

“Indonesian Women Stare at Suspects”: *Bharada E’s Masculine Instabilities in The Instagram Fandom Account @richliefams.id*

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Abstract

In the context of staring at the suspect, women's and men's eyes see things differently. Recently, the Indonesian people were shocked by the falsification of a scenario by the top police officers of the Republic of Indonesia regarding the death of Brigadier J. Bharada E, who became the suspect in the shooting of Brigadier J, got a lot of female supporters. Because of that, there are five females who manage an Instagram account @richliefams.id to support Bharada E. As a member of the National Police with the image of a guardian of masculinity, Bharada E is stared at and constructed by the female gaze. This article examined how the female gaze objectifies and constructs the masculinity of Bharada E, an Indonesian police officer who became a murder suspect. The research results showed that the female gaze on the Instagram account @richliefams.id made Bharada E an object of enjoyment for watching. In staring, the female gaze constructed the masculine image of Bharada E with various instabilities, ranging from hypermasculinity to powerlessness, such as active-passive instability, conqueror-subjugated instability, and masculine-feminine instability. The image of masculinity showed differences when it was correlated with tribes and job classes. In addition, the five women managing the Instagram account @richliefams.id made Bharada E's image a commodity to be traded for capital gain. Thus, the female subjectivity behind @richliefams.id which objectified and commodified the image of Bharada E was still under the logic of neoliberal hegemony.

Keywords: female gaze, masculine instability, hypermasculinity, Bharada E, neoliberal hegemony

1. Introduction

In early July 2022, the Indonesian community was shocked by the death of Police Brigadier Nofriansyah Yoshua Hutabarat (Brigadier J or Brigadir J in Indonesian spelling) because he was shot by his friend, Bharada (Second Bhayangkara) Richard Eliezer Pudihang Lumiu (Bharada E). Initially, police internal affairs chief Ferdy Sambo, his superior, reported to the South Jakarta Metro Police that there had been a shootout between his aides, namely Brigadier J and Bharada E (Zaenuddin, 2022). In the report, Bharada E's motive was to protect himself because he was shot first by Brigadier J because he had harassed Putri Candrawathi, Ferdy Sambo's wife.

On the other hand, Brigadier J's legal authority reported an alleged murder against Brigadier J. Until 03 August 2022 after being designated as a suspect. Bharada E changed his testimony that there was no exchange of fire between himself and Brigadier J. In his confession, Bharada E shot Brigadier J because he was ordered by his superior, Irjen (Police Inspector General) Ferdy Sambo. Later, Irjen Ferdy Sambo admitted that he had engineered the initial report and planned a fake shootout scenario.

This case becomes the public spotlight because there is a conspiracy carried out by high-ranking officials of the Polri (Police of the Republic of Indonesia) which is related to the life of a police officer. Google Trends data from 5 July 2022 to 5 October 2022 (Figure 1) showed that the Bharada E, Ferdy Sambo, and Brigadier J case became popular. But, the women looked the other way. Not a few women supported Bharada E. Although Bharada E admitted to having shot Brigadir J many times until he died. Moreover, many claimed to be fans and supporters of Bharada E and came to the conference to support him. Wreaths of support from fans also lined up in front of the South Jakarta District Court (Sidik,

2022). Apart from being considered handsome, the female fans of Bharada E consider him only as a victim of Ferdy Sambo's scenario due to a very lopsided power relationship, as reported (Bustomi, 2022).

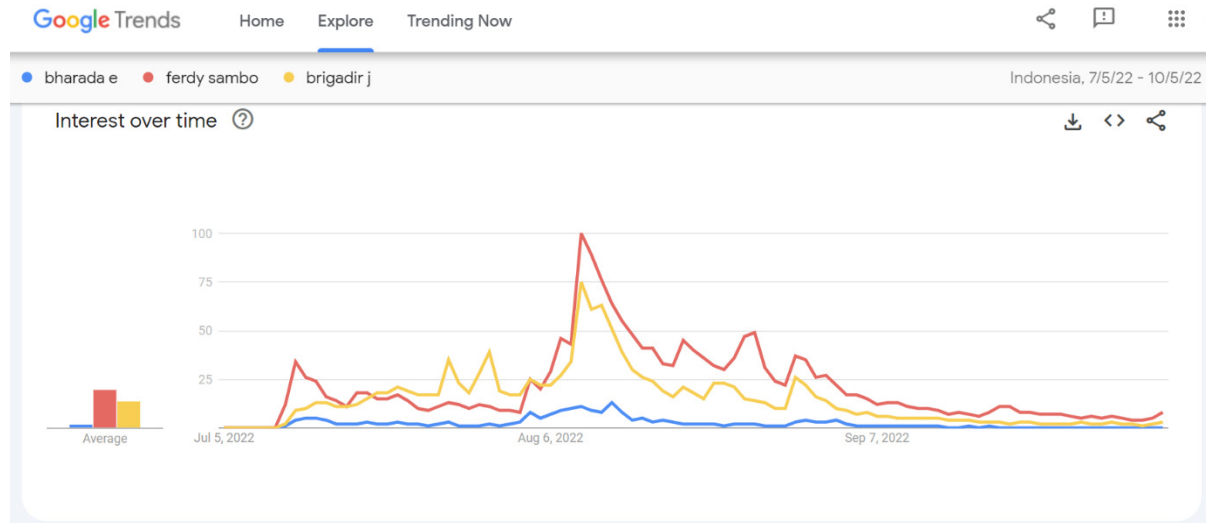


Figure 1. The polarity of Bharada E, Ferdy Sambo, and Brigadir J Issues in Indonesian Society

Source: According to Google Trends (n.d.), search volume for Bharada E, Ferdy Sambo, and Brigadir J: July – October 2022

Uniquely, these fans and supporters established a fandom called "Richliefams.id", an acronym for "Richard Eliezer Family Indonesia". To establish relationships and share information with other Bharada E fans, an Instagram account "@richliefams.id" was created. Followers from the account have reached more than 13,000 followers as of November 30, 2022.

The Instagram account @richliefams.id is managed by five women claiming to be Bharada E fans. The five managers of the account include Dea, April, Tya, Nanda, and Keisha. Like citizen journalism, the @richliefams.id Instagram account actively produces and shares information, photos, videos, and the progress of the Bharada E conference which they usually call "Icad". The five-woman managing the Instagram account @richliefams.id project how the image of Bharada E to the audience, including followers who are mostly fans of Bharada E. This shows how the female gaze operates on the image of Bharada E which is addressed to a wide audience that is mostly female.

In the history of screening in Indonesia, the male gaze is so dominant that men objectify women. Data from the Association of Film Reviewers (KAFEIN) shows that men dominated the profession of filmmaking for 10 decades, from 1926 to 2020 (Anggraini, Harjanthi, & Imanda, 2021). Meanwhile, the involvement of women in film production is no more than 20% and women who have received awards at the Indonesian Film Festival since 1955 are only 8%. In the context of cinema, this encourages women to be objectified through the male gaze.

However, the appearance of the Instagram account @richliefams.id managed by five women shows a reversal from the male gaze to the female gaze because women have many opportunities to evaluate the male body that they desire and consume. These female fans actively stared and followed, and came directly to watch Bharada E in court. Like a model, Bharada E is photographed, narrated, consumed, idolized, and desired by the female gaze.

In addition, this female gaze also challenges the dominant discourse and gender. This is because this woman's gaze is not only addressed to men in general but to someone who works as a police officer. In the context of Indonesia, the Police institution and the Military are presented as an enforcer of hegemonic masculinity, namely masculinity that legitimizes inequality between men and women to continue. Even symbolic violence against women also occurs in everyday life through Indonesian television shows (Udasmoro, 2013).

On the @richliefams.id Instagram account, the opposite thing happened. Bharada E becomes the party that needs to be helped, and the women try to be his heroes because Bharada E is considered stuck in a life-and-death condition because he has to carry out the order of a General to kill his own friend. Women's subjectivity through their looks and voices is trying to help and give an injection of courage to Bharada E to speak honestly in court.

Studies on this case have not been widely carried out. A study carried out by Purba (2022) examined this case through the lens of agenda setting on YouTube Kompas TV. In addition, research related to this case tends to be in the field of law (Hartini & Ferrary, 2022; Jeremiah, 2022). Also, some have studied this case from the perspective of rhetoric and

power relations related to the image of the Indonesian police (Indrayani, 2022) and misspellings in the news (Amalia & Nurhayani, 2022).

While female gaze research tends to be directed toward studying film, advertising, and fashion (Farid & Mamat, 2021; French, 2021; Jesica, 2021; Laing, 2021; Li, 2020; Rome, O'Donohoe, & Dunnett, 2020; Valderrama-Burgos, 2021) and to female gaze, games, and fandom (K & Chithra, 2022; Lai & Liu, 2023; Liang, 2022).

Concerning this, through the @richliefams.id Instagram account, Bharada E's masculinity must be willingly constructed, consumed and desired by the unresearched female gaze. Starting from that case, this research focuses on how the female gaze works on the @richliefams.id fandom account to construct the masculine image of Bharada E.

1.1 The Gaze and Image Construction on Instagram

Initially, the concept of gaze was used in psychoanalytic studies by Jacques Lacan to explain self-identification at the mirror stage (Rosa, Antonucci, Siracusano, & Centonze, 2021). In psychoanalysis, staring involves more than just seeing; there is also a power imbalance in which the party staring is superior to the item being stared at.

Then Metz (1983) adopted it into a film. Metz explains that the gaze of the filmmaker through the camera can direct the audience to enjoy what he enjoys. When watching a movie, the audience actually gets satisfaction because they distance themselves from what they are watching. Thus, the viewers objectify what he watches so that it pleases.

Mulvey (2006) later criticized the concept of gaze from Metz because it did not discuss the existence of working gender relations. According to Mulvey, the gaze found in the film industry is the male gaze. This makes the viewer's unconsciousness realm constructed under the phallogocentric order, which is the law of men. Thus, all viewers are imagined to be in the male position, so the pleasure of looking is from the male view. This cinematic form that ideologically contains the male unconscious makes women objectified and become passive. The male gaze is constructed through cameras, characters, and spectators that all contain male bias.

Further, Mulvey's concept of the male gaze received many responses known as the term female gaze. This response from the female gaze essentially rejects the essentialist view that the male gaze only constructs the audience. The male side can also be used as an object of the gaze. Even women can also objectify men through their gaze.

As a popular social media platform, Instagram allows users to take photos and videos, share them, and do other network activities. In addition, users can apply digital filters provided in this application feature. Thus, Instagram is also a vehicle to construct the self-image of its users to be shown to others (Sholichah & Febriana, 2022). By offering visual images, this application can also market beauty products and tourist destinations (Fatanti & Suyadnya, 2015; Raslie & Zaidi, 2022).

The correlation between gaze and Instagram is the relationship between users and uploaded objects. When the user of the Instagram account is a woman, the construction of her image is also from the woman's side, and vice versa. In this research, the female gaze works with female users who construct male images. The male side, Bharada E, is made the object of the female gaze to construct his image and share it with the female-oriented audience.

1.2 Instability as a Female Gaze Response

The concept of the female gaze responds to the male gaze concept from Laura Mulvey. Mulvey (2006) sees that women are made sexual objects by the male gaze in the film. In gazing, there is pleasure in looking. At this point, Mulvey introduces the concept of the male gaze to question the existence of gender relations through the gaze in which the male gaze objectifies women in cinema. Men position themselves as the subject who actively stares (bearer of the look), while women are the object of the gaze (Mulvey, 2006). Popular films produce and reproduce the male gaze which is constructed through cameras, characters, and spectators imagined by men (especially heterosexuals). The narrative structure of cinema is also built with phallogocentric logic. Thus, the pleasure of looking which is imagined is from and for men.

The response to Mulvey's male gaze concept is not few, one of which is related to the female gaze. The director Jill Soloway, a name famous in American television, identifies three traits of the female gaze (Tholia & Singh, 2022):

1. It is about "feeling seeing," i.e. the subjective camera attempts to get inside the protagonist. It uses the frame to share and evoke a feeling of being in feeling, rather than seeing the characters.
2. The Female Gaze uses the camera to take on the very nuanced task of showing how it feels to be The Object of the Gaze.
3. The Female Gaze dares to return the gaze. It's the gaze on the gazers. It's about how it feels to stand in the world, having been seen our entire lives.

Richard Dyer saw that men can also be the object of the female gaze. Dyer (2002) explained that women also stare at men. However, the problem is not only whether women stare at men or not, but how women stare. In face-to-face

interactions, women see or pay attention to men more than how men see women. But in crowded situations, men more often see women as maintaining dominance.

Dyer (2002) explores the female gaze through pictures of male pin-up models. In this case, some instability in the male body image exists. On the one hand, images of men are presented as sexual views that women stare at. On the other hand, this violates the formula of who sees and who is seen because male models also try to look at the audience. This is different from female models who tend to look away, express modesty, and rarely look at the audience when they are the object of the male gaze.

Another instability is the male model shown with his looking-up face. On the one hand, looking up is better than looking down because it is associated with the position of the head at the top rather than the genitals at the low position. But at the same time, straining and striving upward is analogous to the definition of sexuality which is in a lower place. As for straining and looking up, this is most often used to describe male sexuality in society (Dyer, 2002).

Concerning the explanation above, instability deals with male sexuality, which is associated with the phallus. When the male image is viewed as a sexual spectacle, the object being watched should be passive. In this case, it can be displayed as active through the display of hardened muscles as a symbol of male strength and the phallus (Dyer, 2002). At this point, instability occurs where the idea of staring as an active form of strength and being stared at as a form of powerlessness which means passive becomes overlapping.

Although men are a passive party because they are the object of the gaze, the image of men must deny this passivity to be in line with the dominant idea of masculinity because masculinity is projected as an activity. Therefore, men often appear to do something, whether carrying things, holding a hammer, playing baseball, etc. When men are not active, the way his body is posed, such as tightening his muscles while lying in a relaxed position, suggests activity.

The essence of various masculine instabilities when being stared at is straining which is considered something great and makes a man a true man. Here, both men and women alike are asked to appreciate this masculinity, which is an unsatisfactory definition (Dyer, 2002). Thus, masculinity as a male image is built on various instabilities related to the female gaze.

2. Method

2.1 Research Design

This research was qualitative descriptive research that aimed to explore the masculinity construction of Bharada E, an Indonesian police officer who became a murder suspect, through the idea of the female gaze which was included in the media psychoanalysis approach. Thus, the approach of this research was psychoanalysis. According to Rose (2006), the psychoanalysis approach works with interpreting visual data or pictures. Instagram account @richliefams.id which contains visual images of Bharada E became the research corpus to find out the subjectivity of the woman behind the Instagram account in constructing the image of Bharada E.

Rose (2006) asserted that psychoanalysis as a method is not like content analysis or semiotics, but it starts from the concept and how it is articulated into a narrative structure namely, the caption on the picture uploaded on the Instagram account @richliefams.id. In this research, the concept of masculine instabilities from Dyer (2002) was used to examine the subjectivity of women behind the Instagram account @richliefams.id in constructing the masculine image of Bharada E.

2.2 Research Data Sources

This study's data included both primary and secondary sources. The key information came from the Instagram fandom account @richliefams.id (Official Richard Eliezer Pudihang L, n.d.). Secondary data was gathered from a number of Indonesian online newspapers, including Antara News, Tempo, Kompas, detikcom, and CNN Indonesia. Aside from that, supplementary data was gathered from the TikTok account (Richliefams Indonesia, n.d.) and the Shopee e-commerce account (Decramelz, n.d.), both of which were linked to the Instagram account @richliefams.id. This secondary data was used to contextualize the Instagram fandom account @richliefams.id analysis.

2.3 Technique of Data Collection

The data collection techniques in this research were observation and documentation. The observation was used to collect data on the Instagram account @richliefams.id that fitted the concept of masculine instabilities. The data were in the form of images, video clips, and caption text. The documentation techniques used in this research included screenshots of observational data that fitted the concept. While the secondary data in this research were pictures, video clips, and news texts that contained the coverage of the Bharada E case and the TikTok account and Shopee e-commerce which constructed the image of Bharada E from the Instagram account.

2.4 Technique of Data Analysis

Data analysis techniques were performed using multimodal analysis techniques. The emergence of this technique has inspired linguists to find a framework to analyze multimodal texts (Herman, Sulistyani, Ngongo, Fatmawati, & Saputra, 2022). This analysis technique is used because it can examine text combined with images, symbols, colors, gestures, and other semiotic sources. Because of that, verbal and visual modes play a very important part in multimodal analysis (Herman, Murni, Sibarani, & Saragih, 2019). Thus, the data analysis techniques that will be carried out are as follows:

1. Collecting data in the form of visual images, video clips, and verbal in the form of text captions from the Instagram account @richliefams.id.
2. Identifying the female gaze that is working on constructing the image of Bharada E in the Instagram account @richliefams.id.
3. Analyzing various constructions of Bharada E's masculinity image with the concept of masculine instability from Richard Dyer.
4. Looking for news regarding the Bharada E case in the Indonesian online newspaper to find out the contextualization of text captions and content uploaded by the Instagram account.
5. Browsing content and merchandise related to Bharada E on the TikTok account and on the Shopee e-commerce provided and connected to the Instagram account.
6. The findings are discussed with the social context and previous research that examines quite similar phenomena.
7. Researchers make conclusions.

3. Results

3.1 Behind @richliefams.id: Five Female Gazes as a Male Gaze Response

In the era of information and communication technology advancement, social media has become a means for civil society to actively become producers and distributors of information. Jenkins (2020) calls this phenomenon a participatory culture where fans and other consumers are invited to actively participate in creating and spreading new content. As a fandom account and its female manager who acts like a citizen journalist, the Instagram account @richliefams.id belongs to participatory culture. Thus, everyone can produce information that is missed by the mass media and information that is different from the mainstream mass media, such as news in newspapers, radio, and television.

In the context of reporting the case of Ferdy Sambo and Bharada E, the five managers of the @richliefams.id account act as fans and citizen journalists that actively produces and distributes information about the development of related cases. While other followers as fans can also actively participate, such as by commenting and asking questions. However, the @richliefams.id Instagram account is biased of interests because it is managed by Bharada E's fans and provides support for him. This is written in the bio of the Instagram account stating that "only support the honesty of Bharada E to seek Justice for Brigadier J!!!" (Figure 2).

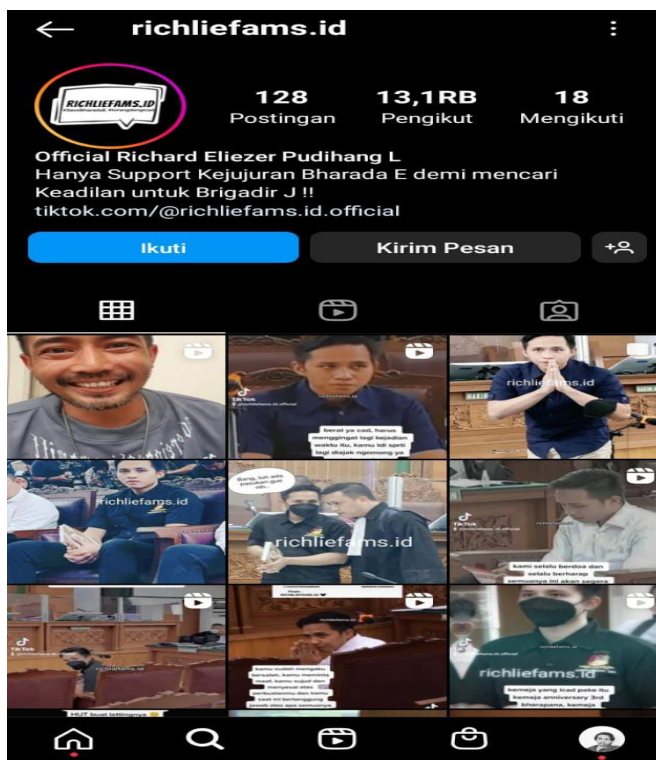


Figure 2. Instagram account @richliefams.id

In presenting, narrating, looking at, consuming, and disseminating Bharada E's information, this Instagram account @richliefams.id is managed by five women. The five women who claim to be managing the fandom's Instagram account are Dea, April, Tya, Nanda, and Keisha. They are presented in Figure 3 below. Even though this Instagram account has been taken down since March 1, 2023 because Bharada E was convicted in court on February 15, 2023, it has played quite a role in constructing the public's view of Bharada E when facing trials.

Pendukung Bharada E hadiri sidang perdana di PN Jaksel

© Selasa, 18 Oktober 2022 13:39 WIB



Anggota Richliefams.id menghadiri sidang perdana untuk mendukung terdakwa Richard Eliezer Pudihang Lumiu atau Bharada E di Pengadilan Negeri Jakarta Selatan, Selasa (18/10/2022). ANTARA/Yoanita HD.

Jakarta (ANTARA) - Sejumlah anggota komunitas pendukung Bharada E atau Richard Eliezer Pudihang Lumiu yang tergabung dalam "Richliefams.id" mendatangi ke Pengadilan Negeri (PN) Jakarta Selatan untuk mengikuti sidang perdana terdakwa pembunuhan terhadap Brigadir J itu.

Figure 3. Managers of @richliefams.id account

The women willingly attended the trial of Bharada E at the South Jakarta District Court. Dea, one of the account managers, came all the way from Surabaya just to see Bharada E directly, photographing him to greet him although current information can be obtained easily through the mass media (Djohan, 2022).

However, in the context of journalists in the Indonesian mainstream mass media, there is gender injustice because journalists and media editors are mostly dominated by men. The dominance of men as journalists and editors in the media sector is also supported by the perspective of work that is treated differently where male journalists are considered to devote more time and energy than female journalists (Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, 2020). At this point, mainstream media journalism is responded to by citizen journalism with a female perspective.

Based on the context, the five women managing the @richliefams.id Instagram account act as citizen journalists that report, construct, and present the events of the Bharada E conference directly. As citizen journalists, the five women can respond to the work of journalism in the mainstream mass media which is more dominated by men. This is in line with the origins of the female gaze, which is a concept that responds to the male gaze. The female gaze Instagram account @richliefams.id is an attempt to respond to the male gaze that resides in the mainstream mass media.

3.2 Masculine Instability of Bharada E Image

After investigating that the five women are behind the @richliefams.id Instagram account, the gaze of the woman staring at Bharada E was further commented on. As an object of the female gaze, the image of Bharada E is constructed, narrated, desired, and consumed by the female imagined audience. Dyer (2002) discusses how the female gaze views the male body. The image of a man when he becomes the object of gaze produces a certain instability. On the one hand, the image of men is to be viewed by women. On the other hand, the male image violates the code of who sees and who is seen (Dyer, 2002). Unlike female models who tend to avert their eyes, express modesty, and rarely look at the audience when they are the object of the male gaze, male models consciously look at the audience towards the camera.

In the context of the Instagram account @richliefams.id, the image of Bharada E is displayed with various instabilities. On the one hand, Bharada E is shown with hypermasculinity, which is a persuasive masculinity that describes the male warrior as strong, aggressive, and brave (Nilan, 2009). Bharada E is featured as full of toughness, macho, a conqueror of nature, and a diligent athlete. On the other hand, Bharada E is shown to be helpless, powerless, and even feminine. The following describes the various instabilities of Bharada E's image produced by the Instagram account @richliefams.id.

3.2.1 Gaze Object Instability: Between Active and Passive

As the object of women's gaze, the image of Bharada E is constructed as a tough, macho, brave man who even conquers nature. As in Figure 4 below, there is a picture of Bharada E carrying a long gun. In the caption of the post, it is written that Bharada E was once assigned as Navrat (Land Navigation) BKO (Under Operational Control) at Tinombala Task Force Post for 7 days.

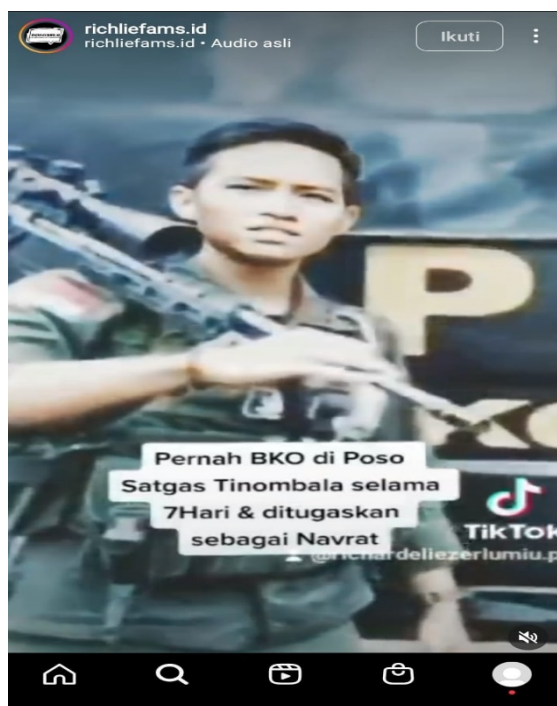


Figure 4. Bharada E carries Weapons

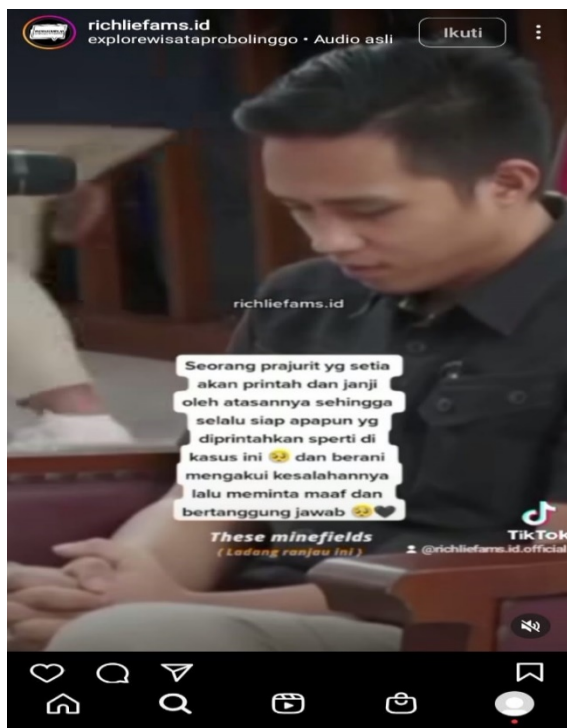


Figure 5. Bharada E looks down

According to Dyer (2002), despite being viewed as a sexual object, power continues to be maintained by posing and doing activities because this associates male strength and the logic of the phallus. In Figure 4, Bharada E in Brimob (Mobile Brigade) uniform poses with a long-barreled firearm on his shoulder. Also, right behind the background of Bharada E's photo is a police car. This features Bharada E's masculinity which depicts full of toughness.

In addition, Bharada E looked up. According to Dyer (2002), looking up higher is better than looking down. This is associated in a dichotomous-hierarchical way between the head and the genitals. Looking up is better because the head is on top while the genitals are on the bottom.

The idea of looking (staring) as power and being looked at as powerlessness overlaps with ideas of activity/passivity. Thus to look is thought of as active; whereas to be looked at is passive. . . Yet it remains the case that images of men must disavow this element of passivity if they are to be kept in line with dominant ideas of masculinity-as-activity (Dyer, 2002, p. 128).

Based on Dyer's statement above, Bharada E is being looked at so he is considered passive. To keep himself in the dominant idea of masculinity, Bharada E must do some activities. Therefore, the picture of Bharada E appears to be carrying a long-barreled firearm. Also, Bharada E's slightly raised chin and eyes looking at the camera show male determination.

But in Figure 5, Bharada E is shown sitting on a chair right in front of the conference microphone. He bowed his head while holding his hands together. Bowing means showing passivity. In the caption of the post, it's written that "A soldier who is loyal to orders and promises by his superiors. Therefore, he is always ready for whatever is ordered as in this case, he dares to admit his mistake, apologize, and take responsibility".

The @richliefams.id Instagram account explains that Bharada E, a soldier with Brimob (Brigade Mobile) rank, cannot refuse the orders of his superiors namely Ferdy Sambo, a General and Police internal affairs chief. This shows that the five female managers of the @richliefams.id Instagram account understand that there is an unequal power relationship. Bharada E has the lowest rank in the Police institution, while Irgen Ferdy Sambo is so powerful with a high rank.

On the other hand, the image of Bharada E is still presented as masculine because he dares to admit his mistakes and apologize. According to the eyes of the woman behind the Instagram account @richliefams.id, Bharada E seems to be brave. On the other hand, Bharada E did not dare to refuse the order to shoot Brigadier J. Moreover, looking down is the opposite of looking up which is associated with masculinity. This is because the genitals at the bottom are considered lower than the head at the top. Thus, bowing down means being powerless. At this point, masculine instability is narrated on the Instagram account.

3.2.2 Instability of Conqueror and Conquered

The next instability was describing Bharada E as a rock climber in Manado. The cliff is high and dangerous, and not everyone can climb it, making Bharada E as a brave man and a conqueror of nature (Figure 6). Not just an amateur rock climber, Bharada E is featured as an athlete who has professional knowledge and skills as a rock climber. In the context of knowledge as the power to conquer, Bharada E is described as having the power to conquer nature.

In addition to being featured as a powerful, tough, and brave man, the image of Bharada E is also constructed as a powerless man. This was seen during the trial about the case of leaving Brigadier J. Several times the Instagram account @richiefams.id featured Bharada E in a state of regret and powerlessness. Bharada E's regret was shown clearly when he was kneeling while kissing the hands of Brigadier J's parents (Figure 7). In addition to the picture, Bharada E's helplessness is shown through the caption "you must be tired, Cad" which shows the side that needs to be pitied, helped, and defended. Whereas, Bharada E was shown his toughness and courage to conquer the cliff before.



Figure 6. Bharada E conquers the nature



Figure 7. Bharada E kneeling while kissing the hands of Brigadier J's parents

3.2.3 Masculine and Feminine Instability

Another featured masculine activity is exercising. In Figure 6, Bharada E is featured as a rock climbing athlete in Manado. Just like the construction of masculinity as a conqueror, Bharada E is shown as a man who likes to exercise. This is in line with Dyer's statement that sport is the area of life that is the most common contemporary source of male imagery – not only pin-ups of sportsmen but in the sports activities of film stars, pop stars, and so on. In Figure 8, Bharada E is doing push-ups.

In addition, Dyer (2002) asserts that the quality of the masculine body that is promoted is muscle. In Figure 8, Bharada E is portrayed with his strong and hardened muscles while doing push-ups with his male friend. Not only that, there is a variation of the push-up exercise done by Bharada E, which is one hand holding the body and the other hand tossing with his friend. This describes the masculine image of Bharada E who is diligent in sports and can push up with such styles.



Figure 8. Bharada E is exercising



Figure 9. Bharada E looks feminine

On the other hand, Bharada E is shown with a clean face without sweat. In Figure 9, the image of Bharada E is constructed as feminine and beautiful with photo editing facilities, for example, his skin appears white, his lips are red and his eyes looking out of the camera. In contrast to the previous masculine image of carrying a long-barreled firearm and exercising one-handed push-ups with a body full of sweat, the image of Bharada E is constructed as a meek person, a body that is white and clean of sweat, charming in looking out of the camera. Thus, this shows the feminine and powerless side of Bharada E.

3.2.4 Masculine Instability related to Tribe and Class

The @richliefams.id Instagram account also features tribal and class elements. The tribal element can be seen from the logo of the Instagram account (Figure 10) namely "#SaveBharadaE #torangdengicad". #torangdengicad pronounced as "torang deng icad" a Minahasa language meaning "we are together with Icad". Because it derives from the Minahasa language, "we" here seems to refer to the Minahasa community. Thus, this shows the solidarity of the Minahasa tribe to support Bharada E. Moreover, Dea, one of the female founders and managers of the Instagram account @richliefams.id, is also from Manado (Cable News Network Indonesia [CNN Indonesia], 2022).

This issue of tribe and class is in line with Dyer's idea that how the image of male strength always needs to be influenced by other aspects of society including ethnicity, class (occupation), dignity, and tradition.

In relation to ethnicity, it is generally the case that the activity shown or implied in images of white men is clearly related to the split in western society between leisure and work activity. In contrast, black men, even though they are American or European, are given a physically inextricably linked to notions of 'the jungle', and hence 'savagery' (Dyer, 2002, p. 129).

Thus, the image of Bharada E constructed by the Instagram account @richliefams.id is also related to other elements in society, such as tribe and job class. In this case, masculine instability is shown by comparing it with the image of other men narrated by the Instagram account @richliefams.id.



Figure 10. @richliefams.id logo

In the context of the @richliefams.id Instagram account, the image of Bharada E is confirmed as Manado and Minahasa tribe. Meanwhile, Irgen Ferdy Sambo is known to be a male descendant of the Toraja tribe who was born in Barru Regency, South Sulawesi (Ismail, 2022). Even though they are both men, the image they build is different. In Figure 11, Bharada E is shown with an open face, while Ferdy Sambo is shown with glasses and a black mask covering his face. In the caption of the picture, Ferdy Sambo who was initially the superior, and police internal affairs chief has been fired. Meanwhile, Bharada E still has the status of active police.

In Figure 12, Bharada E is constructed staring intently at Ferdy Sambo at the conference and is encouraged to fight his former superior. This shows a picture of masculine instability where the initially powerful party has now become powerless, while the initially powerless party becomes powerful by fighting.



Figure 11. Bharada E and Ferdy Sambo



Figure 12. Bharada E stares at Ferdy Sambo

Similar to Ferdy Sambo, there is another male suspect named Kuat Ma'ruf, a household assistant and driver in Ferdy Sambo's family. The Instagram account @richliefams.id does not show the face of Kuat Ma'ruf. Even Kuat Ma'ruf is shown being mobbed by the police in the courtroom (Figure 14). Although Bharada E went through the same thing, the difference is that Bharada E's face is shown. Not only that, Bharada E's face was polished whiter with the caption "There is no opponent to this Manado product" (Figure 13). This again shows the existence of masculine instability in terms of tribalism and excels the Minahasa tribe, namely Bharada E. In terms of the job class, Bharada E is also considered better than Kuat Ma'ruf who is a household assistant and driver in Ferdy Sambo's family.



Figure 13. Bharada E is featured charmingly in public



Figure 14. Kuart Ma'ruf is shown to the public

4. Discussion

4.1 From Objectification to Commodification Bharada E

According to the findings, five women who run the Instagram fandom account @richliefams.id build, consume, and objectify Bharada E's masculine image. In fact, in Indonesia, it is the police, such as Bharada E, who uphold hegemonic masculinity. Bharada E's masculine appearance, however, was reconstructed by the gaze of women on the Instagram fandom account @richliefams.id in his position as a suspect. Bharada E's manly image is jeopardized as a result of this reconstruction. This demonstrates a novel cultural phenomena in which women are able to reverse male gaze and masculine construction in Indonesian patriarchal culture.

In addition to enjoying and consuming Bharada E's masculine image, his objectification brings economic capital gains for the woman managing the Instagram account @richliefams.id. This can be seen in the bio of the Instagram account where there is a TikTok link @richliefams.id.official (Figure 15). The contents of the TikTok account are filled with Bharada E's videos. With more than 77500 followers as of November 29, 2022, more than 4 million 600 likes, and hundreds of thousands to millions of views, this TikTok account is monetizable. The condition for monetization of TikTok content is having more than 1000 followers.

Moreover, in the bio of the TikTok account @richliefams.id.official, there is a link to the Shopee e-commerce account decramelzshop.id which sells various merchandise related to Bharada E (Figure 16). The merchandise products are designed with Bharada E's face and name and various types of products, such as hats, snapback caps, hoodies, necklaces, t-shirts, name tags, masks, and so on. Fans who enjoy from a distance and stare at Bharada E through the @richliefams.id Instagram account can support him by buying the merchandise.

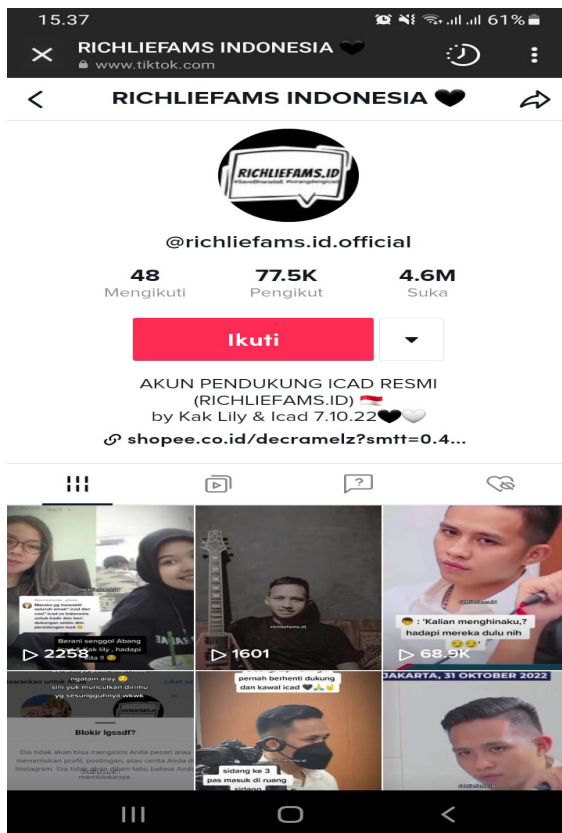


Figure 15. TikTok of Bharada E Supporter

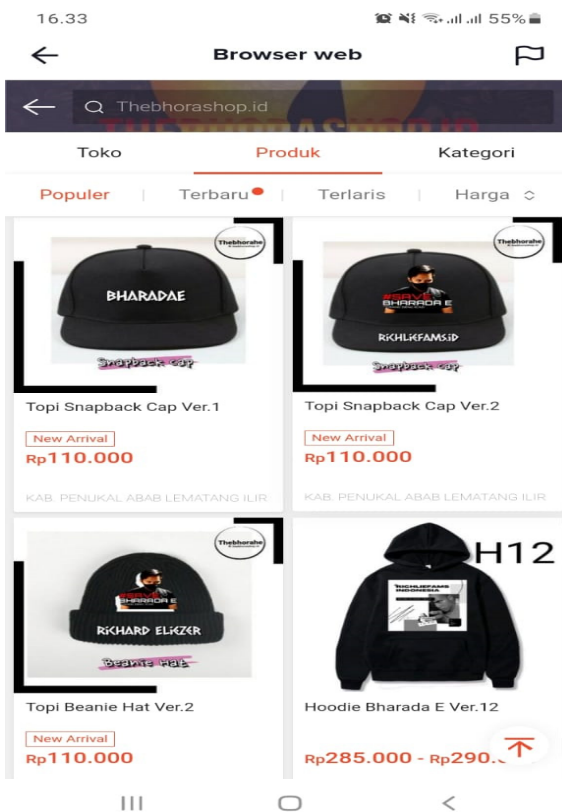


Figure 16. Merchandise products on Shopee

The phenomena of the feminine gaze is similar to the practice in the Chinese cosmetics market of using male celebrities as brand spokespeople. This cosmetic trend, known as Nan Se consumption, allows female consumers to freely examine and criticize the bodies of men. According to Li (2020), this resulted in a shift from masculine to female gaze. Despite appearing revolutionary in China's patriarchal culture, this traps feminist rhetoric in the hegemony of neoliberal consumerist culture (Li, 2020).

In contrast to the Chinese cosmetic trend phenomenon, the Instagram fandom account @richliefams.id not only consumes and evaluates masculine body image, in this case Bharada E, but also turns it into a commodity for cash accumulation. This situation appears to objectify masculine representations, hence opening up new dialogues in the feminism discourse. The female gaze on the Instagram account @richliefams.id on the image of Bharada E redefines unstable masculinity. However, this introduces a new issue: women's subjectivity in the logic of markets and digital platforms. Women's subjectivity here eventually shifts from struggling to distinguish Bharada E in court to selling Bharada E's manly image. Saraswati (2021) refers to this as neoliberal feminism. Other researchers with varied socio-cultural backgrounds in each country can look into this type of topic further.

Thus, the image of Bharada E through the gaze of women is objectified, desired, consumed, and commodified to be sold for the sake of money. Although these women are aware of the unequal power relationship between Bharada E and Ferdy Sambo, they want to voice and fight so that the trial of the death of Brigadier J is decided fairly. This shows that the female gaze by objectifying the image of Bharada E is in the logic of neoliberal hegemony and the logic that governs social media. In neoliberal feminism, individuals must continue to show their entrepreneurial subjectivity in all aspects of life, from the workplace to personal relationships (Saraswati, 2021). With private matters such as idols and the fight against the unfair injustice in the Bharada E court being commodified, the women managing the @richliefams.id account show that they are in neoliberal logic. Under neoliberal logic, women's activism in the digital space of social media is built based on a sharing economy that does not weaken the crippled structure but can perpetuate it.

5. Conclusion

The female gaze on the @richliefams.id Instagram account makes Bharada E enjoyable to watch. In staring, the female gaze constructs the masculine image of Bharada E. The featured masculine image contains various instabilities, from hypermasculinity to powerlessness, such as active and passive instability, conqueror and subjugation instability, and masculine and feminine instability. In addition, the Instagram account @richliefams.id also displays masculine instability by staring at other men, Ferdy Sambo and Kuat Ma'ruf, who are different in tribe and job class from Bharada E.

In addition to making Bharada E a visual object to look at, the five women who manage the Instagram account @richliefams.id make Bharada E's image a commodity that is traded and generates money. This phenomenon is distinct from the Chinese cosmetics trend of employing male personalities as brand ambassadors. The subjectivity of women on the Instagram account @richliefams.id not only evaluates and consumes the masculine body image but also transforms it into a product. In other words, by utilizing Bharada E's image of masculinity, female subjects are not only consumers but also producers. This is done by having a TikTok link with Bharada E-related content and Shopee e-commerce that sells hoodie merchandise, hats, t-shirts, necklaces, masks and so on that contain Bharada E's picture and name. Although there is a struggle related to unequal power relations in court. This shows that women's gaze through the @richliefams.id Instagram account is in the logic of neoliberal consumption that encourages women's subjectivity to perform entrepreneurship and matters of privacy and justice. In fact, this subjectivity initially tried to fight for justice in the unequal power relations in Indonesian courts.

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