Gender and Sexuality Construction
in Korean Idol Fan Fiction
: In a Subversive Gender Parody

A Master’s Thesis for the Degree “Master of Science (Two Years)”
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<Abstract>

My research analysis constitutes the construction of gender and sexuality specifically in the category of Top/Bottom in Korean idol fan fictions. Most of the previous researches focus on the feminization of Bottom that women follow the heterosexual norms through the feminized Bottom although they read and write homoerotic fan fictions. The masculinization of Top is barely problematized. In other words, the femaleness of the male body is considered as limitation but the maleness of the male body is taken for granted. However, my point lies on the category of Top/Bottom itself and how the divided category of Top/Bottom is constructed and sustained. On the basis of the argument that the category of Top/Bottom is a parody of the category of two sexes (Butler, 1990, 1993), I explore how the male bodies are Topped/Bottomed in a parody.

Laclau and Mouffe's poststructuralist methodology of discourse analysis is deployed to explore my research question. The extracts collected from an online Korean idol fan fiction community are analyzed in the light of signification of the signs in interrelations in the category of Top/Bottom.

Judith Butler's concepts of gendered sex, sexed body, materialization, and gender parody provided the theoretical framework to address the research question. Especially my research focused on the subversive aspects of women's reading and writing fan fictions in the theoretical framework of gender parody. In addition, my research rejects the idea of fan fiction being a fantasy demarcated from the reality but deploys theoretical framework of deconstructing the distinction between fantasy and reality in a focus on the function of social regulations drawing demarcation between fantasy and reality.

Key Words: Fan fiction, Idol, Homoeroticism, Gender Parody, Gender Performance, Fantasy, Materialization, Binary, Anal Sex
Table of Contents

1. Research Introduction ____5

1.1. Research Object: Korean Idol Fan Fiction ____5
   A. Introduction of Fan Fiction: Definitions and Arguments ____5
   B. Specific Research Object: Korean Idol Fan Fiction ____10
      Why Korean Idol Fan Fiction? ____10
      Korean Idol Business: Selling the Fantasies of Brotherhood ____10

1.2. Research Question ____11

1.3. Previous Research: Korean Idol Fan Fiction: from Heterosexual Homoeroticism to Gender Trouble ____13

2. Methodology ____16

2.1. Collecting Materials ____16

2.2. Methodology: Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Analysis ____17
   Empty Signs ____18
   Nodal Points ____18
   Focus on the Construction Process ____18
   Permanent Discursive Struggles ____19
   Hegemony ____19
   Articulation of Methodology and Theoretical Framework ____19

2.3. Analyzing Tools ____20
   Extracts ____20
   Tables ____20
   Empty Signs in Fishing Net and Nodal Points ____21

3. Theoretical Framework ____22

3.1. Definition of Key Notions: Gendered Sex, Sexed Body, Performing Gender, Gender Parody ____22
   Gendered Sex ____22
   Gender Performance as the Reiteration of Social Norms ____23
   Gender Parody ____24

3.2. Definition of Cyberspace: Re-defining Reality ____25
   Newly Defining Cyberspace: Realizing Fantasy of Reality ____25
   Real Virtuality ____25
   Being a Cyborg ____26
Online Corporeality
Permanent Vacillation between Reality/Fantasy
Reality and Fantasy: Between Sanctioned and Unsanctioned

4. Disposition of the Analysis

5. Analysis 1: The Signification of the Signs in the category of Top/Bottom

5.0. Open Up: Tables
A. Table1: Genre and Sexual Descriptions
B. Table2: The Signs used in the Construction of Top/Bottom
C. Table3: The Pattern of Erotic Interplay

5.1. Nodal Points 1: Gaze & Touch
A. Gazing Bottom's Body: Bottom's Body as a Sexual Object
B. Unequal Gaze between Top/Bottom: Top Gazes, Bottom should be Gazed
C. The Construction of Masculinity/Femininity: Through the Binary of Gaze/Gazed
D. The Fan Fiction Gaze: The Gaze on Femininity of the Male Body operated by Women

5.2. Nodal Points 2: Violence
A. The Gazed should be Touched: Legitimizing Violence
B. Violence: Clarifying the Binaries
C. Revenge Rape: Depriviléging the Signifier "Rape" and "Male Body"
   No Extenuation, No Ethic: Rape Deserves Full-scale Revenge
   Rapable Top's Body: Depriviléging the Signifier Rape and Male Body

5.3. Nodal Points 3: Big Hand
A. Top's Big Hands: Touching Grabbing and Possessing
B. Cooking Big Hands: Bottom's Body Processed to be Inserted
C. Hands in cooperation with Voice: Constraining Bottom's Body
D. Productive Hands: Pink Blossoms on Bottom's Bright Skin
E. Controllable: Top's Hands to control Bottom's Seminal Emission

5.4. Nodal Points 4: Hot Spot
A. The Hot Spot: Bottom's Vulnerable Body
B. Vulnerability: Legitimizing Violence
6. Analysis 2: the Construction of Gender and Sexuality in the Category of Top/Bottom

6.1. In a Parody of the Category of Two Sexes
6.2. The Oppositional Construction of Masculinity/Femininity
   A. Purification
   B. Phallogocentrism
6.3. The Function of Materiality
   A. Discovery of the Hot Spot in Korean Idol Fan Fiction Culture
   B. Blurred Distinctions: Pain/Orgasm, Physical/Psychic and Real/Fantasy
6.4. Sexing the Bodies
   A. Top/Bottom, the Mark prior to the Body
   B. Fragmentation
6.5. The Reiteration and the Citation of Intercourse

7. Analysis 3: Challenges of Women's Reading and Writing Fan Fictions

7.1. Parody: Deprivileging the Signifiers
7.2. Anal Sex and Unsanctioned Permeabilities in Bodily Margins
7.3. Twisting Brotherhood and Deconstructing Sexed Love
7.4. The Domain of Fantasy: Away from the Burden of Being Women

8. Conclusion

8.1. Summary of the Research

<References>
1. Research Introduction

1.1. Research Object: Korean Idol Fan Fiction

A. Introduction of Fan Fiction: Definitions and Arguments

Fan Fiction is simply a fiction written by fans. If there are stars, there might be fans reading and writing fan fictions in spite of the existence of stars whether in the reality or in books, movies, games, fairy tales and etc. For example, the world known novel and movie “Harry Potter”, American television series "Star Trek", world known Japanese animation "Gundam", worldly recognized online game "Final Fantasy", worldwide loved musical "RENT", famous soccer players and even "Greek Mythology" have fan fictions. Reading and writing fan fiction is a worldwide phenomenon. There are Harry Potter fans all over the world reading and writing Harry Potter fan fictions in many different languages. Fan fiction is a rising topic within the academic field as well. From psychoanalysis to media studies, many different fields have been interested in studying fan fictions. This chapter will introduce the previous approaches on fan fictions within the academic field how it has been defined from different perspectives.

Yet there are various kinds of fan fictions, fan fiction is usually subdivided into Yaoi and Slash according to the origins. Kee defined "the term Yaoi Fan Fiction is used by English-speaking fans to refer to derivative fan stories, written by mostly female fans, centered around male homoeroticism based on original Japanese sources, such as anime (Japanese Animation) or manga(Japanese Comics) series"(Kee,2010:126). Hills defined Slash with an exemplary description of fan fiction's homoeroticism; "Slash is a type of fan fiction (or fan art) which depicts male characters such as Captain Kirk and Mr. Spock as sexually and romantically involved with one another(Hills, 2002:101)."

Mazar defines Slash fan fiction as "the product of unauthorized writers taking characters and settings from television shows, movies, comics, or books and writing stories about them". According to Mazar's introduction, Slash started in 1970's with American TV series Star Trek and usually it

1 Visit the website http://www.fanfiction.net and see if there is your taste of fan fictions. This website has numerous pieces of various fan-fictions within 9 categories; Anime/Manga, Books, Cartoons, Comics, Games, Misc, Movies, Play/Musicals, TV Shows. You can also find some football fan fictions in following website searched by Google, http://www.opengoal.tv/
is read and written by women of all ages. Mazar also points out that since Slash fan fiction is usually homoerotic stories, "most (female) fan fiction writers guard their real life very carefully" (Mazar, 2006:1141). In short, Yaoi and Slash have a difference in original sources but share the characteristic of homoerotic stories read and written by female fans. To sum up, fan fiction is read and written based on original texts. Original text is not always (and does not need to be) homoerotic, but fan fiction deals with homoerotic relationships between the characters derived from original texts. So two main characteristics of fan fiction are drawn homoeroticism and the texts derived from original texts.

Fan fiction has also been defined as adolescent culture practiced in virtual space (Leila, Randy, Peter, 2009). Since reading and writing fan fiction is usually done in cyberspace, many studies focused on the virtuality of cyberspace and assumed that fan fiction is mainly read and written by teenagers. This assumption has two presumptions. Firstly fan denotes adolescent. Secondly adolescents pour more time on the internet than other age groups. However, as Lackner, Lucas and Reid criticized, "the standard assumption that fan denotes adolescent has been challenged by the extent to which women in their thirties and older have taken advantage of the Internet" (Lacker, Lucas, Reid, 2006)."

As fans do not denote adolescent anymore, the focus of fan fiction studies moved from adolescents to women. Particularly homoeroticism is centered in studying fan fictions focusing on women. Busse pointed that slash fan fiction community has been discussed as a homoerotic space (Busse, 2006:219). However, this homoerotic space of fan fiction is not for homosexual men but for women. Gelder explained Slash fan fiction, "usually, perhaps, it is written by women, even though its protagonists are homosexual men" (Gelder, 2007:144). Although fan fiction is about homoerotic relations between men, fan fiction is not something about homosexual men but about women. That it is women who read and write homoerotic stories raised the argument defining fan fiction community as a gendered space for females (Akatsuka, 2010).

Driscoll's argument shows how fan fiction is defined as a gendered space from a positive perspective. Driscoll defined eroticism in fan fictions as both romance and pornography in her article "the Romance of Pornography and the Pornography of Romance (Driscoll, 2006)". According to Driscoll, fan fiction is one of the "recent commercial diversifications of pornography... but also a new mode of romance fiction (Driscoll, 2006:79)". Driscoll contextualized fan fiction in a history of literacy and argued fan fiction belongs to the both categories of romance and pornography. Driscoll stated history of
romance and pornography are often interrelated. Indeed, "pornography is structured in relation to the conventions of romance and romance fiction is sustained by pornography" (Driscoll, 2006:79). As it is presented above, Mazar introduced most fan fiction writers are guarding their real life (Mazar, 2006:1141) and Driscoll points out that the fear of exposure is related with pornography (Driscoll, 2006:81). Driscoll emphasized that fan fiction is (includes) "the only form of pornography mainly produced and consumed by women". In a word, what pornography of fan fiction reveals is "the gendering of pornography" (Driscoll, 2006:91).

There have been many arguments in a seeking for subversive aspects of women's reading and writing fan fiction. Kee argues Yaoi Fan Fiction is against gender norms because Yaoi fan fiction deprivileges the status of vaginal intercourse as only one real intercourse in erotic interplay. Kee rejects the idea that anal is merely a coded vagina in anal sex in Yaoi fan fictions because anal sex is completely unsanctioned by heterosexual norms. Thus anal sex can deprivilege the privileged status of vaginal intercourse in heterosexual reality (Kee, 2010:133). Kee also suggested the subversive thrill of watching males in a submissive and vulnerable position. Since Yaoi fan fiction deals with homoerotic interplays between males, male can be described sexually submissive and vulnerable in erotic interplay in the same way that women are in the heterosexual erotic interplay. Moreover, fan fiction is about love and sex between males, males are often emotionally vulnerable to love (Kee, 2010:140). In addition, Yaoi fan fiction provides a safe way to explore taboos such as homosexuality and anal sex (Kee, 2010:141).

Kee also suggested the multiple identification of the fan as one of the positive aspects (Kee, 2010:141). Identification has been an issue in studying fan fictions in fans' relation to stars. Thomas argued fan fiction characters are the route to identify oneself (Thomas, 2005:30). Penley also insisted, in reading fan fictions "the subject can hold a number of identificatory positions" (Penley, 1992:480). All the arguments around fans' identification in reading and writing fan fictions assume subject that generates the acts of reading and writing fan fictions and hold identificatory positions. As Penley's argument shows, the subject is often assumed to be positioned in only one way in reality, thus, it has been estimated in a positive way that "the subject can hold a number of identificatory positions (Penley, 1992:480)" in (a fantasy of) reading and writing fan fictions. The arguments of identification assume the demarcation between fantasy and reality. Fan fiction has often been taken for granted as fantasy. Fan fiction has been estimated as both limited and
challenging because it is a *fantasy*. Kee argued, "Yaoi highlights the gap between reality and women's unsatisfied yearnings" (Kee, 2010:147). (Homoerotic) Fantasy of fan fiction fills in the inadequacies of (heterosexual) reality. However, since fan fiction is demarcated in fantasy, homoerotic practices in reading and writing fan fiction have been estimated as limited. Mazar's point that "most fan fiction writers guard their real life" shows that reading and writing fan fictions is strictly demarcated from reality (Mazar, 2006:1141). Protection of *real life* is in one way, as Driscoll argues, because of the fear to be exposed pornography in fan fictions (Driscoll, 2006:81). In another way, demarcating reading and writing homoerotic fan fictions from *real life* reveals it is not because fan fiction is a fantasy but because fan fiction cannot be sustained in (heterosexual) reality.

Studies on fan culture and fan fictions often see fans as over-enthusiastic. Especially reading and writing fan fiction is regarded as an over-enthusiastic fantasy in the assumption of fan fiction as a fantasy. For Jenkins, fans are over-enthusiastic and over-identify themselves with the media text (Jenkins, 1992:18). Such definitions assume normative degree of behaviors. Further, Jenkins defines reading and writing slash fan fiction as "*abnormal media use*" (Jenkins, 1992:187). Jenkins' use of the term "abnormal" indicates strong heterosexual normativity.

Penley's psychoanalytical approach to slash fan fiction is in the same vein of Jenkins' argument. Penley focused on Slash fan fiction's sexual and social utopian romances. In the academic interpretations, Penley assumes slash fans as abnormal them and demarcated academic knowledgeable us and emotional them (Penley, 1991). Academic attempts to interpret fan fiction often fell into the binary of academic us and fanatic them. Academic studies on fan fictions not only generated the binary of us/them but also many other dualisms such as reality/fantasy, knowledge/emotion and normal/abnormal. Hills criticized that Penley's psychoanalytical approach falls into moral dualism when the argument distinguishes knowledgeable academic scholars and emotional fans (Hall, 2002:103). Penley stated, "*They (fans) perceive… a middle-class feminism... disdains popular culture and believes that pornography degrades women* (Penley, 1992:492)." In Hills' reading, Penley generates "moral dualism between good feminist academic and bad non-feminist fans" (Hill, 2002:103). Moral dualism in Penley's discourse also assumes normative degree of morality. Distinguishing (academic) knowledge from emotion also distinguishes fantasy from reality. According to Hills' argument, fantasy-based approaches define fans as 'deficient' (Hills, 2002:112). Fans are deficient to be normative because they live in the fantasy. Immorality
constitutes fantasy because fans sneak from any normative senses of morality. Hence, fantasy is immorality and abnormal itself in dualisms.

While fantasy-based approaches often fell into negative interpretations, there also have been fantasy-based approaches in searches of positive functions of fantasy. Fan studies often focused on over-enthusiasm, over-emotional of fans in its relation to fantasy. Harrington and Bielby focused on the little madness of fans and argued fans are not deficient but maintain good mental health through their little madness (Harrington and Bielby, 1995). Harrington and Bielby insisted fans are aware of what fantasy is and what reality is thus they play with the boundaries between fantasy and reality (Harrington and Bielby, 1995:133-134). Hence, fantasy and reality are interrelated and there is no external reality thoroughly stands for itself.

Yet there have been studies seeking for challenges in reading and writing fan fictions from gender perspective, limitations have always been followed. In most cases of male/male relations in fan fictions, while one is masculine the other is feminine. Thus even though fan fiction deals with homosexuality, the characters are still heterosexual. Heterosexual normativity in homosexuality has been pointed the limited side of fan fiction (Hills, 2002:101). In addition, fan fiction also covers female/female relations but this type of fan fictions have been barely concerned (Hills, 2002:101).

Studies on fan fictions have focused on the issues of homoeroticism, pornography and romance, identification in the assumption of subject and the binary of fantasy and reality, etc. While many studies attempted to seek for challenges against gender norms, many studies were done in the assumption of "normativity". The issues have been concerned in the academic field by now will be the milestones to establish the questions and theoretical frames in my research. Though there has been a slight distinction between Slash and Yaoi, fan fiction has often been ahistorically universalized. Harry Potter fans read and write Harry Potter fan fictions all over the world, however, fan fictions in different languages and cultures are in the different social contexts. Fan fiction needs more contextualization and specification as much as the common features. Fan fiction has many different subcategories and many of those subcategories have hardly been concerned within the academic field. My research will study one specific subcategory of fan fictions Korean idol fan fiction which has barely been studied in English academic environments.
B. Specific Research Object: Korean Idol Fan Fiction

Why Korean Idol Fan Fiction?

Fan fiction can be divided into two different sub categories according to the reality of the characters whether they are real persons or fictive. Korean idol fan fiction is read and written based on Korean idol stars who are real persons. Fan fiction is often defined as the readings and writings derived from the original texts. For Korean idol fan fictions, idol stars are the original texts. Since idol stars are real persons not fictive, Korean idol fan fiction is often restraint in the distinction of fantasy and reality. Demarcating fantasy from reality will be one of the critical points in my research. The characteristic that Korean idol fan fiction is read and written based on real persons is one of the reasons I chose Korean idol fan fiction as my specific research object. In addition, Korean idol fan fiction is what I know the best amongst the various kinds of fan fictions. My research will benefit from my past ten-year-involvement in Korean idol fan fiction culture because my experiences will provide critical phenomenal facts to my analysis.

Korean Idol Business: Selling the Fantasies of Brotherhood

Idol business is one of the biggest and fastest growing businesses in Korea. In this chapter, I will introduce one specific feature of Korean idol business related to the issue of fantasy, one of the main concerns in my research.

First of all, Korean idol business concentrates on pop song business, especially producing idol-bands. Korean idol-bands consist of young and pretty same sex members. These young idol-band members usually dwell together in one apartment like blood brothers or blood sisters, which is basically for the entertainment company's convenience of time managing of dealing with many young members. At the same time, however, living together like blood-brothers, shortly called brotherhood is also an important selling point in selling boy-bands to female customer in Korean idol business (Kang, 2009). According to the culture critic Kang's analysis, Brotherhood is essential in Korean idol-band business because the customers want to see "ideal community" through the pure brotherhood of idol-band members. Once customers find their ideal community in a certain idol-band, they are willing to consume idol bands' products to keep their ideal community. Kang argues Korean
idol-band business is "the business selling fantasies" of the ideal community. Kang's argument, however, does not fully explain why brotherhood is important in boy-band business far more than those of girl-band business. In addition, Kang's argument missed the critical fact that it is not men but women who purchase fantasies of brotherhood. Kang's analysis is thoroughly based on the heterosexual assumption which ignores the possibility of the involvement of homoerotic fantasies in brotherhood. My research approaches to brotherhood in regard of one of the origins of homoerotic Korean idol fan fictions.

1.2. Research Question

Confirming a 'coupling' is essential in reading and writing idol fan fictions. The term 'coupling' invented in Korean idol fan fiction culture means matching two people. 'Coupling' consists of one 'Top' and one 'Bottom' (or called Gong[공] and Soo[수] which the former means 'attack' and latter means 'receive' in Korean). Top/Bottom is distinguished by how they perform in erotic interplay. Top is who inserts and Bottom is who is inserted in erotic interplay. Therefore, Top/Bottom is clearly distinguished in descriptions of erotic interplay. In Korean idol fan fictions teem with so much detailed descriptions of male bodies and erotic interplay. What deserves attention is that male bodies and erotic interplay between male bodies are described in the category of Top/Bottom. The category of Top/Bottom means more than the distinction between the performances of inserting/being inserted. The readers can easily presume who inserts (Top) and who is inserted (Bottom) without descriptions of erotic interplay. What guide the readers are the typical characters of Top and Bottom. In the category of Top/Bottom, Top (who inserts) is masculine and Bottom (who is inserted) is feminine. In short, the research question starts from following three points:

First, Korean idol fan fictions need a coupling to be read and written. 'Coupling' always consists of one Top and one Bottom. Thus the category of Top/Bottom is essential in reading and writing Korean idol fan fictions.

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2 MBC radio "손석희의 시선집중 Son-Seok-Hee-Eui See-Sun-Zip-Joong", 2009. 09.13. Friday’s focus on culture, quoted from the interview with a culture critic Myung-Seok, Kang
Second, fan fictions highly concentrate on male bodies and erotic interplay between male bodies in the category of Top/Bottom.

Third, the category of Top/Bottom has its own mechanism of constructing Top and Bottom. The mechanism shapes the clear and typical characters of Top and Bottom.

My research question is based on the three points above. The category of Top/Bottom is my main research interest especially in a focus of its own mechanism of constructing typical characters of Top and Bottom. Since Top and Bottom are distinguished by the gendered characters of masculinity and femininity, my research will focus on gender construction through the mechanism of constructing Top and Bottom. Construction of sexuality will be the concern at the same time because Top and Bottom are basically distinguished by the performances of inserting/being inserted. Therefore, the main research question proposed is:

*How the gender and sexuality are constructed in divided category of Top/Bottom in Korean idol fan fictions?*

My research has two sub-questions. First sub-question will complement the main research question. The first sub-question is:

**Sub-question 1. How do bodies perform "difference" in erotic interplay?**

In the category of Top and Bottom, Top is always assumed to be masculine while Bottom is assumed to be feminine. Thus the category of Top/Bottom seems to follow the normative assumptions of gender and sexuality. However, categorizing Top and Bottom is all processed in male bodies. Focusing on that male bodies are divided into Top/Bottom in the category of Top/Bottom, my research will seek for subversive aspects of women's reading and writing fan fictions. The second sub-question is:

**Sub-question 2. Does the reading and writing idol fan fictions challenge the normative assumptions of gender and sexuality?**
1.3. Previous Research: Korean Idol Fan Fiction: from Heterosexual Homoeroticism to Gender Trouble

This chapter presents previous researches of Korean idol fan fictions especially focusing on how the previous researches dealt women's reading and writing homoerotic stories and examined the Top and Bottom divide.

Yet the Korean idol fan fiction was emerged along with the appearance of idol-bands in Korean entertainment business in the middle of the 90's, it was later in early 2000's that full-scale researches on idol fan fictions appeared in the academic field of Korea.

The most visible feature of fan fictions, homoerotic stories about male bodies read and written by women has been the main interests in early researches, however, the researches conducted in early 2000's tended to place women's desire to homoerotic stories within the heterosexual frame.

Kim, an expert in media and cultural studies, defined idol fan fiction as a cyber fantasy full of imaginations about romance and sexual desire of adolescent girls who are still in the identification process (Kim, 2003). She argues that the adolescent fan fiction readers and writers seek for both ideal image of a woman they want to be and an ideal man they want to date with through the male/male relationship depicted in fan fictions. She stresses on the mimicking of the heterosexual relationships in homoerotic fan fictions. Consequentially, Kim’s conclusion highlights the limit of fan fictions to bring subversion because homosexuality in fan fictions is in the limitation of following the heterosexist social norms. It is due to the fact that unequal power relationship between men and women is re-established in the relationship between dominant male (Top) and subordinated male (Bottom) in fan fictions. Lee, a feminist scholar, also states that the homoeroticism in fan fictions is just a disguise of the heterosexual desire of fan fiction readers and writers (Lee, 2003). An suggests the dominance of homosexuality and romanticism is the characteristic of Korean idol fan fictions (An, 2003). An states that women fan fiction readers and writers identify themselves with subordinated male character (Bottom). An's study defines Bottom is a male performing the role of women.

The researches above share the common conclusion that though women practice homoeroticism in idol fan fictions, homosexual practices in fan fictions are limited since the fan fictions' homosexuality is just a replica of heterosexuality. However, in my opinion
these previous researches have a fundamental error developing their arguments based on the assumption that women readers and writers are heterosexual.

Also the previous researches above draw consensus that fan fiction is a fantasy. The arguments are in the same vein of the arguments around the Slash and Yaoi. Since reading and writing fan fiction is done in a cyberspace, it has been defined as both a fantasy and adolescent culture. The previous researches assume the clear demarcation between fantasy and reality and denote fans as adolescents. Kim and An have common in focusing on adolescent girls as the central participants of Korean idol fan fiction culture.

The discussion of Park, a feminist scholar and lesbian activist, views reading and writing fan fictions has a considerable effect on adolescent girls' identification process (Park, 2002). According to Park's research, one out of two adolescent girls has experienced getting involved in fan fictions. The more the adolescent girls get involved in fan fictions, the more they tend to be affirmative of homosexuality. Park insisted not only reading and writing fan fictions provides the information about homosexuality to adolescent girls but also it brings adolescent girls into practices such as joining gay communities and having homosexual relationships.

In my reading, Park's research tries to transcend the demarcation between cyberspace and reality unlike previous researches. However, she still shares the idea of sexuality as identity which is formed and fixed through the identification process in one’s adolescence. Moreover, Park's research is in the congruency with the other previous researches mentioned above because of its perspective of homoeroticism in fan fictions only as a heterosexuality borrowing the form of homosexuality.

To sum up, previous researches focused on adolescent girls. The assumption of idol fan fiction as an adolescent culture presumes heterosexist norms. Idol boy-bands consist of young and pretty boys thus they cannot appeal to mature women over twenties but only attract immature adolescent girls. The assumption of adolescent distinguishes adolescent from adult and generates adultism. Distinguishing adolescent and adult is regulated by heterosexist reproduction regimes. The eligibility of adults is regulated by the reproduction regime whether they have reproductive ability or not. Reproductive ability means both biological and economical abilities in Korea. One should fulfill compulsory education and be able to support the family. Reproduction regime designs adolescence as the period of education for the immature. Again, immature young boys who are not able to reproduce cannot appeal to mature women but only attract adolescent girls who are not ready to
reproduce yet. The arguments of identification also assume adultism. Since adolescent girls are not mature yet to enjoy sex, all their attempts to practice sex are assumed as an identification process. The previous researches never refer sexual enjoyment itself in adolescent girls' reading and writing homoerotic fan fictions. Sexual enjoyment is only allowed for adult women in heterosexism. The fundamental error is found again because the previous researches try to find resistance in adolescent girls' reading and writing homoerotic stories but simultaneously assume adolescent girls as deficient to enjoy sex.

Many studies on Slash fan fiction and Yaoi fan fiction present fan fiction is read and written by women of all ages. Korean idol fan fiction is also read and written by women of all ages but early previous researches often ignore women over twenties. Recent researches tend to expand their focus including the women over twenties fond of young idol bands and their practice of reading and writing fan fictions. An, who studies idol fan fiction in media and cultural studies pointed out reading and writing homoerotic fan fictions are more popular amongst women over twenties (An, 2003). One of the significant researches in this field is a feminist scholar Oh's research focusing on married women in thirties involved in idol fan culture. It makes an attempt to seek subversive possibilities in women's reading and writing idol fan fictions in terms of sexual pleasure and excitement obtained by sexualizing and playing with male bodies (Oh, 2007).

The focus including the women over twenties opened the possibility to discuss the aspect of sexual pleasure and excitement itself in women's reading and writing homoerotic fan fiction. However, theses researches still demarcate women over twenties from adolescents. The assumption of heterosexist adultism still remains in the domain of demarcating women over twenties.

Previous researches insisting homosexuality is merely a disguise of heterosexuality estimate feminine Bottom as limitation. Han, a feminist scholar, suggested a far different perspective on the feminization of Bottom. Han argues, if Bottom performs women in fan fiction, it reveals what is performed as women (Han, 2008). In addition, a male body is completely an empty signifier in idol fan fiction. A male body is able to signify both Top and Bottom which denote masculinity and femininity. Therefore, a male body as an empty signifier decentralizes a male body which has been privileged as masculinity. Han also maintains the assumption of identification. According to Han, women identify themselves in reading and writing fan fictions but identification process does not limited in one position. Women identify themselves with both Top and Bottom and transgress both positions. Han
suggested transgression as "gender trouble (Butler, 1990)" in women's reading and writing fan fiction.

Han deploys arguments in the Butler's theoretical frame of gender trouble, however, the argument of transgression is based on the theoretical error because Han still assumes subject holding identification process. Rejecting the idea of subject as an inner essence governing the performances is a fundamental base in Butler's argument of gender trouble. In spite of the theoretical error in the assumption of subject, Han's argument of male bodies as an empty signifier is estimated to provide new perspective on feminization of male bodies (Bottom) in Korean idol fan fiction.

All the previous researches assume a subject in interrelations to the assumption of identification. Though previous researches seek for resistant and subversive possibilities in women's reading and writing homoerotic fan fiction, they are trapped by heterosexist norms again by assuming subject in the performances of reading, writing and identifying. In other words, previous researches never challenge the assumption of being a woman (subject) in the assumption of subject and identification. Heterosexist norms are highly sustained by women's identification of being a woman. Therefore, seeks for challenges and resistance against heterosexist norms are hard to be completed in the assumption of subject and identification. In the next chapter of theoretical framework, I will give more arguments about subject and identification.

2. Methodology

2.1. Collecting Materials

Korean idol fan fictions were collected from one on-line Korean idol fan fiction community A, from 1st to 14th of February, 2010. There are five different sections in fan communities are closed. They do not want the others (usually they refer them as ‘normal people’ in fan culture) get to know about their "deviant sexual desire" (see Park, 2006). Fan fiction communities are exclusive only to their members. Therefore, they are reluctant to reveal their website and activities of the community in the field where the majority lacks understanding of homoeroticism. Collecting materials were allowed but revealing the name and address of the website was judged undesirable because of the
fiction board: Serial / Short Piece / Delusion / Concluded Serial / Feedbacks. The Members of the community freely upload fan fictions written by themselves in Serial / Short Piece / Delusion sections. When the series are concluded in Serial section, they are moved to the Concluded Serial section by the administrator in a few days. In the collecting process, only short and concluded fan fictions in the Short Piece and the Delusion sections were collected as materials since fan fictions in Serial section are not finished yet. Fifty eight fan fictions in the Short Piece and the Delusion section were randomly collected without any specific criterion during the period from 1st to 14th of February. Since A community is limited to only female members, all the fan fiction materials are supposed to be written by women.

2.2. Methodology: Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Analysis

For methodology, I have chosen political theorists Laclau and Mouffe's discourse analysis. While they vary from theories to theories, competing theories about discourse share the social constructionist perspective in common that there is no objective entity of the world but world is constantly created, constructed and being changed in discourses, the discursive practices. In this perspective, women's reading and writing idol fan fiction is defined as women's discursive practices. In such discursive practices, fans do not just describe the given entity of the world but construct the world. The distinction of Top/Bottom is not a reflection of gays, but it shows how women fans construct gender and sexuality through the category of Top/Bottom in idol fan fiction.

It is worth to scrutinize the ‘Delusion’ section. In Korean language, the community used the term 망상 [Mang-Sang]. In other words, delusion is translated 'irrational fantasies'. Except delusion section, all other fan fiction sections have requirements to be qualified to be published. In general to be published fan fictions should be long and formal enough to be a well made "fiction". The Delusion section is for all the rest of the fictions which fail to meet the requirements of other sections. Most of the pieces published in the Delusion section include intense sexual descriptions. Freed from the requirements to be a formal fiction, more than 50% of pieces do not have a plot but just sexual scenes almost like pornography. Short jokes and anecdotes are also published in this section but few.
Empty Signs

Amongst many methodologies dealing with discourse analysis, Laclau and Mouffe's poststructuralist approach is chosen because they provide a useful guideline to analyze the signification process. Laclau and Mouffe's argument is based on the poststructuralist idea that all linguistic signs get meanings in their relations to other signs. Signs do not have any privileged meanings. Signs are empty themselves and there is no meaning prior to signification. From the poststructuralist perspective, gender and sexuality in idol fan fiction are also empty signs that have no privileged meanings but they are constructed through the different signification of signs in the divided category of Top/Bottom in idol fan fiction.

Nodal Points

Laclau and Mouffe also present a useful notion, *nodal points*, the privileged sign where around the other signs are ordered. (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:112) Gender and sexuality construction can be revealed by studying signification processes of how signs are constructed in mutual relations. Especially, to study how signs are ordered around certain *nodal points* could explain why the distinction of Top/Bottom appears obvious without describing erotic interplay of inserting/being inserted. That *nodal points* order signs means *nodal points* promote articulations of signs. Thus articulations give a unified system of meanings and that helps readers to judge Top and Bottom without describing who is inserting/being inserted.

Focus on the Construction Process

There is no objective entity of the world in the poststructuralist perspective. However, Laclau and Mouffe convince certain meanings get stability across the discourses and some meanings are accepted as objective truth. Thus Laclau and Mouffe's methodology of discourse analysis ultimately aims to reveal how *objective entity* of the world is *constructed* in discourses. Analyzing gender and sexuality construction by Laclau and Mouffe's methodology will reveal how objective entity of gender and sexuality is constructed in fan fiction. My main research question can be re-written in a focus of construction process; how is Top/Bottom categorized and Topped/Bottomed in Korean idol fan fiction?
Permanent Discursive Struggles

When certain signs are signified in a certain discourse, the discourse is temporarily closed. Laclau and Mouffe call it *closure* (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). Since *closure* is merely temporal, the fixation of meanings in *closure* is never permanent. All linguistic signs are empty themselves and they are permanently in the process of signified. Discourses have different fixations of meanings and permanently struggle to win hegemony.

Hegemony

In Laclau and Mouffe's argument, the concept of hegemony plays a central role to explain discursive struggles and social changes. Hegemony, for Laclau and Mouffe, is defined as the dominant group's ideology. Hegemony is often naturalized in discourses so that it seems to be a natural and objective truth. Thus Laclau and Mouffe's discourse analysis focuses on the construction processes to reveal the hegemony of society. In this perspective, analyzing gender and sexuality construction in Korean idol fan fiction uncovers hegemony that seems to be natural and gives stability across the discourses.

Though certain fixations of meanings are naturalized across the discourses, discourses are still in the permanent struggles. In discursive struggles, discourses both sustain and resist hegemony. Laclau and Mouffe stated, however, not everyone can resist hegemony and bring changes. My research focuses on *women* reading and writing homoerotic idol fan fiction and analyzes what possibilities this specific group has to resist hegemony.

Articulation of Methodology and Theoretical Framework

Before the next chapter of theoretical framework, I introduce some articulation points of methodology and theoretical framework. Laclau and Mouffe reject the idea that there is an objective entity of the world. It does not mean physical and social objects do not exist but we only get access them through language in the form of discourse. My research will study how gender and sexuality are constructed in idol fan fiction focusing on the construction of bodies and erotic interplay. Butler argues that there is no pure material body
but we only get access through the (discursive practices of) category of two sexes (Butler, 1993). In studying the construction of gender and sexuality, Laclau and Mouffe's concept of hegemony will articulate Butler's concept of the category of two sexes as compulsory heterosexuality. Laclau and Mouffe's idea of discursive struggles and social changes will be elaborated in Butler's concept of gender parody.

2.3. Analyzing Tools

Since Laclau and Mouffe concentrate more on theoretical framing about discourse, they do not provide many detailed empirical research methods. However, the suggestion of *empty signs constructed in fishing net*⁵ which are ordered around *nodal points* is still enough to provide a useful application.

Extracts⁶

Since Top/Bottom is ultimately distinguished by the performances of inserting/being inserted, the clearest moment of constructing gender and sexuality of Top/Bottom is when the fan fiction is describing erotic interplays between Top/Bottom. Therefore, part of the fan fictions which is giving detailed descriptions about erotic interplays will be extracted for discourse analysis using Laclau and Mouffe's tool. In addition, the reason of extracting descriptions about erotic interplay is also due to the feature of fan fiction, *homoeroticism*. If homoerotic is the most special feature of fan fiction, it must be saying the most about fan fictions' gender and sexuality construction in its most obviously homoerotic moment of describing the bodies and erotic interplay.

Tables

Prior to the discourse analysis, three tables will be presented to open up the readers.

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⁵ The metaphor "fishing net" is suggested by Jørgensen and Louise Phillips (2002:25) to understand and abstract Laclau and Mouffe's idea of the signs that are mutually constructed.

⁶ All the used extracts in the analysis are approved to use by the authors.
First table is for sketching the out-line of the collected fan fictions, especially for those who has never experienced fan fictions to get feeling of what Korean idol fan fictions are like. First table particularly focuses on sexual descriptions. For example, whether the individual fan fiction piece includes erotic interplay or not, how frequently fan fictions describe erotic interplay in average, the number of the people in erotic interplay, contents of erotic interplay, etc.

Then, the second table will provide a practical guideline for "signs". Since it is easy for readers to distinguish Top/Bottom without the description about who is inserting/being inserted, signs play an important role for readers to judge Top/Bottom at a glance. For instance, when the readers see certain signs, they immediately get to know that the body is Top or Bottom. In this system, signs are divided within the category of Top/Bottom and there are frequent signs in each category of Top/Bottom to help the readers to judge Top/Bottom. Certain signs are always placed within the same category with the fixed signification. So Table 2 collected the signs used in fan fictions, verbs, nouns, adjectives and etc, to construct each Top/Bottom's bodies and characteristics.

Lastly, Table 3 will be about erotic interplay in fan fictions based on the fact that Top/Bottom is distinguished by their acts of inserting/being inserted. Inserting is always performed by Top while Bottom always performs being inserted, hence, there would be another acts that are clearly divided in erotic interplay as well. So Table 3 organized all the acts Top/Bottom perform in erotic interplay. This table will be a directed guideline for the one of the research sub-questions how bodies perform differences.

Empty Signs in Fishing Net and Nodal Points

Then the signification process will be analyzed in terms of gender and sexuality construction with four nodal points, "Gaze & Touch", "Violence", "Big Hands", "Hot Spot". Focusing on the idea of fishing net, the analysis will emphasize on the relational constructions of the signs. There is no meaning prior to signification and no sign is signified alone. In the analysis, it will be also focused on that how four nodal points are articulated, thus produce the unified signifying system in fan fiction contributing to clear distinction of Top/Bottom in their gender and sexuality construction.
3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. Definition of Key Notions: Judith Butler's Concepts of Gendered Sex, Sexed Body, Performing Gender and Gender Parody

Gendered Sex

Sex has been taken for granted for a long time while gender has been criticized that gender is culturally constructed and generates unequal power relations. However, Butler argues that not only gender is culturally constructed but also sex is. According to Butler, sex, more precisely, the category of two sexes is already always gendered and taken for granted in prediscursive domain by gender (Butler, 1993:9-10).

Butler rejects the old assumption that sex is bodily given, irreducible matter, while gender is culturally imposed on the given body. For Butler, matter is always materialized in discursive practices (Butler, 1993:9-10). Challenging the phantasmatic status of matter as irreducible given entity, Butler insists the historicity of the matter. The matter is not in a purely prediscursive domain; rather it is "fully sedimented with discourses" (Butler, 1993:29). Arguing the social constructive aspect of the matter in its historicity does not deny the materiality of body but insists "materialization" that "the matter is always materialized" (Butler, 1993:9-10) by signifying acts through discursive practices (Butler, 1993:30).

In Butler's argument, sex is no more pre-given matter but a cultural norm governing the materialization of bodies (Butler, 1993:2-3). The notion of gendered sex reveals both constructed status of sex (matter) and the materializing effect of the social norms. In the extension of Foucault's concept of productive power, Butler states "materiality is the power's most productive effect" (Butler, 1993:2-3).

When the power of materiality such as two sexes operates as a taken-for-granted ontology, the social norms governing materializations are hardly seen. The materialized matter is thought as natural, pre-given like male bodies/female bodies are taken as pre-givens in the category of two sexes. Simply again, sex is not bodily pre-given. Body is sexed through the materialization.

Gendered sex and sexed body will be the key notions of my research in studying
gender and sexuality construction in fan fiction. My research will analyze the extracts with the descriptions of erotic interplays. In my analysis, gender and sexuality construction in fan fiction are basically based on how bodies are constructed differently in divided category of Top/Bottom. In the articulation of Laclau and Mouffe's point of discourse analysis the construction process, Butler's concept of materialization plays a significant role in constructing the things seen as objective entities. Therefore, my research emphasizes on how body, gender, sexuality are "sexed" through materialization in the study of the signification processes of signs.

Gender Performance as the Reiteration of Social Norms

The assumptions of subject and identification have been taken for granted in the discrete construal of gender as culturally constructed and sex as purely prediscursive. In the assumption of subject, if gender is constructed, there must be "I", a subject, doing those constructions. The assumption of subject is supported by the presumption of "inner essence" placing the subject as mind, soul, reason and so-called inner essence in the material pre-given body. In this argument, "inner essence" is the ontological being governing bodily performances.

Butler insists, however, if gender is constructed, what is doing construction is "reiterative performances". Being of gender (gender identity) is not a decision of subject nor performed by subject but gender is an effect of various acts of body. There is no pre-given gender identity without its expressions. Gender identity is constituted by the "expressions, performances that are said to be its results" (Butler, 1990:34). Gender identity is merely reiterated practices which construct the "fantasy of inner essence, interior gendered self" (Butler, 1990:188). The assumption of identification process sustains the fantasy of inner essence and both the fantasy of inner essence and the phantasmatic notion of identification ultimately support the category of two sexes. "Identified" means "being positioned" within (or out of) the category of two sexes. Even if someone identifies oneself out of the category of two sexes, such identifications assume and naturalize the category of two sexes.

Simply, gender is redefined as performance, in which conception "performance" is not just a singular act but "must be understood as the reiterative and citational practices" (Butler, 1993:12) of regulatory sexual regimes. It is not subject performs norms but "subject
only appears within the performances" (Butler, 1993:15). Gender construction is not done by subject, but it is a process of reiterations. Gender performance is the reiteration of social norms, by which reiterated gender construction obtains instability and persistence (Butler, 1993:9). The suggestion of gender construction in my main research question is thoroughly in the Butler's framework of gender as performances; for instance, it is possible to approach the construction of gender by exploring how bodies perform differences in erotic interplays. In addition, my research defines the category of Top/Bottom is a part of gender performances which is reiterated and repeated in every fan fiction reading and writing as a naturalized system like two sexes.

The category of Top/Bottom is citational of heterosexual two sexes as well. According to Butler's concept of gender performance, it is not that subjects (readers and writers of fan fictions) are performing (some fantasies). When Bodies are sexed (or categorized into Top/Bottom in fan fiction), the bodies are subjected to a set of social regulations within the reiterative performances of social norms. The repetition is, Butler insists, at a reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established (Butler, 1990:191). Following study of gender and sexuality construction in idol fan fiction will reveal what social norms are reiterated and reenacted through those constructions.

Gender Parody

The category of Top/Bottom mimics the category of two sexes. Butler argues that heterosexual norms are not only the productive power "but also can and do become a site of parody" (Butler, 1990:169). Butler's concept of gender parody never assumes original. What is parodied in the gender parody is the structure of gender; how it is constructed and reiterated in heterosexual norms. Thus parody is not merely a false replica; rather it reveals the imitative structure of gender itself.

If subject as "inner essence" is rejected, gender identity as interior gendered self is also rejected, then gender appears to be reiterated performances, and gender parody reveals gender performances are permanent imitations without original. If the category of Top/Bottom parodies the category of two sexes, the repetition of heterosexual constructions in the category of Top/Bottom will reveal constructed status of heterosexual original. Therefore, gender parody ultimately confuses, mobilizes and denaturalizes the gendered categories of two sexes (Butler, 1990:43). In a search of challenges of reading and writing
fan fictions, the gender and sexuality construction in the category of Top/Bottom will not be considered as just a false replica but explained in the notion of subversive gender parody.

3.2. Definition of Cyberspace: Re-defining Reality

Since women's reading and writing fan fictions are usually done on-line that has been defined as cyberspace, fan fiction, women's reading and writing homoerotic stories, has been defined as a cyber fantasy which has both resistant and limited aspects. Defining fan fiction as fantasy is highly based on the perception of cyberspace as discrete domain demarcating from so-called real life. Recent theories on defining cyberspace, however, do not grip the strict distinction between cyberspace and real life anymore but destablish the border between. If so, women's reading and writing fan fictions which have been estimated on the distinction of cyberspace from reality can be read from different perspectives as well. This chapter will introduce the meaning of destablishing the border between cyberspace/reality and what perspectives the destablishment could provide to women's reading and writing fan fictions.

Newly Defining Cyberspace: Realizing Fantasy of Reality

Cyberspace has been defined as non-physical space in both of positive/negative ways. No matter it is positive or negative, all the arguments demarcating cyberspace in non-physical domain are sustained by strong restriction of reality. Since reality is perceived as physical, or physical is limited in reality, cyberspace should have been non-physical in the oppositional position to reality. In the postulation of reality as physical sphere, the focus of the arguments always has been on the cyberspace. Recent arguments, however, move the focus from how to define cyberspace to how to define reality. Defining reality denies the phantasmatic status of reality as physical and real entity and reveals its constructed status, particularly in its relations to cyberspace and fantasy.

Real Virtuality (Castells, 1996/2000)

In his argument of real virtuality, Castells argued reality is not an external entity but always experienced and perceived through the symbols that frame practices (Castells,
In his approach, Castells does not deny virtuality in cyberspace; rather he destabilizes reality which has been perceived as opposition to virtual by revealing virtual aspect of reality. According to Castells, virtuality should be considered as the fundamental base of reality rather than the main characteristic of cyberspace.

Being a Cyborg (Haraway, 1991)

Haraway suggests the concept of cyborg, "we are all chimeras, theorized and fabricated hybrids of machine and organism." (Haraway, 1991:150) What is claimed through the concept of cyborg is fluidity in ontology blurring all the distinctions between inside/outside, human/machine, corporeal/spiritual, immutable/constructed, real/cyber, all those reductive binaries. Destablishing reality is more than itself since it symbolizes the destablishment of all the reductive binaries. Therefore, all the arguments around the reality/cyberspace are not merely arguments about reality/cyberspace themselves; rather they are the consideration about the binaries, dualisms and the way of thinking and perceptions which has been limited in such dualisms and binaries.

Online Corporeality (Sundén, 2002)

In the same vein of rethinking reality in destablishing the border between cyberspace/reality, Sundén suggests in her study of Moo7, "online textual embodiment is not limited to one side of the real-virtual divide" but confuses the divide (Sundén, 2002:74). In which confusion, both of online corporeality (Sundén, 2002) and real virtuality (Castells 1996/2000) can be insisted. Sundén's argument about online textual embodiment as online corporeality can be a useful point in approaching the bodies in fan fiction that are also online textual embodiment. Bodies in idol fan fiction have reality, which is the very reason why Korean idol fan fiction has been strongly constraint in the domain of fantasy. My research rejects the divide between the idol stars' real (and corporeal) bodies in reality and the bodies in fan fictions as online non-physical fantasy. My research deploys the arguments in the confusion between reality/fantasy that assumes idol stars' bodies in (so-called) reality is real virtuality and the bodies in fan fictions are not merely fantasy but online corporeality. In

7 Moo is "a text-based online virtual reality system" according to wikipedia(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/MOO)
this approach of destablising reality can reveal the constructed status of the body (in reality) and constructed status of material that support the real entity of body in an effective way.

Permanent Vacillation between Reality/Fantasy

Destablising reality does not mean there is no reality or no fantasy at all; rather it claims the permanent vacillation between reality and fantasy that ultimately reveals the reality's phantasmatic monopoly of materiality. When it is claimed that the on-line bodies are also corporeal, it does not mean the online bodies have real entity but it rethinks what has been accepted as real entity, corporeality and how they have been constructed. In addition, when the fan fictions are taken out of the box of fantasy, which can reveal the reason why it should have been in the domain of fantasy as well. To take it again, starting from the constructed status of reality and releasing fantasy from the restriction will help us to understand how fantasy have been functioning for reality to gain its stable and secured status. The bodies in fan fiction are no more merely fantasy but it will reveal how reality is constructed as a fixed entity.

Reality and Fantasy: Between Sanctioned/Unsanctioned

Fantasy often seems to be a copy of real, especially when the bodies in fan fictions are perceived as fantasy of its real entity. This perception presumes, as Butler said, "the real is prior to fantasy" (Butler, 1990a:185). However, the reality is constituted by excluding fantasy, which means reality does not privilege priority to fantasy. As Castells argues, virtuality is fundamental in reality, Butler also states fantasy is essential to reality (Butler, 1990a:185). Reality never stands alone; rather it is constructed in mutual relations to fantasy by distinguishing itself from fantasy. Again, what are problematized are not fantasy but reality and all the binaries between reality/fantasy governed by social regulations. According to Butler's argument, what demarcate reality from fantasy are social norms (Butler, 1990a). Reality is not a real entity of the world but it is sanctioned by social regulations to be the reality. Likewise, fantasy is not something which is not real but it is something unsanctioned to be real by social regulations. Exploring the bodies in fan fictions, which have been limited in fantasy, thus reveals what is unsanctioned by social regulations. This means, women's reading and writing homoerotic fan fictions in the demarcation of fantasy
practice something unsanctioned in the reality. Therefore, the study of gender and sexuality construction in the fantasy of fan fiction will reveal normative assumptions of gender and sexuality that govern the sanctions between fantasy and reality. In addition, since women's reading and writing fan fictions practice something unsanctioned, the study of gender and sexuality construction in fan fictions will also reveal how women challenge the normative assumptions of gender and sexuality by practicing something unsanctioned in the domain of fantasy.

4. Disposition of the Analysis

I divided my analysis into three chapters. In the chapter five, I will analyze signifying process of the signs in the category of Top/Bottom in an application of Laclau and Mouffe's methodology of discourse analysis. I will introduce three quantitative tables in the beginning of the chapter five in order to open up the readers to draft out Korean idol fan fictions. Then discourse analysis will come up with the extracts.

Theoretical analysis is done in the chapter six. Based on the findings from the discourse analysis in the chapter five, the chapter six deploys the arguments in the Judith Butler's theoretical framework of *gendered sex, sexed body, materialization* and *the gender parody*. This chapter will give detailed answers to the main research question "how gender and sexuality is constructed in the category of Top/Bottom in Korean idol fan fiction".

In the chapter seven, I will analyze both the findings from previous analysis chapters and the phenomenal facts from my past involvement in Korean idol fan fiction culture in a search of the answer to the research question "does the reading and writing idol fan fictions challenge the normative assumptions of gender and sexuality?"

I will conclude my research in the chapter eight. In this chapter, I will give a short summary of the research results.
5. Analysis 1: The Signification of the Signs in the category of Top/Bottom

This chapter studies how gender and sexuality are constructed in the divided category of Top/Bottom in Korean idol fan fiction through how signs are signified. Based on the idea of Laclau and Mouffe, the empty signs in fishing net, this chapter analyzes how empty signs are signified in the relations to other signs. The study focuses on how different signs are placed and signified in different categories and sees how the unified system of meanings is established alongside the division of Top/Bottom.

5.0. Open Up: Tables

I present three quantitative tables in this chapter to give an overview of Korean idol fan fiction. The tables focus on the descriptions of Top, Bottom and erotic interplays and give short overview of popular genres. Some of points found in tables will be utilized in the analyses later.

A. Table 1: Genre and Sexual Descriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Lo</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>Space</th>
<th>Detail</th>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>Note</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Office Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Hotel, Office</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>One night stand</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Ancient Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>School Love</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Classroom</td>
<td>Kiss</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Campus Love</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>1-1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Incest/Ghost</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>Kiss</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Office Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Hotel, Office</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>One night stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Club scenes</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Club, Hotel</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1M-1B</td>
<td>One night stand, Threesome, Easy sex without real intimacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Ancient Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Battle Ground</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>One night stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Daily Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>Kiss</td>
<td>2T-1B</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Daily Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Intercourse, Masturbation</td>
<td>2T-1B</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Ghost Love</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Real Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Warehouse</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Secret relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Daily Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>School Love</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Classroom</td>
<td>Kiss</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Ghost Love</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>1T-1B</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Fantasy</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Campus Love</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2T-1B</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>School Love</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Campus Love</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2T-1B</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Girls Love*</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1-1</td>
<td>Lesbian relationship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1-1</td>
<td>Hetero-relationship***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Real Drama</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Parody of real moment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Real Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Dormitory</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Secret relationship, Rape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Daily Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>Kiss</td>
<td>2T-1B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Real Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Dormitory</td>
<td>Kiss</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Inspired by a real moment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Daily Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Kiss</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Parody of literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Real Drama</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Top character can be anyone***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Without any romance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Pornographic scenes without a plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Hospital Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>2T-1B</td>
<td>Prostitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Gangster, Situation</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Pornographic scenes without a plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Without any romance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Army Story</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Partly parodied movie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>School Drama</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Without any romance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Real, Situation</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Behind the stage</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Pornographic scenes without a plot, Inspired by a real moment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Daily Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>One night stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Imprisonment</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>2T-1B</td>
<td>Imprisoned bottom by top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Billiard Salon</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>2T-1B</td>
<td>Rape, Threesome, Pornographic scenes without a plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Real Drama</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Girls’ Love</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Kiss</td>
<td>1-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Subway, Public Toilet</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Sexual harassment, Rape, Pornographic scenes without a plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Pornographic scenes without a plot, Lascivious drug, Bondage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Athletes Story</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Without any romance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Daily Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Public Toilet in the Pub</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>(2T-1B) Rape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1M-1B</td>
<td>Revenge Rape, Threesome, Pornographic scenes without a plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>School Love</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Include Girls Love* &amp; Hetero-relationship**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Real, Situation</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Dormitory</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Inspired by a real situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Real Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Dormitory</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Inspired by a real moment in TV program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Real Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Dormitory</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Rape, Secret relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Real, Situation</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Toilet behind the stage</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Inspired by a real moment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>One night stand, prostitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Daily Drama</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Daily Drama</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Without any romance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Real, School Love</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Classroom</td>
<td>Skinship</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Hand Fetish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Real, Situation</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Shooting Set</td>
<td>Intercourse</td>
<td>1T-1B</td>
<td>Inspired by a real moment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30
1\(^{st}\) row: The title of each fan fiction is not indicated. They are randomly ordered.

2\(^{nd}\) row: The source of the fan fiction is from the website A. S: Short piece section  D: Delusion section

3\(^{rd}\) row: ‘Genre’, categorized by the categories used in the website A. This kind of category (Real/School Love/Incest/Office) is commonly used amongst fan fiction readers and writers. It proves these kinds of genres have been preferred and repeated for a long time so that they are already settled as ‘typical genres’ in fan fiction culture.

4\(^{th}\) row: Whether the fan fiction includes sexual descriptions or not. Only very detailed descriptions of sexual acts are counted as sexual descriptions. O: Including sexual descriptions  X: No sexual description

5\(^{th}\) row: The place where sexual acts happen

6\(^{th}\) row: The content of the sexual act

7\(^{th}\) row: The number of people involved in a relation. T: Top  B: Bottom  M: Multi (who can perform both inserting and being inserted in erotic interplay)  IT-1B means one Top and one Bottom are involved in a relationship. If the persons involved in sexual acts are not coincident with the persons involved in a relationship, it is indicated in the parentheses additionally. In such cases, the number of persons involved in sexual acts is described in the parentheses.

8\(^{th}\) row: Remarkable notes

*Girls’ Love*
Since the boy-band A dressed up in a high school girl uniform in a TV program, ‘female/female fan fictions’ came popular in their fan fiction communities. Lesbian relationships amongst these ‘A girls’ are also preferred by fan fiction readers and writers. *A is an irrelevant initial.

**Hetero-relationship**
As I introduced, only homosexual fan fictions are allowed in this community. However, there are exceptions for the fan fictions which womanizes the male members. This is called ‘womanization’. Once one member is characterized as a ‘woman’, it is not regarded as prohibited heterosexual fan fiction.

*** Top can be anyone
In this fan fiction, the author mentions the name of Bottom and gives clear descriptions of the Bottom character. However, the author never mentions the name of Top and gives few descriptions of him. At the end of the fan fiction, the author comments “the Top character can be anyone you like, so just imagine who you desire.” This is a rare case in fan fiction culture, who is Top and who is Bottom are usually very clear in fan fictions.

**Point 1. Real Drama**

: 14 articles out of 59 articles were ‘Real Drama’. Most of the Real Drama fan fictions except one fan fiction were posted in Delusion section.

*‘Real Fan Fic’ is a fan fiction completely based on the reality. For instance, boy-band members still play a role as an idol star in real fan fictions and secret love between the members becomes the topic. The writers capture the moments shown on TV program about their real life such as the members holding hands, etc. These actions are used as an important inspiration of reading and writing idol fan fiction. Sometimes, author of real fan fictions provides information to the readers by tagging explanations of the real moment that the fiction is inspired by. If author provided this kind of information, it is remarked in the Note section as ‘Inspired by a real moment’

*In Korea, mostly idol-band consists of same sex members and dwell together in one apartment. They usually share the room which means they are always together 24-hours. Since idol stars are young teenagers, entertainment company want to control them by putting them into one place, moreover this also can save the time when they have to work. The fact that they live together attracts fans to imagine their private life and secret love between the members. To take an example, the most frequently repeated scene in ‘Real Fan Fic’ is two members having sex deep in the night in the apartment while other members are asleep.

*‘Real Drama’ will be one of critical points in my analysis later. Remind almost every real fan fiction is published in the Delusion(망상[Mang-sang]) section. The term 망상 is also translated ‘irrational fantasies’.
Thus real fan fiction is almost equated with irrational fantasies. This point will give a direction to study fantasy in a relation to reality.

Point 2. Intercourse
: 29 out of 38 fan fictions including sexual descriptions describe intercourse in details.

* In the community A, fan fictions not including detailed sexual descriptions are called "impotence". "Impotence" is a joke revealing that sexual descriptions are essential in reading and writing idol fan fictions. Fan fictions not including sexual descriptions are still read and readers give feedbacks to the author "please complete the story until they bed in and do intercourse!" Fan fictions not including detailed sexual descriptions still have a lot of indications of the main characters' erotic interplay. In some way, "impotence" means to the authors "they want to give detailed descriptions of erotic interplay but they are not able to".

* Intercourse is described as the climax in fan fictions. I will give extracts to show this point clearly in the chapter of discourse analysis. If it is more than kissing, sexual descriptions must reach an intercourse. If not, the fan fiction (and the author of the fan fiction) is "impotence" and the erotic interplay is regarded 'not completed yet'. So readers want the authors to 'complete' the story. What contents erotic interplay includes is one of the critical points. Especially the presentation of intercourse as the climax of sex will also be the significant analytical point in the analyses.

Point 3. Rape
: 5 out of 38 fan fictions including detailed sexual descriptions are rape cases.

*Rape is never described in a sense of crime. Rape is regarded as early stage of love in these fan fictions. These rape cases will be analyzed in the nodal point "violence" later in this chapter. Rape case will reveal how violence is rationalized in erotic interplays and how violence settles down unequal power relation between Top and Bottom

B. Table 2: The Signs used in the Construction of Top/Bottom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Top-Appearance</th>
<th>Bottom-Appearance</th>
<th>Top-Character</th>
<th>Bottom-Character</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sly</td>
<td>Cold-hearted but naive, pure, Cute, Clumsy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Slender, Weak, Smiling face,</td>
<td>Reliable, Silent,</td>
<td>Calm, Cannot get along</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thoughtful and Kind, Manly, Leading, Problem-solving</td>
<td>with other guys, Not like average men, Mildly speaking, crybaby, Womanlike, Obedient, low appetite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bright Skin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Girlish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Smiling face</td>
<td>Social, Cheerful</td>
<td>Kind, Meek, affable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Neat, Handsome</td>
<td>Gentle, Kind, Mild</td>
<td></td>
<td>Crybaby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cute, Tidy, Innocent-looking,</td>
<td>Aggressive</td>
<td>Naive, Passive, Obedient</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Smiling face, Bright skin, Thin, Feeble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Handsome, Low voice, Tall</td>
<td>Continent-looking, Delicious-looking, Favorable impression, Tidy, Slender, Bright skin</td>
<td>Strong desire to possess, Violent</td>
<td>Trustful, Meek,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Pretty</td>
<td>Naive, popular</td>
<td>Foxy, Picky</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Pretty</td>
<td>Naive, popular</td>
<td>Foxy, Picky, Liberal</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Devoted, Reliable, Manly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Tall, Tanned, Handsome</td>
<td>Shorter than Top, Slender, Bright skin, Womanlike pretty</td>
<td>Silent, Tacit, Reliable, Fragile, Easily get tempered, Instable, Jealous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Tall, Strong</td>
<td>Undersized, Skinny, Weak</td>
<td>Reliable, Smart, Stable, Manly, Sensitive, Gloomy, Instable, Crybaby</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Social, naughty</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lonely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Devoted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Big hands, Muscled</td>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Controllable, Curious, Leading, Grown-up, Outsider, Mysterious</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Low voice</td>
<td>Bright Skin, Skinny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Tall, Muscled</td>
<td>Pretty, Cute</td>
<td>Girlish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Physically superior than Bottom</td>
<td>Weak, Thin, Tidy</td>
<td>Strong desire to possess Bottom, Jealous, Violent, Weak, Meek, Crybaby, Low appetite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Lovely, Cute, Soft-looking</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Meek, Mild, Clumsy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Tall, Strong</td>
<td>Bright skin, Slender, Skinny, Glamorous butt</td>
<td>Aggressive, Violent, Childish, Selfish, Crybaby</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Muscled, Strong</td>
<td>Smiling face, Slender, Cute lips, Slim Waist, tidy</td>
<td>Arrogant, Selfish, Confident Womanizer, Meek, Pure, Obedient, Affable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Tall, Muscled, Strong</td>
<td>Slender, Shorter than Top</td>
<td>Manly, Energetic, Shopaholic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Tall, Big hands</td>
<td>Bright Skin, Thin, Light, tidy, pink nipple</td>
<td>Reliable, Silent, Manly, Talkative, Naive, Cute, Lovely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Tall, Strong</td>
<td>Bright Skin, Pretty</td>
<td>Aggressive, Violent, Girlish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Ugly</td>
<td>Pretty, Slender</td>
<td>Foxy, Femme-fatal, Narcissist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td>Weak, Skinny, Bright Skin, Glamorous butt</td>
<td>Independent, Narcissist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Tall, Strong, Muscled</td>
<td>Weak, Skinny</td>
<td>Extremely Dependent, Fragile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Tall, Strong</td>
<td>Bright Skin, Pretty, Weak</td>
<td>Aggressive, Violent, Crybaby, Dependent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Tall, Strong, Handsome, Big hands, Good body shape</td>
<td>Bright Skin, Thin, Slender</td>
<td>Aggressive, Violent, Perver, Obedient, Passive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Neat, Strong</td>
<td>Weak, Rose like cheeks, Slender, Adorable face</td>
<td>Problem-solving, Reliable, Leading, Crybaby, Dependent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Girlish, Gay-like, Baby Skin</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aggressive, Shy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Point 1.

: Different signs are used in each category of Top and Bottom. Overlap of the signs for these two categories are rarely done. This point will be analyzed later in this chapter by using extracts. That signs for Top and signs for Bottom are barely overlapped is essential in constructing the unified system of meanings in the category of Top/Bottom.

1.1. Signs used in the bodily construction of Top

: Neat, Handsome, Tall, Strong, Muscled, Physically superior than the Bottom, Big and strong hands, Tanned skin, Low Voice, Good body shape, Expressionless face, Puppy-like face

Amongst the signs, Tall (13), Strong (12), Muscled (5), Big hands (4), Handsome (3) are appeared to be popular.

1.2. Signs used in the bodily construction of Bottom


Amongst the signs, Bright skin (15), Weak (13), Slender (11), Pretty (8), Smiling face (7), Skinny (7), Thin (5), Tidy (5) are appeared to be popular.

*Characteristics above are extracted from the adjectives and verbs used in the fan fictions.*
1.3. Signs used in describing the characteristics of the Top

- Aggressive, Violent, Leading, Smart, Problem-solving, Energetic, Precocious, Grown-up, Reliable, Manly, Controllable, Skillful, Kind but Oppressive, Impassive, Conqueror, Confident, Sociable, Sunny, Popular, Preventive, Silent, Curious, Stubborn, Devoted, Jealous, Arrogant, Womanizer, Curious, Stable, Naughty, Sly, Thoughtfully kind, Gentle, Cheerful, Kind, Mild, Naive

Amongst the characteristics, Leading (10), Aggressive (8), Manly (8), Violent (7), Sociable (5) are appeared to be popular.

1.4 Signs used in describing the characteristics of Bottom

- Mild, Naive, Meek, Soft, Cute, Clumsy, Crybaby, Dependent, Childish, Independent, Kind, Tidy, Affable, Obedient, Timid, Neat, Fragile, Extremely dependent, Passive, Foxy, Narcissist, Femme-fatal, Girlish, Talkative, Lovely, Weak, Pure, Selfish, Picky, Low appetite, Cold-hearted, Mysterious, Outsider, Sensitive, Gloomy, Instable, Lonely, Jealous, Easily gets tempered, Trustful, Liberal, Mildly-speaking, Womanlike, Calm, Cannot get along with other guys, Not like an average men

Amongst characteristics, Meek (10), Crybaby (8), Obedient (7), Naive (6), Dependent (5) are found to be popular.

Point2.

- More signs are used in the bodily construction of the Bottom than the Top's bodily construction. This will be the point leading the analysis in the chapter two. In the chapter three, this will be the critical point again in analyzing how the unified system of meanings establishes unequal power relations in the category of Top/Bottom.

C. Table 3: The Pattern of Erotic interplay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First the Top appeals his desire</td>
<td>(Bottom resists)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Top keeps appealing with actions)</td>
<td>Bottom accepts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top pets Bottom's body</td>
<td>Top inserts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottom feels pain</td>
<td>Top finds Bottom's &quot;Hot Spot&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top gives Bottom orgasm by stimulating Hot Spot, then the pain goes away.</td>
<td>(Top holds Bottom's seminal emission, Bottom begs to Top to come)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Bottom ejaculates first)</td>
<td>Sex ends with seminal emission of Top (or both)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*38 Fan fictions with descriptions about erotic interplay are analyzed to find repeated patterns. Each
description is analyzed by sequential order. All the sample fan fictions use sequential order to describe erotic interplay. This helps to construct 'intercourse' as the climax of erotic interplay.

From the next chapter, I will analyze how signs are signified in Korean idol fan fiction by using extracts including sexual descriptions. To explore signifying process, discourse analysis is conducted in accompany with following four nodal points - Gaze, Violence, Big hands, Hot Spot. The analysis will focus on how nodal points work for empty signs to give them meanings and finally establish the unified system of meanings. Therefore, how these nodal points articulate will be one of the critical points in my analysis. To study how signs are signified will reveal how gender and sexuality are constructed through those significations.

5.1. Nodal Point 1: Gaze & Touch

This chapter suggests the first nodal points "Gaze and Touch". The analysis mainly deals with the articulation of nodal points "Gaze" and "Touch" and studies how signs are ordered around these articulated nodal points. Studying the articulation of nodal points will reveal how the unified system of meanings is established through the articulations.

A. Gazing Bottom's Body: Bottom's Body as a Sexual Object

The Table 2 shows more than the doubled numbers of signs are used for the construction of Bottom's body than Top's body. In Korean idol fan fictions, Bottom's body tends to be described by Top's "Gaze" while Top's body is not. The following short extract presents how the Top’s "Gaze" works in sexual descriptions.

…….Greedy fingers explore every inch of L’s trembling body. C’s touch on L’s delicate backbone makes L breathe with gasps. ‘Damn crazy.’ C got excited having lustful breath……
…… (Omission)
C got his beautiful neck in his lips. C gazes L’s body shuddering by his caress, moving down his lips from L’s bright skin in his neck. When his teeth bite L’s nipples they are erected by C's petting. L's Adam's apple moves gulping back his lust. Suddenly, C got curious to see L’s face, what feeling he got in his face by stimulus given by him. Touching L’s belly with tenderness, C gazes at L gasping. L seems to be shy by C gazing his naked body. Soon, L covers up his body with his clothes to hide himself from C's gaze.
"No, don't do that. You look so good."
"......"

L just turns his flushed face from C's gaze.

Extracted from the sample No.6, translated from Korean into English

The scene is completely constructed through C's gaze, who is identified as Top by inserting later in this fan fiction. The body of L, identified as Bottom, the inserted, is constructed with many other signs around its nodal point "Gaze" such as "delicate back bone", "beautiful neck", "nipples erected by petting", "bright skin", "Adam's apple moving with gulping back lust", "flushed face by gaze" while Top's body is constructed with his "greedy fingers", "lips" and "teeth" that give petting on Bottom's body. The signs constructing Bottom's body and those of Top's body are getting meanings in the interrelation around gaze. The signs such as "delicate back bone", "beautiful neck", "nipples" and "bright skin" signify Bottom's body as "sexual object" gazed by who inserts and touches, the Top's greedy fingers, lips and teeth. When Bottom's body is signified as "sexual object", the signification of "sexual object" also contributes to establishing causality between "gazed" and "touched". If something is gazed, touch always follows on where the gaze is reached.

As Laclau and Mouffe's methodology insists, these signs temporarily get meanings in the fan fiction. If they are in medical discourse, these signs may not mean sexual object, for example the sign delicate back bone may be filled with different meaning of object needs medical treatments. However, the signs constructing Bottom's body are temporarily closed within the fan fiction getting meaning by the gaze of the Top and the readers of the fan fiction. Gaze signifies the Bottom’s body as a sexual object that is being gazed and touched. What draws attention in this extract is that the gaze reaches every inch of the Bottom's body but never the penis in the signification of Bottom's body as a sexual object.

B. Unequal Gaze between Top/Bottom: Top Gazes, Bottom should be Gazed

The other point is that only Bottom's body is naked while there is no clue about whether the Top is naked, half naked or dressed. Only Bottom's Body is 'fully' gazed and touched in every inch. At the end of the extract above, the Bottom feels shy so he tries to avoid Top's gaze. However, the Top justifies his gaze because the Bottom's body is beautiful, deserves to be gazed.

Fan fictions always need more signs to construct Bottom's body in order to explain
the beautiful and attractive appearance of Bottom which make them deserve to be gazed and touched by Top. Although both Top and Bottom have the male body, they are constructed in completely different ways with different signs. In different constructions, gaze works as a critical nodal point. The sign 'gaze' is always constituted in dichotomized relation of gaze and gazed. Gaze finally gets meanings because someone is being gazed. Gaze is unequal between Top and Bottom. If one gazes, there must be an object which should be gazed. In the extract above, while Top gazes Bottom’s body, Bottom does not do anything on Top's body. He just turns his face from Top's gaze. Bottom never takes an initiative of gazing Top's body.

C. The Construction of Masculinity/Femininity: Through the Binary of Gaze/Gazed

"We... Well, you know, I'm not that kind of person."
"What kind of person?"

Well, J got a bit shrunk. When the call-girl opened the door, he was overwhelmed. He didn’t doubt that the call-girl is not supposed to be a woman. When J looked at the face of the call-girl, he just found out it is a man. J got angry. However, the man came over with no hesitation and softly smiled at him without any sense of incompatibility. He seemed to be very experienced with this kind of situation. His smile, indeed, gave J a chill. Even though he is a man, he really turned J on. He kept his nasty smile, taking off his jacket. All the motions he took seduced J. “Oh, but he is not a woman...” J got confused.

Extracted from the sample No.30 translated from Korean into English

In this fan fiction, the story takes place in a hospital, J, a raffish patient who considers himself heterosexual asked his doctor to bring a call-girl for him. The doctor brings the male prostitute in order to make him flustered. In the scene presented above, the male prostitute (the Bottom) is constructed as "sexual object" in J's gaze. In this construction, the nodal point "Gaze" gives the meaning of seducing to the signifier "soft smile". As the Table 2 shows, "smiling face" is one of the frequently used signs to construct the Bottom' body. When the sign "smiling" is signified around the nodal point "gaze", it gets filled with the meaning of "acceptance". While J gazes at him cautiously, the prostitute kept smiling at him. The "smiling" here is interpreted as "seducing" by J. The sign "seducing" clarifies the sign "smiling" with the meaning of acceptance. What acceptance ultimately means is "acceptance of being inserted" in erotic interplay.

Even though J found the male prostitute is seducing him, he hesitates because the Bottom is not a woman. J got confused because his object to insert should be a woman.
Table 2 shows the signs such as "womanlike" and "girlish" are frequently used in the construction of Bottom. Bottom is often constructed with the comparison to women. In such constructions, it attempts to describe "how feminine enough the Bottom is" which makes him attractive enough to be inserted by someone. In the comparison, the established heterosexist signification of woman as a sexual object is parodied and re-established. In the parody, however, what are parodied through Bottom are not woman but the causality that sexual object should be gazed and touched. Therefore this parody is much more than merely "feminization of the Bottom" as it is often derided. Fan fiction does not borrow femininity from women's body. The signs "women" and "women's body" do not privilege any femininity. In women's reading and writing fan fictions, they reconstruct and sustain what femininity is and should be through the Bottom's body.

The story continues with more elaborations.

"You really want me to put off my clothes by myself?"

He helps J's hands put off his shirt. Soon, he got half naked. His skinny torso was revealed. Slick neck drawn from the ear, neat lined shoulder and slender waist look so beautiful to J. Unconsciously, J stretched his hand toward his waist. Shit, fucking hot. Slowly, he took J's right hand and let it touch his cheek. J moved his gaze to his face from the waist. In J's gaze, he licks his own juicy lips. J's mouth kept watering. Oh... it would be ok, though he is not a woman... J thinks.

*Extracted from the sample No.30 translated from Korean into English*

While the Bottom puts off his clothes, his body is fully gazed by the Top. The signs "slick neck", "neat lined shoulder", "slender waist", "juicy lips" construct the Bottom's body as a sexual object in the Top's gaze who is going to touch and insert into the Bottom's body. The sign "unconsciously" fixes the link between gaze and touch in construction of Bottom's body as a sexual object to be gazed and then touched. In this story, Bottom's body is constantly examined in comparison with women's body in J's gaze, which is always together with writer and readers' gaze as well. Finally J decides to insert into the Bottom's body, though he is not a woman. Sexual object should be a woman to him, but all the signs constructing the Bottom's body in the story describe he (the prostitute) is as hot as a woman. In this extract, the Bottom's body is never perceived by itself but constructed in the relation to women's body. In the comparison to women, Bottom's body is examined by the Top's gaze whether the body is placed in the category of femininity or not. In this process, all the signs used in the extract such as "slick neck", "neat lined shoulder", "slender waist" and "juicy lips" are getting meaning of femininity when they are used in the construction of Bottom's body as
a sexual object. The sign "femininity" does not have any pre-given meanings itself but it is permanently being constructed. Signifying process not only repeats the meanings which are already socially established but also reproduces and maintains the meanings.

The following is another extract using the comparison to distinguish Top/Bottom.

T's heart is fluttered with his strong triceps in his arms hugging him from the back. He got excited, though he is a man, but as he were a woman.

……. (Omission)
Most of all, T has beautiful appearance in J's standard of beauty. He does not have any body odor, not like common males out there, no bad natured characteristic of adolescent boys, not like the other average teenager boys. He is a meek beautiful boy. His beauty really turns J on.

Extracted from the sample No.30 translated from Korean into English

When the "beauty" is constructed in J's sense, the signs signified as beauty are "no body odor", "no bad natured" and "meek". These signs get meanings not by themselves but in the comparison to other common average aspects of males. When the sign "beauty" is fixed with meanings, "femininity" is also fixed and alienated from common male's characteristics. In addition, the sign beauty is also constructed in the relation with the sign "turn on" which means desire. J is signified as Top with his desire to beauty. The final destination of his (Top's) desire is "inserting". Thus the sign "beauty" gives causality between "gaze" and "touch" in this extract as well.

In addition, Top and Bottom find their desire in different ways in this extract. The Top's "strong triceps" is the central sign to construct Bottom's desire. Whereas, "no body odor", "no bad natured", "meek" and "beautiful" are the central signs constructing Top's desire. When the signs "no body odor", "no bad natured", "meek" and "beautiful" signified as "femininity", the sign "strong triceps" is signified as "masculinity" in mutual relations. When the signs are signified as masculinity and femininity in mutual relations, "desire" is signified as "heterosexual". The Bottom desires Top's triceps as he is a woman, while Top feels Bottom's beauty in his distance from the average males. When Top is signified as "masculine" and Bottom is signified as "feminine", the constructions are always happened in the comparisons to men and women. The comparison establishes oppositional desire in Top/Bottom which sustains heterosexuality in desire. The signs "men" and "women" do not have any pre-given meanings but they are also (re)signified as masculinity and femininity in the signification of Top/Bottom as masculinity/femininity.

Following extract also presents a case of the construction of femininity/masculinity in divide categories.
"Sometimes I doubted that you are not a man... Such slender waist that I can even hold it in my one arm, meek-spoken, you are not like other men here... Your beautiful face... I even doubted that you are not a woman."

I got quailed at his lustful words. However, J cannot dare him. J closed his eyes. His hands, suddenly, came into J’s clothes and touched the bare breast inside.

"No... you don't have anything here..."

His dirty words and lustful hands made J nearly cry, but J strove to hold tears. Though he is a servant, treated badly, J does not want to show him cry. He desperately holds back the tears.

"Come to my place tonight. Do not let the others know that you're coming."

In this extract, the signs, "slender waist", "meek-spoken", "beautiful face" and "breast" get meanings of women's characteristics. Around the other sign "lustful", these signs are also filled with the meaning of a sexual object. When the Bottom's body is constructed as a sexual object in Top's gaze, signs constructing Bottom's body are in the comparison to women's body. The Bottom is not like other men. The Bottom's body which is not like other men makes a clear demarcation between femininity and masculinity and establishes continuity between men - masculinity / women - femininity. The Bottom is signified as femininity because he is not like other men. When Top and Bottom are signified masculinity and femininity, the signification also establishes oppositional relations between not only masculinity/femininity but also men/women.

D. The Fan fiction Gaze: The Gaze on Femininity of the Male Body operated by Women

According to Mulvey (Mulvey, 1989), who contrived the concept of the male gaze in her study of classical cinematic texts, male is always positioned to gaze, while women are positioned to be gazed. Therefore, gaze is fundamentally based on inequality between the gaze and the gazed. Since it is always male who is positioned to gaze, gaze empowers men in unequal power relation. For Mulvey, gaze is gendered, in which the pleasure of looking is always for active male spectators who gaze while female is signified as passive "to-be-looked-at-ness" in the position of gazed (Mulvey, 1989:25). Mulvey also argued the male gaze is sadism generating masochism of accepting in the gazed (Mulvey, 1989:14).
The fan fiction gaze seems to repeat the Mulvey's concept of the male gaze. However, the fan fiction gaze is not merely a repetition of established gendered gaze. When the Bottom's body is gazed, the body is signified as femininity, what Mulvey calls "to-be-looked-at-ness". It can be estimated that the fan fiction gaze practices established meaning of "the gazed" as "femininity". However, though it is signified as femininity, Bottom's body is still physically a male body.

The fan fiction gaze can be explained as the gaze on male bodies operated by women. Since it is operated by women, the fan fiction gaze is not the male gaze but nor the female gaze (Stacey, 1994). Stacey, an expert of cinematic text, claimed that the female gaze is operated by female spectators on the female stars to seek for an idealized and desirable image of femininity (Stacey, 1994:114). Though Stacey focused on female spectators, her argument still assumes heterosexuality. Women never challenge being a woman but seek for ideal image of women through female stars. Female body is always assumed to be a woman who has femininity in Stacey's argument. Previous arguments of gaze assume the continuity between female, women and femininity.

The fan fiction gaze gazes at femininity; however, it is signified through male bodies. Therefore the fan fiction gaze destablishes "gendered gaze"; the fan fiction gaze deprivileges the signifier gaze which has been signified as male gaze and heterosexual. The fan fiction gaze is also the process of deprivileging the signifier "male body". The Bottom's body is gazed, thus signified as femininity. In which signification, the Bottom's body signified as femininity destablishes the privileged signification of male body as masculinity.

5.2. Nodal Point 2: Violence

Gaze never appears equally between Top and Bottom. If one gaze, there must be an object being gazed. The gazed cannot gaze. Gaze completes by the gazed who is not able

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8 Han's interview (Han, 2008) presents the point that her interviewees emphasized their awareness of Bottom’s body that it is still a male even though it is (so-called) feminized. The immutable maleness of Bottom's body then comes to the real fun and excitement for fan fiction readers and writers. Even though they repeat unequal gender relation through Top and Bottom, it is not female body but male body that is subordinated. Since the Bottom is still "a male", women fan fiction readers and writers can be unaware about the inequality imposed on female’s body. (Han, 2008:114-129)
to gaze. In other words, the sign "gaze" is getting meaning through the binary of gaze/gazed. This chapter presents the other nodal point "Violence", in an exploration of how the previous nodal point "Gaze and Touch" articulates another nodal point "Violence".

A. The Gazed should be Touched: Legitimizing Violence

I'm looking at his head moving between my legs. It's so excited that he can't look straight at me but tries to read my face diffidently. This excitement is even more than the excitement given by his oral sex. Whenever he cannot look straight into my eyes, I feel that it is an implied consent to conquer him. Definitely, he is afraid of me.

Extracted from the sample No. 50, translated Korean into English

This extract provides the gateway of showing how the nodal point "gaze" articulates another nodal point "violence" through the sign "conquer". The sign "gaze" gets its meaning with its oppositional sign "gazed". Continuously, this extract provides more obvious and clearer evidences about how "gaze" gets its meaning in oppositional constructions. Related to the sign "conquer", "desire" and "excitement", "gaze" gets meaning of "conqueror's", which fixation is finally completed by "the gazed" who does not have an equal power to gaze at who gazes. By the sign "consent", "gaze" gets meaning of "conqueror's confirmation over the conquered". In the binary of gaze/gazed, gaze is always conqueror's, while the conquered is confirmed to be conquered because of his inability to gaze. All the binaries of gaze/gazed and conquer/conquered contribute to the construction of the binary of masculinity/femininity as well.

When the four signs of "gaze", "gazed", "conquer", "conquered" are hooked in a signifying net altogether, gaze, conquer / gazed, conquered build oppositional constructions in the category of Top/Bottom, in which masculinity/femininity get meanings within these constructions as well. Hereupon, "conquer" which is placed in the same category with masculinity opens up the possibility to confer the "violence" upon a Top.

The story continues,

Jeering at him, looking straight at his eyes, I said.

"If you disobey me, I will beat you down."

Everything is frozen a moment. His body got stiffened. I brought my mouth closer to his ear.
"You know, I can even kill you."

...... (Omission)

I got in his body. Thin undersized body trembled. I don't like that he turn's his face away from my eyes.

"Look at me."

I forced him to look at me by grabbing his chin. My fingers reach his lips. I put my fingers in his mouth but he cannot dare to take any action.

**Extracted from the sample No.50 translated from Korean into English**

This extract shows how the nodal point "violence" is legitimized when the signs gaze/gazed and touch/touched are articulated. In the articulation of two previous nodal points gaze/gazed and touch/touched, the strong tie between gazed/touched allows "violence" to get in. It does not depend on Bottom’s will. If the Bottom’s body is gazed, “touched” should be followed. This articulation allows the domain of legitimization for violence to get in the category of Top (masculinity). As Mulvey (1989) insists, sadism is a conspicuous characteristic of the male gaze, which is also because of the strong tie between gaze and touch / gazed and touched.

B. Violence: Clarifying the Binaries

His gagged mouth even cannot spit a word of curse. Just groaning, he covers his face with his bound hands. L immediately takes away his hands.

"Look at me."

"…Woop……"

"Look at me. Look who is raping you. I'm teaching you, thief. It sucks? Don't forget that feeling. When you desire other's possession, you will be punished like this."

**Extracted from the sample No.46 translated from Korean into English**

This revenge rape story shows how "violence" works when two gazes collide. In this extract, L rapes "him" because he raped L’s boyfriend K. (I will call persons involved in this revenge rape event, "L", "K" and "the raper("him")" from now on.) In the revenge of his boyfriend (K who is the Bottom), L rapes the raper whose identity is Top.

The presumption of immutable identity is found obviously through how different the raper reacts when he is raped. Even though he is placed in the bottom, the raper's identity is still Top. Firstly, this raper rejects to be gazed. Even though his hands are bound, the raper
takes action with his hands to cover up his own eyes. This is quite different reaction of other Bottom's reactions; for example, getting flushed, just turning the face and closing eyes as in the previous extracts. Since he is a Top, he is not supposed to be gazed. Therefore, the raper takes positive actions not to be gazed. As the gazed refused to be gazed, the binary of gaze/gazed are weaken at the moment. However, in the next scene, "violence" clarifies the binary again. L (the Top) forces the raper to look at him. When the raper looks at L by force, it finally confirms L's gaze. The raper is forced to confirm that he is gazed and conquered. "Violence" is a significant nodal point clarifying the binaries. Especially when the binaries are blurred, "violence" can truly function. "Violence" is also the criterion of the eligibility to be a Top. When "violence" clarifies the binaries, it also establishes unequal power relations between the binaries. At the moment of deciding the hierarchy of two Tops, "violence" becomes the ultimate ranking criteria. "Violence" establishes unequal power relations and the most powerful one is eligible to be a Top.

In this extract, the avenger is not K (the victim) who is Bottom, but L (K's boyfriend) who is Top. Focus on that L (the Top) calls the raper a 'thief'. Around the sign "thief", "possession" and "punishment", the sign "rape" gets filled with the meaning of "stealing". The signification of "rape" as "stealing" presumes the signification of "insert" as "possess" (for Top; For Bottom "being inserted" is signified as "being possessed").

In order to conquer the raper's body (whose identity is still Top) L gags the mouth and shackles the hands of the raper. Gagged mouth and shackled hands make the raper unable "to be a Top". The raper's gagged mouth and shackled hands reveal that hands and the mouth are the essence of the Top in the symbolic construction of his body. The raper is deprived of being a Top by his gagged mouth, which uncovers the Bottom's body of naturally gagged mouth. Bottom's mouth is unspeakable in his nature. In the construction of Bottom's body as "unspeakable", "unspeakable" also signify "femininity". In this extract, since the raper's mouth is gagged, he cannot refuse L's order to look at him. This shows how the binary of order/ordered is established in the category of Top/Bottom (and also masculinity/femininity). Top's mouth orders while Bottom's mouth is unspeakable but just an adorable sexual object. The oppositional construction of Top/Bottom's mouth clarifies the binary of order/ordered and establishes unequal power relations between order/ordered.
C. Revenge Rape: Deprivileging the Signifier "Rape" and "Male Body"

No Extenuation, No Ethic: Rape Deserves Full-scale Revenge

In this revenge rape story, "rape" is again chosen as a mean of revenging the rape happened before. No extenuation is involved, no ethics is concerned. Rape is a proper punishment that fits the crime, rape. Clover argued in her study on slasher and horror films that revenge rape story claims "rape deserves full-scale-revenge" (Clover, 1992:138). According to Clover, the outrage that justifies revenge changes the characteristic of rape from "the justifiable male-centered event to unjustifiable female-centered one" (Clover, 1992:140). Thus the extracted revenge rape story, as a whole, re-signifies the rape as the unjustifiable event deserves full-scale-revenge.

Rapable Top's Body: Deprivileging the Signifier Rape and Male Body

In this extract, the raper keeps his status of Top even though he is being raped. So here the revenge rape case presents "the rapable Top's body" which is signified as masculinity equated with men in the category of two sexes. Top and Bottom are equally endowed in their bodily orifices and Top's body is also rapable in the exactly the same way as the Bottom. Thus "the rapable Top's body" deprivileges the signifier "male body". The signifier "male body" is deprived of privileged meaning of "unrapable". In the construction of gendered rape, rape always happens in women's bodies. Thus "being raped" is signified as femininity. In mutual relations, "being raped" denotes "femininity" and "unrapable" male body denotes "masculinity". Presenting the rapable Top's body is a part of the process of destablishing the gendered rape; it deprivileges "the quintessential femininity of being raped"(Clover, 1992:159) and deprives of privileged masculinity (of unrapable) from male bodies. In short, this revenge rape case deprivileges both signifiers "rape" and "male body".

"The hands" which are bound to deprive of the very essence of Top's body in the revenge rape case above will be the next subject of the following chapter.
5.3. Nodal Point 3: Big Hand

"Big Hand" is another critical nodal point which performs simultaneous functions in the construction of Top's body. Big hand grabbing Bottom's body becomes a great bodily attraction which even legitimizes violence. At the same time, Top's hands grabbing Bottom's body is the symbol of mastery over the Bottom's body. Above all, the "big hand" is the significant nodal point that articulates the previous nodal points, "Gaze", "Touch" and "Violence" in an effective way.

A. Top's Big Hand: Touching Grabbing and Possessing

In the following extract of the revenge rape story wherein the three characters, the raper 'J', 'L' and L's raped Bottom boyfriend 'K', are all engaged, the different construction of the Top and Bottom's hands are shown.

J looks at K's pale hands, which grab J's shoulder. Whenever he is pushed by intercourse given by L from his back, K's feeble hands slip off from where they grip on. J feels weird. He is raped but excited by looking at K who is shaken by L's intercourse. Unconsciously, J moves his waist. Even though he is raped, when he gazes at K's shaken body, it feels like he is fucking K. Shit, I don't mind anymore that I am being raped……

…… (Omission)

When L found J looking at K, he grabbed K's chin and deeply kissed him on lips. He calmed down gasping and looked down at J. He strained K's waist closer to him with his hands and said,

"Fuck your eyes off, bitch."

Extracted from the sample No.46 translated from Korean into English

The extract presents three analytical points. Firstly, it is obvious that different signs are used respectively in the construction of Top and Bottom's hands. The construction of Bottom's hands utilizes the signs such as "paled" and "feeble". The construction of Top's hands is simply symbolized through its acts "grab" and "strain". When the signs "grab" and "strain" are articulated the nodal point "hands", the signs get the meaning of possession. In the signification, the sign "kiss" is also signified as "confirming the possession". The signification of "kiss" as "confirming the possession" functions when the (Top's) possession is threatened by (another Top's) "gaze". "Gaze" is never discrete from "possess". If one
gaze, he will touch and finally possess the object by inserting. While the Top's hands "grab" and "strain" Bottom's body, Bottom's "feeble" and "paled" hands "slip off" from where he grabs on. The fixation of meaning "possess" of the signs "grab" and "strain" are secured in the domain of masculinity when it is opposed to the sign "slip off" of the Bottom's hands. Here, the sign "hands" gets the meanings of both "possess" and "possessable" which are also secured through the construction of Bottom's hands as "unable to possess". When the signs "feeble" and "paled" are used for Bottom's hands, they get the meaning of physically inferior in its relation to Top's hands which are physically superior due to its ability to "strain" and "grab". Then, everything comes clear in the divided category from the different hands. Top is able to possess, masculine and physically superior while Bottom is not able to possess, feminine, and physically inferior. In the different significations of Top/Bottom's hands, "possess" becomes a physical matter. Only the one with physical superiority can possess the inferior. Physical superiority is an essential condition to possess.

In the triangle relationship of one Top, one Bottom, and one Top who is temporarily deprived of his ability to be a Top with gagged mouth and bound hands, J's gaze suggests an important point. In this rape story, it is L (Top) instead of his victim boyfriend K (Bottom) who plans and executes the revenge. For L, "revenge" is for the vengeance of "infringement of possession". Hereupon, the design of inserting/being inserted made by L as a mean of revenge is a critical point. L inserts into K (L's Bottom boyfriend), K inserts into J (the raper). In this situation, J cannot do what he wants to do (inserting) because he is unable to be a Top at the moment by gagged mouth and shackled hands. L's "insert" into K is signified as "confirming possession" in the relation to the attempt of J's gaze to steal the possession. K's lips which is not for speaking but constructed as a "sexual object" also contributes to the signification of "(L's) insert" as "confirming possession". K's lips is signified as "being possessed" when it is touched and kissed by L. L shows J his kissing on K to make J confirm whose possession K is.

K's insert into J's body is signified as "the revenge for the rape", but in this act "insert" is actually executed by L through K's body. L inserts and pushes K's body, and then K's body does intercourse in J's body not by himself but by L. So the K's insert into J's body is ultimately signified as L's revenge for both a punishment for J by raping him (the Top who is never supposed to be raped or inserted) and a confirmation of L's possession obviously in front of J.

J (the raper who is being raped in this extract) maintains his "identity" as Top. No
matter he is inserted, his "gaze (on Bottom's body)" still constructs J as a Top. Even though the performances of "gazing" and "being inserted" are done at the same time, "gazing" ultimately constructs J's identity as a "Top". Identity is a matter of J's inner essence which still makes J want to gaze. In this extract, identity is signified as "inner essence" generating performances (such as gazing) but performances (such as being inserted) do not construct (or change) identity. Even though he is inserted, he does not mind anymore because he can gaze Bottom's body shaken by L's intercourse which could be substituted by J's intercourse.

When L recognizes J's gaze on K's body which is his possession, he immediately grabbed K's body and kissed on the lips. L's gaze is completed by grabbing and kissing. Whereas J’s gaze cannot be completed because of his gagged mouth restricts him to take an action of kiss and bound hands to touch. K (the Bottom) does not take any action when he is gazed by the raper because his body is destined to be gazed. The scramble is for two competitors who are innate to gaze thus only 'who gaze' can possess. The bond of gaze and possess becomes stable by the oppositional construction of gaze/gazed which ultimately clarifies the distinction between possess/possessed. The possessed never challenge to possess in its forced position in divided category. L, the winner of the scramble between two competitors on one gazed body between them orders J to gaze off with his speakable mouth of ordering.

B. Cooking Big Hands: Bottom's Body Processed to be "Inserted"

It's not the time yet. Folding his arms, T looks at M and J with his twinkling eyes from the couch where he is sitting. Now, taking off his jacket, M locks J's body in his arms. Even if it is the best raw ore, when it is not processed, it's just nothing. If it is not processed, it's even less than cheap fakes. It needs to be cooked, for example, kissed, petted, and relaxed, especially in its back, those processes before sex. It takes time and efforts but must be done for both M and I. However, it's all M's work. There is no need to complicate it by two persons. The only thing T needs to do is just waiting and watching.

...... (Omission)

The big hands pet everywhere in J's body and the lips touch his nipples, neck and belly fully.

'Oh, that's too much. It's more than the need.'

T feels jealous a bit. Since he is the Top, he barely got chance to be touched by M's tenderness. As he looks at J's body being touched tenderly by M's big hands, T even feels that he wants to be the Bottom then touched by M's hands. While T thinks, J's body got pink blossoms on the skin. They seem like delicious red beans on a piece of just steamed white rice cake... He might be as delicious as a rice cake.

Extracted from the sample No.4 translated from Korean into English
Several notable signs are found in this extract such as "cook" and "process". The signs "cook" and "process" get meanings in the relations to other signs "kissed", "petted", and "relaxed" in fishing net. This net constructs the ultimate goal of sex as "insert". Here, kissed, petted and relaxed are processes should be done before "sex". Kissing and petting is just signified as a "process" and not as "sex" itself. M (who inserts) is constructed with his big hands and arms cooking and processing Bottom's body for its final destination "insert". In the signification of Top's big hands as cooking, "inserting" is also signified as "eating". Whereas the Bottom's body is constructed through the touches given by big hands as "cooked", "processed" and "eaten" at the end. The final goal (the climax) of erotic interplay is signified as "insert" in the relations to other signs "cook" and "process". This fixation also signifies the performance of penetration as "inserted" in the relations to the signs "cooked" and "processed". Other possibilities are immediately excluded from the signifying net such as "soak", "penetrate" or "eat". In the oppositional signification of insert/inserted, the binary of activeness/passiveness is successfully stabled. For the description of the penis getting into the anus, it can be stated in a different perspective that Bottom's body is soaking or eating the penis. However, those possibilities are already removed in the divided category of meanings due to the passiveness of the Bottom. When the Top gazes, Bottom should be gazed. When the Top touches, Bottom should be touched and when Top inserts (eats), Bottom should be inserted (eaten). Signs are always signified in an oppositional way.

Around the signs "raw ore", "cheap fakes", "pink blossoms", "process" and "cook", the nodal point "Big Hand" is getting meaning of "productive" because Bottom's body is processed by the big hand. Especially the sign "Pink Blossoms" is the result of the processing done by Top's big hands (with his lips). The sign "Pink Blossoms" is commonly used for the description of erotic interplay in Korean idol fan fiction. The sign "Pink Blossoms" signifying Top's hands as productive will be studied more in another extract later on.

The sign "Jealous" plays a significant role in constructing Top's identity as immutable. The idea of immutable identity sustains stability of the divided category of Top and Bottom. Since T is Top, he barely has a chance to be touched by M's big hands which makes T jealous about J's body being touched by M. "Jealous" emerges from the fixation of the meaning where the sign Top means to "touch" and the Bottom represents the oppositional sign "touched". In other words, Top is never meant to be touched since he is a Top and
should be a Top. The Top would not feel jealousy if he does not identify himself as a Top. The idea of immutable identity restrains him from freeing his identity and dare to be touched by his partner. He is the Top thus cannot be touched because his immutable inner essence is a Top. The idea of immutable inner essence restrains (generates) his performances. To take it again, however, his identity of being a Top is sustained by the assumption of identity as immutable inner essence (like in previous revenge rape case).

In the next extract, this threesome story describes the climax (intercourse).

I enjoyed J's face distorted by M's intercourse. It's so sorry to him that we made him cry but his crying face looks quite nice and enjoyable. T even wants to keep the moment in a photo that his face contorted with M's tough push.

…… (Omission)

When J's face is distorted nearly at most, seems J almost reaches his climax, M stopped intercourse and changed his position. Then intercourse is newly started from J's back. T feels embarrassed a bit.

"Hey, you're starving."

Well, M is a man, not an innate Bottom, he might have been holding a lot by now living as a Bottom.

Extracted from the sample No.4 translated from Korean into English

While M inserts and J is inserted, T's gaze is still poured on J's body (the Bottom), particularly on his "distorted face". Although T is not engaged in erotic interplay as "the insert" at the moment, he still enjoys the moment as a Top.

The previous nodal point "Violence" intervenes here with the signs "distorted face" and "cry". The signs "distorted face" and "cry" signify "being inserted" as "painful". Later on, however, the same sign "distorted face" gets filled with different meanings in its relation to the sign "climax". In relation to the sign "climax", the sign "distorted face" newly gets the meaning of "orgasm". In this process, "orgasm" is signified as bodily excitement converted from bodily pain. "Violence" is legitimized in the domain of orgasm if the bodily pain is converted to the bodily excitement because the more painful the insert is the more excited it would be to the inserted. The Top needs to be violent to make bigger excitement not for himself but for the Bottom's bodily pleasure. Since the conversion is described unclear in this extract, the issue concerning violence would be explored again in the next chapter with clearer extracts.

Another point around the sign "distorted face" in its articulation with the sign
"climax" is that "the climax" is constructed through the Bottom's distorted face when it reaches the most distorted moment. The most distorted moment represents Bottom's biggest bodily excitement (or bodily pain). This "orgasm" is never spoken by Bottom's mouth since he is unspeakable but is just seen by the Top's gaze.

Moreover, the sign "starving" constructs the "climax" of erotic interplay from M's (Top's) perspective. M knows when the climax is and where he should end intercourse. However, M exceeds more than the climax where the erotic interplay should be ended because he is "starving". The climax is thoroughly constructed by the Top (his performance of inserting) and by his gaze. Thus erotic interplay is inevitably controlled by the Top who inserts and gazes. In addition, around the nodal point "gaze", in the erotic interplay controlled by the Top, speechless and distorted face of "the gazed" constructs the "passiveness" of the Bottom's body as "femininity" as well.

The sign "man" significantly contributes to the construction of "masculinity" and establishes heterosexuality in desire. First of all, to provide a little information about this extracted fan fiction, M and T are in a relationship, however, both of them are described as a Top in nature. Since M is more tolerant than T, M is bottomed when they have sex. Here, "tolerant" is signified with the meaning of "femininity", which signification also fills in the sign "inserted" with the meaning of tolerance in which tolerance is "tolerance of the pain until it is converted into excitement". However, M's performing to be "inserted" cannot be a permanent solution because M is not an innate Bottom as it is stated above. Therefore, T and M, the two Tops need to find an innate Bottom for M (and also for T) to insert. The point is the use of the sign "man" to distinguish M from an innate Bottom. This does not mean that Bottom is a woman but means the category of Top/Bottom (and also masculinity/femininity) is a parasite on the category of man/woman.

To fill in the blanks, the last sentence can be re-written "M is a man who has a desire to insert, not an innate Bottom who has desire to be inserted, he might have been holding his desire to insert a lot by now living as an inserted Bottom". In this sentence, both Top and Bottom are constructed with their sexual desire. "Sexual desire" is signified as "innate". Since the desire is innate (instinct), it is impossible to hold desire (especially desire to insert). Desire (to insert) must be released by inserting. The signification of the sign "desire" as both "desire to insert" and "impossible to hold" constructs the climax of erotic interplay as "inserting (intercourse)". However, this desire is phantasmatic itself because the desire is paradoxically stated earlier in the extract that since T is a Top, he should hold his desire to be
touched by M's big hands. The idea of immutable identity of Top and Bottom is in the vacillation in its paradoxical statement. What construct (judge) Top/Bottom finally are the performances like gaze, touch, insert / gazed, touched, inserted. In fact, it is the fundamental presumption of fan fictions, no matter how the identity of Top/Bottom is described, they are judged by readers from their performances of ‘inserting/being inserted’.

C. Hands in cooperation with Voice: Constraining Bottom's Body

T has never experienced such a kiss. T even cannot breathe but he doesn't give a moment for T to take breath. T wants to get him off but T's both hands are bound by him. T's bathrobe is opened showing T's naked body. Soon, he holds up T in his arms and takes him to the bed. When T gets laid in the bed, his white bathrobe is already taken off from his body and dropped on the floor.

"Don't move your hands."

Low and coercive voice forced T to obey. T closes his eyes with his hands put over his head where the guy let them like that. His hands pet T's penis and back tenderly, at the same time, his lips kiss T's lips. When his lips left T's lips, his hands open T's legs by force. Then he got T's small nipples in his mouth, like eating small candies, he licks, bites and plays with the nipples. Tickling harasses T, but T doesn't want to be against his warning. The guy rides on T's legs getting closer each other due to the stimulus from his petting. Whenever T takes breath, T feels burning in pink blossoms made by him on his bright skinned body. T tries to hold his groan because it sounds like groans of women in pornographies.

Extracted from the sample No. 52 translated from Korean into English

This extract shows how Top/Bottom's hands perform differently. Top's hands freely move while Bottom's hands are bound by Top. Bottom's hands are not physically bound but psychologically or symbolically bound. Top's order in his “low” and “coercive” voice ("don't move your hands") constrains the movement of the Bottom. Between Top's order and Bottom's bound hands, "low" and "coercive" voice gets filled with the meaning of "forceable" simultaneously "low voice" is categorized into the anatomical contents of "masculinity" with its signification of "forceable" which supports Top's mouth of ordering.

While Bottom's hands are bound, Top's hands and arms can freely move in the combination of Top's (big) hands and (muscled) arms. They signify Top's body as "physically superior" than Bottom’s body. Top's hands and arms can hold up Bottom's body, take the body to the bed, get the body laid and govern all the processes of taking off clothes, petting the Bottom's body. The point is the cooperation between Top's hands and lips. When Top's hands pet Bottom's body, Top's lips interfere and eat, lick, bite and tickle Bottom's body. Top's hands that first force the Bottom's body then give the body a tender
petting, which is supported by the lips. In the cooperation of hands and lips, Top's body thoroughly controls the Bottom's body in the "mastery". Bottom's body is both "forced" and "pleased" by Top's hands in its each cooperation with "low voice" and "lips". Then, Top's "hands" also construct the contents of Bottom's pleasure; it is something given by Top, his hands and lips in forced constraint. Bottom's pleasure is given by Top's "cooking" as it is stated above, in which process "constraint" and "pleasure" are indissoluble each other. The sign "breath" comprehensibly shows Top's mastery over Bottom's body in the signification of its hands, voice, lips altogether, even Bottom's breath is something given by the Top. Bottom cannot breathe because Top does not allow him to breathe. Hereupon Bottom's body seems to lose control over his own body and Top's "hands" are signified as "the insert's mastery over the body which is going to be inserted" in its relation to the sign "breath".

D. Productive Hands: Pink Blossoms on Bottom's Bright Skin

The sign "Pink Blossom" which is already seen in the extract above is one of the most frequent signs appeared in Bottom's body in descriptions of erotic interplay in Korean idol fan fiction. It would be helpful to see the Table 2. It presents "Bright Skin" as the most frequent sign used in constructing Bottom's body. When Bottom's body is signified with the sign "Bright Skin", bright skin is a great bodily attraction in a sense of "sexual object" drawing Top's gaze on it. When Top's gaze is reached on Bottom's bright skin, it is touched by Top's hands and lips and finally has "Pink Blossoms" as the result of Top's process. The bound signs gaze and touch, hereupon, meet another fixation of meaning "productive". First "bright skin" naturalizes the tie between gaze and touch on it. Then Bottom's "Pink Blossoms" are the inevitable result (production) of Top's touching. Since who is touching is always Top, Top is signified as "productive". The signification of Top as productive also signifies "masculinity" as productive. Bottom's "bright skin" helps Top to get a meaning of productive easier because "Pink Blossoms" are more visible and obvious on "bright skin" than "tanned skin". Table 2 shows the sign "tanned skin" is used in constructing Top's body. The sign "tanned skin" never appears in the construction of Bottom's body in Table 2.

When the sign "pink blossoms" fills in the contents of masculinity with the meaning of "productive" in divided category in relations to other signs "big hands" and "lips", the meaning of "productive" is also stuck to another contents of masculinity in signification of
Top's "hands" and "lips" which can freely move. Since they are freely move, "Top's hands" are also signified as "active" in comparison to Bottom's bound hands. In this fishing net "active" is a synonym of "productive" in the signification of the sign "pink blossoms". The sign "masculinity" is signified with the meanings of "active" and "productive" in this net. Masculinity is also a synonym of "inserting" in the category of Top/Bottom, thus "inserting" is also signified as "active" and "productive". In the signification of Bottom's penetration as "being inserted", the signification of Top as "active" and "productive" signifies "being inserted" as "passive" and "processed (not productive itself)".

E. Controllable: Top's Hands to control Bottom's Seminal Emission

"Please, let me go… put off your hand…"
"Then what you're gonna do for me?"
"…what?"
"Oppa, please let me come. Say it."
"No… I'm not a girl… and I'm older than you!!"
"No? Ok, then I won't. I'm ok with holding yours."

J seems he got naughty. Holding mine, he licks skin deep inside my thigh. I got crazy. If I won't say 'Oppa', he won't set mine free forever.

"O…pp… please"
"What? I cannot hear you."
"Oppa, oppa, please…"
"Ahhh… you sweetie…"

He seems to be happy with my words. I got so shy that I even feel like my face and neck got flushed. J keeps on kissing on my lips, eyes, nose and ears happily. Finally he set it free and helped it to ejaculate.

Extracted from the sample No.57 translated from Korean into English

As it is presented in Table 3, "Seminal Emission" is the sign of the end of erotic interplay. While Top's seminal emission is used as a clear sign of "the end of erotic interplay", Bottom's seminal emission indicates some points around how established power relations are repeated through certain performances in divided category.

Firstly, it needs to be focused on the different moments of Bottom's seminal emission. In Korean idol fan fiction, it is preferred that Top holds Bottom's seminal emission which means Top "controls" Bottom's moment of ejaculation. As it is explored above, Top's "hands" signify Top's body as "controlling" and "controllable" when they touch Bottom's body. Top's holding Bottom's seminal emission is "the climax" of Top's "controlling" in its
relation to Bottom's orgasm that reaches the climax by ejaculation. "Top's holding Bottom's seminal emission" is the clearest moment of the signification of control/controlled. Hereupon, first, when "Bottom's orgasm" is something given by Top's hands, which signify Top/Bottom's body as control/controlled, and when the Bottom's orgasm is given by Top, the signification of "inserted" as "passive" is established again. Second, Top's mastery is completed through controlling Bottom's climax. By controlling Bottom's seminal emission, Top gains mastery over not only the Bottom's body but also in the overall erotic interplay.

The other point is that the Top holding Bottom's seminal emission effectively makes Top's orgasm invisible. While Bottom begs Top to come, Top never hurries even he can hold the moment forever. As Table 3 shows, erotic interplay always ends up with Top's ejaculation while Bottom's orgasm is held by Top's hands. Top can hold his own moment by himself, control it by himself. Bottom's orgasm is always visible when he begs he wants to come but Top's orgasm is invisible in his patient attitude. Hereupon, Bottom's body gets meaning of "vulnerable to orgasm" through the Top holding Bottom's seminal emission.

The last point is "Oppa". "Oppa" is a significant sign in how power relations work in Top's holding Bottom's seminal emission in divided category. That Top holds Bottom's seminal emission and makes Bottom say 'Oppa' is the typical cliché in Korean idol fan fictions. 'Oppa[오빠]' is the Korean language to refer women call someone who is a man older than her. In this extract, Top wants to be called "Oppa" by Bottom who is not a woman and even older than him. What is found here is not a treating Bottom like a woman but the repeated practice of symbolic order in the word "Oppa". The power relations between man/women and old/young which are already established in social orders now re-established and maintained between Top/Bottom (more precisely the insert/the inserted).

5.4. Nodal Point 4: Hot Spot

This chapter will focus on the articulation of four nodal points, "Gaze and Touch", "Big Hand", "Violence" and "Hot Spot". This chapter will particularly study how the articulation of three nodal points "Gaze and Touch", "Big Hand" and "Hot Spot" legitimates "Violence" and how violence comes to be natural in erotic interplay. The nature of the "Hot
Spot" is constructed by "touched" and "treated" in the relation to the touching subject "Big Hand". When “Big Hand” is placed on the ambiguity of pain and orgasm, "Violence" sneaks into the site of sex constructing Bottom's body as "tolerant" with the indissolubleness between pain and orgasm. The more painful it is, the more excited it would be afterwards because pain will be converted to an excitement through the Hot Spot at the end. Bottom's body is vulnerable to orgasm (bodily excitement). Therefore, Bottom's body, the body of being inserted would accept even violence which will bring more excitement. The violence is not caused by the Top but caused by the Bottom, his bodily material "Hot Spot" which is said "immutable".

A. The Hot Spot: Bottom's Vulnerable Body

Following extract presents three points to explore around the nodal point "Hot Spot" in the signification of Bottom's body as "vulnerable".

"Ah… it hurts…"
"Ha… call me Oppa."
"No… no…"
"Come on, call me Oppa."

T’s butt is touched by M’s pubes. T’s anus is getting tighter as M keeps moving in and out. T’s face was sweating. T follows M obediently that he never moves his hands down, but just keeps holding a pillow. M thinks it is so cute. When M gets a bit deeper in T, T shakes his head with orgasm. M founds T’s Hot Spot. M keeps on touching the spot again and again.

"No… Don’t… no…"

T lost himself because of the bodily pleasure.

"Call me Oppa…”
"Ah… Oppa…”
"Again…”
"Oppa… Ha… Oppa…”

When T said Oppa, M got his last hook. T’s head is emptied in a moment. T tries to hold M with his legs. Bodies get closer, which helps M to touch T’s Hot Spot deeper and stronger. T’s pink tongue seen from his opened lips came into M’s sight. While kissing him, M gets his out and touches it by himself. At the same time, he also touches T’s erected penis. Soon, both of them ejaculated. M looks down at T feeling the aftertaste of the ejaculation but T is not himself yet.

Extracted from the sample No.52 translated from Korean into English

First point is the signification of Top/Bottom around the nodal point "Hot Spot". In
this extract, Top actively finds the "Hot Spot", wherein overall erotic interplay is always Top's adventure. The Top gazes, touches, inserts and finally finds the "Hot Spot" with his hands which freely move while the Bottom is gazed, treated, inserted and found with his hands which never move. The adventure of finding the Hot Spot establishes the divide of activeness/passiveness in the Top/Bottom divide. The "Hot Spot" is Bottom's bodily material but always needs to be found by the Top. This is the legitimization of conferring the mastery over the Bottom's body to Top's hands.

Secondly, because of "Hot Spot" the Bottom loses control over his own body. "Hot Spot" needs stimulus for bodily excitement in its nature. However, Bottom's body cannot touch himself and needs Top's big hand to touch. Bottom's "Hot Spot" is always found and touched by Top. Again, erotic interplay is Top's adventure; gaze, touch, insert, and find the Hot Spot. Bottom is gazed, touched, inserted, and found. When Top finds the Hot Spot, Bottom reaches orgasm. However, Bottom never mentions about his orgasm by himself since his mouth is unspeakable. Bottom's orgasm is implicit in his performance of shaking head (with orgasm). Bottom's orgasm is always found in Top's gaze. The "Hot Spot" is Bottom's bodily material but completely in Top's mastery; Top knows how to find and stimulate it until the conversion (from pain to orgasm). The Top even knows that pain will turn into pleasure soon by the stimulation of the Hot Spot, while Bottom seems he feels weird by saying "No" when he first experienced the stimulus of his Hot Spot. Bottom does not know what is going on and what will happen, but Top knows, which establishes "intelligence" in the category of inserting (masculinity) and "pure" and "undeveloped" in being inserted (femininity). In the signification of Bottom as "undeveloped", Top's body of "intelligence" is also signifies as "able to develop".

Lastly, "emptied head" indicates the Bottom's vulnerable body to orgasm (bodily pleasure). Bottom's "emptied head" is signifies as "vulnerable to orgasm" in comparison with the Top who never loses himself through the whole process of erotic interplay, which signification of "vulnerability" is finally signified as "obedient" to the Top, the insert, who gives the orgasm by stimulating the Hot Spot. The repeated practice of symbolic order of "Oppa" is also completed by Bottom's vulnerability. Bottom's vulnerability is originated from his Hot Spot which is an immutable material in his body.

"Vulnerability" establishes the divide between body and head when it is constructed through the sign "emptied head". Bottom's emptied head is head without its own function "think" while Top's head is able to think, stable in mind, which is finally symbolized as
reason (rationality). Therefore, Bottom's "vulnerable body" ultimately constructs Top's body as "head" with phantasmatic evaporation of "the (material) body". By the phantasmatic evaporation, Top's body is signified as "the reason" and "thinkable" in the distinction between body and head.

B. Violence Legitimized in Vulnerability

The following extract from the sexual molest case presents how "vulnerability" establishes and legitimizes "Violence" in divided category.

As time goes by, the hands groping K's body are getting fearless. K got horrified by someone's breath reaching his neck. Now his big hands tamper with K's hips straightforwardly. K tries to keep down himself.

"…Stop it."

K looked back, but couldn't find the molester. It seems that people never suppose a boy in school uniform can be sexually molested in a crowded subway. Nobody helped him to find out the molester. K gave up finding the molester. Just three stations left. K tries to ignore hands. However, the hands keep on touching K's body and even get into K's pants. K got stiffened but the hands didn't stop. Hands came into his underwear and fingers touch the anus lewdly. K got frozen, even stopped breathing.

…… (Omission)

K curses him but his body is so honest that it's already excited by the stimulus given by the hands.

…… (Omission)

Thick and sturdy fingers invaded into K's body. Soon, it finds Hot Spots in K's body. K cannot resist but shudder. K's feet are melted. His strong arms hold K's body hard from the back.

Extracted from the sample No.41 translated from Korean into English

First of all, this extract presents the fragmented construction of Top's body. The molester (Top) is never fully shown in this story. Top is just recognized by K through the "touches". The molester who is completely veiled to both K and the readers is just constructed through the signs "Big Hand", "Thick and Sturdy Fingers" and "Strong Arms". This fragmented presentation is a part of phantasmatic evaporation of Top's body which supports "more bodily construction of Bottom's body" that is fully gazed and touched by the Top's fingers, hands and arms.

Next, the "vulnerability" of Bottom's body is obviously constructed through the
oppositional movements such as Top's "straightforward", "fearless" touch and Bottom's "horrified", "stiffened" and "frozen" body. K tries to resist first but his word cannot stop Top's hands, fingers and arms because they are never ordered. In addition, as time goes by, as the touches get closer to its destination "Hot Spot", K got "horrified", "stiffened", "frozen" and almost loses himself and stops breathing. The sign "honest" separates the body from the head. His mouth and head is cursing but his body cannot resist because of his honest body craving to be stimulated particularly in the Hot Spot. "Honest" signifies Bottom's body as "vulnerable", which signification is fully fixed when the molester found K's Hot Spot. When his Hot Spot is touched, K cannot resist but shudder. Another sign "melted feet" signifies the Bottom's body as both "vulnerable to stimulus (especially in his Hot Spot)" and "out of his own control". "Control" of Bottom's body is completely turned over to Top in his strong arms holding Bottom's melted body.

When the nodal point "Hot Spot" is signified with the meaning of "out of own control", this fixation also establishes the divide of body/reason. Bottom's Hot Spot is significant sign constructing vulnerability of Bottom's body that Bottom's body is irresistible against touches because his "Hot Spot" wants to be touched, in which construction Hot Spot is presented as Bottom's immutable bodily material. Because of this immutable materiality, Bottom lost control over his own body. In this construction, "materiality" is signified as "controlled" and "governed" by "reason". Top's body is signified as "reason" by the phantasmatic symbolization of Top's body through fragmentation that evaporates Top's bodily materiality. Top's body and Bottom's body are constructed in the oppositional relation; Bottom's body as "materiality" governed by "reason" and Top's body as "reason" governing "materiality". In this oppositional construction, all the bodily senses including "pain" and "orgasm" are signified as "senses derived from materiality of body". When Bottom's body is signified as "materiality", "femininity" is also signified as "materiality". In this system of meanings, "femininity" is ultimately signified as "materiality" governed by "reason".

Fan fiction barely shows Top's orgasm but it depicts that he never gets excited or loses himself by orgasm. Top just keeps his head since he is able to and meant to control all his bodily senses derived from materiality with his head of reason by the phantasmatic evaporation of his bodily materiality.
6. Analysis 2: the Construction of Gender and sexuality in the Category of Top/Bottom

Previous chapter focused on how signs are signified in the category of Top/Bottom. As a result, it is found that there are different signs used in each divided category, the signs constructing Top and the signs constructing Bottom are barely overlapped. Different signs within the category of Top/Bottom are signified by and signify the category of masculinity/femininity. Around their nodal points signs are ordered and articulated, which contribute to establish the unified system of meanings. In the unified system of meanings in the category of Top/Bottom which can be substituted by masculinity/femininity, it is also shown that established meanings establish unequal power relationship between the divided categories.

This chapter will make theoretical elaborations about overall findings of the previous chapter following the main research question "how are gender and sexuality constructed in divided category of Top/Bottom in Korean idol fan fictions". The chapter starts from the Top/Bottom divide, the fundamental base of Korean idol fan fictions. Then it examines the establishment of the divide of masculinity/femininity within the category of Top/Bottom. Next, this chapter explores the phantasmatic notion of irreducible materiality, how the materiality functions to sex the body and secure the divide, and lastly brings the concept of reiteration to explain how the divide is reestablished and maintained through the reiterations.

6.1. In a Parody of the Category of two Sexes

The category of Top/Bottom copying the category of two sexes is shown not only in the previous chapter of the analysis but also in the previous researches, debates, criticisms and disdains around the feminization of the Bottom. Focusing on the feminization of the Bottom seems to ignore the masculinization of the Top and never challenges the fact male body being a man. Focusing on the feminization of the Bottom merely puts emphasis on the results of the copy of two sexes. However, Top/Bottom divide's parody of the two sexes shows the function and processes of two sexes, how they are constructed and how they function. Fan fiction parodies not merely the contents of two sexes - male and female - but also the process to be maled and femaled.
In Korean idol fan fiction, "Top" and "Bottom" denotes "sexuality" of male bodies. However, these sexualities are sustained by gendered construction of masculinity/femininity in the same way as the sex is gendered.

When the male body is Toped/Bottomed, it is not just a false replica of male/female; rather it reveals male/female is also maled/female through the category of two sexes. That Top/Bottom is a fundamental base of fan fictions indicates the bodies are only possible to access through the category of Top/Bottom in fan fiction which also means there is no way to access the pure material body. The body in fan fiction is processed to be accessible in the Top/Bottom divide. Therefore, exploring how signs are signified in the category of Top/Bottom shows how the bodies are accessed through the significations. In the significations, the bodies in the category of Top/Bottom parodied the category of masculinity/femininity. Male/female bodies are accessed through the regulatory norms of two sexes. The category of two sexes is sustained by the costumed and reiterated regulatory heterosexual norms of masculinity/femininity. The parody of two sexes by Top/Bottom paradoxically shows how two sexes are processed by regulatory heterosexual norms. Two sexes are not objective entity of the world but constituted and regulated by social norms and hegemony.

6.2. The Oppositional Construction of Femininity/Masculinity

The construction of gender and sexuality in fan fictions parodies the category of two sexes. The parody is supported by a strong oppositional construction of femininity/masculinity that are contents of each category. The economies of femininity and masculinity are never completely separable as it is obviously witnessed in the previous chapter from the oppositional signification of Top/Bottom's bodies.

A. Purification (Butler, 1993:87)

Table 2 shows different signs are used in the construction of Top/Bottom. However, not certain sign is already feminine or masculine. When the signs are placed in each Top and Bottom's body, finally the meanings are fixed in an oppositional way. The fixation makes Top's body masculine and Bottom's body feminine. The fixation also reestablishes
and maintains the economy of masculine/feminine oppositional. The oppositional construction of femininity/masculinity is achieved through a strong purification (Butler, 1993:87). Top and Bottom barely share the same sign in their bodily construction. If Top has big hands, Bottom does not, even cannot. Because of Bottom's not having big hands, Top's big hands finally can complete the signification of masculinity. Purification is also obviously observed in the signifying process of gaze and gazed. If one gaze, the other is gazed. The gazed is not allowed to gaze the person who gazes upon. Indeed, the oppositional construction is only secured by the purification.

Butler said purification secures the stability of both masculine and feminine morphologies (Butler, 1993:87). When the Bottom's body is signified as a sexual object which also signifies femininity, even though the Bottom's body is fully gazed by the Top, his penis was never shown. The Bottom's penis is barely shown when his body is gazed as a sexual object (femininity). The Bottom's missing penis is a part of the purification to secure both masculine and feminine morphologies. Top's having penis cannot complete its signification of masculinity if Bottom's penis is visible when the Bottom's body is signified as a sexual object. When Top gazes (and examines) Bottom's body, if Bottom's penis is gazed by Top, Bottom's body also cannot complete the signification of femininity. Intercourse is a bit different situation from "gaze". During the intercourse, Bottom's penis is shown but almost castrated. Bottom's penis never functions like Top's penis (inserting). When Top castrates Bottom's penis by holding its seminal emission, Top completes the signification of his own penis as "true" and "masculine".

B. Phallogocentrism

In the oppositional construction of Top/Bottom in the interrelation to masculinity/femininity, all the oppositional constructions of the meanings ultimately establish the phallogocentric signifying economy. Bottom's naked body is gazed in full with all his bodily signs while Top is just presented with his own gaze and his big hands. The previous chapter showed more bodily constructions of Bottom's body and the (Bottom's) body signified as a material in its oppositional construction to (Top's) head. The signification of Bottom's body as matter is the point to explore pallogocentrism in the signifying system. Butler insists "matter is a part of the specular scenography of phallic inscription" (Butler, 1993:52). It is not merely a fanatic fetish that idol fan fiction spends a lot of pages on
describing Bottom's bodies in every inch. Butler emphasizes the "specular effects" that when the materiality is perceived as femininity, phallogocentrism is confirmed as specular effects (Butler, 1993:35-36). "Matter" has been occupying the oppositional positions to "form", "mind", "soul", and "reason" in human history, wherein the matter has always been in women's body, or being women's body itself. The sign "Big Hand" is appeared as almost the only one oppositional bodily sign in Top's body while Bottom's body needs many other signs in every inch of his body to be touched by Top's big hands. As it was explored in the previous chapter, "Big Hand" is the sign which is filled with the symbols of mastery and controlling in idol fan fiction. With its mastery, controllable big hands are not a part of the material body anymore, but it is symbolized as the body of the reason when it is touching Bottom's feminine material body. This is what Butler called "phantasmatic dematerialization of masculinity" (Butler, 1993:49), which is obviously shown in the molester's case of phantasmatic evaporation of Top's material body except the hands and arms. In the oppositional construction of femininity/masculinity, the Bottom's body is fully materialized while Top's body is dematerialized. In which process, femininity/masculinity establishes the phallogocentrism through the specular effects. Around the bodies in idol fan fiction, the phallogocentric signifying system is completed through the different signification of Top/Bottom's penis, especially through the Bottom's penis. Bottom's penis is signified as castrated that Bottom's penis is barely witnessed by the gaze, it does not take the initiative to "insert". Bottom's penis never inserts and its seminal emission is controlled by Top's hands. When the Bottom's penis is controlled by Top's hands, it is signified as "materiality" should be governed by "the reason". However, even though Top's penis is signified as "masculinity", the castration of Bottom's penis deprivileges the signifier "penis" at the same time. Through the Bottom's penis, penis is signified as "controlled", "passive" and "femininity" as well. This signification deprives the privileged meanings of penis as "active" and "masculinity".

6.3. The Function of "Materiality"

Once the position is established, the position of Top/Bottom is barely changed no matter the body is Top or Bottom. As it is shown in the sample no. 4 extracted in the previous chapter, both Top and Bottom are presented as they are "born" as Top and Bottom,
which seems it is the copy of constraint sexuality in the category of two sexes. When idol fan fiction mimics, or more precisely as Butler emphasized (Butler, 1990, 1993), "cites" the assumption of two sexes in its Top/Bottom distinction, the distinction is often claimed with materiality which is considered irreducible in the bodies. The "Hot Spot" which was the last nodal point in the previous chapter is the central sign claiming Bottom's body as pre-given based on the idea of irreducible materiality.

In the next chapter, I will introduce the historical background of "Hot Spot" which is stated as "the pivotal material" for Bottom's body to be a Bottom (should be inserted). By presenting the historical background of the Hot Spot in Korean idol fan fiction culture, the next chapter will explain how materiality works for sexing the body in its claim of irreducibility.

A. Discovery of the "Hot Spot" in Korean Idol Fan Fiction Culture

As it is presented in the previous research chapter, Han's study (2008) provides a comprehensible outline of Korean idol fan fictions and its history in the argument of women's fan fiction reading and writing as "gender trouble (Butler, 1990)". Han interviewed 11 people involved in Korean idol fan fiction culture. In the interview, "Hot Spot" is suggested by some interviewees as "a recent trend" in Korean idol fan fiction culture (Han, 2008:105-106). Idol fan fiction has been criticized for "women's stupid fantasy about gays" in Korea. "Anal sex" is often used by the fan fiction haters to criticize and condemn fan fictions; anal sex is completely a women's stupid fantasy since anus is not a sexual part of the body. In the defense against both of internal and external criticism, the idol fan fiction readers and writers tried to make "stupid fantasy" into "feasible and realistic one". Fan fiction readers raided on-line gay communities, read gay magazines and asked their gay friends to solve the question "how to enjoy gay anal sex". Finally, a good "anatomical clue" was found out that "male body has so-called "p-spot" nearby the anus as a part of the prostate. "P-spot" is only in male body and really sensitive to stimulus, thus really helps male body to reach the orgasm by anal intercourse. The discovery of the "Hot Spot" fulfilled Korean idol

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9 Han is using the word "p-spot" in her article(2008:105-106)
10 Men fan fiction haters used to condemn women fan fiction readers and writers, "Come on girls, is it really coming when you get fucked your asshole? Shit, then you must come when you relieve!"
fan fiction culture's need of "reality" in its fantasy. Soon the "Hot Spot" was regarded as the "material truth about the male body". More precisely, it is considered to be the "material truth about male Bottom's body" in Korean idol fan fiction culture. As it is shown in the extracts and Table 3, the "Hot Spot" never functions in Top's body. "Hot Spot" is a pivotal sign to construct Bottom's body. The "Hot Spot" constructs "the ultimate spot" in Bottom's body to be touched in the intercourse-centered sex and if intercourse is the ultimate goal of the sex, the Bottom's body is destined to be touched because of the "Hot Spot" in its body which is claimed to be irreducible materiality. The discovery of the "Hot Spot" reveals how the certain part is partitioned and named as sexual parts. By the discovery of the "Hot Spot", Bottom's body is signified as "inserted (penetrable)" particularly in its anus which destablishes the phantasmatic anatomical construction of vagina as the privileged penetrable sexual part. The claim of the "Hot Spot" as materiality in order to gain "reality" uncovers how the materiality supported by "the assumption of material irreducibility"(Butler, 1993:28) functions to sustain the phantasmatic status of the reality. The selective application of the "Hot Spot" in Bottom's body shows the point that material is always materialized. Both Top and Bottom have the same material in the bodies, but Top's "Hot Spot" is never materialized while Bottom's is named, materialized and used as a sexual part. The selective application of the "Hot Spot" ultimately deconstructs the phantasmatic status of material irreducibility in an obvious witness of materialization and shows how the site of the body permanently sways with materialization and re-materialization in potential possibilities.

B. Blurred Distinction between Pain/Orgasm, Physical/Psychic, and Real/Fantasy

When pain is converted into orgasm, what makes the blurred distinction between pain and orgasm clear is the "Hot Spot". The "Hot Spot" is presented as irreducible materiality of Bottom's body in Korean idol fan fiction. The materiality of the "Hot Spot" is perceived in the discursive domain by the materialization to govern bodily excitement. The "Hot Spot" is discovered in idol fan fiction culture in its search of real orgasm in anal sex, in which, however, what was really found was materiality that can support reality. When the phantasmatic status of irreducible materiality is deconstructed, the argument that material is always materialized is accepted then materiality cannot govern reality anymore in its constructed status. If the Hot Spot is named and sectioned to govern a bodily excitement,
bodily excitement is not derived from the materiality of the Hot Spot but derived from the fact that it named. Therefore the conversion from pain into orgasm is a psychic process rather than a physical process. The discovery and selective application of the Hot Spot is *phantasmatic partitioning* of the body which brings psychic experience (Butler, 1993:59). However, this does not mean that pain and orgasm are completely psychic experiences but what is claimed is a permanent vacillation between the psychic and physical. Pain and orgasm as physical experiences have been playing a central role in establishing and securing certain parts of the body as sexual parts. The vagina could have been secured in its status of a sexual organ since the orgasm has been perceived as physically derived from its materiality as a sexual organ, however, the material, vagina, is named as a sexual part through its materialization. Here, what governs the materialization is a reproduction regime. Then, it is also revealed that the reason anus cannot feel orgasm is that it is not sanctioned by a reproduction regime to be a sexual organ. The permanent vacillation between psychic and physical does not try to blow away the bodies to the thoroughly psychic domain, nor try to deprive the physical entity of the bodies. The vacillation between psychic and physical deconstructs the privileged status of materiality as irreducible, hence decentralizes the social norms that have been regulating the bodies through irreducible materiality.

6.4. Sexing the Bodies

Since sex is already gendered, the fundamental step of gender and sexuality construction will be sexing the bodies. As it has been emphasized before, the bodies in fan fictions are always accessed through the category of Top/Bottom. The process of Topped/Bottomed shows how the mark of Top/Bottom governs the materialization of the male bodies in two different ways.

A. Top/Bottom, the Mark Prior to Body

The starting point is that idol fan fiction is based on idol stars, which means the bodies in fan fictions are materialized from its material bodies. As the extracts show, star J's body can be both Topped/Bottomed in different fan fictions. When J is marked as Top, the body is constructed through hands, arms, muscles while waist, skin, butt, and nipples are used
in the Bottomed body. The mark of Top/Bottom governs which part of the body should be picked up. However, all the bodily materials used in different materializations are in J’s one single body.

B. Fragmentation (Butler, 1990:156)

When the male body is Topped/Bottomed, the male body is partitioned and sectionalized in different ways. The Hot Spot can be a useful point because both of Top's and Bottom's body have the material but only Bottom's material is sectionalized, materialized and named as the sexual organ "Hot Spot" while Top's material is still partitioned in a part of prostate. Naming certain parts as sexual organs fragments the body (Butler, 1990:156) as it is seen in the case of the "Hot Spot". In addition, the inner coherence within the category of Top/Bottom, for example Top's masculinity signified through the hands and muscles and Bottom's femininity signified through the Hot Spot, waist and butt is paradoxically sustained by such fragmentations and sectionalizing. The inner coherence within males in the category of two sexes is challenged and destroyed when male bodies are divided into Top/Bottom in the copy of two sexes with the idea of inner coherence within each category which sustains and secures the divided category of Top/Bottom.

In addition, in the process of Topped/Bottomed, purification is always followed by fragmentation and partitioning. Top and Bottom barely share the partitioned part of their bodies, otherwise, the signifying system of masculinity/femininity cannot be unified. Fan fictions barely include the description about Top's nipples and Bottom's muscles. Male body has both nipples and muscles but they are selectively shown when the body is Topped/Bottomed.

6.5. Citation and Reiteration of Intercourse

Despite the fact that Top/Bottom is ultimately distinguished by the performance of inserting/being inserted, Top/Bottom is presented as a stable identity governing performances in fan fictions as some extracts shows. The idea of stable and immutable identity is often supported by "irreducible materiality" such as the "Hot Spot" in Bottom's body. Establishing materiality is an important first step to construct gender and sexuality in Korean
idol fan fiction. Then the materiality governs the performances, for instance, because of this Hot Spot, Bottom is destined to be inserted, and since the Hot Spot makes Bottom's body vulnerable, Bottom loses control over his own body and should be passive to be touched and controlled. However, such construction of gender and sexuality based on materiality reveals the phantasmatic notion of irreducible materiality particularly through the selective application of Hot Spot. This revealing also tracks how phantasmatic the category of two sexes is constructed based on the notion of irreducible materiality.

The mark of Top/Bottom governs the materializations of the male bodies in two different ways then Top/Bottom performs differences, such as gaze, touch, insert / gazed, touched, inserted. These different performances are governed by materialization. Then, paradoxically, Top/Bottom is ultimately distinguished by their performances of inserting/being inserted. What comes to the point in this circle is intercourse, the regularized sexual performance by heterosexual norms for reproduction. If there is a beginning of the parody of two sexes in the category of Top/Bottom, it would be the intercourse, regularized sexual performance as inserting/being inserted. Indeed, the process of Topped/Bottomed is processing bodies for intercourse. So when the body is sectionalized, fragmented, in which process the most important thing is partitioning sexual parts. If the body is Topped, the penis is materialized as the central sexual part, and if the body is Bottomed, the "Hot Spot" is materialized as the central sexual part. In this process, what the Hot Spot cited from the category of two sexes is the "penetrability" of vagina. There are "modalities of materialization" (Butler, 1993:50) that the Hot Spot is materialized through the modality of penetrability. When the materialization is governed by modalities, what regulate modalities are heterosexual social norms.

The more the materiality is perceived as "irreducible", the stronger the modalities of performance, for example the more Bottom's Hot Spot is perceived as irreducible, the stronger the body is constraint to perform being inserted. Once the social norms establish the materiality through the materialization, those social norms are functioned through the reiterative performance governed by the idea of irreducible materiality. When the performance is repeated, which regularized reiteration effectively produces sanctioned and unsanctioned sexual practices and the social norms are sustained by those reiterative performances. When intercourse is cited and reiterated in fan fictions between the male bodies, however, the intercourse which is sanctioned by reproduction norms ironically betrays the very reproduction norms since intercourse is performed in the anus.
Consequentially, the parody of intercourse in fan fictions deprivileges the signifier intercourse, which has been signified as heterosexual interplay between penis and vagina.

7. Analysis 3: Challenges of Women's Reading and Writing Fan fictions

This chapter will explore the subversive aspect of the reading and writing fan fictions answering the last research question "does reading and writing idol fan fictions challenge the normative assumptions of gender and sexuality?" based on all the researches conducted.

7.1. Parody: Deprivileging the Signifiers (Butler, 1993:89)

Gender and sexuality in Korean idol fan fiction is constructed through the citation and reiteration of the category of two sexes in its own category of Top/Bottom. The category of Top/Bottom's parody of two sexes has often been underestimated in the aspect that the parody is subordination especially focusing on the feminization of Bottom as a limitation. However, the research result insists that the parody is not subordinated but it is insubordination. In the chapter five, my research explored how signs are signified. Fan fiction cited and reiterated the signifiers and the signified compelled by the hegemonic norms of two sexes, however, these citations and reiterations simultaneously deprivilege the signifiers as well; as it is shown in the cases such as depriveliging of the signifier rape, intercourse and the most significantly the signifier male body. In the perspective of subversive gender parody, the feminization of the Bottom is not a limitation but a substantial point of insubordination in women's reading and writing fan fiction in a parody of two sexes. In idol fan fiction, as Han (2008) argued, male body appears as the empty signifier. When male body is signified with different significations, especially signified as the Bottom with femininity, the signification deprivileges the signifier "male body" from its signification of man, masculinity and even maleness. When the male bodies are divided into Top/Bottom, two different materializations confuse the inner coherence within the maleness and reveals how phantasmatically the category of two sexes is sustained by strong purification by
showing the category of Top/Bottom's successful parody which is also sustained by strong purification.

Though the category of Top/Bottom parodies the category of two sexes, it does not mean that the category of two sexes is original. When the category of two sexes is parodied by citations and reiterations of the signifiers, the citations and the reiterations also deprivilege the signifiers, then the originality is revealed that it is sustained by the citations and the reiterations that have no origin. Consequentially, the category of Top/Bottom's parody of the category of two sexes reveals the imitative structure of the category of two sexes, which revealing deprivileges two sexes as the original.

7.2. Anal Sex and Unsanctioned Permeabilities in Bodily Margins

As it is argued, erotic interplay is regulated as an intercourse-centered activity by heterosexual reproduction norms. However, when the intercourse-centered erotic interplay compelled by heterosexual norms is cited and reiterated in fan fictions, it paradoxically sneaks from the regulations of heterosexual norms and a reproduction regime, even though the performances of inserting/being inserted repeat and reestablish the unequal power relations between the insert/the inserted. Anal sex in fan fictions, the parody of heterosexual intercourse, reveals the heterosexual norms which have been regulating sexual performances as intercourse-centered. Moreover, anal sex sneaks from the regulation of reproduction.

Women's practices of anal sex in fan fictions newly construct the bodily margin which has been limited in heterosexual norms. Douglas (1969) suggests the concept of vulnerable margins. Because of the vulnerability, margins are considered to be dangerous in all the social systems. Butler took over the argument, "body is synecdochical for the social system", so bodily margin is also considered vulnerable, and the vulnerable bodily margins bring the strict restrictions between sanctioned permeability and unsanctioned permeability (Butler, 1980:180). Therefore, the bodily margins contribute to establish sanctioned permeabilities, precisely permeable bodily orifices and the proper use of them. The intercourse which is regulated as an erotic interplay between vagina and penis reveals that bodily orifices and erotic possibilities are governed by heterosexual norms. Anal sex is a kind of unsanctioned permeability and the danger brought by unsanctioned permeability of
anal sex is the danger in heterosexual normativity. Anal sex threatens sustainability and justifiability of heterosexual normativity since it practices unsanctioned permeability. Thus anal sex deregulates heterosexualized bodily margin and challenges the boundaries of body shaped by heterosexual norms (Butler, 1990:182). Women's practicing anal sex in reading and writing fan fictions, consequentially, confuses and challenges the heterosexualized bodily margins and the boundaries of body, which ultimately weakens the (heterosexual) social regulations imposed on such margins and boundaries.

7.3. Twisting Brotherhood and Deconstructing Sexed Love

Table 1 shows Real Drama is the most frequently used genre during the research period\(^\text{11}\). Real Drama is the work inspired by certain real moments of idol stars, in which the moment is re-interpreted by idol fan fiction readers and writers. For instance, if idol stars take hands on stage, this moment is interpreted into ‘expression of love’ by fans and many possible imaginations are written in fan fictions around that moment. In fact, what is interpreted here are the idol stars' performances, their taking hands, whispering, hugs, which are officially interpreted into brotherhood referred to earlier in my research as an important selling point of male idol-bands business. When the moments of brotherhood are re-interpreted by fan fictions, brotherhood is not anymore the symbol of ideal community as it is interpreted in the heterosexual matrix, but there always exist women’s desire to see the intimacy between the boy-band members with their interpretation of ‘love’ in brotherhood. ‘Brotherhood’ is twisted into ‘love’ in idol fan fictions, which twisting activity can be said an essential in enjoying fan fictions. It was suggested earlier that 'coupling' is the most important thing in women's reading and writing idol fan fiction. In selecting what fan fictions to read, one confirms one's coupling taste first. Supporting certain coupling is usually based on how certain members are close to each other than other members, which is recognized through the stars’ performances like taking hands, hugging, talking, etc. After one settled down with one's favorite coupling, one can have a kind of ‘interpretation tool’ of certain members' performances. For instance, even when the members in one’s favorite coupling do not talk much with each other in a TV program, one interprets they might have a

\(^{11}\) The preference of Real Drama is also presented in Han's interview by her interviewees (2008).
lovers' quarrel before the shoot. These interpretations are reflected in idol fan fictions in the genre of *Real Drama*. *Twisting* suggests the idea that love is not natural but depends on interpretations. When brotherhood is twisted into love by fan fiction readers and writers, it provokes questions about what is love and how it has been demarcated and most importantly, by what.

Johnson (2005) shows in his study, how ‘loving’ is related to doing heterosexuality. Emphasizing functional aspects of love, not what love is, but what love *does*, he argues "*how intimate love is interwoven with the construction, practice, regulation and government of heterosexual sexuality*" (Johnson, 2005:1). Presenting historical attempts to find a biological origin of love, Johnson sharply points out that a biological origin of love is contrived for the reproduction in a support of a fantasy of romantic love. Love is, indeed, contrived for normalizing heterosexual practices (Johnson, 2005:3). The trajectory of numerous attempts to put love in biological process uncovers that love is the well-written fiction for settling down the sexed category. Love plays the essential role in maintaining a sexed category legitimating the sexed body and sexed sexual desire to naturalize and authorize compulsory heterosexuality. Love legitimates desire but only heterosexual desire. Exploring many past researches on love, Johnson also found there is no significant study dealing with the relationship between heterosexuality and love. "*Love is always assumed heterosexual*" (Johnson, 2005:14) and this is barely challenged.

When women's reading and writing fan fictions twists *brotherhood* into *love*, the twisting reveals heterosexual assumption in love based on the idea of biological origin. Since the idol boy-band members are all males, the intimacy between them always has been interpreted as brotherhood. The interpretation of love on brotherhood reveals the social construction of love regulated by compulsory heterosexuality. Love is not a natural feeling of inner essence but it is expressed through the performances, and the performances are always interpreted and sanctioned by regulatory social norms. *Twisting brotherhood* challenges normative assumption of heterosexual love which has been supporting the sexed category in a corporation with the idea of biological origin and sexed sexual desire.
7.4. The Domain of Fantasy: Away from the Burden of Being Women

Feminization\textsuperscript{12} is a kind of taboo in Korean idol boy-band fan communities. Feminization, such as referring boy idol stars "she", "Unni\textsuperscript{13}" or using the term like "girlish", "woman-like" is strictly banned in idol fan communities, except in fan fictions. The fan communities commonly use the warning notice sentence "he is a healthy Korean man, so do not confuse reality and fantasy" to ban so-called feminization of their male idol stars. In idol fan communities, feminization is regarded as humiliation to their male stars. However, their reading and writing fan fiction cannot be maintained without feminization. The solution is drawing a strict distinction between fantasy/reality. As a consequence, feminization is only sanctioned in fan fictions, the fantasy, while the normal fan communities strictly ban the feminization. Such prohibition and exclusion establish, secure and maintain the domain of the phantasmatic reality (Butler, 1990a:190).

The distinction between fantasy and reality throws a question that what qualifies the domain of reality. When fan fiction readers and writers voluntarily prohibit themselves from feminization of the male bodies in the realm where they perceive as reality, they already know that what is sanctioned and what is not in reality legitimated by the regulatory norms of compulsory heterosexuality. Demarcating fantasy from reality does not mean all the performances in the domain of fantasy are limited and invalid. Demarcating fantasy from reality allows the legitimated domain wherein all the unsanctioned possibilities can be performed. Since women voluntarily demarcate fantasy from reality, the domain of fantasy can be said conferred and legitimized by women themselves. The domain of fantasy demarcated by women is not the domain of what is not real. The performances in this domain of fantasy are not something cannot be real. The domain of fantasy means the possibilities of different version of real that is not real yet (Butler, 1990a:185).

When women practice the possibilities unsanctioned to be real yet through the fan fictions, it can also challenge their being a woman, which is both sanctioned and imposed on their bodies by compulsory heterosexuality in the domain perceived as reality. All debates around whom (Top or Bottom) women identify with in their reading and writing fan fictions

\textsuperscript{12} The use of the term feminization[여성화Yeo-Sung-Hwa in Korean] completely follows the use of the idol fan communities

\textsuperscript{13} "Unni" is a term for women to call someone who is women and older than themselves
show a strong assumption of their being a woman, identified self, which is one of the phantasmatic notions sustains the category of two sexes. Women's reading and writing fan fictions is, however, not the matter of identification but out of the burden of phantasmatic identification imposed on the bodies in the reality. The attempts to identify the desire of reading and writing fan fictions, for example the inquiry like what women want to see through Top/Bottom from which position, always place desire in the sexed category. As previous researches claimed, women transcend the distinction between Top/Bottom in their reading and writing fan fictions (Park, 2005, Han, 2008). There is no fixed position for women in reading and writing fan fictions. Being positioned means being within the sexed category, however, what the domain of fantasy in reading and writing fan fictions provides is not being positioned. As many researches show, women do not identify themselves with one certain character. Further, they do not need to identify themselves in reading and writing fan fictions. The only certain thing is what women desire in their reading and writing fan fictions are two male bodies and erotic interplay between these two male bodies. That women desire two male bodies does not mean women identify with one (or both) of them but it reveals the phantasmatic notion of identification. The category of two sexes is sustained by the phantasmatic notion of identification. In order to sustain the phantasmatic notion of identification, one should identify oneself. The identification process means being positioned within (or without) the category of two sexes thus the notion of identification always assumes the category of two sexes. In their reading and writing fan fictions, women can be free from the burden of being positioned within the category of two sexes. Women desire two male bodies and the erotic interplay between two male bodies in their reading and writing fan fictions. Women are free from being positioned, being identified and even being a woman (in the category of two sexes) by reading and writing male bodies and erotic interplay between the male bodies. Female body's being a woman (and woman being a female body) is essence of the phantasmatic identification that supports the stability of the category of two sexes. (Heterosexual) desire supports the continuity between woman and female body, and what women's reading and writing idol fan fictions confuse is this continuity between women and female body.
8. Conclusion

8.1. Summary of the Research

My research explored how gender and sexuality are constructed in the category of Top/Bottom in Korean idol fan fiction by analyzing how the different signs are signified using Laclau and Mouffe's methodology.

According to the result, first of all, gender and sexuality is constructed in the category of Top/Bottom through the parody of two sexes. In the parody, not only the contents of two sexes, such as masculinity/femininity and male/female, but also a process of male/femaled is parodied. It is revealed how the category of two sexes is constructed and how it functions through the category of Top/Bottom's parody of two sexes.

Secondly, the parodied structure of Top/Bottom is sustained by strict oppositional constructions of femininity/masculinity. Femininity and masculinity are never separable to each other in the signification process. This oppositional construction is sustained by the strong purification. For example, Top and Bottom barely share the same sign in their bodily construction. If Top has big hands, Bottom does not, rather he cannot. Because of Bottom not having big hands, Top's big hands finally can complete the signification of masculinity. In the oppositional construction of masculinity/femininity within the Top/Bottom divide, all the oppositional constructions of the meanings ultimately establish the phallogocentric signifying economy. Then unequal power relations are derived from the phallogocentrism. The signification of Bottom's body as matter and the phantasmatic evaporation of Top's materiality play a central role in establishing phallogocentric signifying system within the category of Top/Bottom.

Third, Top/Bottom is the body's sexuality in fan fiction. These sexualities are sustained by gendered construction of masculinity/femininity in much the same way of sex is gendered. The fundamental step of gender and sexuality construction is sexing the bodies. When the male bodies are Topped/Bottomed in idol fan fiction, the mark of Top/Bottom fragments and sectionalizes male bodies in two different materializations. In fragmentation, sectionalizing and naming certain part as a sexual organ are the central processes to divide Top/Bottom. In these processes, if the body is Topped, penis is sectionalized and materialized as a central sexual organ and if the body is Bottomed, the Hot Spot is
sectionalized and materialized as a central sexual organ. Both penis and the Hot Spot are the materials in the male body but penis is not visible and does not function in Bottom's body and the Hot Spot is never sectionalized, named and used in Top's body. Therefore, naming and sectionalizing sexual organs shows how the mark governs the materialization of the bodies.

Forth, "irreducible materiality" plays a pivotal role in the process of Topped/Bottomed particularly to secure the established category. For example, because of the Hot Spot, the irreducible materiality, the body is destined to be a Bottom and hardly changes its Bottomness. However, the idea of irreducible materiality is revealed phantasmatic because both Top/Bottom have the material for the Hot Spot but it is only materialized in Bottom's body. Even though the idea of irreducible materiality is revealed as phantasmatic, establishing irreducible materiality is still an important first step to construct gender and sexuality in Korean idol fan fictions. Then the materiality governs the performances, for example Bottom should be inserted for its material, the Hot Spot.

Lastly, Top/Bottom is ultimately distinguished from the performances of inserting/being inserted. In this distinction, gender and sexuality are constructed in citations and reiterations of intercourse. Intercourse (between vagina and penis), the sanctioned erotic interplay by heterosexual norms for the reproduction, provides modalities of materialization in citations. For instance Top's body should be materialized as "insertable" while Bottom's body should be materialized as "penetrable".

My research also explored challenges in women's reading and writing idol fan fictions.

Firstly, when the category of two sexes is parodied by the category of Top/Bottom, the parody deprivileges the signifier in citations. Then deprivileged signifiers reveal the imitative structure of two sexes. Through the parody, the category of two sexes is weakened in its originality.

Secondly, practice of anal sex in fan fictions deregulates heterosexualized bodily margins and challenges the boundaries of body shaped by heterosexual norms.

Thirdly, twisting brotherhood into love is essential in reading and writing fan fictions. In their twisting brotherhood, it is revealed that the social construction of love is regulated by compulsory heterosexuality.

Lastly, my research focuses on that reading and writing fan fictions are demarcated in the domain of fantasy by the readers and writers themselves. This domain of fantasy should not be estimated as limited domain for what is not real but should be estimated as the domain
of possibilities for what is not yet real. In addition, that women desire two male bodies and the erotic interplay between male bodies challenges them being a woman since the domain of the fantasy endowed by women themselves is not restricted by the idea of phantasmatic identification and confuses the continuity between female body and being a woman.
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http://www.opengoal.tv/ An online page for fan fictions about football players mentioned in footnote 1, pp.5