



**From fans to protest: K-Poppers *fangirl* in digital movement in  
Indonesia**

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**ABSTRACT**

*K-Poppers were one of the groups that were present when protests regarding the Omnibus Law surfaced in 2020, especially on social media such as Twitter. K-Pop fans, otherwise known as fandom, raised the #TolakOmnibusLaw movement on social media platforms including Twitter. This study specifically discusses fangirls, or female fan groups, who dominate K-Poppers accounts in Indonesia and their activism in voicing and supporting #TolakOmnibusLaw. Fangirls are often stigmatized by society and the mass media as irrational, hysterical, and lacking the capacity to understand issues in society. This study used a sequential mixed-method strategy with two data collection methods to obtain the desired findings. Quantitative data collection using data crawling and Social Network Analysis (SNA) was necessary to identify K-Pop accounts that participated in digital activism on Twitter during the 2020 Omnibus Law protests. Subsequently, qualitative data were gathered through in-depth interviews conducted online and offline to analyze the trends of digital activism displayed by K-Pop accounts on Twitter in rejecting the Omnibus Law. Through this study, which is part of the research related to K-Poppers' digital activism in the #TolakOmnibusLaw action, we argue that the stereotype against fangirls is not proven. Through their fangirling accounts, they strategize to build awareness and solidarity among K-Pop fans and the wider public against the process and substance of the Omnibus Law that harms labor groups and other aspects of society. Their activism is based on their closeness to their conditions as workers and students who will also become workers in Indonesia.*

**Keywords:** Fangirl; Fandom; Digital Activism; #TolakOmnibusLaw; K-Poppers.

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## ABSTRAK

*K-Poppers merupakan salah satu kelompok yang hadir ketika protes mengenai Omnibus Law muncul pada tahun 2020, terutama di media sosial seperti Twitter. Para penggemar K-Pop, atau yang dikenal dengan istilah fandom, menggalang gerakan #TolakOmnibusLaw di platform media sosial termasuk Twitter. Tulisan ini secara khusus membahas tentang fangirl, atau kelompok penggemar perempuan, yang mendominasi akun-akun K-Poppers di Indonesia dan aktivisme mereka dalam menyuarakan dan mendukung #TolakOmnibusLaw. Fangirl sering kali distigmatisasi oleh masyarakat dan media massa sebagai kelompok yang tidak rasional, histeris, dan tidak memiliki kapasitas untuk memahami isu-isu di masyarakat. Tulisan ini menggunakan strategi campuran sekuensial dengan dua metode pengumpulan data untuk memperoleh temuan yang diinginkan. Pengumpulan data kuantitatif menggunakan crawling data dan social network analysis diperlukan untuk mengidentifikasi akun-akun K-Pop yang berpartisipasi dalam aktivisme digital di Twitter selama demonstrasi menolak Omnibus Law tahun 2020. Setelah itu, data kualitatif melalui wawancara mendalam secara online dan offline dikumpulkan untuk menganalisis tren aktivisme digital yang ditampilkan oleh akun-akun K-Pop di Twitter dalam menolak Omnibus Law. Melalui tulisan ini, yang merupakan bagian dari penelitian terkait aktivisme digital K-Poppers dalam aksi #TolakOmnibusLaw, kami berargumen bahwa stereotip terhadap fangirl tidak terbukti. Melalui akun-akun fangirling mereka, mereka berstrategi untuk membangun kesadaran dan solidaritas di antara penggemar K-Pop dan masyarakat luas terhadap proses dan substansi Omnibus Law yang merugikan kelompok buruh dan aspek-aspek lain dalam masyarakat. Aktivisme mereka didasari oleh kedekatan mereka dengan kondisi mereka sebagai buruh dan mahasiswa yang juga akan menjadi buruh di Indonesia.*

**Kata Kunci:** Fangirl; Fandom; Aktivisme Digital; #TolakOmnibusLaw; K-Poppers.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This study discusses the digital political engagement of K-Pop fans, especially women, in the #TolakOmnibusLaw Twitter movement in Indonesia. K-Poppers, also known as Korean pop lovers, are a group of music fans who prefer South Korean music. K-Poppers are often the topic of conversation in society as they are known to be large and active social media users. According to a 2020 survey, Indonesia ranked first in the 2020 #K-PopTwitter report for the highest number of K-Pop-related tweets uploaded (Sari, 2021).

In Indonesia, two major protests took place in 2019 and 2020. Both began with government policies that were not transparent and were considered to undermine democracy. This protest movement was followed by the mobilization of digital movements, one of which was initiated by K-Poppers. Hashtags that later emerged and became very popular, #ReformasiDikorupsi in 2019, and #TolakOmnibusLaw in 2020, among others, were popularized by K-Poppers. A study conducted by Drone Emprit (2019) showed that, from a number of hashtags that appeared during #ReformasiDikorupsi movement, a number of hashtags such as #DiperkosaNegara emerged from K-Poppers' accounts and became one of the hashtags that appeared when the reform activities were corrupted (Fahmi, 2019). K-Pop

fans played an important role in the 2020 movement against the Omnibus Law (Mulyana, 2022).

The role of K-Poppers is the starting point in this study to look specifically at the phenomenon of fangirls and fangirling who are also active in voicing their aspirations and protests on social media. Fangirls and fangirling are part of the fandom phenomenon, a collective of K-Pop fans who not only consume cultural products but also actively reproduce and interpret them in new artistic forms (Jenkins, 1992). Fangirls currently dominate K-Pop fandom. Research conducted by nusaresearch in 2018 (nusaresearch, 2018) proved that the majority of K-Pop lovers, especially K-Pop music are women, with a percentage of 55%. The remaining 45% are men who like K-Pop. The comparison is not much different. However, this further strengthens that women dominate K-Pop fandoms, so that until now the terms fangirl and fangirling are more often heard among K-Pop fans. This community is often viewed negatively and stereotyped as fanatical, obsessive, hysterical, crazy, and consumptive (Tartila, 2013). It is not uncommon for fangirls to become targets of online gender-based violence, or violence based on one's gender facilitated by communication technology in cyberspace (Magdalene.co, September 2020; Kabardamai.id, July 20, 2021).

In the #TolakOmnibusLaw movement, the accounts that dominated on Twitter included K-Poppers' fangirling accounts. Fangirling refers to activities carried out by fangirls. In cyberspace, the phenomenon of fangirling becomes more visible as individuals communicate directly with other fans. With this social platform, fans can voice the support shown directly to their favorite idols. One of the most widely used social media is Twitter. Twitter was chosen as a medium to gain access to idols, because the idol uses Twitter, it is easier to communicate. The Twitter account used by these fans is called a fan account. Apart from communicating with their idols, it is also one of the media to make many friends and exchange information about idols through fan groups that are members of the virtual world, including on Twitter social media (Noviyanti et al., 2022).

Like the other K-Poppers accounts that promoted the #TolakOmnibusLaw action, these fangirling accounts are also considered by most of the public to be just following the bandwagon, apolitical and lacking in understanding of the socio-political situation in Indonesia. Fandom is seen as a group of individuals with excessive fanaticism towards their idols, so they are categorized as a form of social deviance in society (Jensen, 1992). However, we do not think this is evident in the context of the activism we are discussing. Many of the fangirls involved in this action are students, workers, and even popular figures such as artists and journalists. From this fact, this article tries to answer the question: how does fangirling play a role in digital activism against the Omnibus Law, and what are their motivations for being actively involved in #TolakOmnibusLaw? Our research shows that K-Poppers fangirls use fangirling as a strategy to raise concerns and protest against the law. Their familiarity with some of the things regulated in this law makes them choose to speak out against the law.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

The high engagement of fangirls in the #TolakOmnibusLaw is an example of what is called as fan activism. Fan activism is understood as “fan-driven efforts to address civic or political issues through strategic engagement and dissemination of popular culture content” (Jenkins in Brough & Shresthova, 2012). Jenkins further elaborates on fan activism by

analyzing the Harry Potter Alliance (HPA), a non-profit organization supporting human rights and equality built and organized by Harry Potter fans around the world. This example allows us to move from activism as traditionally understood to a broader definition that considers the convergence of media and culture - an interconnectedness of media, technology, and information that transforms our everyday experiences. For in the age of convergence, “our political struggles often take place through language and contexts that are deeply shaped by culture, making fan and consumer activism central to contemporary social movements” (Jenkins, 2011). Because contemporary fan activism and real activism often overlap and are difficult to distinguish, fan activism can be broadly defined to include the deliberate actions taken by fans or the use of practices by fans to make change.

However, when it comes to fangirls, things are different. Fangirls are usually stigmatized by certain stereotypes. When using the word fan with women, negative connotations arise (Yodovich, 2016, p. 290). Fangirls are often seen as damaging to the fandoms they follow, due to their 'hysterical' and 'obsessive' behavior (Yodovich, 2016, p. 290). In comparison, fanboys are the accepted social standard and they are not exposed to gendered derogatory terms.

Inequality in fandom is the result of sexism against women, perceiving that women do not really understand what they like, and their expression of it is exaggerated (Jinsook, 2018; Kite et al., 2008). Studies on women social media users in general see how women use social media as a representative media for themselves appropriately such as physical beauty, fashions, interests, and their several talents. This is also the finding of Irawati et.al. (2024), who mentioned that most women display beauty look, sensuality, dance, and facial expression as a form of self-actualization in social media, but at the same time there is also an element of social embarrassment that controls their social media content. Another study from Bireun, Aceh, found that individuals actively participating and interacting on social media platforms, refers as celebgram in Instagram, utilize social media not only to communicate but also source of income (Thalal et al., 2023).

Gender stereotypes affected to the perception of fangirls in social media. A study conducted by Nisbett (2018) showed that sexism against women in fandom occurs due to the dominance of a culture of masculinity that makes masculine values the standard. This domination has an impact on activities in the fandom where women are considered not to have the same knowledge and dedication as men so that something is only recognized if men acknowledge it. Based on Strinati's (2016) argument, this condition is the result of patriarchal culture in the scope of popular culture, where men are more dominant than women, resulting in the oppression of women. This shows the different attitudes of society in treating men and women, as expressed by feminists (Mills, 1995).

In our research, women in the fandom world may be brought together in social media groups or fan sites by a shared love of a particular artist, but these fandoms are dynamic networks of women. The fictional worlds of these fans offer imaginings of how young women subvert the heteronormative narratives sold to them by the music industry. Male teen idols are traditionally produced as clean archetypes on which girls can project their desires and fantasies. When these writings are shared within the fandom, they start conversations about female ideas and identity. Rather than simply consuming and obsessing over the products of the global industry, these girls adapted these cultural symbols into their personal fantasies.

### 3. METHOD

The topic in this study is part of a larger study related to the political digital activism of K-Poppers in the #TolakOmnibusLaw movement on Twitter (Mulyana, 2022). This research used an explanatory sequential model by collecting and analyzing quantitative data first, then collecting and analyzing qualitative data in the second stage, which builds on the initial quantitative results (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). When the Omnibus Law was rejected in 2020, this research focused on the digital activism behavior of K-Pop accounts. The researcher chose a sequential mixed strategy because it required two data collection methods to obtain the desired findings. Quantitative data collection is required to obtain the K-Pop accounts that participated in digital activism on Twitter during the 2020 Omnibus Law demonstration. After that, qualitative data were collected to answer the trends of digital activism displayed by K-Pop accounts on Twitter when rejecting the Omnibus Law.

We use a progressive mixed method that starts with quantitative data collection through data crawling and ends with Social Network Analysis (SNA). SNA is a method that uses graph theory to study human relationships. SNA investigates the structure of interactions that connect individuals or other social units, and the impact of behavior or attitudes on the organization of social relationships (Tsevehovat & Kouznetsov in Bratawisnu et al., 2018, p. 2). The purpose of using SNA in this study is to see the relationship between users represented by nodes and their interactions represented by lines (edges).

We conducted qualitative deepening of information on fangirling accounts through in-depth interviews both online and offline to several K-Poppers fangirls. The accounts we selected were the ones with the most likes and the most active in tweeting and being retweeted by other accounts related to the #TolakOmnibusLaw post.

### 4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The rejection of the Omnibus Law or Ciptaker Bill that occurred in 2020 began with a discourse regarding the formation of regulations governing several laws or what is called the Omnibus Law. President Joko Widodo initiated an omnibus law that accommodates approximately 76 laws in 1,200 articles. The aim was to compile various types of laws into one so that there is no overlapping of rules and aims to make it easier for investment to enter Indonesia so that it is not complicated. However, the drafting of this law seemed secretive and hasty, without involving extensive consultation with the public. The President even targets this policy to be passed within 100 days. This raises questions from the public, especially in relation to the interests of a number of elite oligarchs in the current government.

This bill was passed in a plenary meeting at the DPR on October 5, 2021. Immediately, a day after its ratification, various elements in society staged simultaneous demonstrations in at least 18 provinces in Indonesia on October 6-8, involving tens of thousands of people. The police again resorted to violence and repression in handling this action. The action ended in chaos and resulted in many victims. Also included in this group are high school and vocational high school students. Amnesty International Indonesia reports that there are at least 51 videos showing 43 violent incidents in 15 provinces between 6 and 10 October 2021. In this video, the police are seen brutally using blunt objects to disperse demonstrations that caused at least 402 people to become victims of violence and arrests of 6,658 people in all provinces where the action took place (Saputra, 2 December 2020).

The repression sparks bigger protests, including in social media, which involves youth elements that were previously considered apolitical such as K-Poppers. One of the social media that many people use is Twitter. The rejection of the Omnibus Law on social media Twitter can be seen from the hashtags trending on Indonesian Twitter. The hashtags that emerged during the rejection of the Omnibus Law were #MotionNoTrust, #RefuseOmnibusLaw, #CancelOmnibusLaw, and others. The previously mentioned hashtags began to appear on October 5, 2020 when the House of Representatives began passing the Omnibus Law.

Trending hashtags on Twitter come from various walks of life, one of which is K-Poppers. K-Poppers became a strong and influential group in the movement against the Omnibus Law on Twitter. Ismail Fahmi as the founder of Drone Emprit said that after the Omnibus Law was passed, there was an extraordinary increase in conversations on Twitter. This was influenced by the presence of K-Poppers in the conversation about the rejection of the Omnibus Law. The presence of K-Poppers can be seen from the many profile photos containing K-Pop in the conversation (Maulana, 2020).

From the K-Poppers accounts that dominated the online conversation regarding #RefuseOmnibusLaw, we identified a number of fangirling accounts that played an active role in the activism. A fangirling account is an account that is used to update or share information with fandom friends about their favorite idol or group. Fangirling accounts often have a different identity than other accounts. This is by using profile photos of their favorite idols or groups, bios and profile pages that contain K-Pop elements and many others. From a number of these accounts, we explore the data qualitatively. Two of them are fangirl accounts, namely Ve and De. We investigated the beginning of their involvement in this activism, their motivations, and the strategies or forms of activism they applied.

These two informants have different backgrounds. Ve is a 21-year-old woman studying at the Faculty of Fine Arts and Design at a university in Central Java. She likes K-Pop music and is a fan of boy groups from SM Entertainment NCT and JYP Entertainment Day. Ve's daily activities are being a student and currently doing her final thesis. She does not have a background related to politics, nor join student organization in her campus. Meanwhile, informant De is a 22-year-old woman. De has known K-Pop since 2010 starting from watching Korean dramas. When she first became a k-popper, De liked the Super Junior group and liked the EXO group in 2016. Now De likes the group NCT and joined the NCTzen fandom. De graduated recently from Under Graduate program on pharmacy in one of the universities in Jakarta. She is currently working in one of private companies in Indonesia. De was also not a student activist; however, she also actively took part in the #TolakOmnibusLaw movement. She has a lot of followers, and thus she felt that this is an advantage for her to convey the messages.

Both Ve and De used their fangirl account to cover their real identity from the public, especially from the University they are, or previously, in. During the time, the Government urged university leadership to prohibits students from participating in demonstrations. A day after the large demonstration involving students on October 8, 2020, the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud) issued a letter numbered 1035/E/KM/2020 dated October 9, 2020, signed by the Director General of Higher Education of Kemendikbud, Nizam. In the letter, the Ministry emphasized "... students not to participate in demonstration /

protest / aspiration activities that can endanger the safety and health of students during this pandemic.” This letter was met with a ban from university and school leaders on students participating in demonstrations. Some universities even issued harsher letters, with sanctions for students who disobeyed the provisions.

While some students ignored this provision and joined the demonstrations, others chose to engage in the digital movement. Ve and De are among them. Being part of K-Poppers is no longer just about showing their existence and fanaticism for popular culture but also activating that identity to be part of something bigger that concerns their lives in the real world. In other words, being a K-Poppers gives them a space to voice protest and solidarity.

The fangirl accounts provided cover for female K-Poppers to be part of this protest and solidarity. Both informant De and Ve mentioned that various fangirl communities that among K-Poppers accounts have two or more Twitter accounts; the first account is an account with their own identity and the second is an account used for fangirling. K-Poppers use fangirling accounts for several reasons. One is because the informant does not want her real identity to be known by the people around him. The use of this fangirling account is one of the patterns that make the difference between K-Poppers and other accounts. The closure of the real identity of K-Poppers is a reason so that K-Poppers can be freer to express their aspirations and criticisms without fear of their identity being known by the authorities.

*“Yes, I have two accounts, the one I usually use for real life friends, and the second for fandom friends [...] I use a fangirling account is because fangirling accounts are already used to be a place to interact with close mutuals because of the same hobby, namely K-Pop. And I think it can more easily spread any information, not just about K-Pop but also about Omnibus Law. Information can be fast because fangirling accounts have many mutual friends, so retweets and likes can appear on the timeline and can continuously spread faster. So the reason I use a fangirling account is actually so that information about the Omnibus Law can be spread more widely and quickly”.* (Interview with Ve, April 28 2022 via Google Meet).

Fangirls who are active in speaking out are not only college students, but also high school students. Kierra, a 12th grader, is also actively protesting the Job Creation Bill. Through Twitter, she informed fellow K-Pop fans abroad about what was happening in Indonesia in hopes of gaining support. The 12th grader used an English poster, summarizing why the Job Creation Law will harm the working class. Kierra's tweet received over 12,000 retweets and 17,000 likes. She also included a link to a petition against the law. Those who responded to the tweet shared hashtags against the House of Representatives' decision, further amplifying netizen outrage and disappointment (Folia, 2020).

Both fangirls and fandoms in general involve themselves in activism against the Ciptaker Bill starting from interactions and encouragement from other student organizations and non-governmental civil society organizations. Informant Ve said that her involvement in her University's Student Executive Board (BEM) and Twitter social media provided her information about the Omnibus Law.

Not only accessing information, fanbase also disseminate information or invitations to raise hashtags about the Omnibus Law on Twitter. It was said by the informant that the

informant was moved to discuss the Omnibus Law because some of the K-Poppers who were friends with the informant on Twitter were also involved in the movement.

*“If from the fanbase as far as I know, there is none, but from other K-Poppers some are also involved such as tweeting, retweeting and liking news about the Omnibus Law”*. (Interview with Ve K-Poppers NCTzen and MyDay, April 28, 2022 via Google Meet).

Similarly, informant De said that he saw that Twitter activity during Omnibus Law was mostly by the fanbase. Informant De also said that there are several international fanbases of NCTzen fandom inviting NCTzen to hashtag the Omnibus Law.

*“There are also people from the international fanbase... they're more about encouraging to raise the hashtag and supporting other NCTzen friends to help raise the hashtag too”*. (Interview with De K-Poppers NCTzen, April 26 via Twitter Direct Message 2022).

When discussing the involvement of followers and fanbases in influencing K-Poppers to get involved in the Omnibus Law action, we found that some fandoms also involved in inviting K-Poppers to discuss the Omnibus Law on Twitter. The involvement of the fanbase influenced K-Poppers to find out about the Omnibus Law action on Twitter. Some fandoms also make the Omnibus Law an important issue for them to pay attention to because the Omnibus Law problem is considered to be a common problem involving human rights and will have a direct impact on their lives.

The motivation that supports Ve to do digital activism comes from the informant's own concerns and experiences. Indeed, because of the contents of the Omnibus Law, which the informant considers not in favour of workers, so the informant is worried that the work of his parents and himself will be affected.

*“I was moved during the Omnibus Law yesterday, because in that law there is one of them regulating the minimum wage, which in my opinion is more concerned with industry, rather than working laborers and the position of my parents is also a laborer, sis”*. (Interview with Ve K-Poppers NCTzen and MyDay, April 28, 2022 via Google Meet).

Similarly, De also found her motivation to get involved in activism is due to the contents of the law which is unfair to workers, and the need for K-Poppers to channel their concerns on what happened to the country.

*“Sometimes we as K-Poppers are often questioned about our sense of nationalism, when in fact the sense of nationalism in us must exist. There are many K-Poppers who really care about the problems that occur in Indonesia. So far, I've seen so many fundraisers, donations here and there from K-Poppers. Many may underestimate K-Poppers because we use ava idol but there are many good sides of us who like Korean idols [...] behind these K-Poppers accounts there are also many different backgrounds, some knows the Omnibus Law problem, from there they can convey information and form movements on social*

*media*". (Interview with De K-Poppers NCTzen, April 26, 2022 via Twitter Direct Message).

Dhara, a fangirl of the BTS group, in an interview in the mass media conveyed a similar expression, according to her, their protests were natural because of their responsibility as citizens. Dhara not only actively voiced her aspirations on social media, but also took to the streets to protest with thousands of other demonstrators (Folia, 2020). He stated that ARMY and K-pop lovers or what is familiarly called K-Poppers even educated each other about the Omnibus Law. Some people are even said to have translated the Omnibus Law issue into foreign languages in order to get wider attention. Social media platforms for him are not just for speaking out, but also for educating each other (Folia, 2020).

The Omnibus Law issue certainly touches all levels of society, because the contents of the law are related to employment, which almost all people will be affected by the law. Researchers analyzed from informant interviews that the motivation that supports K-Poppers involved in the Omnibus Law action is because of their own desires and awareness, which Omnibus Law is a problem that will also have an impact on their lives in the future. Because K-Poppers are dominated by young people who are Millennials and generation Z, they are in a productive period of preparing and looking for work, so this problem is very close to them. Not only because the problem is so close to the personal problems of each individual, but K-Poppers also see that this is a form of proof against the stigma of society regarding K-Poppers who are often considered to have no sense of nationalism and do not do anything useful on social media. K-Poppers proved that they have the ability to manage conversations on social media Twitter by raising hashtags and interacting with each other about the issue, which this time was the Omnibus Law issue.

Their concerns and the digital activism carried out by K-Poppers on social media Twitter had a considerable impact. This is because by using hashtags, the tweets can be widely spread and easily found by other Twitter users. Twitter has a feature that makes it easy for users to search for tweets that are trending in the country or in the world. Like when users are looking for the Omnibus Law hashtag, users can see the tweets that are most reached by other users in the popular feature.

K-Poppers tweets outreach the non K-Poppers accounts as well. These non K-Poppers use the Quotes Retweet feature available in the tweets of each Twitter account. Informant Ve stated that during the Omnibus Law action, she tweets about the Omnibus Law and had interactions from non K-Poppers in replies or retweet quotes from the tweets.

*"If there is no direct interaction like in direct messages, the most I see is in retweet quotes"*. (Interview with Ve K-Poppers NCTzen and MyDay, April 28, 2022 via Google Meet)

Informant De also said that interactions with accounts that were not K-Poppers responded to informant De via Direct Message (DM) on Twitter. The message contained a thank you for helping to raise the hashtag and provide information about Omnibus Law. Many other DMed her to asked for further information on the time and place for joining offline demonstration (Interview with De K-Poppers NCTzen, April 26, 2022 via Twitter Direct Message).

The interaction between K-Poppers and non-K-Poppers proves that social media can unite all groups to interact with each other from a problem. The interaction that is built also makes the discussion of the Omnibus Law wider and more massive, not only for certain groups. One of the interesting things is that the power of social media can also reach the whole world, so that this problem is not limited to Indonesia (Interview with Mr. K-Poppers EXO-L, 27 April 2022 via Zoom Meeting).

Social media facilitated the spread of information and movements to be more massive and broad, because from social media we can get and exchange information without any barriers of distance, time, place, and others. Fangirl activism has an impact on the spread of the hashtag to spread faster. Fangirls also use hashtags to become a gathering place for expression about the Omnibus Law. The spread of K-Poppers information also reaches K-Poppers outside Indonesia because K-Poppers often make friends with fellow fandoms from around the world. This breaks the stereotype imposed by the general public and mass media on fangirls that they are just following the bandwagon and unable to understand the socio-political development of society. Like the expression mentioned by Kierra, “Just because we like one genre of music doesn't mean it identifies our [political stance]” (Folia, 2020).

The stigma that society and mass media attach to them is fully understood by these fangirls. Not infrequently, their activism even leads to forms of online gender-based violence. Activism in cyberspace, protesting against policies that they feel will harm them and Indonesian society in general such as #TolakOmnibusLaw is resistance. Not only are they fighting against the policy, but also against the stigma that has cornered them.

The phenomenon of fangirl involvement in political participation as in our study is something that also appears with different characteristics in other countries. In Hong Kong, fangirls successfully mobilized a massive nationalist action in cyberspace. In a departure from previous male-led cyber-nationalist movements, Fangirls innovatively created an idolized image of the nation, accommodated political agendas using the language of fandom, and used existing fandom networks and tactics (Zhuang et al., 2022). In the United States, fangirls were among those who actively criticized candidate Donald Trump in previous election, especially the Swifties who are fans of singer Taylor Swift who was often criticized by Trump. Fangirls are also formed from a person's character, not always in relation to popular culture figures, for example fangirls who support Hillary Clinton (Scott, 2019).

## 5. CONCLUSION

This research aims to find out the pattern of digital political activism carried out by K-Poppers, especially fangirls in a Twitter-based movement to oppose the Omnibus Law or Job Creation Bill in 2020. Fangirls are often seen as a community of women hysterical about their idols and therefore do not have the ability to understand social and political issues that develop in society. Contrary to this stigma, our research shows that fangirls who are actively involved in #TolakOmnibusLaw activism actually have a very good concern and understanding of the process and material of the Ciptaker Law. With diverse backgrounds such as university students, students, and workers, these fangirls use social media platforms with fangirling accounts to convey their aspirations and protests, disseminate information from tweets, and use the platform as a medium to solidify and educate each other.

Their involvement is not merely because of the bandwagon, but because of their closeness to the issues that concern them. As workers and prospective workers, they feel that the Ciptaker Bill will have an impact on their fate and the fate of their families. As citizens, they are aware of their rights and roles, so their involvement is an embodiment of their duties and responsibilities to ensure better things for this country.

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