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Exploring Masculinity in JKT48 Male Fans Tweet

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Abstract

This article further explores the function of participatory culture of fandom on cyberspace. As a part of Japanese pop-idol AKB48 franchise in Indonesia, JKT48 wasn't popular offline, but online, specifically Twitter, JKT48 popularity were relatively high. This proved through JKT48 fans participatory practice in Twitter. Using Matt Hill's textual productivity, this article discusses how JKT48 male fans functionalize their tweet as domination masculinity reproduction and therefore creating simulated space in Twitter. First, it sees how JKT48 dominant text reproduced by fans tweet. Second, it considers the concept of cyberspace where these tweeting practices take place. This article concludes that fans tweeting practice also reproduce domination masculinity although limited in simulated space, in order to preparing them through dominated, adult everyday lives.

Keywords: Fandom; JKT48; Twitter; Participatory Culture

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1. Introduction

On Twitter, @fahmiibnuhadjar (05/12/17) wrote;

Figure 1

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@Naomi_JKT48 AKU SAYANG KAMU.. AKU KAGEN (kangen) KAMU BIDADARI SURGAKU

I LOVE YOU NAOMI

(*@Naomi_JKT48 I LOVE YOU.. I MISSED YOU MY HEAVENLY ANGEL*

I LOVE YOU NAOMI)

That tweet seems normal, if we consider this as a lover who expresses affection and loving relationship through tweeting practice. But @fahmiibnuhadjar and @Naomi_JKT48 were not, @fahmiibnuhadjar is a JKT48 male fan who idolizes @Naomi_JKT48, a member of JKT48, a franchised pop-idol group from AKB48 in Japan. @fahmiibnuhadjar's tweet to his idol looks so intimate to ordinary people perspective, but for the perspective of JKT48 fans, this intimate tweet is an everyday practice that they usually do to show how their fans and idols supporting each other while achieving their dreams.

JKT48 carries the pop-idol image from Japan, which is to make a process of idol development as a commodity. In Japan, idols like AKB48 did not seem to be in perfect condition, it made fans feel their idols could become stars if they tried hard enough (Aoyagi, 1999: 87). JKT48 also uses the concept of "idol you can meet", JKT48 has theater facilities where they routinely hold music shows every day. In the theater, fans can witness the development of their idols, from those who are not good at dancing, to being good at dancing. Fans who come also get reciprocity in the form of support from their idols. Idol and fans are quasi-companion, unlike real-life-companion whose relationships are vulnerable to conflict, the idol never says no and disappoints those who approach it (Aoyagi, 1999: 88), it makes fans' intimate feelings with their idols appear.

Back to @fahmiibnuhadjar tweet, early 2018, @fahmiibnuhadjar came to the house of one of the JKT48 members, Sinka – Naomi's little sister. This incident which had previously been viral in JKT48 fans Twitter circle was again reported by Tribun Lampung through this bombastic title, "Sinka JKT48 Diteror Sampai Ketakutan! Rumahnya Didatangi Pria Tak Dikenal Hendak Melakukan Ini" (Sinka JKT48 is terrorized to fear! His house is visited by an unknown man who wants to do this). Through data collected from the internet, Tribun reported that Fahmi was waiting in front of Sinka's house, so local security officer had to expel him. Not only idolizes Sinka, but Tribun Lampung also says if Fahmi loves Sinka. On Twitter, Fahmi's account immediately became the target of anger from JKT48 fans. All comments agree if what Fahmi has done is excessive and abnormal. Some accounts even come up with harsh words that point to *cyberbullying* http://

lampung.tribunnews.com/2018/01/22/sinka-jkt48-diteror-sampai-ketakutan-rumahnya-didatangi-pria-tak-dikenal-hendak-melakukan-ini accessed 19 April 2018.

The @fahmiibnuhadjar case is a most vulgar example of how intimate JKT48 fans tweeting to his idol. @fahmiibnuhadjar's tweet became problematic for JKT48 fandom when he came to Naomi's house (and Sinka) and violated the privacy of the JKT48 members. But apart from that, I saw that the other JKT48 fans' tweets also showed the same pattern, but in a more subliminal way. This article will explore the functions and meanings expressed by JKT48 male fans through their tweets to their idols on Twitter. Fans or audiences on cyberspace are playing an active role in circulating text as a form of participatory culture, where the public cannot be seen as consumers who preconstructed a message, but it becomes a person who shaping, shares, references, and remixes media content in a way that was never imagined before (Jenkins, 2013: 2).

JKT48 is a capitalist industry that makes affection and intimacy as a commodity to exploit the emotions of male fans to gain profits. Besides being economical, the manipulation is also inseparable from the ideological aspects of patriarchal capitalism that is able to tame and normalize the intimacy of fans with their idols (Fiske, 2000: 96). Intimacy in JKT48 fandom was craft through personal relationships between fans and idol. This process is supported at least through two things; first, through the practice of meetings at events that have been provided by management (theater, 2shot, HS festival); second, through the practice of 'interactive' relationships between fans and their idols on social media, one of which is Twitter.

On Twitter, JKT48 members routinely upload tweets related to their daily trivial things, self-promotion, JKT48 promotion, popular events, or simply giving news of the day's activities, accompanied by photographs of the members concerned. When debut, JKT48 members were still allowed to reply to their fans. However, along with the increasing popularity of the group and its increasing fans, an unwritten rule appears that prohibits JKT48 members from replying to fans so that all get equal services.

This process actually causes a two-way communication relationship, which occurs between idols and fans, disconnected. But in the hands of JKT48 fans, this interaction that broke up did not stop the communication process. Fans as participants keep replying to their idol, though based on knowledge if their tweet will never be answered. This practice can occur because JKT48 fans have a collective and personal meaning related to the tweets they upload on Twitter.

Collectively, fans believe that their tweet is read by their idols. This meaning-making process makes fans create various terms, including; 'Notice', the term if the idol remembers the Twitter account or the name of the fan when they meet outside the network

(offline) in JKT48 activities; 'Waro', a term in which fans' voices respond indirectly by JKT48 members in a very diverse context. These two terms are the reason why the practice of JKT48 fans' tweet is still widely practiced. Personally, this tweeting practice of JKT48 fans have diverse functions, for example as a form of pleasure, or to express trivial knowledge related to fandom to other fans on Twitter. This nuance that I will discuss further in the discussion section.

I departed from Dick Hebdige thesis on *Subculture: the Meaning of Style* (1972). He adopted the significant practice of Roland Barthes (1972) to understand the hidden message of 'eccentric' styles of subordinate groups such as punk and mod and trace their meanings as a form of expression of resistance to practices that subordinate them (Hebdige 1979, 18). Similar to Hebdige, Henry Jenkins on *Textual Poachers: Television Fans & Participatory Culture* (1992) highlights subordinate groups who appropriated mass culture in the form of TV serial into fanworks like fanfic or fanart. Jenkins used Michel de Certeau (1984) concept called poaching. Through that concept, he argued those subordinated group not only consume dominant texts but also produce it into the new text and make it more desirable for personal meaning and pleasure (Jenkins 1988, 87).

Along with the plurality of internet usage in the community, studies in the digital fandom began to develop. This domain sees media texts as a narrative combination of various media technologies (transmediation). This idea was inspired by participatory culture concept developed by Jenkins (1992). Paul Booth's (2008) research, for example, explores how fans participated in the era of transmediation through creating personal profiles based on their idol as a role play on social media sites. His findings later outlined how fans blur the boundaries between their role play characters and identities in digital space. Booth's research is an example of exploration combining significant practices with the concept of cyberspace. In the range of Booth's thinking, fans not only rewrote media texts but also changed the traditional notion of fandom itself. Thus, Booth's research opens up new possibilities for how products made by fans in cyberspace, have varied meanings and functions, depending on the background and context of the products made (Booth 2008).

To see what kind of meaning and function that JKT48 fans displaying through their tweets, I use Matt Hills's concept about textual productivity. Hills developed the concept from John Fiske who saw each text had specific areas of meaning and function. Fiske divides it into three parts: 1) textual productivity, this type of fan productivity is similar to artistic production that validates by official culture. The production and circulation of fans, although not part of official culture (remember if fans are part of the culture

of subordinate groups) still have high production values as in official culture (Fiske, 1992: 37-39); 2) semiotic productivity, a whole popular culture where the practice of fans meaning-making connected to their social identity and experience using semiotic sources of cultural commodities; 3) and enunciative productivity. Semiotic productivity in the form of an exterior, when a produce meaning is to discuss or share through face-to-face activities or verbally in a public context. Hills argues if "digital fandom contributes to breaking down of semiotic, enunciative and textual productivity, with the former two categories being readily expressed via, or transformed into, textual productivity (Hills, 2013: 137)." Thus, in a digital space where all the texts produced can access by the people, making the text 'expressed' in the form of textual productivity. The word 'expressed' I emphasized because even though all the text in the digital space became part of textual productivity, the first condition of the text could still be found.

That Fiske concept which was later developed by Hills will be my framework to explore JKT48 male fans tweets to their idols. As production of meanings that are connected with the social and cultural experiences of fans, those tweets in this cyberspace context can be circulated within the JKT48 fandom on Twitter (Fiske 1992, 39). Schafer (2011) argued that, "Jenkins's understanding of participation primarily deals with intrinsically motivated actions exercised in social formations which share a high degree of interaction, common objective, and interests." (Schafer in Hills 2013, 138). Simply put, even though the fans tweets for their idols are personal, those tweet cannot be separated from the JKT48 fandom. Because on Twitter, fans tweets for their idols can be read, commented on, circulated and even debated by other fans.

The idolizing activity of JKT48 fans is part of an example of how young people in Indonesia living their leisure. Through a survey I did on Twitter, most JKT48 fans who were active on Twitter were young people aged 18-24 and spent an average of IDR 20,000 to IDR 50,000 per day. These fans do not yet occupy an established social position and do not have a stable financial capability in the Indonesian society. According to the Asia Development Bank (ADB), the definition of middle class is people who have spent $ 2- $ 20 per day. Through this definition, it can be said that the majority of JKT48 fans are part of the middle class. Of course, the definition of the middle class based on this economic form is not without problems, especially when applied in contemporary society where everyone carries the spirit of modernity and has differed socio-economic background (Gerke, 2000: 135). For this reason, I follow the argument of Aiko Kurasawa (2015) to explain the middle class through individual culture and consumption patterns (Aiko, 2015: viii).

Through these data, at least I can see that JKT48 fans demographic who play Twitter are quite diverse. They are part of the middle class; people with age before to productive who on average do not have the stable financial ability, decent education, live in cities throughout Indonesia, mostly in Java, and have access to the internet, especially social media. Although most JKT48 fans do not have the stable financial ability, this is not an obstacle because fans can save money to support their hobby activities.

1.1. Method

The corpus of this research is a collection of tweeting texts from three male JKT48 fans that I followed on Twitter for the 2017-2018 period. Without ruling out the role of women in this fandom, I decided to only use male informants to limit phenomena complexity in the field. This study uses participant observation in the Twitter room to collect primary data, as well as intermittent online and offline interviews as secondary data. I will present my findings in two parts; first, all kinds of fans' textual productivity were first explained, then I will explore the nuances through textual productivity Hills (2013).

1.2. Forming masculinities in twitter

As a capitalist industry, JKT48's main objective is to gain profits. They use the nature of Japanese pop idols who use images as commodities, able,

> "[...] *perform across genres and media outlets simultaneously, with all these images playing off one another. Constantly present and exposed, the idol becomes 'real'. The basis of feelings of intimacy among viewers, though this is independent of 'reality'.*" (Galbraith, 2012: 186)

Through the nature of idols that fans consume in various media continuously, fans can foster a feeling of 'intimate' about his idol. These feelings are 'real' even though they are free from 'reality'. Those intimate feeling manifest through fans tweet who reply to their idols. By replying to his idol, fans not only feel intimate, but they also express their sense of intimacy through the practice.

> @F_FeniJKT48: "Heyhooo"
>
> @Feri: "Haaai Feniii. Gimana kabarmu? Semoga baik-baik saja"
>
> "*Hi Feni. How are you doing? Fine i hope*"
>
> (Twitter: 15-02-18, accessed 26 February 2018)

Quote above is my informant tweet, owner of the @Feri account, who replied tweet by @F_FeniJKT48 - a Twitter account managed by JKT48 member Feni Fitriyanti - with the words 'Heyhooo'. As I have discussed in the introduction, the tweets made by Feni are not specifically for certain fans. Tweeting without mentioning certain accounts is one way that idols can connect with all of their fans, where fans have the same part to reply to the tweet.

Through @Feri's reply containing words such as 'how are you?' And 'good luck', I can say if manipulation of closeness and intimacy - where the account feels close to his idol for asking personal things like 'news' – is working. In cyberspace, fans not only make meaning through cultural commodities from their social identities and social experiences, fans also appropriate these dominant texts and reproduce them into new texts which, in this case, develop the context of Feni's tweet that was so narrow, now widespread tweeting produced by @Feri (Fiske, 1992: 37).

From JKT48 fandom perspective, fans know the term *oshi* or *kami-oshi*; namely the only idol fully supported. The term reminds me of the simplest ideas about monogamy that have become established practices in society. The 18-year-old owner of @Feri account who studying at a public university in West Java has an interesting view of his idol,

> "Kagak Mas, gw oshi Shania Junianatha. [...] Gw sih demen Feni, kan dia luvchuu, Feni itu member yang gw sukai di 4Gulali (Sub unit JKT48). [...] Feni masih calon selir gw. [...] Selir aja masih ada Melody, Ipuy (Yupi ed.), sama Michelle. Ntar Zara yang gantiin Melody."

> "*No, my oshi is Shania Junianatha. [...] I'm interested with Feni though, because she's cute, She's member in 4Gulali that i liked. [...] She's still my concubine candidate. [...] my concubine are Melody, Ipuy (Yupi), and Michelle. Later Zara will replacing Melody*

> (@Feri via Line, accessed 22 February 2018)

The word 'concubine' should be underlined. Despite claiming to only idolize one member, Feri in practice was also intensely involved with other JKT48 members. He even activated the alarm feature, not only for Shania's oshi, but also for Feni.

> "Gw sih notifin Shania sama Feni sih. Mantan oshi aja juga gw notifin, yaitu Nabilah Ratna Ayu Azalia. [...] Apalagi mantan oshi gw, lagipula kalau Nab ngetweet, gw usahain balas, bahkan balasnya pertamax haha karena siapa tahu diwaro, yang namanya mantan mah bebas."

> "*I'm set my notification for Shania and Feni. I'm set my notification for my ex-oshi too, Nabilah Ratna Ayu Azalia.* [...] *Especially my ex-oshi, when she is tweeting, i'm gonna tried to replied it, even i'm gonna be the first to reply, who knows she'll notice me, she's free now.*"

(@Feri via Line, accessed 25 February 2018)

Back to @Feri tweet, I can draw some points from this discussion. Feri, as a fan of JKT48, helped reproduce intimacy as a manifest of a patriarchal ideology that puts women, only understood as an image that only relates with images found in the media (Galbraith, 2012: 186). Even though @Feri has Shania Junianatha oshi, the only idol she fully supports, she also consciously idolizes Feni, the JKT48 member whose tweets she often replies. He associates Feni as a 'concubine', thus displaying the different degrees of interest between Shania as 'queen' and Feni as 'concubines', who even though in practice on Twitter, does not show any significant difference; both texts are uniformly reproduced.

The words 'concubine' were not produced through tweeting but through an interview quote, I saw that @Feri wanted to convince me if he was loyal to his oshi, Shania. JKT48 fans make loyalty as a convention in fandom because when they are involving in this fandom, they advise each other to look for oshi and focus on supporting the oshi, even though on the way, there were also many fans who changed oshi or had other oshi. Thus, the 'concubine' in this discussion has the function to negotiate the practice of consumption @Feri that not only interacts with the oshi but also with other JKT48 members, without having to be burdened by the JKT48 fandom convention related to the practice of idolizing one oshi.

'Concubine' in this discussion also functioned as an intertext related to JKT48 members, 'Feni'. These findings also prove the concept of inescapable intertextuality described by Fiske (1987) that, "[...] intertextual relations are so pervasive that our culture consists of a complex web of intertextuality, in which all texts are finally and not to reality., "(Fiske, 1987: 115). Idol images that are never complete make fans look for images from outside JKT48 fandom. 'Concubine' has become an image that is not part of the 'language' of fandom, but used to explain the practices that fans do on Twitter. Through this view, I would argue if the production practices of JKT48 fan texts or in this case @Feri, follow how the idol image works and will never come out of the intertext net, and never be related to the 'reality' outside it.

A similar pattern is also done by other JKT48 fans. My informant graduated from one of the state universities in Jogja, @Mike also idolized one of the members of JKT48,

namely Jinan. Through his tweets (Figure 4) @Mike replied her tweet @ Jinan_JKT48 which has the words "Tft" (thanks for today) - a thank you produced by JKT48 members after the JKT48 Theater performance, usually intended for fans watching on that day, although of course fans who don't watch can also take part in consuming this text - along with a photo that shows their faces and one of the costumes (isshou) used in the show. @Mike replied with a tweet "see, you are more beautiful when you smile".

Figure 2

Following the previous discussion about @Feri's tweet, @Mike's tweet also follows the same pattern, which is to reproduce images as a form of intimacy. The image that @Mike production in its tweet is to associate @ Jinan_JKT48 with 'mysterious', 'cold', and fierce' images. @Mike trying to challenged those images, saying if Jinan can even be prettier if he smiles, which means getting out of his 'fierce' image. Through online question he said,

> "blm begitu tau ya orangnya aku. Kayak yang aku tulis aja sih. Kayaknya lebih ke cewek moody, terus mungkin aslinya baik walau judes-judes gitu, karena suka kpop mungkin jg secara *dancing* bagus."

> "*i don't know the person yet. It's like what i wrote about her. I think she's moody, maybe kind even a lil bit fierce, since she's into K-pop maybe her dancing is also good.*"

> (@Mike via Line, accessed 25 February 2018)

Through his meetings with Jinan in various media, or in this case through photos that Jinan often uploaded via his Twitter account, @Mike has a personal image of Jinan. Not only that, through its trivial knowledge of Jinan's favorite K-pop, @Mike saw Jinan as a JKT48 member who was good at dancing. @Mike clearly expresses the image of her idol she likes. Just like @Feri, @Mike also practices intertext by associating Jinan with K-Pop, where both of them, according to @Mike, have good dancing skills.

Another example is tweet from @Luke, my informant who now works as a freelance in Jakarta. Unlike the two previous tweets that produce text through the reply feature, @Luke produces tweets via composed tweets, or tweets that are not related to other tweets.

> @Luke: "@melodyJKT48 sore mbak, saya sedang membutuhkan influencer, bisa minta no. HPnya untuk info lebih lanjut, setelah melihat IG feed dan Twitter mbak saya tertarik untuk menjadikan mbak influencer anak-anak saya kelak"

> "*good evening, i'm actually need influencer, for further information may i ask your phone number, after looked your Instagram and Twitter feed, i'm interested to make you as my son influencer later.*"

> (Twitter: 25-02-18, accessed 26 February 2018)

@Luke tweet was addressed to @melodyJKT48, account managed by Melody - 1st generation JKT48 member, who is now a JKT48 General Manager. In that tweet, @Luke made a flirtatious joke as if offering Melody a job as an influencer, social media artist

work related to promotion or endorsement - but what @Luke offered was not the type of influencer, but influencers for his children. This tweet indirectly invited Melody to marry and become the mother of @Luke's children. This relates to a patriarchal family model that places women in the domestic realm as portraits of ideal women, who are tasked with producing two children in a good, healthy and educated environment, who will later replace their roles as productive workers and loyal Indonesian society (Robinson, 1998: 68) Of course giving influencers like what @Luke tweeted, is part of how this patriarchal ideology works, often unconsciously.

This tweet itself refers to jokes reproduced in TV programs, also with @Luke recognition about his tweet, is humor and not serious. This tweet according to @Luke appeared spontaneously, @Luke was no longer waiting for JKT48 members tweeting, when there was a tweet that he thought was interesting, at that time he immediately tweet.

> "Ga perlu sih.. (pen. nunggu Melody berkicau) kalo jaman dulu gue suka mantengin pake Tweetdeck, traffic mention member lagi rame apa engga.. jadi gw mention biar kebaca. Kalo sekarang ya mau mention, mention aja haha"

> "*it's not necessary* (for waiting Melody to tweet) *in the old days i'd like to watched Tweetdeck, looking if member mention traffic were high or not.. so i mention that she'll read it. Now, if want to mention her, i'll mention it right away.*"

> (@Luke via Line, accessed 26 February 2018)

Melody, according to @Luke is one of the members that must be prioritized. @Luke wants to make memories with Melody (through the tweet) before she officially graduated on March 24th. Melody is a first generation JKT48 member, JKT48 General Manager, members who are considered the most senior and have contributed much to JKT48 fans.

> "Soalnya yang dilakuin melody di JKT48 itu selama ini wajib diapresiasi dalam bentuk kenangan sih (nabilah juga sebenarnya).. ibarat kayak hal-hal besar dijadiin hari peringatan, contoh hari pendidikan nasional, dari kelahiran ki hadjar dewantara.. ya kayak gitulah kurang lebih"

> "*Thing is, everything Melody has been done should be appreciated as a memory (Nabilah too).. like important things turned to anniversary, for example national education day, from Ki Hadjar Dewantara birthday, more or less.*"

(@Luke via Line, accessed 26 Februari 2018)

@Luke's tweet is a way to create memories with his idol, Melody. For @Luke, Melody services for JKT48 reminded her of Indonesia national day, one of which is the birth of Ki Hadjar Dewantara on May 2, 1889 and is now commemorated on the same date as National Education Day. The association of Melody figures with important figures such as Ki Hadjar Dewantara by @Luke is also a form of intertext, in which both are associated with 'important' traits that are worthy of memory. Then @Luke's tweet about influencers, despite joking, also helped reproduce the patriarchal discourse of the Soeharto regime that is still lasting and continues to be reproduced (Wulan, 2013: 160).

From those tweets above, I offer two arguments; first, as entertainers who are always regulated through a series of systems (Aoyagi, 1999: 115), where meetings with fans are always mediated by management in the form of theater, handshake activities, on social media, especially Twitter. As space where the user is always re-presented in the form of text and data (profile photo, biodata, and location), as well as the nature that have limitations in text production, Twitter makes the idol an object of fiction that is never complete. The incompleteness by JKT48 fans tries to be filled with images that they get through other media, images that never refer to 'reality'. Thus, the practice of intertext that they do is one of the strategies to make the idol image 'close' and 'familiar' and become their own.

Second, intertext practice by JKT48 fans was so individual and diverse, because even though they idolize the same JKT48 members, the image of the idol for fans can vary. The practice is similar to fantasy functions in the Elvis Presley fandom. Although Elvis has died since a long time, fans through the second material imagine how Elvis as a paranormal figure, could lead to another world, or as an image of a 'savior' (salvation). The fantasies that vary according to the respective cultural context of the fans, are used for personal freedom (personal liberation) of Elvis fans from the dominance that surrounds them (further reading Hinerman, 1992). Fandom's function is culturally often associated as an alternative social community, which offers alternative realities in which values are more humanistic and democratic than everyday society (Jenkins, 1992: 287). But for Elvis and JKT48 fans, the practice of meaning that they do not release from their daily lives. For JKT48 fans, those intertext practices that produces 'close' and 'familiar' images of idols serves as partners (companion) who accompany them transitioning, from established social life, to more complex urban contemporary life (Aoyagi, 1999: 106).

Also this function cannot be separated from Twitter's role as cyberspace. For JKT48 fans, Twitter is likened a fan-convention, a place where they can meet, show each other's

work, discuss fandom, or just do activities dedicated to their idols. Outside the network, making fan-conventions is certainly not easy, it takes a large place, organizer, and of course participants so that the event can run. This is why fan conventions are identical to the weekend, Jenkins even calls it weekend-only-world (Jenkins, 1992: 288). But on Twitter, fan-conventions can happen at any time. This high level of participation of JKT48 fans in the Twitter space, as well as the nature of Twitter as aspace where speed (immediacy), interactivity, and directness occur cause Twitter users, especially JKT48 fans, to go in and out anytime and anywhere.

Through these two arguments, I see how JKT48 fans use Twitter as space where they can meet their idols. Through the meeting, fans produced the meaning of their idol through a series of intertext practices. The meanings they already have, even though they are separate from 'reality', they use it as an 'anchor' to stabilize their offline (offline) life.

That argument reminds me of the dangdut function for its audience in the Indonesian era of the 1980s. Dangdut lyrics is consider 'whiny' and 'vulgar', contradictory to the fast tempo song arrangement that invites people to sway to function as a pleasure mechanism when the audience cannot be separated from the intricacies and contradictions of everyday life - which was then described with a Pancasila-based state ideology that is democratic and emphasizes social justice, but is accompanied by acts of violence committed by the military. Dangdut becomes an undomesticated space; a place where people can sway erotic and sing vulgar lyrics, free from the supervision of a powerful apparatus that governs and supervises society (Weintraub, 2010: 145-146).

When dangdut can be a 'non-tamed' space for its fans, JKT48 on Twitter in another context is a simulated space, where fans as part of the youth and middle class can take values that support the pace of capitalist society the idol displayed through passion, hard work, and courtesy. We can call this a form of inspiration. However, the inspirational values offered by idols cannot be separated from images that are independent of 'reality' because they are always mediated. The image also cannot be separate from the dominant ideology surrounding the text of JKT48. Fiske (1987) explains how reading is always related to the text itself. Because JKT48 has a strong economic motive, the reading will also bring the dominant ideology of the text, where the relations of reading and social relations will reproduce one another (p. 117).

As I have explained, JKT48 is a text that is thick with patriarchal ideology. In Indonesia, even after the Soeharto regime collapsed, patriarchal ideology that placed women as passive subjects, especially with the emergence of conservative Islamic post-reform discourse, could not be completely lost, even more lasting. JKT48 fans, which in this

case all of my informants are men, participated in reproducing the ideology through their Tweeting. On Twitter, fans sit on their idols as passive subjects, subjects they can afford. They can have idols through a variety of ways; enter his personal life (@Feri tweet), set his behavior (@Mike tweet), to ask him to get married (@Luke tweet). The practice is part of hegemonic masculinity; where, "the configuration of gender practice which is currently accepted is answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women." (Connell, 2005: 77)

However, the concept of hegemonic masculinity cannot be seen simplistically. The practices of JKT48 fans on Twitter, the practice in which they reproduce the discourse of dominant masculinity, must also be seen in slices with contexts outside of that practice. One of the slices is to see where JKT48 male fans are in the contemporary Indonesian society. The most established position in society's order must be in accordance with the ideal culture and institutional forces, collectively not individuals (Connell, 2005: 77). In the Soeharto regime for example, the concept of bapakisme which was heavily influenced by the discourse of Javanese masculinity mixed the feudal tradition with patron-client relations with the modern development paradigm. In principle, 'father' always rules the family; business; city; also the state (Nilan, 2009: 332). After the Soeharto regime collapsed, practically the social order was no longer linear or homogeneous, many aspects that made the discourse of masculinity pressed and were always in tension. However, patron-client or leader-follower relationships still look strong. The condition of the community after the Soeharto regime which should bring about a variety of gender configurations, is still dominated by authoritative expressions issued by the elders (Nilan, 2009: 340).

2. Conslusion

For JKT48 fans who are mostly young and middle class, they cannot occupy that position, they are still culturally subordinated by people who are above them, such as parents or bosses in the work environment. JKT48 as a culture is also not in accordance with the ideal culture of Indonesian society, its popular culture nature and franchise from Japan causes JKT48 fandom to be marginalized, people who like JKT48 in Indonesia are often called not real men. If JKT48 is not part of an ideal culture and JKT48 fans do not occupy the most established position, Twitter becomes a fan simulation space where the practice of placing idols as a passive object used as an exercise in navigating ideal daily life, where patriarchy and capitalism still play an important role. I call this space

a simulation because the aspects that are in the form of texts never been related to 'reality'.

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