

The political identity for Megalia, Womand and Webtoon to counter Confucianism culture in South Korea

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ABSTRACT

Referring to the wave of digital feminism in the modern era, this paper formulates the problem of South Korea's digital feminism strategy in reconstructing Confucianism culture with respect to morality. The study aims to analyze the development of digital feminist activist morality in South Korea against the background of a Confucian society and rapid economic growth. Of the numerous online feminist activist groups, Megalia and Womand have garnered attention from several feminist scholars. Moreover, later Webtoon comic artists incorporated feminist ideologies into their comic narratives. Based on Andrew Heywood's cultural conflict and identity politics perspective, as well as political morality in realism, the author has identified two crucial findings. First, the three of them operate from a realistic perspective that excludes Confucian morality as a factor in their decision making. Second, Megalia and Womand tend to exhibit radical behavior due to their exclusive focus on identity politics. This contrasts with Webtoon, which creates comics driven by economic interests, resulting in more moderate behavior and a preference for cultural distribution.

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Introduction

This study analyzes how morality is related to Megalia, Womand, and feminist comic artists in Webtoon strategies as online feminist activism to reconstruct new culture in South Korea. Megalia is digital feminist group in South Korea and founded on 6th August 2016. They began in website namely megalia.com with vision to promotes gender equality and against the misogyny in South Korea (Singh, 2016). Meanwhile, Womad is online feminist community and formed on 2nd January 2016. They used a website named womad.com and banned it. They have vision to against men and homophobic issue in South Korea with radical strategy (Kim, 2019). In general, they classified as the fourth generation of the feminist movement as written by Constance Grady (2018), quoting a statement from a feminist Jessica Valenti. Jessica believes online media is a new tool used by activists to share ideas in planning their activities. They are characterized as a feminist generation with high flexibility because they can move on the internet and go directly to the streets with the Women's Parade.

The purpose of Online Feminist Activism, referring to Sue Jackson (2018), is to fight for feminist politics against issues of sexism, racism, hatred of women, and homophobia. In his research, Jackson found that online feminism activism has a fear of spreading its thoughts on social media. This is because they think about a digital footprint that will be difficult to remove and the freedom of someone to make malicious comments about their beliefs that have an emotional effect. Their self-confidence increases when they join an online group, but their association often does not get recognition from feminist activists in the real world. Jackson also revealed that although online feminist activism was facilitated by technological developments, they had to face

an increasingly sharp anti-feminist group and had the same flexibility as them.

Kaitlynn Mendes, Jessica Ringrose, and Jessalynn Keller (2018), also argues that online feminist activism has fears as described by Jackson. However, the results of Mendes' analysis also reveal a fact that online feminist activism has positive solidarity, connection, and support. The closeness between fellow online feminist activists is triggered because they think that online platforms are safer than having to take to the streets. Mendes et al also concluded that the rapid development of technology was also followed by online feminist activism with various strategies to overcome the enemy.

Talking about the advantages of using technology by feminists, Larisa Kingston Mann (2014) sees that the trend of switching offline to online among feminists is also factored in by the nature of the internet which can be accessed by anyone. Then the social media used by online feminist activism can be widely reached and accommodate the voices of any group without any rejection. This is the reason for black women voicing their feminist rights. Research from Shruti Jain (2020) presents data from the Pew Research Center where 39% of internet users are political and social activists. According to Jain, they include young feminist activists who use pop culture and internet references to connect with other generations and ideologies. The internet is also used by women in third-world countries which have a stricter patriarchal environment than feminism from the West where it is free.

Jain's opinion has similarities with Kim Toffoletti, Catherine Palmer, and Sumaya Samie (2018) who believes that the model of the feminist movement in the Global North is inspired by the Global South. Global South feminists have more freedom and general support than Global North feminists. But it turns out that it doesn't only happen in third-world countries, there are also second-world

countries or countries originating from the Global South, namely South Korea with a strict patriarchal background. Because of the conditions that must be faced, South Korean feminist activists use the internet as described by Shruti Jain. The ones that have received the most attention from South Korean society is the online feminist activism of Megalia and Womand. Several researchers have analyzed related to Megalia and Womand or the phenomenon of digital feminism in general in South Korea, such as the challenges faced by a feminist (Kim J., 2021), strategies such as online feminist activism (Kim Y., 2021), transformation of morality and identity as a feminist group (Koo & Kim, 2021), (Hur, 2011), (Koh, 2013).

From the research that has been done, they tend to focus on the feminist groups Megalia and Womad and are less related to online feminist activists than other media platforms. As a novelty for online feminist activist research, the author examines these two feminist groups and relates them to the feminist groups that gather on Webtoons. In addition, the author analyzes the differences between the old generation of online feminist activists and the new generation who have different media platforms as a place for their activities. The author's argument in the research is that Megalian, Womad and Webtoon comic artists have different characteristics despite facing the same enemy and social structure. Megalia and Womad are anarchists with an online war strategy to reconstruct patriarchal culture, so that morality is not something to be considered. Meanwhile, webtoon comic artists tend to be more careful with persuasive strategies through implicit messages in comics. They also do not present their identity as part of digital feminism because of fear of rejection from South Korean misogyny and economic interests that limit their movements.

Method

The method used in this study is qualitative with a descriptive analysis model. Taking the explanation from W. Laurence Neuman (2014), descriptive analysis research is research that aims to analyze a case study in detail and then proceed with examining a causal process in it. To support this method, the data in this study were taken using historical comparative techniques, namely collecting data from previous research, reports, articles on the internet, or other types of documents. Furthermore, the data analysis technique in this study is the conceptualization method. Neuman is of the view that conceptualization in qualitative research becomes an analytical method that forms a new concept of a problem, redefines concepts, or examines relationships between concepts with descriptive data.

As the analytical framework, this study used identity politics and morality in realism concept. First, quoting Andrew Heywood (2017), identity politics is an orientation that leads to the creation of social theory and political practice, not just ideas about the political character. From the identity of the group, identity politics then raises a cultural conflict as the end of the marginal group movement. The Huntington synthesis states the thesis that the clash of civilizations occurs at the micro level with the collision of groups of people with different civilizations resulting in communal war. Meanwhile, at the macro level, it can be seen from the clash between countries with different cultures, such as East and West. Heywood adds his opinion regarding the clash of civilizations thesis, that the idea helps to see the political rise of cultures affected by de-ideology and counterattacks of globalization.

Second, in Morgenthau's view, moral principles can never be realized in global politics because the world is a place where interests and conflicts always conflict.

Morgenthau also speaks of a lack of caution in morals, whereas politics is conscientious at every turn. Then Kennan stated that human needs have no relationship with moral enforcement, such as security, the welfare of community members, and integrity of life. All these things only depend on how an actor can guarantee his sovereignty and power against enemies outside his territory. Besides, the needs that have been mentioned are absolutely no matter good or bad (Chiaruzzi, 2012).

Through Heywood's discussion of cultural conflict and identity politics, it becomes the author's analytical tool to dissect the perspectives of the Megalia, Womand, and webtoon comic artists on South Korean social structure. Identity politics helps the writer understand the roots of conflict from online feminist activists in South Korea against the dominant groups and forms of resistance which will then form a characteristic of their movement. Then the cultural conflict from Huntington provides guidance for writers in viewing and analyzing their characteristics in fighting.

Results and Discussion

The cultural conflict of Confucianism and feminism in South Korea

From the research results of Seung-Kyung Kim and John Finch (2002), it is said that the patriarchal culture with the value of stability and social hierarchy is a legacy of Confucianism in South Korea. Confucianism reconstructs gender relations which can be seen from the division of the work environment where men are regularly assigned to work outside the home looking for needs with a high type of work. Meanwhile, women as the lowest members of the family only get part of the household chores which are considered trivial. However, this culture is a bit lost in urban areas, where women

work to support their families, which is an understandable condition. However, the patriarchal culture inherent in South Korean society that influences women's views has not completely disappeared or diminished. During the economic crisis of the IMF many companies preferred to lay off their female workers compared to their male colleagues, one of which was the Hyundai Motor Company Factory in May 1998. Since the economic crisis, women have also experienced difficulties in finding permanent jobs. According to Kim and Finch, this is evidence that South Korean society is pushing for a reaffirmation of Confucian values in cities, as well as calling on women to challenge the division of gender roles.

Mistakes in social structures that suppress women's freedom continued until the end of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) economic crisis. Meejung Chin, Jaerim Lee, Soyoung Lee, Seohee Son, and Miai Sung (2012), examines how the development of government policies on the role of the family in South Korea. Meejung considers that the welfare of families in South Korea has undergone positive changes. The purpose of positive changes in his research is that the government has paid attention to policies for the welfare of women, including maternity leave, childcare leave, and reduction of work schedules. But the shortcoming in Meejung's view is that the government cannot change the patriarchal culture in the workplace. Promotions to involve men in household matters, particularly those related to childcare, are very low. Quoting Koo and Nam in Kyoung-Ho Shin's research (2015), the fast economic development in South Korea is the main factor why the government is still unable to solve the problem of gender equality in the world of work. Shin also cites an argument from Elaine Kim, that the ideology related to the division of labor based on Confucian teachings is so ingrained that it is difficult to get rid of it. At that time,

around the late 1990s to early 2000s, there was no resistance from women who attracted attention to trigger conflict, only their efforts to carry out mixed marriages with American men who were considered more democratic.

Continuing the analysis of Elaine Kim and Seung-Kyung with Finch, Kim Nadia Y (2006) explained that from the phenomenon of affirming Confucian values, there is also a strengthening of the identity of women who consider career success as good as being a wife and mother. They finally choose to immigrate to a place that can provide career opportunities. One of them is the United States. Some South Korean men who also migrated were able to adjust the changes in the character of their countrymen, but there were groups who refused and fought back. The pressure on South Korean female immigrants also comes from the masculinity of the white male race. Even though American men are more democratic, they see that South Korean women have pride in their ethnicity, which triggers resistance like South Korean men do. Especially those who have been in mixed marriages, South Korean women experience divorce and domestic violence. This affects the consideration of pre-migratory women to move to the United States for their freedom. They feel a dilemma between staying in South Korea or going out to find a place that is considered to fulfill their rights.

After being in a circle of dilemmas for a long time, women in South Korea began to fight back. The military government of South Korea which was a supporter of discrimination against women has ended up being replaced by a more democratic system. This situation supports the second wave of the feminist movement which is characterized by being more ambitious and comprehensive against all obstacles. They are more systematic in redefining what democracy, equality, and prosperity are. Changes can also be seen where their activities are not

only focused on the issue of inequality in the world of work, but also on the fight against misogyny by targeting law, media, culture, and politics (Barraclough, 2022). Feminist groups are also increasingly demonstrating a feminist political relationship with the anti-militaristic campaign that began in 2000. Starting with scholars who criticized nationalism and pro-democratic patriarchal culture. Subsequent developments aim to include gender equality in political practice in South Korea. As a result, there is a conflict between the ideology of femininity and pro-democracy with masculinity which represents the name of the South Korean military as revealed by Insook Kwon (2012). In his research, Kwon's analysis provides a fact where the feminist movement that opposes masculinity and anti-militarism opens opportunities for women's leadership but increases the resistance from opponents of feminism.

The feminist movement further broadened its political goals by opposing Eurasian beauty standards as shown in the research of Ruth Holliday and Joanna Elfving-Hwang (2012). Western-style beauty has become Korean identity politics since the Japanese occupation and continues until the inclusion of westernization values. Western standards of beauty are acceptable to the traditional South Korean identity which is tied to Confucian values. This goes back to the belief that men are superior with all their skills and strengths, on the contrary where women are seen as puppet bodies without a soul and always in need of help. Women must have a beautiful body and face and the Eurasian face standard is considered more beautiful than the original face shape of South Korea. On this issue, the feminist community began to reject the pressure that women must be beautiful while men have no obligation to maintain their appearance and improve their faces according to feminist standards. Modern South Korean women

also show support for LGBT politics which is also contrary to Confucian values and Christian religious beliefs. They affirm their identity as humans with a modern mindset by making peace with traditional norms in traditional societies along with human rights issues as described by Gowoon Jung.

The existence of globalization encourages them to have the flexibility to survive carrying their identity politics even though they live during Confucian cultural values that limit the space for women to move. Their opposition is then channeled through various social media provided by the internet because of technological developments. Hiding behind the internet, makes South Korean women increasingly show the struggle of feminism so that it becomes a threat to those who are still bound by Confucian values. This threat resulted in a cultural conflict in the social structure of South Korean society that was sharper than the rejection of masculinity and feminism in Kwon's research. Based on research by Jinsook Kim (2017), it was found that feminism in South Korea identified their identity in fighting misogyny through the hashtag #iamafeminst. They are called modern feminism because they move to promote themselves through the digital space. Insook explained that the wave of conflict he discussed was a continuation of the clash between feminism and masculinity. The movement of the supporters of feminism was considered too bold and brutal to increase the number of opposing groups. These opponents carry their identity as anti-feminists and misogyny.

In an article written by S. Nathan Park (2021), the conflict between feminism and other groups is driven by hatred of women that spreads from misogyny and collective anti-feminism. As a result, the South Korean feminist movement is more complex than a reaction to the illegitimacy of gender equality. However, what happens is that identity politics brought about by feminists

tends to be confused with radicalism and misandry. The existence of interests from the government is the reason for pushing back feminism because it is threatened politically, this action is motivated by a meritocratic view of gender and power. Park believes that these conditions are then used by opposition groups to support feminists. Subsequent rejections were given from men with sexist thoughts because the South Korean government requires men to do military service for two years, whereas women have the freedom to continue their education and career. They also brought up the fact that men have more demands to meet family finances than women. Therefore, the gender equality of the movement to voice women's rights is something that is unfair to the reality that is happening in South Korea (Sener, 2019).

Online gender war between radical feminism and misogyny

Euisol Jeong and Jieun Lee (2018) argue that Online Feminist Activism is a form of transformation of the feminist movement that presents new feminist processes and experiences. They use the internet as an alternative medium to spread messages of gender equality. Apart from that, the aim of South Korea's Online Feminist Activism in Jeonga's argument is to target male internet users who often harass and demean women or are also called against groups of masculinity and misogyny. Complementing Jeonga's explanation, Jinsook Kim (2017) saw that misogyny in South Korea had a sharp increase in followers since feminist supporters used the social media Twitter to voice their identity politics. They also follow the strategy of online feminist activism by using online space to carry out online wars. In general, Kaitlynn Mendes, Jessica Ringrose and Jessalynn Keller (2018) analyzed that of the many available social media, online feminist activism makes

more use of hashtags on Twitter to establish communication between fellow digital feminists who are spread across borders.

In Lee's identification, there are several new feminist groups that have emerged in the digital world with female members dominating. They include Megalia, Womand, and Yoeseongsidae which have appeared since 2015. Based on a book review from Hun Jae Lee written by Ji Eun Kim and Kuem-Sun Han (2017), said the new wave of feminism initially came from a small number of online communities consisting of young women. They share the same culture and interests in cosmetics and beauty, but over time the small community evolved into Jeongchi Jeok Yoende, or Political Unification on Social Media. Political unification then produces a Ganjeongjeok Banbal (emotional resistance) against misogyny men and triggers aggressive actions digitally. An example given is how they provide support for the killings at the Gangnam station against men who have discriminated against women.

According to Roxanne Tan (2019), of the three online feminism groups mentioned in Ji Eun and Kuem-Sun's writings, Megalia became the community that caused the most controversy. They used the reference to the 1999 film *The Matrix* to compare their experiences with online-based feminism activities and then took the action "Red Pill", where the term became a new vision for reconstructing culture in South Korean society. This "Red Pill" refers to the "DickTriX" held in South Korea, which means a conspiracy against women and exploiting them as a foundation in the patriarchal order of traditional society. Megalia's establishment is considered a form of spontaneous action among digital women for its misogynistic nature who has the pleasure to mock, limit and oppress South Korean women (Jeong, 2018).

One of their characteristics on social media in Tan's research (2019) is starting a

conversation by writing "I'm not a feminist but " on a topic related to gender issues. Megalia is defined by Tan as a feminist group that uses mirroring strategies in a radical and controversial way. Mirroring's intention is to reflect men from their point of view and according to Singh, this is detrimental to the misogyny that is widespread in the digital world. The opinion of Euisol Jeong and Jieun Lee (2018) says that the mirroring strategy is used with wordplay so that it looks like a joke on the behavior of the online misogyny community. For example, Megalia uses the words predator and victim in contrast to the original language. Megalia's goal in mirroring is the desire to prove that women can have fun by stepping on men. They also tend to engage in online gender warfare using perspectives outside of South Korea. The use of the word Megalia itself is often dominated by the Ilbe dialect, which in South Korea is the most vulgar dialect and is not suitable for women. In this case, they want to change the perception of masculine identity by using harsh words. The responses from Debbie Ging and Readyera Siapera (2018) also agree that Megalia is more inclined to use linguistic games to demean misogyny. In addition, the Megalia movement is explained in detail showing how the use of violence through language, trolling, and flaming is for the political purposes of feminism. This is the result of a foreign culture influencing the feminist mindset that is incorporated in Megalia. Some scholars in South Korea regard Megalia itself as a form of the misconception of feminism and traditional values held by South Korean society.

In particular, the early foes of Megalia were male members of DCIndiside.com, a popular web forum. The forum was intended to share information related to MERS-CoV which was transformed into a media for fighting between genders. The male members gave hate speech to two South Korean women affected by MERS who did not

follow the government's recommendations for quarantine. After carrying out digital attacks on men, the Megalia movement also mocked women as corsets, for those who have not been free from Confucian values which only elevate men's status. Then gay men become the target of Megalia's satirical sentences because they are still part of men. Megalia's identity politics does not stop at insulting groups that do not conform to their standards. They support other feminist campaigns such as closing pornography centers and illegal underage prostitution (Singh, 2016). In carrying out the fight, Megalia uses anonymity to protect against digital or real attacks from Misogyny groups. Hiding behind anonymity is the reason why Megalia dares to take acts of radicalism. But the problem is, what is said on the Megalia website can refer to a lie from an issue that often afflicts women (Lee, 2016).

Departing from the phenomenon of the online gender war Megalia, several online feminist groups emerged as a response to male domination in South Korean society. As is the case in the Womand Community which is the research topic of Jihae Koo (2019). It is known that the Womand community in South Korea became known in 2018 through the media Twitter which aims to reconstruct a culture of inequality towards women in South Korea. They spread collective hatred against the country and encourage increased mobility from South Korea to Europe or America for millennial women. Jihae's analysis discusses where Womand is a community that specifically moves to bring feminist politics that uses trolling steps, which almost have similarities with Megalia. Going deeper, in 2018 it was discovered that the Womand group was being controlled by one admin for the entire site. They have a special platform designed and have similarities with Reddit. Womand members can provide support or downvote for each post on issues raised by fellow members (Pro-Woman or

Anti-Male). As a fellow feminist movement, Womand is considered an alternative to Megalian.com in carrying out its identity politics (Singh, 2016) after its website was closed by the government. Womand's own enemies are men and the LGBT community, which is reflected in posts that members like and justify (Kim A., 2019). From the South Korean government itself, there has been no action to close the Womand site as was done on Megalia, it's just that the platform admin is obliged to control the content posted by its members (Bo-Eun, 2017).

Cultural distribution by Webtoon comic artists related to feminism values

Webtoon Naver started as a start-up in-house at NAVER, which is the main internet search portal in South Korea, in 2004. The goal of the Webtoon founders was to deliver a revolution by creating an ecosystem that facilitates the desires of both creators and consumers. Therefore, to achieve this goal, they accept an innovative story form that is considered to change the world with the support of a platform development strategy where creators can hold meetings with fans. They also started to develop Naver's Webtoon into an independent company from Naver in May 2017 called Webtoon to expand the reach of international readers, especially in Southeast Asia and Europe (Company).

Regarding the management of Naver's Webtoon comics to achieve the goal of revolutionizing comics with innovative stories, the company focuses on the number of scores and comments given by readers as parameters for assessing the flow of a comic that has not yet been included in the main comic list or Challenges Cartoons. The method used is the K-Nearest Neighbor (KNN) Algorithm, which allocates uncategorized records that have the same components as categorized records. This method will show a prediction of a value

using numbers from data. In addition, they also looked at the number of purchased comic episodes that were locked. This strategy is to predict the sale value of a comic in the future. At this stage, comic artists with high popularity and passing the selection system will be interviewed by the company for their ability to meet Naver's Webtoon requirements (Jeong, Lee, & Huh, 2017).

Talking about the popularity of Webtoons, in Wonho Jang and Jung Eun Song's research (2017) it was stated that the Korean Wave phenomenon helped the development of Naver's Webtoon to reach its popularity. The webtoon has become a cultural exchange facility between Asian countries which has resulted in the hybridization of South Korean local culture with the global one so that it becomes an example of cultural glocalization. Jung Eun also found that from the beginning the dominance of Webtoon comics was a representation of social issues from the daily life of South Korean people such as poverty, domestic violence, and bullying. Until the South Korean government subsidized the program for translating Webtoon comics into other languages to reach the global comic market, South Korean comic artists were still dominated by stories of their local social and cultural life. This is also in line with Augyung Shim's (2020) argument that Webtoon is an intermediary for cultural interactions between various communities. Shim saw that the main factor for this cultural interaction was the translation of South Korean comics into several languages of Southeast Asian, European, and American countries. Comic translation on the Webtoon platform then becomes the next platform between companies, local readers, translators, and international fans to negotiate and build trust with each other.

Heekyoung Cho (2020) argues that Webtoon Naver shows a continuous and intensive process of art dependence, which is referred to in his research as cultural

platformization. Cho categorizes webtoons as transaction and mediation-type platforms because they can provide entertainment services as well as mediators between comic artists, readers, and producers. However, after gaining popularity, Webtoon is part of a complex platform, namely as a provider of content, communication media, and transactions as well as a community. This is like what Shim found before, where Webtoon has become a medium of interaction for various actors and consumers to create strong trust between them. Then came the involvement of actors outside the platform such as South Korean conglomerates, government, and educational institutions which in Cho's belief were a platforming process. Each actor in the production of webtoon comics depends on one another for their interests to be achieved.

Naver's Webtoon ability as a facilitator of cultural interaction and forming a community itself is a medium that Online Feminist Activism utilizes. This is like the strategy of the previous generation where online feminist activists in South Korea always tend to use internet media which has the power to form an online community and is popular among the people. In contrast to the Womand or Kalianan communities who use Twitter as their media to spread the message of feminism frankly and even harshly, online feminist activism in webtoons tends to take a soft, persuasive approach through storylines to attract public sympathy. Online feminist activism does not openly use feminism as the big theme of their comic stories but inserts several small scenes that refer to a feminist's fantasy.

Quoting from Korea JiinAng Daily (So-Yeon, 2021), it is said that Naver's Webtoon, above its popularity, has become a facilitator of feminism to suppress men. The first scene that reflected the idea of feminism was a scene from the webtoon "The History of Seong Gyong", written by Choi Kyeong-

min with illustrator Youngmo. In episode 31, there is an implied message regarding the pressure of South Korean society on lesbian couples. This scene then received a negative response from the South Korean community as seen from the decrease in the overall rating of the webtoon "The History of Seung Gyong" as well as reader comments but it improved again when in episode 34. Other works are "Romance 101" by Namsoo and "The Girl Downstairs" by Min Song-ah. In the 98th episode of "Romance 101", some readers commented that the image of Hanam's (comic character) two fingers forming the letter O is the symbol of Megalia's online feminist community. However, this comment is too weak to be considered definitively as a representation of the Megalia community just because of the image of two fingers forming an O. Furthermore, in "The Girl Downstairs" where one of the scenes contains dialogue, a man may not interrupt a woman when speaking.

Apart from going through several scenes in the comic, the message of feminism can also be found in the characterizations created by the comic artist. Among them are the popular South Korean webtoon "My ID is Gangnam Beauty" from Naver, "Mask Girl" and "There is No Areum in the Engineering College" by author Daum. Both do not openly mention that they are feminists, but the main character represents the dark life of South Korean women. In "Mask Girl", the main female character, Mo-Mi, is an ordinary person with an ugly face. Because of his physique, he is often looked down upon by those around him. On the other hand, "My ID is Gangnam Beauty" makes its main female character a form of satire that must be faced by South Korean women. The same thing is also found in "There is No Areum in the Engineering College". In his interview, Daum admitted that the idea for the story "There is No Areum in the Engineering College" itself was not to show himself as a

feminist or part of Megalian, but he wanted a change in South Korean society which was unfair to women (Se-Yoen, 2017).

The webtoon "The Secret of Angel" or "True Beauty" also tells of double standards against ugly and beautiful women in South Korea. Not far from "My ID of Gangnam Beauty" and "Mask Girl", the female lead, Ju-Kyung, is a person who doesn't live up to South Korean beauty standards. Therefore, Ju-Kyung gets unequal treatment compared to beautiful women, so she is not confident in her social life (Rahman, 2020). Kim Na Young, the comic artist of "The Secret of Angel", in an exclusive interview admitted that in his work he inserted a message not to judge or treat someone based on appearance (Janati, 2021).

According to Lee Yeonsoo (2019), the increasing popularity of the feminist movement in South Korea has influenced the phenomenon of the emergence of feminist webtoon comic artists. Webtoon comic artists with feminist ideology gain support from other feminists and encourage other feminist comic artists to publish their works openly. Feminists try to help promote a webtoon that raises the issue of women's limitations in South Korea. They (feminists outside of Webtoon) also began to control other Webtoon comic artists suspected of being part of Misogyny. Such as feminist comments on comics issued by Kian84 where there are scenes in the episodes expressing values and beliefs and misogyny in the world of work (Ji-Won, 2020). On the other hand, feminist comics also received a rejection from those who were anti-feminist, as seen from the Super Bowl Webtoon survey. From the voice of the survey, comics that carry a political message of feminism get less support than neutral ones (Yeonsoo, 2019). In the end, feuds from feminists against misogyny comics or vice versa forced Webtoon to tighten censorship of comic publications containing gender issues (Ji-Won, 2020).

Conclusion

There are two characteristics of digital feminism. First, those who are radical. Second, groups that seem afraid to show their identity politics. Megalia and Womand have something in common where both dare to be aggressive in fighting for the politics of feminism. The morality reflected in the value of Confucianism as a traditional South Korean norm is not a calculation for them in their actions. They consider morals to only be pressure for South Korean women's groups. This shows that Megalia and Womand tend to behave according to the assumptions of realism. Interestingly, from the cases of Megalia and Womand, presented with morals not only as obstacles but also as enemies that must be attacked for the sake of identity politics. In addition, there was an intercultural conflict between feminism and South Korean traditional society.

Moving on to the second group, there is a fear of them being radical as did Megalia and Womand. Digital feminists have a similar perspective to the two radical feminist groups regarding Confucian morals, but there is a consideration that limits their movement. Because they are under a corporation, webtoon comics cannot be as free as Megalia or Womand in conveying the idea of feminism. They must take their behavior into account when they are too aggressive because there are economic interests that come with making comics. Therefore, they prefer to carry out cultural distribution related to feminist values rather than having to create conflict to reconstruct a patriarchal culture.

From this statement, Digital Feminist Group giving a new formula for conventional feminist movement. They are touched by digitalization, easier to influence the new culture and get more security from the society. This shows that feminism will

continue to adapt in reconstructing gender, besides that the digital world has made women bolder in speaking out their right.

Declaration of Ownership

This article is my original work.

Conflict of Interest

There is no conflict of interest to declare in this article.

Ethical Clearance

This study was approved by the institution.

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