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Boys Do Not Watch BL: Abjection towards Indonesian BL Fanboys

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ABSTRAK: Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menginvestigasi praktik abjeksi yang dialami penggemar laki-laki (fanboy) dari budaya populer Boys Love (BL) utamanya dalam konteks Indonesia. Konsep abjeksi milik Julia Kristeva dan Stereotype Richard Dyer digunakan untuk menggali secara mendalam dan kritis atas pengalaman pelayanan mereka terutama sebagai fanboy di Indonesia. Metode penelitian kualitatif dengan wawancara mendalam dilakukan bersama empat orang fanboy yang tergabung dalam komunitas pecinta Thailand (Thaienthu) Yogyakarta. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa narasumber mengaku kerap mendapat pelecehan verbal yang secara spesifik menyerang orientasi seksual mereka. Stereotipe non-heteronormativitas juga masih menjadi label yang paling sering diasosiasikan kepada para fanboy BL ini Meski begitu dalam menghadapi abjeksi dari masyarakat yang bias heteronormatif, mereka sepakat membentuk ruang mereka sendiri dan melakukan penghasratan secara eksklusif. Selain itu, menarik diri dari masyarakat dan membantah stereotype yang dilekatkan pada mereka menjadi sebuah bentuk resistensi terhadap praktik abjeksi yang mereka dapatkan sebagai seorang laki-laki yang menonton serial BL.
Kata kunci: Abjeksi, Fanboy, Boys Love, Stereotipe

ABSTRACT: *This research aims to investigate the practice of abjection experienced by fanboys of Thai boys' love in the Indonesian context. Julia Kristeva's concept of abjection, along with Richard Dyer's stereotype theory, is elaborated upon to critically explore the experiences of othering and abjection among Indonesian Boys' Love fanboys. The qualitative research method involved conducting in-depth interviews with four males who are part of the Thai enthusiast community (Thaienthu) based in Yogyakarta. The results show that the participants admitted they often received verbal abuse specifically targeting their sexual orientation. Stereotypes of non-heteronormativity are still the most common labels associated with these BL fanboys. However, in facing the abjection practiced by the heteronormative society surrounding them, they have created their own space and engaged in exclusive queer desire and fantasy. They also withdraw from society and challenge the stereotypes imposed on them, serving as acts of resistance against the rejection they experience as men who watch Boys Love series.*
Keywords: Abjection, Fanboy, Boys Love, Stereotype

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the practice of serving male fans (hereinafter referred to as fanboys) of the popular culture genre known as Boys Love (hereinafter referred to as BL). BL itself specifically refers to media that is "female-oriented" and focuses on homoerotic relationships between men (Madill, 2017, p. 130). In addition, BL is generally marketed and referred to as Yaoi. Yaoi refers to a genre of fiction that parodies non-erotic relationships into homoerotic ones and usually involves female fantasies about male sexuality. BL manga in this genre has been successfully adapted into television series, especially in Thailand. The Thai BL series has adopted themes and romantic relationships similar to those found in their Japanese manga counterparts (McLelland & Walker, 2015).

Furthermore, the BL series offers intimacy and a female gaze that provides sexual satisfaction, particularly for female viewers (Bunyavejchewin et al., 2024). BL thus specifically targets heterosexual women (hereafter referred to as heterosexuals) as its primary market. However, in addition to heterosexual women, BL in serial format also targets male fans, particularly gay men and trans women (kathoey) (Bunyavejchewin & Sukthungthong, 2019).

Further data on the distribution of BL fans show that fangirls (the term for female fans) far outnumber fanboys (the term for male fans). (Bunyavejchewin, et al., 2024) In their paper titled "Socio-demographics, lifestyles, and consumption frequency of Thai 'Boys Love' series content: Initial evidence from Thailand," researchers found that 63.5% of BL fans are female, while the remaining 36.5% are male. As for their sexual orientation, only 20.5% of them identify as homosexual, while the rest identify as heterosexual, albeit with some tendencies towards homosexuality, bisexuality, and others. However, it is still possible for male fans who identify as heterosexual to also enjoy BL series. Nevertheless, due to stereotypes, story content (narrative), and their numbers (even sexual orientation), BL fanboys often face stereotypes and rejection or exclusion (hereinafter referred to as abjection) for their hobby.

Not only that, but many heterosexual women who consume BL series are homophobic. The BL series provides a platform for heterosexual women to articulate their desires and fantasies. Busse & Lothian note that gay eroticism also allows female fans to fantasize about various subject positions and imagine homosexual relationships as equal and free from gender oppression. (2017: 119). In this situation, female fans of BL series only keep their acceptance of BL in their unconsciousness. They are unable to negotiate it when homoerotic relationships between men are present in their reality.

When applied to the Indonesian context, homoerotic relationships in the BL series are still viewed negatively. The influence of religious values and norms and conservatism perpetuates the rejection of homosexuality in Indonesia (Sianturi & Junaidi, 2021). Put, homosexuality in Indonesia is still viewed as something abnormal, sinful, and even associated with mental illnesses by the majority of Indonesian society.

Based on the explanation above, this study aims to explore the experiences of fanboys who are often rejected by society. They are often ridiculed and labeled "gay" when people around them find out that they watch BL series.

Academically, this kind of persecution and justification has not received much attention. Research on the BL phenomenon is still limited to the reception of fans, mainly heterosexual female fans. Iman et al. (2021) is one example. They examined how female fans received the Thai BL series 2gether the Series (2020). Iman et al. found that fujoshi are an active audience who interpret the messages conveyed based on their experiences. In a dominant hegemonic position, informants fully accept the homoerotic relationships portrayed and consider them normal. In the negotiated position, they did not fully accept the homoerotic relationships presented. Instead, they set boundaries at specific points in their consumption. Finally, there is the oppositional position. In this third position, the audience completely rejected the homosexual relationships in the 2gether The Series.

Additionally, research involving female fans of BL series was also conducted by Azzahra & Esfandari (2023). They found that the motivation of heterosexual female fans in consuming BL series is purely for entertainment. This also proves how the articulation of fantasy in homoerotic relationships between men in BL is articulated.

Meanwhile, studies specifically targeting BL fanboys focus on their sexual orientation, namely gay men. In a study by Collin et al. (2022), for example, they conducted research on gay fans. Collin et al. revealed that gay fans in the Malaysian context feel they see themselves in the BL series. However, the BL series is considered unable to represent the complexity of life and society's acceptance of it. Simply put, BL still presents an idealized representation of the complexity of non-heterosexual relationships.

In line with Collin et al. (2022), Michaels et al. (2024) found a divergence of opinions among Thai fans of different genders and sexual minorities, especially in understanding gay individual identity. Heterosexual individuals understand non-heterosexual relationships as presented in the BL series; they desire, while for the gay community, such depictions are too idealized for them. Therefore, Michaels et al. hope for an inclusive representation of the gay community in Thai BL series.

Previous studies on the BL phenomenon have not yet touched on the experiences of male fans, especially those who do not (or have not yet) identified their sexual orientation as belonging to a particular sexuality. The dimensions of service and labeling for them have also not been explored in depth, especially in the context of countries that are still normative and conservative on issues of non-heteronormativity. Therefore, this study aims to create a space for the voices of BL series fanboys in Indonesia by exploring the experiences of four fans who are members of a Thai fan community in Yogyakarta.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Abjection and Othering to the Marginal

The concept of abjection is inseparable from the name of Julia Kristeva and her influential essay, "Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection." Abjection refers to a reaction to the collapse of meaning caused by the loss of distinction between the subject and the object, between the self and the other (Kristeva, 1982). Simply put, abjection can be understood as a separation between subject and object, as well as self and other, because the boundaries between the two become blurred. Abjection then embraces disgusting experiences, especially those related to feminine identity.

In the context of women's experiences, Barbara Creed, for example, developed Kristeva's concept of abjection, stating that abjection is something that does not "respect boundaries, positions, rules," something that "disrupts identity, systems, order" (1982: 4) in the box of the monstrous feminine (Creed, 2007). In the terminology of the monstrous feminine, Creed further emphasizes how abjection in women is practiced and represented through horror films. The portrayal of women positions them as abject figures because they are presented as wild, cruel "ghosts" who disrupt order and systems.

Furthermore, in her book Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity, Butler also develops Kristeva's abjection in the context of gender identity formation. Gender is not fixed and is a social construct that is continuously constructed through a series of performative acts (Butler, 1999). Abjection can arise because an individual differs from the gender identity constructs that are prevalent in society. Simply put, abjection has the potential to create discrimination, especially against gender and sexual minorities, including fanboys who consume BL series.

BL Series and Stereotype

Forms of abjection cannot be separated from the construction of stereotypes that develop within society. Dyer, in his writing entitled "Stereotyping," defines stereotypes as a series of human categorizations that group status, establish ideas, generalize ways of life, and form norms of good and bad values, supported by the role of the media as a means of disseminating information. (2006: 353-354). In other words, according to Dyer, stereotypes allow certain groups to be labelled in a way that generalizes them to a particular trait. Meanwhile, the media becomes a tool to legitimize this labelling.

In line with Dyer, Tessa Perkins also realizes that the media plays a role in legitimizing stereotypes that develop in society. For her, stereotypes presented by the media can cause

problems, especially when viewers believe that these representations can be applied to all individuals in a particular group (Perkins, 1979). In fact, stereotypes are constantly changing and involve power in their use. However, because stereotypes are always interrelated with power, they are used by certain groups (the more dominant ones) to label certain groups (the marginalized ones) in a hostile and derogatory manner. The same phenomenon can also be observed in the BL series. The BL series constructs stereotypes among the dominant group (heterosexuals) towards those who are non-heterosexual (marginalized).

Although it is clear that BL is intended for heterosexual women and that homoerotic relationships in the BL series have the potential to open up acceptance for non-heterosexual relationships and groups (Baudinette, 2023), in practice, the dominant heterosexual and homophobic groups still hold derogatory stereotypes. They tend to generalize the content and even male viewers of this series as part of the non-heterosexual (gay) group.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative research method with a phenomenological approach. Phenomenology as a method originated from Edward Husserl, who defined phenomenology as an effort to achieve a deeper understanding of a phenomenon (Nugraheni et al., 2023).

The understanding of conventional phenomenology above was then further developed by Lisa Guenther in her book entitled "Solitary Confinement: Social Death and its Afterlives." Critical phenomenology, as a method, was then discovered through reflections on quasi-transcendental social structures, which enable our experiences of the world to be possible and meaningful (Guenther, 2013). Simply put, this critical phenomenological approach embodies an emancipatory spirit and opens up spaces for marginalized groups, such as queer individuals, women, and other underrepresented groups, to have their voices heard by sharing their experiences. Guenther's critical phenomenology has also evolved into a form of political activism that seeks to interpret and transform social reality.

Therefore, in collecting data using this critical phenomenological approach, the writer conducted interviews and explored the voices of Indonesian BL fanboys, particularly in relation to the stereotypes that society has imposed on them. The four informants in this study are men who are fans of various things related to Thailand. Three of them are part of the Thai enthusiast (Thaienthu) community in Yogyakarta, and the other is a friend of the author. The four informants were selected not based on their sexual orientation but based on their shared experience of stereotypes as Thai BL fanboys. The stereotype states that they are not ideal men; they are part of a non-heterosexual group. Critical phenomenology opens up space for their perspectives and voices to be heard. This study supports those who are marginalized, as they are integral to the cultural industry product.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Gay, Ladyboy, Homo: Forms of Stereotype and Abjection towards Fanboy BL Thailand

Being a fanboy of the BL series has its own challenges, especially when they realize their desires in public. The sociocultural conditions in Indonesia make BL fanboys afraid to show their existence. These fears arise because they are often stereotyped as part of a non-heterosexual group with derogatory language by society.

> "I have been called a transvestite, a sissy, a homo, a faggot, a gay, but it is no big deal. Besides, they probably think the story is only about kissing and sex, when in fact there are many good messages, both explicit and implicit. Not only that, I also learned about their lives, even though they are not as beautiful as in series, films, or dramas." – PA

> "Everything is wrong: posting about BL and boy bands is considered gay, posting about girl groups is considered effeminate." PA continued.

In addition to PA, other informants, such as IB, also received similar ridicule. However, the gay stereotype associated with IB also led to practices of abjection because he was also verbally harassed and rejected due to his hobby of watching BL series.

> Once, yeah, like, 'you watch BL, you are normal, right? Or is it dirty to watch that stuff?" – IB

> "I watch BL instead of you watching porn, is not that the same thing!" Moreover, I am normal. If you ask me again, I will kiss you right there and then." IB continued

What IB and PA experienced is part of a practice of abjection carried out through a series of stereotypes created by society. This practice of abjection is something that is beyond the bounds of reasonableness and is considered disturbing (even disgusting) (Kristeva, 1982). So, for society, watching and consuming BL popular culture is still very taboo and even alienating, especially when men do it. Even though they claim to be heterosexual individuals, the stereotypes about non-heteronormativity in BL series still make them subjects of abjection for society.

AW, who is slightly luckier than PA and IB, claims that he has not received any derogatory comments about his desires.

> "No, their response was just like, 'Oh, so you like Thailand,' that is all, lol. Well, at least no one said anything bad about it in front of me, lol. I do not know what they said behind my back, lol." – AW.

AW, who admits that he is only open to a few people about his love for this BL series, is fortunate because he does not receive derogatory treatment from the people around him. However, he admits that he does not care what people think about his hobby.

Similar to AW, AR also seems unconcerned with people's opinions about his desires. Although AR himself also faces similar stereotypes due to his performativity. Interestingly, AR views this as a label of his identity and a form of validation from others.

> "So, because most people perceive my personality as 'effeminate,' I often find myself labeled as queer. So, if they find out that I watch BL, it just becomes validation for them, like, "Oh, that is fitting for someone with that personality." – AR.

What is referred to as AR above reminds us of what Richard Dyer mentions as the consequences of stereotypes. Behaviors that conform to stereotypes help confirm the truth (of stereotypes) (2006: 353).

The forms of stereotype accepted by these informants are the precursors to society's practice of abjection towards them. The disgust and contempt directed at fanboys are the consequence of what they desire.

Being Exclusive: Save Space and Resistance of Fanboy Toward Abjection

Despite being subjected to many derogatory stereotypes that touch on their sexual orientation, these fanboys have their own ways of resisting the stereotypes and abjections directed at them. Some forms of resistance include rejecting these stereotypes. IB is one of those who rejects these stereotypes, even though there is still confusion about his sexual orientation.

> "People often say things like that to me. I still deny it, even though I do like guys, but I also have feelings for girls." – IB.

In this context, IB firmly rejects the stereotype that BL fanboys are gay. His assumption is even more interesting because he says that although his sexual orientation is towards men, IB admits that he is still attracted to women. This indicates that not all fanboys are gay, but can also be bisexual, like IB.

Similarly, AW disagrees with the stereotype that generalizes BL fanboys as gay. Instead, he believes that viewing preferences are not directly proportional to the sexual orientation of the audience.

> I do not really agree with that opinion. We cannot judge someone's orientation solely based on whether they enjoy watching BL or not. Some people who watch BL are straight, while some who do not watch

BL are gay. Using whether someone likes watching BL as a parameter is too narrow to determine a person's orientation."- AW.

Furthermore, the informants' responses regarding the relationship between viewing preferences and sexual orientation stereotypes are once again in line with what Richard Dyer states, namely that stereotypes (particularly for gay groups) are demeaning and offensive to them (2006: 353). Therefore, even fanboys involved in this phenomenon reject the stereotypes attributed to them.

James Scott (1989) emphasizes that acts of resistance can be carried out through daily activities, are covert in nature, are carried out by individuals, and are not formally organized. Scott gives the example of farmers who are indifferent to government regulations.

Male fans also practice this form of everyday resistance. Fanboys resist stereotypes and abjection by withdrawing from society. Feeling uncomfortable, these BL fans are reluctant to take the labels assigned to them seriously.

"Yes, because of that stereotype. It is just uncomfortable when people associate it with someone's orientation. I only hype things up on Twitter, I rarely hype things up on other social media." – AW.

"That is why I am scared to post statuses/ stories about BL on IG & WA. If I post, it will probably just be words/scenes that are on their own plus a panorama, that is all." – PA

I used to post BL content on my WhatsApp status many times. People would ask me why I liked posting pictures of guys kissing guys. Are you gay? Back in college, I was also teased a little. That is why when discussing BL, I sometimes talk to friends who really understand and know about the BL world, but whatever, I just let it go and block them!" PA continued

The experiences of AW and PA above show how derogatory and offensive stereotypes construct fear. This fear then causes them to withdraw from the public eye. As a result, they tend to create new spaces, such as second accounts, and move platforms to pursue their passion for BL series. In addition, they also tend to be selective in choosing "friends" who can accept them for their hobbies.

Negotiating fandom practices and societal stereotypes, AR also negotiates the unpleasant treatment she receives from society, especially because she is a fan of BL series. However, interestingly, there is something different about how AR responds to this situation. As a performative disclaimer, AR has come to terms with being labeled as part of the queer community. Therefore, her way of resisting is different. First, regarding environmental selection, AR admits that she is very selective in choosing friends since her personality will inevitably spark debate, especially among conservative circles.

"I would not tell my friends who are clearly conservative about it. I mean, even my personality could be questioned, let alone BL. It is not because I like BL; it is because not everyone knows I enjoy watching it. However, they would say it is because I often watch Thai series. Because they think the Thai language sounds funny to them, or they usually compare it to Korean dramas." – AR

Furthermore, AR also agrees that stereotypes (and further abjection) of fanboys are the reason why not all fanboys are open about their viewing preferences.

"In my opinion, this stereotype is actually a form of bias from a conservative social environment and a lack of preference for certain types of entertainment. What I mean is, for example, in straight movies. For the average person, BL is just a genre. It is the same as someone who likes to watch action movies; it does not necessarily mean they like fighting or physical training in real life. The same goes for BL shows. I think this stereotype is what makes people reluctant to be open about their viewing preferences." – AR.

AR also emphasized heteronormative bias and explained that it was the issue of gender that caused them to reject, disparage, and abject this series, and more specifically, BL fans (especially fanboys).

When asked about the public's justification for this, AR admitted that they had come to terms with the situation and accepted it as part of themselves.

> "Okay, it is not okay, but there is no power to change their views simultaneously. So we have to let it go. It is our first time living, after all. Besides, I have been dealing with this labeling (flamboyant and feminine) since I was a child. So, it is nothing new." – AR.

Based on the various experiences of the fanboys mentioned above, the practice of abjection through stereotypes elicited diverse responses from the informants. This condition also reaffirms that stereotypes involve power within society (Dyer, 2006). Even in widespread cultural phenomena such as BL series, rejection and discrimination continue to occur, especially for male fans. However, despite being full of negative stereotypes that lead to their abjection, pockets of resistance are still possible.

CONCLUSION

It cannot be denied that the Thai BL phenomenon has become a global phenomenon. Its fans come from various backgrounds, ages, and genders (and sexual orientations). Even though it is specifically claimed to be a product for heterosexual women, BL also targets male fans (fanboys).

Although they are not as numerous as heterosexual female fans, the existence of male fans (fanboys) is quite interesting. This is especially true in terms of how they articulate themselves as fans. The main issue is public acceptance of these fanboys who are passionate about series that contain homoeroticism between men.

Stereotypes that lead to practices of abjection are quite apparent when discussing BL fanboys. The forms of stereotypes found among BL fanboys include justifications that they are gay, homosexual, transvestites, and part of a non-heterosexual group. Furthermore, practices of abjection are also found when they are viewed as disgusting subjects. One example is the use of the word "filthy" by people referring to BL fanboys.

Even so, in facing rejection from a heteronormative society, they have opportunities and avenues for resistance. The first form of resistance is to withdraw from society and build their own space. These spaces take the form of secondary accounts, or other social media platforms that differ from their personal social media accounts. In addition, they reject the assumption that BL fanboys are generalized as having a gay sexual orientation. The informants refute this because the diversity of sexual orientations among fanboys is ignored and simplified into one particular sexual orientation. Of course, this has the potential to make them abject subjects in a predominantly heteronormative society.

Besides being refuted, the stereotypes and abjection faced by BL fanboys are also seen as a bias and mere ignorance on the part of conservatives regarding the diversity of viewing preferences. This is also the main reason why BL fanboys are reluctant to express their interest in BL series and the surrounding popular culture, unlike heterosexual female fans.

Ultimately, this research also became something reflective for the author, who is also part of the BL fanboy community. The dynamics and issues experienced by other fanboys feel relevant and important to voice. This dynamic happened because, in practice, society seems to generalize fanboys based on genre and make derogatory justifications involving their sexual orientation.

Similar to other studies, this study also has many limitations. One of them is the number of informants, which may not be sufficient to represent all fanboys. Also, the diversity of sexual orientations is difficult to justify because it is indeed the private domain of the informants. For this reason, focusing on a particular group of fanboys will produce more comprehensive findings on this phenomenon. Furthermore, focusing on other issues such as the positionality of male fans (fanboys) in BL and its industry may also add diversity to research on Boys Love popular culture studies.

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