health causing embarrassment, shame, sadness, and depression.

The idealized image of masculinity, combined with the hyper-reality effect and the exacerbated romanticism leads these fans to believe in the models offered by K-dramaland. More than that, leads them to think that they are able to free these actors (in their imagination) from an alleged control perpetrated by their agents. The scam is successful from the moment the fan feels capable of heroically modifying the life of her beloved to finally materialize their relationship – just as it happens with the characters.

On the other side of the phenomenon are Brazilian K-drama fans able to observe the situation with the awareness of belonging to a community in need of help. Fan activism has numerous aspects and, in social media, it stands out for movements relevant to society, related to civic and citizen issues, with breadth of actions, examples of mobilizations and use of social media in this context. However, activism in fan culture is not restricted to great actions to oppose hegemonies or seek grandiose political and social changes (BROUGH & SHRESTHOVA, 2012). It can also have a role in stimulating new discussions and mobilizations regarding other collective issues and phenomena (SIGILIANO & BORGES, 2022), even if this is carried out through small but significant gestures. As is common in similar situations, social media appeared as a place in which fans could share information about the "oppa scam", explaining how it happens and teaching ways to prevent other fans from being deceived.

It is remarkable to realize that among these fans that we call as activists there are no judgments, only guidelines and an attempt at awareness, as we can see in the statements: "they are using the name of Lee Jong Suk saying that to be a fan you have to have a card. Then they ask you to send a dollar amount" or "let's be honest, these actors do not have time [...] if he has money why would they ask for money to come to Brazil, do not fall for it" as we read in some posts on Facebook. We also see guidelines on Instagram for example, "Be careful not to give your personal data, phone number and other personal information to third parties who are said to be a famous idol, not only Joong Gi, but anyone else". On Twitter, there are threads with step-by-step explanations of how the scams happen and how to avoid them: "I just watched a video about the Oppa scam and I say: fuck people, there are rotten people all over the world. If you want to bond, try someone who at least understands the language" or "Korean men aren't saints".





Despite the objectivity and seriousness of the warnings, or because they belong to different fandoms, on different social media websites, or even because they want to believe in this love, many fans prefer to think that they are talking to the real actor. In one of the YouTube videos, we analyzed a fan activist explaining how she tried to convince a girl that it was a scammer and not the real Ji Chang Wook who was talking to her (MITI, 2021). The activist talks about how the dialogue unfolds because there is no argument that makes the victim realize she is succumbing to a crime. Finally, she can prove – through the image of the passport that the alleged actor had sent – that the Romanized name matched the name of the actor, but the Hangul name was from the real owner of the passport used as a model⁷. We see that it was a long effort of convincing that, finally, despite causing great disappointment and pain, was able to avoid major problems.

CONCLUSION

The observation of a phenomenon that involves transnational fans reveals what we can call a living transculturality, related to the flows of the Global South, and that integrates singularities of this Brazilian transcultural fandom. Fans in Brazil are inserted in a global environment, since "Today, in an era of intensifying cultural convergence, when fans from around the world congregate and commingle in the online spaces of Internet fandom, fan studies can no longer afford to overlook fan cultures as they play out globally" (MORIMOTO, 2018, p. 280). Marketing details of a given location affects the cultural spaces of others. Cultural clues from one point of the globe influence crimes on the other side. The flapping of a butterfly's wings... Anyhow, the bonds and relationships reveal themselves to be much more intertwined.

The "oppa scam" reflects an unexpected and criminal way in which pop culture was assimilated when it came to "specific cultural contexts" (MORIMOTO, 2018, p. 281). The phenomenon revealed another facet of this transcultural circulation, with unusual aspects, to which we are all exposed today. We articulate the concepts of idolatry and fan activism as a way of examining possibilities for dialogue among fans, and the difference between the behaviors presented reinforces the diversity of Brazilian fandom and the complexity that would be trying to impose typologies. We conclude that transcultural circulation continuously stimulates dialogue between serial television fiction and fans and, above all, among fans, amplifying a network of affections and support that TV distributed over the internet (LOTZ, 2017) is being increasingly requested to institute and spread.





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