

From Print Canon to Platform Literature: Gatekeeping, Cyber Aesthetics, and Metricized Legitimacy in Indonesian Literary Modernity

Suprpto¹✉, Ahmad Jami'ul Amil²

¹Javanese Language Education Study Program, STKIP PGRI Ponorogo, Ponorogo, Indonesia

²Indonesian Language and Literature Education Study Program, Universitas Trunojoyo Madura, Bangkalan, Indonesia

✉ suprpto_pbsi@stkippgriponorogo.ac.id

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Abstract. This article examines Indonesian literary modernity as a media-ecological transition from print canonization to cyber counter-publics and platform-mediated legitimacy. The study draws on a curated spreadsheet of 59 records covering authors, works, anthologies, communities, platforms, media forms, eras, stylistic attributes, achievements, reception status, and source indices. Instead of treating cyber literature as a simple technological novelty, the article codes the corpus into medium clusters, historical phases, reception types, legitimation regimes, and cultural functions. The findings show that the corpus is organized by four overlapping media regimes: print-dominant literary field (23 records), platform/social-media literature (18), early/curated cyber infrastructure (16), and performance or expanded forms (2). The analysis identifies a shift from editorial-institutional legitimacy to metric-platform legitimacy, while state-political memory and community-network archives continue to shape literary value. The article argues that Indonesian cyber literature began as a counter-public against print gatekeeping but increasingly operates inside platform capitalism, where visibility, adaptation potential, and reader metrics reorganize authorship, genre, and canon formation. The contribution is a corpus-grounded model of Indonesian literary platform modernity.

Keywords: Indonesian cyber literature; platformization; literary canon; digital culture; Wattpad; Webtoon; literary sociology; media ecology



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1. Introduction

Indonesian literature has never developed through text alone. Its history is also a history of media, institutions, publics, technologies, and regimes of legitimacy. Newspapers, magazines, school anthologies, state recognition, prizes, publishers, campus criticism, community archives, blogs, mailing lists, Wattpad, Webtoon, Instagram, Twitter/X, and monetized reading applications have all shaped how literary value is produced and recognized. A poem, novel, thread, digital anthology, or platform fiction does not circulate in an empty space; it enters a field already structured by gatekeeping, memory, market desire, political pressure, and reader participation. For this reason, the transition from print to cyber literature in Indonesia cannot be understood as a simple chronological movement from old media to new media. It is better understood as a transformation in the cultural infrastructure of legitimacy: who is allowed to publish, who is authorized to judge, which audiences matter, and which metrics are allowed to stand in for literary value.

This article responds to that problem by reading Indonesian literary development from print canon to platform literature through a corpus-derived model of media ecology, gatekeeping, cyber aesthetics, and metricized legitimacy (Bourdieu 1993; Foucault 1972; Hayles 2008; Pressman 2014; van Dijck, Poell, and de Waal 2018; Nieborg and Poell 2018).

The controversy surrounding Indonesian cyber literature has usually been narrated through a familiar opposition: the print establishment versus the digital public. Early cyber initiatives such as Cybersastra.net, the Yayasan Multimedia Sastra, the anthology Graffiti Gratitude, mailing-list communities, and Cyber Graffiti: Polemik Sastra Cyberpunk challenged the authority of newspaper editors and established literary critics. The polemical language surrounding cyber literature, including the stigmatizing label of low-quality or residual writing, was not merely a matter of taste. It was a struggle over the right to define literary seriousness. In Bourdieusian terms, the digital literary field was not only introducing a new medium; it was contesting the distribution of symbolic capital. In Foucauldian terms, it was disrupting the rules that determined what could count as legitimate literary discourse. Earlier studies on Indonesian cyber literature have recognized this conflict, but many remain either historical-descriptive or platform-specific. What is still needed is a data-based reconstruction of how print, cyber infrastructure, platform capitalism, political memory, and popular genre coexist in the same literary field (Merawati and Suwartini 2018; Septriani 2016; Situmorang 2004; Sudewa and Yadnya 2022; Rahmawati 2024).

The platform turn complicates the early emancipatory narrative of cyber literature. Whereas early cyber spaces were celebrated because they allowed publication outside newspaper gatekeeping, contemporary literary platforms increasingly convert participation into visibility metrics. Wattpad, Webtoon, Instagram poetry, Twitter/X threads, horror-story communities, Fizzo, KaryaKarsa, and other digital spaces make literary circulation broader, faster, and more interactive, but they also reorganize value through page views, likes, followers, monetization, adaptation potential, and genre formulas. This does not mean that platform literature is aesthetically inferior. On the contrary, platforms generate new forms of seriality, micro-narration, visual storytelling, reader-author intimacy, vernacular genre formation, and fan-driven canonization. Yet the same infrastructure also creates a paradox: cyber literature that once resisted print capitalism can become captured by platform capitalism. Recent studies of Wattpad, Webtoon, Instagram poetry, and algorithmically mediated creative labor have shown that digital literature operates through enjoyment, participation, visibility, commercialization, and platform constraints rather than through textual autonomy alone (Sari, Faruk, and Hurley 2023; Yoesoef 2020; De and Lu 2024; Lestari 2025; McGurl 2021; Srnicek 2017; Poell, Nieborg, and Duffy 2022).

The present article contributes to this debate by using a curated corpus of 59 records on Indonesian literary figures, works, anthologies, communities, and platforms, ranging from Chairil Anwar, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, H. B. Jassin, Sutardji Calzoum Bachri, Sapardi Djoko Damono, Wiji Thukul, Ayu Utami, Helvy Tiana Rosa, Andrea Hirata, Dee Lestari, Eka Kurniawan, and Djenar Maesa Ayu to

Graffiti Gratitude, Cybersastra.net, Cyberpuitika, Saut Situmorang, Medy Loekito, Wattpad, Webtoon, Simpleman, KKN di Desa Penari, Fiksimini, KaryaKarsa, Fizzo, Boy Candra, Brian Khrisna, and other platform-based literary actors. The dataset is not presented as a total archive of Indonesian literature. It is a structured interpretive corpus that makes visible a set of transitions: from newspaper and book-based canon formation to cyber counter-publics; from polemical digital autonomy to platform metrics; from elite criticism to community reception; from literary quality as expert judgment to popularity as computable signal. Such a corpus is valuable because it enables an argument that is neither anecdotal nor mechanically quantitative. It allows the article to identify pattern, conflict, and conceptual movement while still preserving the singularity of major figures and works (Krippendorff 2018; Saldaña 2021; Moretti 2013; Jockers 2013; Drucker 2013).

Three research questions guide the article. First, how does the corpus distribute Indonesian literary development across print-dominant, early cyber, platform/social-media, and expanded-performance media regimes? Second, how does literary legitimacy move among editorial-institutional gatekeeping, state-political recognition or suppression, community-network validation, and metric-platform visibility? Third, what theoretical model emerges when Indonesian cyber literature is read not as a break from literary history but as an unstable reconfiguration of canon, counter-public, commodity, and archive? The article argues that Indonesian literary modernity is best understood as a platform-mediated field rather than a linear sequence. Print canon does not disappear; it is re-used, challenged, digitized, taught, quoted, and converted into new publics. Cyber literature does not remain purely oppositional; it is increasingly absorbed into monetized and algorithmic systems. Platform popularity does not automatically destroy literary value; it creates a new conflict between visibility and criticism. This tension is the central object of the study (Guillory 1993; Casanova 2004; Striplhas 2009; Gillespie 2018; Kirschenbaum 2008; Rettberg 2019).

2. Method

This study used a qualitative corpus-based literary-sociological design. The primary data were taken from a spreadsheet entitled *Perkembangan dan Tokoh Sastra Indonesia: Cetak hingga Cyber*. The main sheet contains 59 records and eight fields: literary figure or anthology/work, publication medium, literary era, main contribution, stylistic or aesthetic characteristic, award or achievement, inferred reception status, and source index. A second sheet lists 25 source entries that function as a documentary reference frame. The unit of analysis was not only the individual author or work but the relation between author/work, medium, era, aesthetic profile, and reception status. This choice matters because the study is concerned with field transformation rather than biographical description. A record such as *Graffiti Gratitude* is therefore read not only as an anthology but as a cyber-infrastructural event; a record such as *Wattpad* is read not only as a platform but as a shift in reader-author relation; a record such as *H. B. Jassin* is read not only as an individual critic but as a symbol of editorial-institutional legitimacy.

The audit stage produced two analytical layers. All 59 records were retained for broad media-ecology mapping because every row contributes to the historical and institutional design of the spreadsheet. However, five records contained partial fields marked as Not in source. These records were retained as boundary indicators but were not used as primary evidence for close interpretive claims. The core analytical corpus therefore consists of 54 fully interpretable records, while the five boundary records function as methodological warnings about incomplete secondary compilation. This distinction prevents the article from turning uncertain entries into strong cultural claims. It also makes the analysis more transparent: the corpus is rich enough to support a robust interpretation of print-to-platform transition, but not exhaustive enough to make population-level statements about all Indonesian literature.

Five coding dimensions were produced from the spreadsheet fields. First, publication medium was coded into four clusters: print-dominant literary field, early or curated cyber infrastructure, platform/social-media literature, and performance or expanded literary form. Second, era labels were consolidated into five historical phases: colonial/early print modernity, national canon and Cold War print field, Reform-era cyber polemic, platform and post-platform contemporaneity, and hybrid/*longue durée*. Third, reception status was coded into canonical/institutionally accepted, contested/controversial, popular-commercial, and alternative/emergent. Fourth, legitimacy regime was coded into editorial-institutional, metric-platform, state-political, community-network, and hybrid/unclear. Fifth, cultural function was coded into canon formation, cyber infrastructure and aesthetics, resistance and social critique, platform commercialization, religious-popular pedagogy, popular genre affect, and other literary-cultural function. The coding was interpretive but rule-guided, following keywords and semantic patterns in the spreadsheet rather than imposing categories from outside the data (Hsieh and Shannon 2005; Schreier 2012; Krippendorff 2018; O'Connor and Joffe 2020).

The analysis deliberately avoids excessive quantification. Counts and percentages are used as anchors, not as the primary mode of argument. This is because literary fields do not operate like survey populations. A single record such as Pramodya Ananta Toer, H. B. Jassin, or Graffiti Gratitude may carry more historical weight than several minor platform entries. At the same time, refusing all counting would make the argument impressionistic. The study therefore combines descriptive matrixing, field-theoretical interpretation, media-ecological reading, and close attention to representative records. This combined strategy follows recent digital-humanities arguments that computational or structured evidence can strengthen rather than replace interpretive reading when the methods are modest, transparent, and theoretically explicit (Moretti 2013; Jockers 2013; Drucker 2013; Piper 2018; Ohman and Rossi 2024).

Table 1. Corpus audit and coding architecture

Analytical layer	Operational basis	Records / categories	Interpretive use
Initial corpus	All rows in the main spreadsheet	59	Broad media-ecology mapping
Core interpretable records	Rows without decisive source-gap warning	54	Representative field and aesthetic analysis
Boundary records	Rows with partial Not in source markers	5	Retained for transparency but not used as strong interpretive evidence
Coding dimensions	Medium, era, reception, legitimacy, cultural function	5 dimensions	Links textual record to literary-sociological interpretation

Table 1 shows that the article treats the spreadsheet as a structured cultural corpus rather than a list of names. The distinction between 54 core records and five boundary records is important because the analysis does not convert incomplete data into overconfident claims. At the same time, retaining all 59 rows for broad mapping allows the article to preserve the corpus's own historical ambition: to connect print canon, cyber polemic, social-media literature, and platform economy in one interpretive field.

3. Results and Discussion

The findings are reorganized as a combined textual-field analysis rather than as a sequence of similar descriptive summaries. The corpus is read at three levels: first, as a media ecology that maps how Indonesian literary legitimacy moves from print to cyber and platform environments; second, as a set of textual and paratextual objects whose aesthetic strategies can be read closely; and third, as a cultural field in which editorial authority, counter-public archives, reader metrics, and popular genres compete to define what counts as literature. This organization gives the results a more varied analytical rhythm: corpus evidence anchors the discussion, close reading explains how selected texts work, discourse analysis identifies legitimacy struggles, and platform analysis shows how digital affordances reshape literary value.

The revised discussion therefore avoids treating the spreadsheet as a simple frequency table. Counts are used sparingly to indicate the architecture of the data, while the main analytical work is performed through representative textual records, polemical statements, platform affordances, and cultural functions. This is appropriate because the dataset consists of figures, works, institutions, platforms, communities, and interpretive notes, not survey responses. Its strength lies in its capacity to place canonical print modernism, Reform-era cyber counter-publics, social-media poetics, Islamic cyber writing, viral horror, and commercial platform fiction within one interpretive field.

3.1. Evidence constellations: from spreadsheet records to literary-cultural problems

The first result is methodological: the corpus is not one homogeneous archive but a set of evidence constellations. Its 59 records include 54 core interpretable entries and five boundary entries. More important than the number itself is the kind of cultural work each constellation enables. Print records allow analysis of canon formation and institutional memory. Cyber records expose the polemical struggle around publication authority. Platform records reveal the conversion of readership into measurable literary value. Expanded-performance records remind us that Indonesian literature has never been restricted to the printed page or screen alone.

This layered evidence structure changes the research question. The issue is not whether print literature has been replaced by cyber literature. The corpus shows that replacement is the wrong model. What occurs is a redistribution of literary functions across media: the print field still supplies canon and school memory; early cyber spaces supply counter-public access and experimental legitimacy; platforms supply visibility, affective repetition, and market evidence; performance forms supply embodied circulation. The following table condenses these constellations not as a statistical display but as an interpretive guide for the close readings that follow.

Table 2. Evidence constellations and analytical uses in the corpus

Evidence constellation	Representative records	Primary analytical question	Main interpretive operation
Print canon and institutional memory	Chairil Anwar; Pramoedya Ananta Toer; H. B. Jassin; Ayu Utami; Djenar Maesa Ayu	How does conflict become literary authority?	Field analysis and close reading of canonizing controversies
Cyber counter-publics	Graffiti Gratitude; Cybersastra.net; Cyber Graffiti; Yayasan Multimedia Sastra; Cyberpuitika	How does digital publication challenge editorial gatekeeping?	Discourse analysis of polemic, access, and counter-archive formation
Digital textuality and social critique	Api Drupadi; Instagram poems; sastradigital.com; basabasi.co; Sajak Liar	How do textual form, hyperlinking, and linguistic deviation produce resistance?	Close reading, semiotic reading, and stylistic analysis
Platform genres and metric legitimacy	Wattpad; Webtoon; Fizzo; KaryaKarsa; Twitter/X threads; KKN di Desa Penari	How does reader visibility become market evidence?	Platform-affordance analysis and sociology of cultural production
Expanded performance and pedagogic circulation	Musikalisasi Puisi; Putu Wijaya; public performance hybrids	How does literature move beyond page-bound textuality?	Media-ecological reading of embodied and pedagogical transmission

Table 2 reframes the corpus as an analytical machine. Each cluster produces a different kind of evidence and therefore requires a different method. A canonical figure such as Chairil Anwar cannot be read in the same way as Wattpad; a cyber

polemic cannot be read in the same way as a poem on Instagram; a viral horror thread cannot be evaluated through the same criteria as a newspaper poem. The value of the corpus lies precisely in this heterogeneity. It makes visible how Indonesian literary modernity is formed by shifts in medium, but also by shifts in authority, audience, memory, genre, and economic infrastructure.

The table also explains why the subsequent analysis moves between close reading and field analysis. Textual form matters because Indonesian literary change is not merely institutional. However, institutional location matters because the same textual form may acquire different value when it appears in a newspaper, a cyber archive, an Instagram feed, a Wattpad serialization, or a commercial publisher's catalogue. This dual perspective gives the article its main claim: Indonesian cyber and platform literature should be understood as a hybrid literary ecology, not as a simple opposition between high literature and popular digital writing.

3.2. Print canon as a conflicted textual field, not a stable origin

The print-dominant records complicate the nostalgic idea that literary value was once stable before being disturbed by the internet. The corpus places Chairil Anwar, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, H. B. Jassin, Ayu Utami, Djenar Maesa Ayu, and other print-associated figures within a field already marked by conflict, selection, and symbolic struggle. Chairil's modernist aura emerges from the fracture of older poetic diction and the making of a new voice of intensity. Pramoedya's authority is inseparable from censorship, exile, translation, and world-literary circulation. Jassin's role shows that criticism and archiving are not neutral services; they are institutions that define what becomes readable as national literature. Ayu Utami and Djenar Maesa Ayu demonstrate that controversy around body, gender, sexuality, and religious-political discomfort was already present in book culture before platform literature intensified public reaction.

The print field therefore provides a crucial control case for understanding cyber literature. If controversy and gatekeeping are already central to print canon formation, then the cyber polemic cannot be dismissed as a lesser conflict produced by amateur publication. Rather, it repeats a deeper pattern in Indonesian literary history: new forms become visible by disturbing an existing apparatus of legitimacy. The difference is that print conflict tends to be absorbed through criticism, school canon, publishing prestige, awards, and historical retrospection, while digital conflict is mediated through immediate circulation, public comment, platform memory, and metrics.

Table 3. Textual-field reading of selected print records

Record	Textual or cultural pressure	How legitimacy is produced	Why it matters for cyber comparison
Chairil Anwar	Breaks inherited poetic diction through modernist intensity, compression, and self-fashioning	National-modernist canonization turns into disruption founding energy	Shows that literary value often begins as formal disturbance, not consensus
Pramoedya Ananta Toer	Narrative authority is shaped by censorship, exile, history, and political	Political conflict is converted into transnational literary	Demonstrates that visibility can be produced by repression as much as

Record	Textual or cultural pressure	How legitimacy is produced	Why it matters for cyber comparison
	memory	prestige	by promotion
H. B. Jassin	Criticism and documentation mediate who enters literary history	Editorial and archival authority produce a canonizing filter	Reveals that gatekeeping is an institutional practice, not merely a digital problem
Ayu Utami / Djenar Maesa Ayu	Body, sexuality, gendered voice, and Reform-era controversy unsettle literary decorum	Contestation becomes evidence of cultural transformation	Prepares the field for later debates around digital popularity and moral panic

Table 3 shows that print literature in the corpus is not an uncontested standard against which cyber literature can simply be measured. Its central figures are canonized through disruption. This matters because many critiques of cyber literature assume that the print field represents discipline, depth, and aesthetic seriousness, while digital writing represents speed, excess, and weak curation. The corpus does not support that binary. It suggests that both print and cyber fields are conflictual, but they process conflict through different infrastructures of legitimacy. This interpretation changes the status of the cyber debate. When cyber literature was accused of being aesthetically uncontrolled or of bypassing editorial discipline, the accusation reproduced an older logic of symbolic distinction. The print field had long decided value by combining textual innovation with institutional recognition. Cyber writing challenged this combination by making publication precede recognition. The conflict was not only about literary quality; it was about whether value must pass through print institutions before becoming publicly visible. That is why the print records are essential to the article's argument: they expose gatekeeping as historical, not natural.

3.3. Cyber polemic as discourse event: access, insult, archive, and counter-legitimacy

The cyber cluster is best read as a discourse event rather than as a list of websites. Its key records - Graffiti Gratitude, Cybersastra.net, Cyberpuitika, Yayasan Multimedia Sastra, Cyber Graffiti, Ahmadun Yosi Herfanda, Saut Situmorang, Medy Loekito, and related polemical actors - show how Indonesian cyber literature became visible through conflict over legitimacy. The label often remembered as the "tong sampah" accusation is not a peripheral insult. It is a diagnostic phrase because it reveals the print establishment's anxiety about uncontrolled publication. Calling cyber literature a waste container attempts to classify digital openness as aesthetic contamination.

The counter-response from cyber advocates does more than defend a new medium. It redefines literary citizenship. If newspaper pages and publishers function as selective gates, cyber spaces function as counter-gates: they do not abolish selection, but they relocate selection to networks, communities, archives, and public interaction. This is why the early cyber moment should not be conflated with later platform capitalism. The records indicate a transitional formation in which the internet was valued as a space of access, experimentation, documentation, and

resistance to monopoly. The polemic became productive because it turned insult into archive and marginality into a collective claim.

Table 4. Discourse analysis of the early cyber-literature polemic

Discourse position	Representative evidence in the corpus	Hidden assumption	Cultural effect
Print-establishment suspicion	The characterization of cyber literature as uncontrolled, unfiltered, or “tong sampah”	Literary value must pass through recognized editorial institutions	Digital access is framed as a threat to aesthetic discipline
Cyber counter-claim	Graffiti Gratitude, Cybersastra.net, Cyber Graffiti, Cyberpuitika, and Yayasan Multimedia Sastra	Publication space can be democratized without surrendering literary ambition	Cyber writing becomes a counter-public rather than a private hobby
Archival conversion	Polemic itself becomes documented and circulated as literary history	Conflict can be turned into evidence of field transformation	The marginal medium gains historical memory
Aesthetic expansion	Multimedia, hyperlinks, CD publication, online archives, and digital communities	The medium is not only a channel but a form-making environment	Cyber literature enters the discussion as an aesthetic and institutional event

Table 4 demonstrates that the cyber polemic is not reducible to a debate between conservative critics and young internet writers. It is a struggle over the classification of literary labor. The print-establishment position treats editorial filtering as a condition of value. The cyber position treats access and circulation as conditions of participation. The archival conversion is especially important: once the polemic is recorded in books, websites, and later scholarship, cyber literature enters literary history not only as a practice but as a controversy that forced criticism to state its assumptions.

The critical implication is that cyber literature’s earliest significance lies less in technological novelty than in the reorganization of legitimacy. Indonesian cyber writing did not simply move poems from paper to screens. It forced the literary field to confront a new public in which publication could occur before institutional certification. This reverses the old sequence of value. In print culture, publication often followed selection; in cyber culture, selection increasingly followed circulation. That reversal is the key historical transformation identified by the corpus.

3.4. Digital textuality: hypertext, deviant language, and the aesthetics of mediated resistance

The strongest textual evidence in the corpus appears in records that describe poems, social-media literary posts, and digital poetic practices. These records show that cyber literature is not only a sociological phenomenon; it also has distinctive textual consequences. Retno Darsi Iswandari’s *Api Drupadi*, as recorded in the dataset, is central because it allows digital poetry to be read as mythological reactivation. *Drupadi* is not merely a reference to an epic woman; she becomes a

figure through which violence, purity, fire, revenge, and gendered dignity are reorganized for a contemporary reader. The digital setting intensifies this effect because the poem can be placed within a wider network of hyperlinks, mythic memory, and feminist or anti-violence discourse.

The data on linguistic deviation in cyber poetry add another layer. Records on *sastradigital.com* and related poetry archives mention syntactic, semantic, graphological, dialectal, and historical deviations. These are not mere errors produced by weak editing. In a literary reading, deviation can operate as foregrounding: the broken punctuation, unusual word order, dialectal residue, and archaic vocabulary create a texture of estrangement. In cyber space, such estrangement becomes double. It breaks standard poetic expectation and also resists the smooth communicative efficiency usually associated with digital media. The poem refuses to become only quick content.

Instagram-based social critique supplies the third textual layer. Poems such as *1928 vs 2016*, *Merah*, and *Deras Propaganda Konsumerisme* are recorded as examples of cyber literature that speaks to nationalism, religious conflict, and consumerist propaganda. Their rhetorical energy comes from compression, repetition, accusation, and affective address. Unlike long-form printed critique, the social-media poem must work within attention scarcity. It often uses direct address, moral contrast, and hyperbolic imagery to cut through the feed. This does not automatically make it shallow. It means that its rhetorical form responds to the conditions of digital attention.

Table 5. Close textual analysis of digital literary records

Textual record / group	Dominant device	Cultural work	Interpretive finding
Api Drupadi	Mythic intertext, fire imagery, and gendered symbolic reactivation	Converts epic memory into a contemporary grammar of violated dignity and resistance	Cyber poetry can function as mythological counter-memory rather than ornamental online verse
Cyber poetry on <i>sastradigital.com</i>	Syntactic rupture, semantic displacement, graphological looseness, dialectal and archaic residues	Makes digital language resistant to standardized speed and transparent communication	Deviation is not editing failure; it can be a deliberate aesthetics of estrangement
<i>1928 vs 2016</i> and <i>Merah</i>	Historical contrast, direct address, repetition, and moral accusation	Critiques weakened nationalism, religious intolerance, and public hypocrisy	Social-media poetry can condense civic critique into affectively shareable form
<i>Deras Propaganda Konsumerisme</i>	Personification, grotesque metaphor, and anti-capitalist imagery	Frames technology, globalization, and consumption as cultural violence	Cyber literature participates in social criticism even while using capitalist platforms
Islamic cyber writing and FLP-linked records	Moral plot, spiritual discipline, and gendered piety	Uses popular narrative and digital circulation for dakwah by writing	Religious cyber literature complicates the assumption that digital literature is necessarily secular or liberal

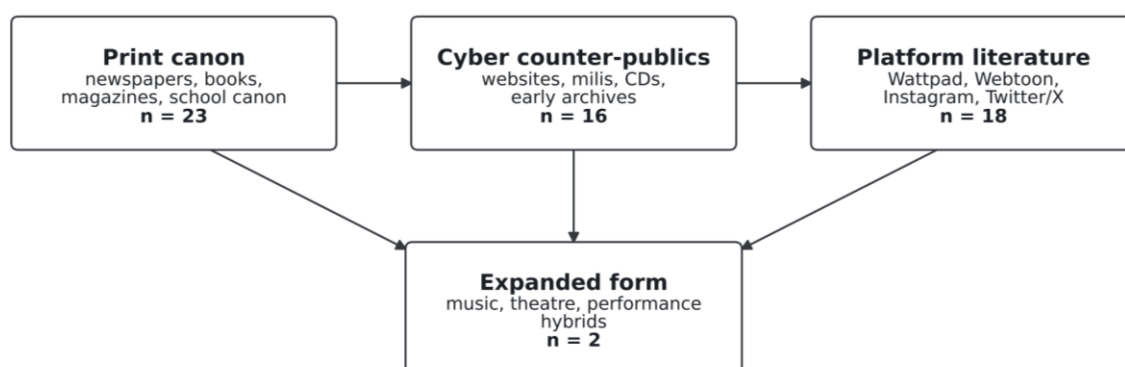
Table 5 shifts the analysis from medium to textual work. The corpus indicates that cyber literary form is heterogeneous: it includes mythic rewriting, stylistic deviation, civic poetry, anti-consumerist critique, and religious narrative. This heterogeneity is significant because the phrase “sastra siber” often suggests a single medium-based category. The textual evidence shows that medium alone does not determine aesthetic function. A poem on Instagram, a web archive poem, a cyber-polemical anthology, and Islamic popular fiction may all be digital, but they organize language, affect, address, and authority differently.

The deeper finding is that digital textuality in Indonesian literature operates through mediated resistance. Api Drupadi resists through mythic reorientation. The deviant poems resist through language texture. Instagram poems resist through civic address. Islamic cyber narratives resist through moral-pedagogical circulation. Anti-consumerist poems resist even while inhabiting the platforms they criticize. This last tension is crucial. Digital literature is not outside power; it works inside the infrastructures that constrain it. Its resistance is therefore not pure opposition but situated negotiation.

3.5. Platformization as narrative design: from literary access to quantified attachment

The platform records require a different reading strategy because they are not defined only by text but by the design of reading. Wattpad, Webtoon, Fizzo, KaryaKarsa, Instagram poetry, Twitter/X threads, KKN di Desa Penari, Boy Candra, Brian Khrisna, and other platform-linked records show that platform literature changes narrative temporality. Wattpad favors seriality, cliff-hanger pacing, comment-responsive plotting, romance formulas, and fan attachment. Webtoon transforms narrative into vertical visual-sequential rhythm. Twitter/X threads produce suspense through fragmented release and communal speculation. Instagram poetry favors quotability and emotional minimalism. KaryaKarsa and Fizzo foreground monetized self-publication and creator labor.

This is why the platform cluster cannot be dismissed as merely commercial. Commercialization is real, but the textual consequences are also real. Platforms shape what kinds of sentences, chapters, images, titles, and emotional arcs become effective. A Wattpad romance must often sustain attachment over installments; a Webtoon must coordinate visual cliff-hangers with scrolling; a viral horror thread must keep readers collectively waiting and interpreting; an Instagram poem must become legible in one glance and memorable enough to be shared. Platformization therefore produces a new narratology of visibility.



The numbers anchor the interpretation; they do not claim full population representativeness.

Figure 1. Media ecology across the corpus.

Figure 1 provides a compact map of the media ecology behind this transformation. Its value is not the count alone, but the direction of movement it makes visible. Print canon, cyber counter-publics, platform literature, and expanded performance do not form isolated boxes. They are connected stages in the redistribution of literary authority. The figure shows why the platform turn should be read historically: Wattpad, Webtoon, Instagram, and Twitter/X become powerful not because they replace books completely, but because they inherit the access problem opened by early cyber communities and then reorganize it through corporate infrastructures.

The figure also clarifies the central paradox of the corpus. Early cyber literature challenged print gatekeeping by opening publication. Platform literature continues this opening but captures it through metrics and monetization. A writer who once sought freedom from newspaper editors may now be governed by reads, likes, comments, follower growth, algorithmic recommendation, and adaptation potential. The new gatekeeper is not only an editor; it is a platform environment that rewards certain rhythms of writing, certain genres, and certain kinds of emotional repeatability. This is why platform literature must be read as both democratization and enclosure.

Table 6. Platform affordances and textual consequences

Platform/ record	Affordance	Textual consequence	Critical risk
Wattpad	Serial chapters, comments, votes, reader-author proximity	Romance, fan attachment, cliff-hangers, and iterative plotting become central devices	Narrative value may be narrowed to popularity and affective retention
Webtoon	Mobile visual sequencing and vertical scrolling	Story becomes image-time: pacing depends on panel rhythm and screen movement	Literary analysis may ignore visual grammar if it remains print-centered
Twitter/X threads and KKN di Desa Penari	Fragmented posting, virality, communal speculation, adaptation pathway	Horror becomes collective waiting and participatory belief-making	Authenticity and rumor may become part of literary value

Platform / record	Affordance	Textual consequence	Critical risk
Instagram poetry	Visual minimalism, shareability, caption economy, follower networks	Poetic force is compressed into aphorism, intimacy, and immediate recognition	Emotion may be commodified as personal branding
KaryaKarsa Fizzo	/ Monetized access, creator profiles, direct payment, platform catalogue	Authorship becomes entrepreneurial labor and content continuity	Economic survival may reshape aesthetic risk

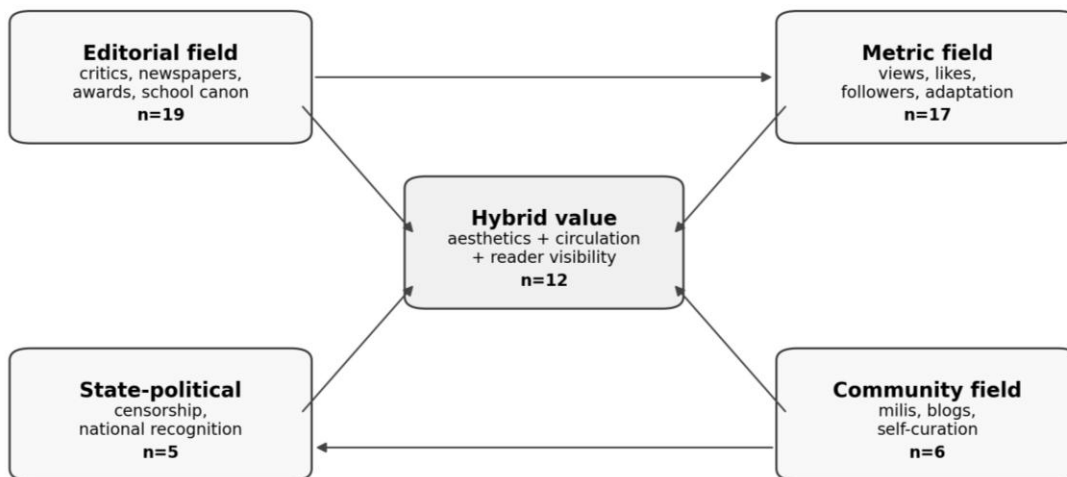
Table 6 makes the platform argument more precise. The platform is not simply a container for literature; it is a formal condition. It changes what kinds of narrative units are rewarded, how readers appear inside the writing process, and how publishers evaluate risk. A viral thread that becomes film material, a Wattpad story that accumulates reads, or an Instagram poet whose account becomes a brand all reveal the same shift: literary value is increasingly confirmed by traceable attention before it is certified by critics or publishers.

At the same time, the table prevents a reductive anti-platform conclusion. The corpus contains evidence of formula, commercialization, and metric capture, but also evidence of new publics, youth reading practices, genre creativity, and alternative publication routes. The proper critical stance is not rejection but double reading. One must read platform literature for its textual innovations and for the labor regime that makes those innovations profitable. This double reading is what allows a Scopus-level discussion to move beyond moral judgment into cultural analysis.

3.6. Hybrid legitimacy: a model produced by close reading, field analysis, and platform critique

The combined analysis produces a model of hybrid literary legitimacy. Indonesian literature in the corpus is no longer governed by one center. Editorial institutions still matter, especially through school canon, newspapers, publishers, awards, and criticism. State-political memory still matters, especially in records associated with censorship, national recognition, and historical trauma. Community archives matter because cyber groups, websites, anthologies, and digital publishers preserve otherwise fragile literary traces. Metrics matter because contemporary platforms turn attention into evidence. None of these regimes is sufficient alone. The most culturally powerful works increasingly move among them.

This model explains why certain records appear especially significant. Pramoedya becomes powerful because political censorship, print authorship, translation, and international recognition converge. Graffiti Gratitude becomes powerful because it turns digital marginality into a public archive. KKN di Desa Penari becomes powerful because thread narration, collective suspense, viral circulation, and film adaptation converge. Wattpad and Webtoon records become powerful because platform seriality generates measurable fandom that can later be transformed into publishing and adaptation value. The corpus therefore shows not a single literary modernization, but a sequence of conversions: conflict into canon, access into archive, attention into evidence, and popularity into market legitimacy.



Legitimacy is negotiated among gatekeeping, metrics, politics, and community archives.

Figure 2. Platform-mediated literary legitimacy model.

Figure 2 synthesizes the argument by positioning hybrid value at the intersection of editorial, metric, state-political, and community fields. The model is intentionally relational. It does not claim that metrics have replaced critics, that platforms have replaced books, or that cyber publics have abolished canon. Instead, it shows that contemporary Indonesian literary value is negotiated across multiple sites at once. A work may be weak in one regime and strong in another; it may lack school recognition but possess viral power; it may have mass readership but little critical legitimacy; it may be canonical but detached from young digital publics.

The model is also useful because it gives critics a way to avoid two common mistakes. The first mistake is print nostalgia: assuming that literature becomes less serious when it leaves newspapers and books. The second is digital celebrationism: assuming that online access automatically democratizes value. The corpus suggests a harder conclusion. Digital media open literary participation, but platforms also intensify commodification and surveillance of attention. Print institutions protect certain standards, but they also exclude many voices. A mature criticism must therefore evaluate how textual form, reader community, institutional memory, and platform metrics interact in each case.

3.7. Pedagogical and archival implications: reading across regimes of value

The revised findings have implications for literary pedagogy. A classroom that uses this corpus should not ask students to rank print, cyber, and platform literature in a simple hierarchy. A stronger task is comparative: students can examine how a print-canonical text builds authority through form and historical reception, how a cyber poem uses digital space to intensify intertextuality, how an Instagram poem condenses social critique into shareable affect, and how a Wattpad or Webtoon narrative organizes reader attachment through serial design. Such activities train students to read medium, text, institution, and audience together.

The archival implication is equally important. The corpus shows that Indonesian cyber literature is historically significant but materially fragile. Websites

disappear, social-media posts are deleted, platform policies change, and comment-based reception is difficult to preserve. If cyber literature is studied only after it has been converted into printed books, then the distinctive evidence of its digital life will be lost. Archival practice must therefore preserve not only the text but also paratexts, interface conditions, publication dates, comments, screenshots, hyperlinks, platform metadata, and adaptation histories where ethically and legally possible.

The critical implication is that Indonesian literary studies need a method that combines close reading with media-ecological analysis. Close reading prevents platform studies from reducing literature to data, metrics, or infrastructure. Field analysis prevents close reading from ignoring the institutions that produce value. Platform critique prevents both from romanticizing access. The corpus demonstrates that Indonesian literary modernity is best understood through the movement among these methods. It is at once textual, institutional, technological, and economic.

The broader contribution of the article is therefore conceptual. It proposes that the transition from print canon to platform literature should be read as a transformation in the conditions of legitimacy. The central question is not “Is cyber literature real literature?” but “Which infrastructures make a text visible, valuable, memorable, profitable, teachable, or controversial?” Once the question is framed this way, Indonesian cyber and platform literature become central to the study of language, literature, and cultural dynamics. They reveal how literary form survives, mutates, and becomes contested under changing media regimes.

4. Conclusion

This article has shown that Indonesian literary development from print to cyber and platform media is best understood through a combined textual-field model. The spreadsheet corpus does not merely record a shift of medium; it documents how literary value is produced through changing relations among textual form, editorial gatekeeping, cyber counter-publics, platform metrics, political memory, and community archives. The revised results demonstrate that print literature was already conflictual, that cyber literature emerged as a counter-public discourse event, and that platform literature reorganizes narrative design through visibility, seriality, and measurable reader attachment.

The article's central contribution is the model of hybrid literary legitimacy produced through close reading, discourse analysis, and platform critique. The model avoids both print nostalgia and digital celebrationism. It recognizes that editorial institutions, metrics, political memory, and community archives all shape contemporary Indonesian literary value. Future research should expand the corpus, preserve cyber-literary paratexts, add reception metadata, compare platform genres across Southeast Asia, and develop ethical protocols for archiving social-media literature without flattening its interactive context.

Future research should expand the corpus, verify source records through archival work, add metadata on publication dates and readership metrics, and compare Indonesian cyber literature with other Southeast Asian digital literary fields. A larger corpus could also test whether the legitimacy regimes identified here recur across languages, regions, and genres. For now, the present study provides a

defensible, data-grounded argument: Indonesian literature in the digital age is no longer organized only by texts and authors, but by infrastructures of circulation. To study literature today is therefore also to study platforms, archives, communities, algorithms, metrics, and the contested cultural labor through which literary value becomes visible.

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Author Contributions

Suprpto: conceptualization, corpus auditing, literary-historical interpretation, data coding supervision, writing – original draft, and final manuscript approval. Ahmad Jami'ul Amil: methodology, digital-literature framing, platform-literature analysis, visualization review, writing – review and editing, and final manuscript approval.

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Data Availability Statement

The analyzed data were derived from an author-provided spreadsheet on the development of Indonesian literary figures and works from print to cyber media. The coded analytic table and figures can be supplied as supplementary material upon reasonable request.

Declaration on the Use of Artificial Intelligence

Artificial intelligence support was used in a limited capacity for language refinement, structural organization, and readability improvement. The AI tool was not used to fabricate data, create unsupported findings, or make independent scholarly decisions. All corpus coding decisions, interpretation, and final manuscript approval remain the responsibility of the authors.

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