

The hyperreal closet: Identity formation and commodification in the Philippine Alter X spaces

¹Nikky S. Garo, ²Mc Jasper P. Regucera, ³King Heartlee J. Villareal, ⁴Gulliver Eric C. Alawas, ⁵Nicole Louise Z. Dyquiango & ⁵Sean Benedict C. Villamor

Abstract

This study provides an examination of Alter X (Twitter Alter) as a hyperreal digital realm using Jean Baudrillard's concept of hyperreality, Judith Butler's notion of performativity, and Critical Theory as its theoretical framework. This study unveils that Alter X provides a space for a persistent production of performed and commodified identity, intimacy, desire among Filipino youth that shows features of hyperreality from Baudrillard's philosophy. Filipino youth are driven to initiate with numerical measurable validation, recognition, and visibility which makes identity inconstant caused by this system. This system that appears to be an empowering and fulfilling experience elucidates through Butler's theory of performativity to reveal that it is still a manifestation of system that is entangled with heteronormative hierarchies, algorithmic incentives, and audience expectation. Critical theory serves as a framework to further present capitalism within digital spaces is a driving force leading to commodification of bodies and identity. While the space offers relative freedom for usually marginal identities, the production of identities within it serves to reinforce, rather than challenge, heteronormativity. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), it further argues that this occurs within an economy of simulation, in which reputation and likes function as currency, and identity itself becomes the commodity being bought and sold. On these grounds, the paper recommends policy measures to curb harmful participatory practices, algorithmic control, and to provide protection for the most vulnerable users whom the app's logic most easily exploits.

Keywords: *commodity culture, heteronormativity, hyperreality, Filipino youth*

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About the authors:

¹Corresponding author. Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy, Saint Louis University, Baguio City, Philippines. Email: nsgaro@slu.edu.ph

²Master of Arts in Philosophy. Graduate Student, School of Advanced Studies, Saint Louis University, Baguio City, Philippines. Email: 2253550@slu.edu.ph

³Master of Arts in Philosophy. Graduate Student, School of Advanced Studies, Saint Louis University, Baguio City, Philippines. Email: 2221403@slu.edu.ph

⁴Faculty, Department of Philosophy, Saint Louis University, Baguio City, Philippines. Email: gecalawas@slu.edu.ph

⁵Undergraduate Student of Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy, Saint Louis University, Baguio City, Philippines.

1. Introduction

Technology is no longer just a medium of connection; it is an active agent in building selfhood, providing the tools by which identity is assembled or refined and broadcast in real time (Rezig & Oulddjaballah, 2021). Voice modulation software, face filters, and anonymization capabilities have enabled the simultaneous existence of two or more self-presentations, each pre-set to elicit social acceptance and confirmation within the specific logic of a given platform (Archacki, 2020). In this changing digital environment, Alter X, currently referred to as Alter Twitter, occupies a singularly revealing place. Instead of merely enabling the process of self-reconstruction, it pushes the question of authenticity to its ultimate point: on the one hand, prefiguring it as an issue of explicit concern, and on the other, delivering anonymous and pseudonymous narratives that are more authentic to its users than the identities they inhabit in their day-to-day lives. The traditional dichotomy between the real self and the virtual self loses its footing in Alter X, giving way to an object far less akin to what Baudrillard (2006) referred to as hyperreality, a simulation that no longer requires an original reality to authenticate it.

This paper had two objectives: the first was to trace how Baudrillard's theorization of hyperreality exists in the lives of young Filipinos, where the platform has become part and parcel of their social and emotional spaces. The second was to engage Butler in dialogue with hyperreality, working out a more viable explanation of the way identity is performed under the circumstances of digital commodification.

The attraction young Filipinos showed toward Alter X was not entirely due to its practical utility, though this contributes some significance. More essentially, it was the inherent psychological gratification of self-sharing (Tamir & Mitchell, 2012) and the liberty pseudonymity provided, free from the social repercussions that dictate offline life (Forest & Wood, 2012). These dynamics directly address Baudrillard's theorization of simulation, where signifiers no longer reference anything fixed but instead circulate among one another in self-referential networks (Barroso, 2022), and where identity is increasingly constituted through images, codes, and externally awarded marks or signs (Kellner, 2019). The silent infiltration of capitalist ideology within the Alter X space has turned personal life, bodies, and desires into commodifiable raw material, using the mediating infrastructure of the platform (Hermann, 2021).

2. Literature Review

2.1. Theoretical Framework

To know exactly how identity is changing at the hands of Alter X, three theoretical lenses are employed in the study. The first is the concept of hyperreality as put forward by Baudrillard. This theory underscores that humans are no longer living in reality but rather in social, cultural, and technological constructions of hyperreality (Baudrillard, 1994). The second, tied to Queer Theory, is the idea that gender and identity are not biologically determined but are social constructs constituted and instituted by means of acting, products of iteration, and thus always social and open to criticism (Salamon, 2021). The third is Critical Theory, which the research employs as both a prism and a methodology to examine how capitalism commodifies bodies and identity through technology (Hermann, 2021; Delanty & Harris, 2021), and how heteronormativity is technologically mediated in ways that might not be immediately visible. The combination of all three lenses gives the research an emancipatory orientation, that is, not only to explain oppressive states of affairs but also to interfere with the system that perpetuates them.

2.2. The Dissolution of Reality in the Digital Realm (Hyperreality)

Empirical evidence demonstrates how technological realms transform reality into hyperreality. For instance, the study by Van Kessel et al. (2025) strongly argued that simulations in the hyperreal precede and replace the reality they claim to reflect. The hyperreal space continuously destabilizes reality by constructing and mirroring social realities showcased or seen through different media representations. Barroso (2022, p. 1) described this as an “increasingly hyperreal world,” where experience is mediated through layers of simulation rather than direct encounters with reality. Consequently, it allows for the possibility that simulacra can establish their own sense of autonomy, ultimately detached from the reality they attempt to copy or represent (Van Kessel et al., 2025). Moreover, hyperreal space also has the capacity to compress space and time by producing fragmented images, while algorithmically curated platforms absorb user input into self-referential systems. Thus, simulacra become a space where the distortion of reality is produced and reproduced within a postmodern context (Abbar, 2023), using codes and signs that can eventually substitute reality by producing mediated experiences saturated with image and sound, devoid of coherent meaning (Almaroof, 2025).

2.3. *Queer Theory and the Alter X Community*

According to Garo et al. (2025) and Apolo et al. (2025), queer theory was utilized and interpreted as a critical framework through which constituted and instituted gender identities are questioned. Through queer theory, fixed gender identities and sexual categorizations require constant reframing and re-examination by exploring the connection between how gender and sexuality are socially constructed, which aligns with Butler's notion of performativity in relation to the fluid constitution of human identity. Judith Butler (1990) strongly argued in *Gender Trouble* that understanding gender can be both "constituted" and "instituted," which in itself is contingent and shaped through the perpetual repetition of actions. In this way, the idea of gender as both constituted and instituted can be continuously produced and negotiated. In alignment with queer theory, identity is therefore understood not as fixed but as shaped by political norms sedimented through actions manifested in daily communication, gestures, and expressions (Linstead et al., 2017).

Using these perspectives, this also underscores the dynamic operation of the Alter X spaces, where the constitution and institution of identity and gender become inevitable. Some scholars might argue that spaces such as Alter Twitter, Telegram, and OnlyFans can provide safe spaces for self-expression and open multiple doors for economic opportunities. This also explains the complexities of Alter X spaces, as they allow the intersection of identity negotiation and livelihood (Dumaraos et al., 2024). The findings of this study ultimately affirm the positive contribution of such spaces and why they are usually preferred, especially by people who belong to the LGBTQA++ community, because these platforms serve as vehicles for resisting exploitative and restrictive heteronormative regulations in society that define them. The space can provide protection and security by keeping identity anonymous. However, this positive affirmation simultaneously overlooks how the visibility of these people in the Alter X space is transformed, negotiated, and commodified.

In the Alter X space, Butler's notion regarding the constitution and institution of gender is justified. It is through online performances, repeatedly negotiated and manifested within this platform, that gender bias, exploitation, and commodification of human identity recur. The economic sustainability and self-expression it can provide to subscribers are placed into question because such promises only create momentary pleasures while human identity is constantly sacrificed. Bringing these arguments together, the study maximizes the integration of Baudrillard's concept of hyperreality, Judith Butler's queer theory and identity, and critical

theory. Within the concept of hyperreality, Baudrillard explains how the dissolution of reality and the possibility of inauthenticity manifest as they are mediated through technology. Butler's theory of performativity and identity illustrates how perpetual dissolution occurs in Alter X, where human identity and gender are constantly negotiated through repeated acts. Critical theory further shows how the negotiation, dissolution, and performances occurring within Alter X spaces continuously commodify and exploit human identity, making heteronormative structures difficult to erase.

2.4. Research Gap

The current literature on Alter X in the Philippines has been generated primarily through ethnographic, sociological, and communication studies and reports that aim to represent the plight of the communities involved. What has, however, been missing thus far is a discussion of how both digital simulations and performative acts actively constitute and sustain heteronormative orderings, while also subjecting them to challenge. The absence of a theory that properly engages hyperreality and queer theory in actual conversation has led to the undertheorized area of commodification of identity and sexuality in these spaces, as well as the potential of queering strategies to confront normative binaries.

Although a similar study on Philippine Alter X has already been identified within descriptive accounts, the current study contributes to the discussion by proposing a threefold theoretical construct: Queer Theory to explain how identity is negotiated, Critical Theory to explain how bodies and identities are commodified, and Baudrillard's hyperreal to explain how identity is represented and ingested into the digital realm. This overlay method transcends descriptive mapping and anticipates the forces of negotiation, commodification, and representation, positioning Philippine Alter X studies within broader theoretical discourses that the field is not yet fully prepared to confront directly.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research Design

The epistemological requirements of the paper led to the application of a qualitative approach not because quantifying the phenomena of interest is impossible in most cases, but because the inherently interpretative nature of the study's concerns (meanings encoded in

identity performances, patterns of discourse within which selfhood is produced, and processes that commodify digital identities) cannot be reduced to numerical values.

The principal theoretical framework was the three-tier model of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) developed by Fairclough (2013), which explains texts as being functioning at three layers simultaneously as a discursive object, an instance of discursive practice, and a manifestation of the larger social practice (Xing, 2024). Thematic content analysis was also used to confirm that specific codes and patterns occurred frequently in the existing literature available online (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). Moreover, the research team embraced collaborative hermeneutical code where the members individually generated analytical abstractions, which the members subsequently developed together into general themes via an iterative process of discussion (Crowther et al., 2017). It is a methodology developed to generate the analysis which would be systematically rigorous as well as interpretive enough to be responsive to data complexity.

3.2. Data Collection and Analysis

Experiential texts provide some of the richest possible data in qualitative research due to their breadth of meaning and depth of analysis, which cannot be conveyed through any other form of data (Catungal, 2025). In a repetitive and cyclical manner, where specific analysis is conducted on texts through thematic analysis (Lochmiller, 2021), the researchers engaged in multiple readings, coding each text separately to generate preliminary codes. Through a series of virtual meetings, they discussed, negotiated, and collaborated in the development of themes.

The study was confined to current literature from the period 2020–2025 that addressed issues of identity, hyperreality, and social media among young Filipinos. This limited scope was intended to produce more detailed analyses and findings that are context-specific. The analysis of the texts was conducted with the help of Critical Discourse Analysis, Critical Theory, and Queer Theory. These set of literature was sufficient to deliver significant insights into the digital practices, identity, and experiences of hyperreality among young Filipinos in Alter X.

3.3. Research Ethics

Since this research employed only publicly available materials on the web and no human participants were engaged in the study, based on the principles of unobtrusive

qualitative research (Burles & Bally, 2018), as in the studies by Garo et al. (2025), the research did not require ethical approval. Although access to digital data is easily facilitated by the internet, ethical concerns surrounding data obtained online remain significant. Despite the data being publicly available, issues of privacy and informed consent present another challenge, and it is necessary to address the possible risk of harm in using such data (Rosario et al., 2023). The researchers countered this challenge by considering the data as cultural data, and wherever information could be attributed to an author, it was anonymized. The authors also ensured that the communities under investigation were not disregarded (Rosario et al., 2023). The researchers assert that Artificial intelligence was not used for this research study.

4. Findings and Discussion

4.1. Alienation and the Commodification of Youth Identity in the Digital Culture

Being already at the stage of life when attention to issues of identity is strong, youth are particularly vulnerable to the lure of images, symbols, and social acceptance, which are already facilitated by digital media. This dependence on outward indicators to create a sense of self is not merely incidental but embedded in the logic of the platforms themselves (Aryani, 2025), with happiness having turned into a kind of lifestyle and acceptance having become conditional upon the acquisition of the right symbols. Ajmal (2024) builds on this by demonstrating how Instagram and TikTok practices actively incentivize smoothed and monetizable self-presentation, which in effect transforms personal identity into a kind of brand. Consumption, however, can hardly be concerned with the objects teenagers use to distinguish themselves, to mark belonging, or to carry a message of belonging (Aryani, 2025). The self that emerges is commoditized and alienated from anything truly good.

This picture of identity is inclined to give rise to a certain type of loneliness. With a similar conclusion, Barroso (2022), Saribas (2021), and Seifullina et al. (2024) all arrive at more or less the same point: the more digitally connected humans are, the more they can become existentially displaced, with constant connectivity blurring the material reality in which people find their place. In the Alter X (Twitter) community in particular, the presence of commodification, the attention economy, and sexual labour reinforce one another and become more dominant (Cao, 2021b; Bautista, 2024; Piamonte et al., 2020). Alter X's algorithms privilege frequently generated content, urging creators to adhere to branded masculinities that are curated rather than truthful. When sexual content is turned into a

consumable product creators are drawn into a cycle of overproduction and infinite consumption, expected to launch new material constantly just to remain visible in a space where no one remembers what has already been read (Cao, 2021b).

4.2. Economic and Self Alienation of the Filipino Youth in the Pay Alter Community

People who join the Alter community is drawn by the financial benefit they can gain from the platform. This platform is not just a space for sexual expression but also a space to sustain financial needs. According to Piamonte et al. (2020), a term “For Pay Alter” is used to describe members who are “*characterized by their engagement in monetary transaction*”, and they label their contents with “For hire” or “Not for free” to show that their contents or service carry a monetary cost (p.5).

This platform became rampant because of the economic necessity caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. The alluring promises of the hyperreal successfully infiltrate the lives of individuals, using the misfortune of others to sustain their own self-serving advantage by creating pseudo-platforms where human empowerment and self-expression can be achieved and experienced. Bautista (2024) saw the emergence of creators in collecting payments through online transactions like GCash and PayMaya in exchange for exclusive contents and mentioned that “*these income-generating transactions usually come at a cost the revelation of the identities of persons subject of the videos*” (p. 59). It means that there is a risk of anonymity which they rely on for safety when earning from the platform. Federici (2012) positions the hyperreal as a site where capitalism takes control, exploits, and commodifies labor, showcasing temporary economic opportunities and self-empowerment. Hence, the alienation of labor becomes even more difficult to observe because of the language, strategies, and mechanisms that capitalism uses to lure individuals by exploiting their dire situations (Aria et al., 2025). Thus, Alter X functions as a community that utilizes the logic of simulation, where the language of coercion is completely disguised as voluntary choice (Baudrillard, 1994, 2006).

4.3. Confidence, Persona, and Creative Release: The Duality of Online Identity

Besides the economic aspect, something else was going on in these accounts, something less easily thematised. Online space like Alter X becomes a place where a persona previously pent-up can now be expressed. While the persona being constructed can create a sense of identity that provides self-empowerment, recognition, and validation, through this

platform, the self that is usually suppressed in the real world is celebrated and reproduced in the online dating environment. Joining the alter space is not just about the pressure of earning money which Cao (2021a) emphasize an argument that "*Twitter facilitates an environment where sexual minorities are compelled to commodify their sexuality and their bodies in order to seek validation from others*" (pp. 24-25), pointing out that the motivation to earn and be seen and validated are interconnected. These emergence of activities in the platform is one of the few simple financial sustenance that consist of emotional, social, and personal cost that is necessarily needs to be explored by the members.

4.4. Concealment and Anonymity of Identity in Alter X Space Community

The core element of Alter community is anonymity, and it is apparent that members hide their real identities by hiding their faces, generating stickers to cover their photos and videos and using generic names. This is how content creators work for their anonymity and to protect themselves from being exposed. As Bautista (2024) defined this kind of system as an integral aspect of the alter community, positing that these members are covering up their real identities to avoid being judged because of their sexual practices and also the fear of being outed. It is noted that anonymity is not a preference but a tool for survival in a society they fear that has not yet fully accept them, which Cao (2021a) supported by stating that anonymity is "*a stylistic choice aimed at protecting gay men in a society where institutions neglect granting protection to sexual minorities*" (p.135) that clarifies the act of anonymity is rooted in real social and institutional vulnerability.

Daniel, who is a participant in Cao's (2021a) study stated that "*Anonymity removes my accountability. I don't get associated to what I say or do here*" (p. 134). Anonymity provides freedom for members to act and express themselves in ways that they can never do in their normal lives. Bautista (2024) elaborate this through deindividualization which means that anonymity within the group "*the individual to indulge in forms of behavior in which, when alone, they would not indulge*" (p. 49) but according to Cao (2021b), this is not a secured protection. Cao (2022) provided a document about a member faced serious consequences because of accidentally exposing his face associated with condemnation from his family saying that they failed to raise a "proper man" (p. 21). These findings show the grave and long-term consequences of mistaking in losing anonymity that has no accurate guarantee despite the fact that this element provides security to them which they need to carefully guard overtime.

4.5. Alter X Space as Stage for Sexual Exploration, Ego Gratification and Social Capital

The use of sexual identity labels such as “top,” “bottom,” “versatile” for instance, are not merely expressions of sexual preference in Alter X. These labels also imply a sense of trust, recognition, and belonging. The anonymizing nature of Alter Twitter means that these negotiations need to be done prior to transitioning to private communication (Piamonte et al., 2020). The utility of sexual role labels extends beyond articulating sexual preferences but also implies an expectation of how others are supposed to relate to them, and how they want to be perceived.

In Baudrillard’s notion of simulacra, these sexual role labels have become simulacra which have long surpassed their relationship with reality. When one calls themselves a top, a bottom, or a versatile, they are participating in a discourse wherein sexual roles have become imbued with value; a value which denotes who is considered desirable, who is visible, and who holds power. The amount of retweets, number of followers, and associations to popular accounts are considered the determining factors of reputation in Alter X, and reputation in this world is akin to capital (Piamonte et al., 2020). Alter X is indeed a space of sexual exploration, but also a marketplace where intimacy, identity, and recognition are quietly commodified.

The usual terms that are used, such as “top,” “bottom,” and “versatile,” in the Alter X spaces may sound trivial because they are commonly and widely used by everyone within these shared spaces. However, they carry loaded meanings and operate within the same logic that shapes the binary norms embedded in heteronormative structures they are meant to resist (Garo et al., 2025). The term “top” signifies the active role or performance, while the term “bottom” signifies the passive role, and the notion of “versatile” refers to the ability to perform both roles within a relationship or communication. Using Baudrillard’s notion of the hyperreal, the same operations have dominated the real world as individuals begin to identify themselves with these simulated depictions of sexual identity in the Alter X realm, thereby shaping cultural values they are meant to describe (Baudrillard, 1994). On the other hand, Butler’s theory of performativity offers new insight into understanding human identity. That is, Butler’s notion of identity is not an inherent possession (essence) but a dynamic fluidity of becoming. The acceptance of and identification with “top,” “bottom,” or “versatile” occupies the currency of conformity (Butler, 1990, 2006), where individuals deliberately recreate the very norms, heteronormativity and capitalism, that they seek to resist and dismantle.

4.6. Filipino Gay Identity, Heteronormative Hierarchies, and the Alter Community

The politics of Alter X did not develop in a vacuum. The history of Filipino gay identity, for one, has always already been marked by sex, gender, and performativity. Work by Garcia (2009), Manalansan (2003), and Rodriguez (1996) has demonstrated how the normative subject-position of the “bakla” relied heavily on gender performance and sexual positioning, rather than desire. The gay identity has since departed from its effeminate “bakla” roots and now centers around the straight-acting, class-inflected, masculine ideal (Cañete, 2016; Cao, 2021). This was hardly an egalitarian move; rather, it merely replaced one hierarchy with another, where masculinity, class, and desirability continue to demarcate who is or is not welcome.

Online spaces such as Alter X allowed these negotiations to continue, albeit in different circumstances. The specific technological features of the app, text posts, permission to post bodily images, and networked publics, allowed Filipino youth to explore their sexual subjectivities through self-expression and amateur pornographic production, in ways they had not previously been able to (Piamonte et al., 2020; Bautista, 2024). But this does not mean the hierarchies simply disappeared; they merely evolved. The alter-famous dictated norms of disclosure and sexual practice (Cao, 2021), while the COVID-19 pandemic further intensified commodification, introducing new conditions of (in)visibility and collaborations between creators (Bautista, 2024). What Alter X teaches us, then, is that anonymity and technological features are a double-edged sword, as they provide spaces for expression that are unavailable elsewhere, but they also recreate, in new ways, the same dynamics of power and desirability that operate in broader Filipino gay life.

4.7. The Closet: Between Concealment and Disclosure in the Alter X Space

There is a strange contradiction in what Alter X makes possible: that is, it simultaneously invites revelation and requires concealment. Posting, even retweeting, carefully throwing bits of self into a semi-anonymous feed are not direct expressions of oneself; they are negotiations, and whatever they yield is never truly the thing itself. According to Baudrillard (1994, 2006), hyperreality destroys the distinction between the real and the simulated. In the context of Alter X, this destruction is more intimate than ever, identity becomes spectralized once it is always mediated, always slightly out of touch. Gray (2009) illustrates this in her work on online coming-out stories: online disclosure is never clean or

complete but occurs in fragments, conditionally, and within the finite possibilities imposed by the medium that conveys it.

Performances on the internet are by definition in flux, bound together only through repetition and by the unresolved conflict between the wish to be seen and the necessity to remain hidden, creating a self constantly in flux (McDonald et al., 2020). This causes Alter X to act not so much as a stage but rather as a closet with semi-transparent walls. This is not the stifling or old-fashioned closet, it is more vigorous, more ambivalent. Disclosure is moderated within an informal economy of trust, which varies depending on the audience and the stakes involved. This is precisely what Jackson and Mohr (2016) refer to as navigating the tiring question of whether, when, and how to be known when the identity one holds is stigmatized. Disclosure and concealment are never inherently individual choices, as McDonald et al. (2020) assert that both processes intersect with power and context. Alter X, in turn, does not provide freedom within that complexity but offers a certain style of existing in it: a hyperreal closet that is both a form of protection and a site where new, provisional constructions of selfhood can be created (Orne, 2017; Gray, 2009).

5. Conclusion

The findings of this study indicate that Alter X is a hyperreal world where desire, intimacy and identity is produced, exchanged as well as consumed within the same reflexive economy. Applying the ideas of Baudrillard (hyperreality), Butler (performativity), Queer Theory, and Critical Theory, it is revealed that identity is brought into existence in Alter X via simulation that is never actually real in any fixed sense. In particular, the results of this study demonstrate that queer sexualities in the site have been normalized, top, bottom, and versatile become fixed positions to be acted out and re-acted in a way in which they are bound to an ontology of sociality that is of a hierarchic nature. The language of freedom, and entrepreneurship, disguises the economic circumstances, and intimacy has become part of an economy of commodities of exchange where exploitation has been connected with technologies and consumption.

As much as this research has a number of findings that are meaningful, the research does not lack any limitations. Since all the data have been used are publicly available, the research is constrained by the availability of the data. The ambivalence of the subjectivities of individuals, contradictions between the subjectivity of a person and his actions, and the

transformation of this subjectivity in time are inaccessible to this approach. Future studies on the same should complement the data with interview data, longitudinal ethnographic data and digital ethnographic data so as to obtain more subtle and procedural insights into how people interact with the digital economy of the site.

What is left, however, is the irreconcilability of the hyperreal closet wherein subjectivity is revealed and concealed to generate provisionally fixed, fragmented, and liminal subjectivities. Such an irreconcilability does not raise the closet, it remakes it in terms of commodification, social scripting, surveillance, and normalization. Ultimately, Alter X is no other space, a reflexive technology, which reinscribes the conditions it claims to be transcending. The further studies need to be more long-term focus on the manner in which the logics of the digital economy are rebranding queer intimacy, subjectivity, and agency.

6. Recommendation

The theoretical and practical implications that this research will create indicate the necessity of a policy, research, and intervention to resolve the issues that have been brought to light. Stricter and more tangible regulation of the social networking sites is needed. This has nothing to do with moral policing but an effort to regulate commodification of Filipino youth sexuality in such sites. One of the impacts of hyperreality as speculated by Baudrillard (1994) is that it leads to a situation where there is a general tendency to substitute the real by the minutiae of the real: the hyperreal. This paper has demonstrated that there are material implications of this substitution to the already precarious lives of Filipino youth. The politics of normative gender and sexuality in social networking sites without actual regulation will go on to consolidate the authority of the mainstream, and it is through this that the conceptualisation of Filipino youth subjectivity will remain fashionable to the logic of the digital economy.

Secondly, the media education will be needed to make Filipino youth critical about their experiences in social networking web sites. The agency of the Filipino youth in the social networking sites has demonstrated that it is not a passive player in the technological configuring of their experiences. They can turn the use of technology into a perversity. They have not been idly the victims of the digital economy. They are able to be more objectifying of the methodologies through which the platform has been shaped so as to become an exploiter of labour by participating in workshops on the critical social networking and digital literacy in

which they become prefigured by the commodification of social networking and the digital labour of social networking. Thus, they can probably regain Alter X as an area of constructing their subjectivity and being in control of their sexuality without giving into the logic of normative gender and sexuality and the logic of a digital commodity. It is appropriate to have safe levels where they can be informed about the ways of the digital economy without necessarily excluding them. Nevertheless, media education and digital literacy is not sufficient. A concerted effort is needed to control the technology as well as educate the youth. This article is a result of such concerted effort. It attempts to interact with the social networking sites as spaces of struggle whereby the meaning, roles as well as functions of the social networking sites are under constant challenge.

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