Kpopification: Politicizing Fandom in Indonesia's 2024 Presidential Election Campaign of Anies Baswedan

Jasmine Rizky El Yasinta¹, Elvira Chandra Dewi Ari Nanda², Kezia Aurora³, Isac Cristopher Wibowo⁴, Muhammad Ahsan Alhuda⁵, Mashita Phitaloka Fandia Purwaningtyas⁶

123 Department of Communication Science, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia
 4Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia
 5Faculty of Geography, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia
 6Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia*
 *corresponding author E-mail: mashita.p.f@mail.ugm.ac.id

Received: September 24, 2024; Revised: March 31, 2025; Approved: July 18, 2025

ABSTRACT

In the 2024 presidential election, a fan community (fandom) named Humanies emerged to support one of the presidential candidates, Anies Baswedan. This support began with the emergence of @aniesbubble and @olpproject accounts on social media X, which carried out many activities that adopted fandom culture, such as crowdfunding and fan-projects to support their idol. This research aims to find out how fandom culture is utilized in Anies Baswedan's political campaign on social media X, how the utilization of fandom politicization affects the gen-Z view about Anies Baswedan in the 2024 Presidential Election, and to determine the effectiveness of the campaign. The research method is a mixed-method that combines qualitative and quantitative approaches, conducted with netnography and survey. The result of this research shows that @aniesbubble and @olpproject accounts successfully adopted fandom culture as a campaign tool for Anies Baswedan. In addition, this research finds out that the politicization of fandom proved to have an influence of 79% on gen-Z's views on Anies Baswedan and the campaign proved to be effective.

Keywords: Indonesian presidential election, Kpop fans culture, Anies Baswedan, youth politics, political campaign, digital culture

INTRODUCTION

Certain goals or effects that arise in society can be achieved using several strategies, one of which is a strategy in communication or conveying messages. Rogers and Storey (as cited in Fatimah, 2018) explain that a campaign is a strategic communication effort that aims to achieve a certain impact or effect on audiences on a large scale and is carried out sustainably

over a certain period of time. This effort can be used to convey a series of political messages designed to invite the public to make political judgments.

Campaigns in the political landscape require people to be wiser, especially in processing, understanding and responding to political phenomena, especially those related to public policy and political character (Fatimah, 2018; Gautama & Kusuma, 2024; Maulidania, 2024). In the contemporary political landscape, the media for delivering political campaign messages has expanded to digital media because it allows for more strategic political campaigns between citizens, candidates and the media (Fatimah, 2018; Parry-Giles, 2022). In the last decade, social media has become the most potential digital media for political campaigns, social media has also succeeded in forming groups into communities to support the success of one partner (Adinugroho et al., 2019).

Social media was also used by the presidential candidate in the 2024 general election for president, Anies Baswedan (Fajardin, 2023). One of the campaign methods carried out by Anies was dialogue via live broadcast on the TikTok platform on December 29 2023. The live broadcast received a positive response and triggered uploads of footage on the X social network until the X account @aniesbubble appeared. The @aniesbubble account applies a mediatized communication style inspired by the Kpop (Korean pop) fan community in conveying its message, often dubbed as the practice of "Kpopification" or "Kpopfication" (Kurniasih et al., 2024). In "Kpopification", the way Kpop fans communicate and express their love for their idols are adopted and extended beyond the Kpop dimension, such as political figures. Fandom itself refers to the condition where someone becomes a fan of a public figure or cultural text (Dean, 2017; Dean & Andrews, 2021; Lundy et al., 2020). Through its posts, the @aniesbubble account uses the owl emoji as an identity symbol which is similar to the use of Kpop idol emojis, including choosing the fandom name "Humanies" (Kurniasih et al., 2024; Rohma, 2024)

Humanies is intended to be the name of Anies Baswedan's volunteer

fandom who not only provides online support, Humanies also supports Anies Baswedan in offline activities. Starting from the @aniesbubble account, the support aimed at Anies on the X social network increased, until on January 4 2024 the @olpproject (Olppaemi Project) account appeared which raised funds to support Anies. Among Kpop fans, this phenomenon is common and is known as fan-idol crowdfunding. Fan-idol crowdfunding is an activity to collect funds for certain purposes related to their idols online in the fandom, including film stars, entertainers, and so on (Y. Wang et al., 2021). The goals achieved are generally in the form of support for so-called fan projects, for example showing birthday ads on videotronic at train stations. This was also done by @olpproject with the funds obtained being used to rent LED trucks and videotronic for Anies Baswedan at several locations in Indonesia. The exploration of the use of fan culture is interesting, because @aniesbubble and @olpproject openly acknowledge their independent status from Anies Baswedan's successful team and any Kpop fandom.

The use of fan culture promises to increase Anies Baswedan's appeal in the eyes of young voters, because 55% of the number of voters are young voters from the millennial and Gen Z groups (Kurniasih et al., 2024; Rohma, 2024). Indonesia is also the country with the largest number of Kpop fans in the world with the majority being Gen Z (Gumelar et al., 2021). In this case, Anies Baswedan fans are using a new approach to the world of politics, namely by adopting Kpop fandom culture. The existence of fandom or fan culture can be politicized. The politicization of fandom not only depends on the politician as the fan object but also depends on the nature of the commitments and practices that support the relationship between the fan object and the fan community (Dean, 2017; Dean & Andrews, 2021). Humanies, which was initially dominated by Kpop fans who tend to be apolitical, can become politicized when they try to get involved with broader social relations, in this context the 2024 presidential election.

This phenomenon then encourage research into the dynamics and

complexity of Kpop fandom culture which has been politicized in the 2024 presidential election to campaign for Anies Baswedan as a presidential candidate, or as refer to the 'Kpopification' phenomena. This paper is intended to explore three main issues regarding to the Kpopification: (1) How is the usage of Kpop fans culture in the political campaign of Anies Baswedan? (2) How is the role of politicizing fandom towards Gen-Z's views of Anies Baswedan in Indonesia's 2024 presidential election? (3) How is the effectiveness of politicizing fandom as tools for political campaign?

This Kpopification phenomena is important to research because it provides insight that fan communities (which are usually entertainment in nature) can be included in political agendas. Hence, this paper is expected to contribute to the multidisciplinary approach between political science and media studies. In particular, this paper aims to enrich the study of social media usage in the context of fans culture, to the extent of how it changes the landscape of political campaign. Moreover, the study of political participation, the hybridization between politics and popular culture, and the transformation of political communication.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research was conducted with a mixed-methods approach, which produces qualitative primary data, quantitative primary data, and secondary data. Qualitative primary data was obtained from conducting netnography (Kozinets, 2017). In this study, the main focus in netnography includes: (1) media space, (2) media archive, (3) media objects, and (4) experiential stories (Kozinets, 2017; Kozinets & Gretzel, 2024). Data collection techniques were conducted through virtual observations of the dynamics of interactions that occur on the X social network accounts @aniesbubble and @olpproject, and accompanied by semi-structured in-depth interviews with the initiators of the two accounts, namely Abel (of @aniesbubble), Sophie, and Daedosoo (of @olpproject).

Moreover, quantitative primary data was obtained from survey method by distributing questionnaires containing questions to describe the influence of the politicization of fandom culture on Gen Z's views regarding Anies Baswedan in the 2024 presidential election as well as the results of an analysis of the effectiveness of the campaign carried out by Humanies on the X social network. Questionnaire questions will be answered on a Likert scale. The population size for this research is unknown (since the followers' number of @aniesbubble and @olpproject is fluctuating), hence the non-probability sampling method was conducted by purposive sampling. Respondents were the followers of @aniesbubble and @olpproject; they were approached and sent the questionnaire by DM (Direct Message) features in X.

From the questionnaire distributed, 100 respondents were obtained and analysis were carried out. The quantitative data obtained through the survey were tested using validity and reliability tests, classic assumption test, simple linear regression analysis test, and hypothesis testing to prove the existence of a relationship between independent variable (politicization of fandom culture) and the dependent variable (Gen Z's views regarding Anies Baswedan in the political contestation for the 2024 presidential election). Meanwhile, in testing effectiveness, descriptive analysis was carried out using the AC Nielsen framework with the EPIC model approach which consists of four dimensions (empathy, persuasion, impact, communication) (Christabella & Sari, 2022; Priana & Wijayanti, 2020). The EPIC mode approach was utilized as the data analysis technique for the survey results.

Furthermore, in data analysis phase, both qualitative data (from virtual observation and in-depth interviews) and quantitative data (from survey) were integrated by exploratory sequential design. In this design, qualitative data is collected before the quantitative data, hence the results of qualitative data were used to design the quantitative instrument. The integration technique used in analysis phase is comparison and connectivity, where both qualitative and quantitative data were juxtaposed against each other to find

patterns and trends.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A comprehensive interpretation of the empirical findings requires situating the analysis within the broader theoretical framework of fandom studies and political communication. Prior scholarship emphasizes that fandom practices extend beyond entertainment consumption, encompassing affective attachment, collective identity, and productive engagement that can be mobilized for social and political purposes (Dean, 2017; Kellner, 2020). The convergence of media technologies has further transformed audiences from passive consumers into active participants who produce, disseminate, and contest meanings in the digital sphere (Jenkins, 2006; Wang, 2020). These dynamics are particularly salient for Gen Z, the most digitally engaged generation, whose modes of participation increasingly resemble the practices of popular culture fandom (Dimock, 2019; Robin et al., 2022).

This theoretical perspective provides an analytical lens for examining how accounts such as @aniesbubble and @olpproject appropriated elements of K-pop fan culture to construct political participation around Anies Baswedan's candidacy. By applying concepts of productivity and consumption, emotion and affection, community building, and contestation (Dean, 2017), the subsequent sections interpret how these fandom practices were translated into campaign strategies, how they shaped Gen Z perceptions, and the extent to which they proved effective as political communication tools.

There are several conceptions of how fan and fandom terminology is manifested. Sandvoss (in Dean, 2017) states that fan practices, especially those related to regular consumption of media texts, often involve affective emotions towards the media they consume. Furthermore, Kellner (2020) examines Sandvoss' terminology which conceptualizes fan studies into three main stages. The first stage of this study emphasizes practices and status to eliminate or reduce what is considered inferior in a community and turn it into something positive. In the second stage, politicians and celebrities, as well as

POLITICON VOL.7 No.1 2025

ordinary citizens, help define themselves through their relationships to fan objects, and fandom emerges more positively within the culture industry itself. The third stage, where the study of fans and fan objects expands into an investigation of fandom as part of the fabric of our lives which aims to capture fundamental things in modern life (Kellner, 2020).

Changes and developments in the study of fandom cannot be separated from the consequences of media convergence. Media convergence is the movement of content on various media platforms which gives rise to innovation in changes in audience culture (Jenkins, 2004, 2006, 2014; O'Sullivan & Fortunati, 2021). Audiences who were previously seen as passive consumers are now empowered and influential in challenging the authority of the media industry (Litt & Hargittai, 2016; Livingstone, 2015; Stever, 2021). Wang (2020) divides fan empowerment into two main categories, namely: (1) fan participation in media consumption which includes providing feedback from the media consumed; and (2) fans as "produser" (a combination of two words: "producer" and "user") of media that provides access for fans to participate directly in the production of media content and dissemination of information, such as the creation of fan art, fan fiction and various fan-art projects.

The convergence of media and the emergence of new media has also expanded the cultural practices of fandom, such as discussions on social media, to providing direct support to certain figures through real actions, making it very popular among the younger generation, especially Gen Z (the generation born between 1997 and 2010) which are less connected to traditional political institutions (Dimock, 2019; Putra, 2016; Shatto & Erwin, 2016). Nevertheless, Gen Z is considered to have better ability and readiness to utilize social media to increase political participation (Arpandi, 2023; Saputro et al., 2023). Digital activities and exposure of young people, especially Gen Z and Millennials, have a big impact on the dynamics of various issues leading up to the election (Nur, 2020; Robin et al., 2022).

There are three crucial things to see the direction of young voters' political preferences: (1) potential for political participation and stability of choice, (2) sensitivity to social/policy issues, (3) preferences for candidates and political choices in elections, both the character of the candidate they like and personal support for the candidate (Nur, 2020). This makes it necessary to package political information content via social media in an attractive way to produce information with a more decentralized structure (Andersen et al., 2021; Andini & Akhni, 2021). The X platform with its features is considered capable of being a substitute for the traditional public sphere because This can also be co-opted in fandom culture for interests, causing the politicization of fandom.

There are four main features in politicizing fandom, including productivity and consumption, emotion and affection, community, and contestation (Dean, 2017). The first feature is related to productivity and consumption, regarding how a fandom not only consumes but also produces things for its idols. The second feature, namely affection, is an attachment that is synonymous with emotion, which fans expect from consuming media. The second feature in the dimension of fandom politicization is then interrelated with the emergence of the third feature, namely community. The affection that arises as a result of interactions between individuals then forms a sense of togetherness or a sense of belonging which is the main key to forming a community. The fourth feature, namely contestation. The contestation in question is related to the theory of political representation, namely by making several movements and claims on behalf of certain interests. In the context of fandom politicization, communities act in the name of idols or objects they are passionate about so that fandom is political, that is, it has several interests. This interest becomes an orientation for changing broader social phenomena in society. The way these fandoms become politicized, they tend to seek to intervene, challenge, and shape broader aspects of society.

The practice of politicizing fandom can lead to the worship of

politicians, which can blunt the critical power of supporters (like how the fans blindly worship their idols) (Dean & Andrews, 2021; Wang, 2020). In politics, this practice might be harmful for the democracy, because society should be able to look at politicians more critically instead of blindly and excessively worshiping them. Therefore, it is important to further explore how the politicization of fandom is carried out by supporters/fans of politician figures such as Anies Baswedan.

KPOP FANS CULTURE IN THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OF ANIES BASWEDAN

The object at the media space level used in this research is X's social media account with the usernames @aniesbubble and @olpproject. As of June 2024, the X @aniesbubble account has more than 200 thousand followers and has 202 posts. Meanwhile, the X @olpproject account has more than 63 thousand followers and 303 posts. The two accounts were then analyzed to see the interactions that occurred as a result of the use of fandom culture and how this could be politicized so that it could be used as a way to campaign against Anies Baswedan.

Table 1. Observation levels

Observation	Observation	Findings		
level object	@aniesbubble (Abel)	@olpproject (Olpp)		
Media space	Platform X	± 200k followers ± 60k followers		
		201 posts	350 posts	
Media archive	Posts	The findings are dominated by the use of fando		
& media object	Comments	culture, which is reflected in consisting of content interac	•	
	QRT	Baswedan and the disseminati Anies Baswedan		

Source: Author's netnography data (2024)

This research uses media archives to analyze the content and meaning contained, and uses interactions such as comments and quotation comments at the media object level. This research also looks at political views, social background, ideology and cultural uniqueness that represent the identity of the community studied. The uploads analyzed were the 50 uploads with the

highest interaction in each of the @aniesbubble and @olpproject accounts.

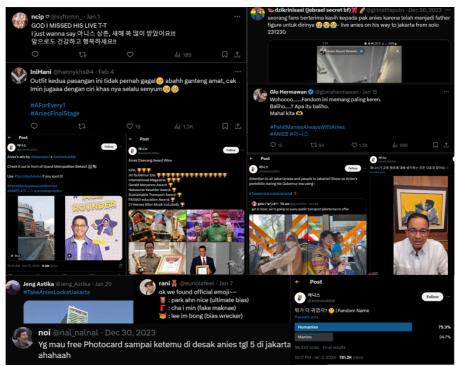


Figure 1. Example of Kpop fans culture adaptation in political campaign of Anies Baswedan (source: platform X)

Based on netnography results, the X @aniesbubble account uploaded documentation of Anies Baswedan's activities and portfolio as a public official as well as video clips of Anies Baswedan using the Kpop fandom communication style. When uploading content, the X @aniesbubble account uses Korean language captions. The interactions that occur are dominated by Kpop fandom terms, such as *Olpbbong* (means the light-stick commonly used by Kpop fandom to support their idols during concert and fan-meeting), *ahjussi* (Korean language means 'uncle' in English), *maknae* (Korean language means 'the youngest' in English), fan-site, and so on.

The values and messages given by Anies Baswedan and conveyed to X users via @aniesbubble received a positive response from user. The X account @aniesbubble and many X users also interact using hashtags aimed at increasing interaction on content and trends regarding Anies Baswedan, such as during the second Presidential Candidate Debate, which they used hashtags such as #Anies2ndStage and #HwaitingAbahAnies. Furthermore,

@aniesbubble also uploaded Anies Baswedan's political activities, such as campaign agendas, debate activities, and presidential candidate dialogues.

"Iya, karena rame kan, kayak saat orang-orang pada bilang 'kira-kira representatif nya Pak Anies apa gitu?'. Misalnya kan Pak Anies udah tua gitu kan. Ini (simbol identitasnya) lebih kayak ke Owl (burung hantu) gitu. Terus juga biar anak-anak muda tuh bisa melek politik gitu lhoh aku mikirnya dengan cara ini (pakai Twitter)" (interview with Abel, initiator of @Aniesbubble, 2024).

The initiator of the @aniesbubble account (whose identity did not want to be revealed) admitted that his habit of interacting with the Kpop fandom on social media. They claimed that the message conveyed through uploads on the X account @aniesbubble can be accepted and supported by X users because they are considered to be pioneers in campaigning for political figures. This has led to increased public sympathy for Anies Baswedan as the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Candidate.

Successfully attracting public attention and sympathy, support and promotional actions for Anies Baswedan and the AMIN couple also increased because of @olpproject account which carried out fan-projects. Fan-project activities by @olpproject are carried out by adopting Kpop fandom culture such as: using hashtags as a way to make Anies Baswedan a trending topic, holding crowdfunding and generating massive political participation on the internet with a total donation of two hundred million rupiah, sending foodtrucks to Anies Baswedan's campaign activities, advertising Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar via videotronics, and submitting fan-art and fanletters to netizens to provide support for Anies Baswedan apart from using money. The culmination of @olpproject's support for Anies Baswedan by providing energy, time and donations to launch the grand AMIN campaign at the Jakarta International Stadium (JIS). The initiator of @olpproject admitted that initially he only wanted to provide fresh air for political campaigns in Indonesia, seeing the response and participation of the community, they changed to persuading young people to be more involved in political contestation, especially to support Anies Baswedan.

"Target awal kami tuh sebenernya cuma untuk hype up doang namun seiring berjalan waktu makin terbentuk output dan tujuan yang mau dicapai supaya anak muda bisa ikut dan aktif kontestasi politik,..." (interview with Daedosoo, initiator of @Olpproject, 2024).

The @olpproject team also admitted to collaborating with MSMEs in the fan-project to be consistent with Anies' image as someone who cares about community efforts.

"Jadi ada fandomisasi politik tuh ningkatin partisipasi politik, dari kami juga make UMKM gitu kan buat food-truck sama produk-produk lain gitu soalnya Pak Anies kan juga suka pake produk lokal" (interview with Sophie, initiator of @Olpproject, 2024).

The activities initiated by @aniesbubble and @olpproject proved to be a concrete manifestation of the presentation carried out by Wang (2020) that fandom can be empowered through two stages. First, the involvement of fandom in consuming and providing feedback on things associated with 'characters', in this case interacting with content related to Anies Baswedan. Second, participating in disseminating information to increase other people's awareness of the existence of 'figures' in this context is by creating fan-art, fanletters, and even fan-projects to increase Anies Baswedan's awareness among the wider community. This is reinforced by the results of surveys conducted by national survey institutions, that there is an increasing trend in public awareness of the AMIN couple on social media (Yahya, 2024).

The organic initiations from @aniesbubble and @olpproject have become a new form of political participation and have shown that pop culture could be mobilized for political goals. In this case, Kpop fans culture, in which is characterized by creativity, collective organization, and digital community-based solidarity, has brought certain transformation of political participation: a sense of strong collective identity and social media presence. The mechanism that once was used to support their idols is now used to support politicians.

THE EFFECT OF POLITICIZING FANDOM TOWARDS GEN-Z'S VIEWS OF ANIES BASWEDAN IN INDONESIA'S 2024 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The influence of the phenomenon of politicization of fandom culture was tested using a simple linear regression test model. Testing was carried out

using the fandom politicization variable which was reduced to four dimensions by Dean (2017) consisting of: (1) consumption and productivity, (2) emotions and affection, (3) community, and (4) contestation.

Based on the analysis results, the findings show that the 4 dimensions of fandom politicization in the model produce an R value of 0.79. This means that the phenomenon of politicization of fandom has a role on Gen-Z's views regarding Anies Baswedan in the 2024 presidential election by 79%. There are several indicators that show the tendency of the most significant dimensions of the four dimensions in the model. Dimensional tendencies were analyzed descriptively from the frequency distribution model of each indicator in the model.

Consumption & Emotion & Community Contestation **Productivity** Affection Indicator Indicator Indicator Indicator Indicator 3 Indicator 4 Trend 5 6 (%)58 48 55 53 52 54 Regression model's R value 0.79 Regression Equation *Y*=37,316+0,992*X*

 Table 2. Result of regression analysis

Source: survey data (2024)

Consumption and productivity are one dimension of the politicization of fandom by (Dean, 2017). Based on table above, the dimensions of consumption and productivity are explained in Indicator 1 which shows the finding that people are interested in Anies after interacting with content uploaded by the @aniesbubble and @olpproject accounts. This dimension is also explained in Indicator 2 which shows the finding that the production of fan-made content such as fan-art, fan-fiction, and fan-video related to Anies Baswedan actually influences people's interest in Anies. This finding is in line with the quote according to Fiske (Dean, 2017) which explains that fan productivity is not only limited to text production, but also turns narratives into popular culture.

The next dimension of the politicization of fandom according to (Dean, 2017) is the dimension of emotion and affection. This dimension represents

media interactions that provide affective feedback and emotions obtained from consuming media. The dimensions of emotion and affection are then explained in Indicator 3 which shows the finding that participating in online discussions on the X social network can actually inspire people to be interested in the ideas offered by Anies Baswedan. Grossberg (as cited in Dean, 2017) states that the relationship between fans in fandom and cultural texts does have an influence on the mood which also creates a participatory culture.

Another dimension of fandom politicization is the community dimension. According to (Dean, 2017), this dimension has a variety of aspects, including offering community cohesiveness. Then this is strengthened by a sense of belonging between members (in-group) and supported by a sense of opposition (vis-à-vis) towards society at large (out-group). The community dimension is further explained in Indicator 4 with the finding that the organic formation of the Humanies fandom community can encourage further collaboration between fans. Thus, this can create various initiatives that are in line with Anies Baswedan's vision and mission in the 2024 presidential election. Apart from that, findings on the community dimension also explain that the same vision and mission in Humanies has strengthened the in-group and community cohesiveness through collaborative activities between its members.

The final dimension offered by (Dean, 2017) in the politicization of fandom is the dimension of contestation. This dimension represents fandom culture which is an opportunity to change social views, carry out social movements and provide opportunities for campaigning. The dimensions of contestation are then explained in Indicators 5 and 6. The findings of Indicator 5 show that the content uploaded by the @aniesbubble and @olpproject accounts is able to encourage people to rethink their views on social issues that are relevant to Anies Baswedan's vision and mission. This means that people are again encouraged to change their social views so that they are relevant to the vision and mission offered by Anies Baswedan.

Meanwhile, Indicator 6 shows the findings that the existence of the Humanies community is a golden opportunity that can be used to run a political campaign to promote Anies Baswedan, especially in the 2024 presidential election. This finding shows that the condition of the fan community which is more politicized will be more proleptic, which means that they more oriented towards influence on wider society and based on deliberate collective claims for a particular vision of socio-political change (Dean, 2017). In compare to other indicators, apparently this has more weight among respondents. At this level, the presence of an organic community of fans is recognized as having great potential to bring political figure to a certain level of fame.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF POLITICIZING FANDOM AS TOOLS FOR POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

In this research, the effectiveness is measured using the EPIC model's rate dimension which consists of Empathy, Persuasion, Impact, and Communication as quoted from AC Nielsen (Christabella & Sari, 2022; Priana & Wijayanti, 2020). The measurement used is the Likert scale with a range of 1-5 which includes Strongly Disagree (SD), Disagree (D), Averagely Agree (AA), Agree (A), and Strongly Agree (SA). After conducting a survey of 100 respondents, the following results were obtained.

The Empathy dimension has an index score of 4.25 on a scale of 5 which is in the agree to strongly agree scale range. Thus, it can be said that in this dimension, the campaign carried out by Humanies via social media X is effective.

Table 3. Empathy dimension

Empathy dimension	E1	E2	E3
Index	4,25	4,37	4,12
Index average	4,25		

Source: Survey data (2024)

The Persuasion dimension has an index score of 3.69 on a scale of 5 which occupies the scale range from moderately agree to agree. Thus, it can be said that in the Persuasion dimension, the campaign carried out by Humanies

via social media X is quite effective.

Table 4. Persuasion dimension

Persuasion dimension	P1	P2	Р3	P4	P5
Index	4,09	3,19	3,91	3,78	3,49
Index average 3,69					

Source: survey data (2024)

The Impact dimension has an index score of 4.32 on a scale of 5 which occupies the agree to strongly agree scale range. Thus, it can be said that in the Impact dimension, the campaign carried out by Humanies via social media X was effective.

Table 5. Impact dimension

Impact dimension	I1	I2	13
Index	4,39	4,2	4,36
Index average	4,32		

Source: Survey data (2024)

The Communication dimension has an index score of 4.18 on a scale of 5 which occupies the agree to strongly agree scale range. Thus, it can be said that in the Communication dimension, the campaign carried out by Humanies via social media X was effective.

Table 6. Communication dimension

Communication dimension	C1	C2	С3
Index	4,31	4,17	4,06
Index average	4,18		

Source: Survey data (2024)

Based on the calculations for each of the dimensions above, the total EPIC Rate is obtained as follows.

Table 7. Total of EPIC model's rate

Empathy	Persuasion	Impact	Communication
4,25	3,69	4,32	4,18
EPIC Rate	(E+P+I+C)/4 = (4,25+3,69+4,32+4,18)/4 = 4,11		

Source: Survey data (2024)

Thus, it can be concluded that the campaign carried out by Humanies on social media X by politicizing fandom is said to be effective with a total EPIC Rate value of 4.11 on a scale of $5 \approx 82\%$. Of the four existing dimensions, the impact dimension is the most effective, namely with a ratio index value of 4.32 per $5 \approx 86\%$.

Looking at these findings, it turns out that the most effective political campaign by politicizing fandom culture is by paying attention to aspects: 1) frequency of posts, 2) understanding of content, 3) quality of content, and 4) understanding of political figures (Gracia, 2020; Sartikasari et al., 2021). The findings show that 51% of respondents stated that they often encounter content uploaded by @aniesbubble and @olpproject which is included on the homepage of their X account. Furthermore, they also found it easier to understand the messages on both accounts. Meanwhile, 48% of respondents believe that the content uploaded by the @aniesbubble and @olpproject accounts on X is able to make them more connected to the figure of Anies and understand more about the programs that Anies is promoting in the 2024 presidential election. These results suggest that adapting fan culture not only engages Gen-Z, but also reshapes the very modalities of digital campaigning.

CONCLUSION

The findings of the phenomenon of fandom politicization show that the @Aniesbubble and @Olpproject accounts have succeeded in utilizing and adopting Kpop fandom culture as tools to campaign for Anies Baswedan. The use of Kpop fandom culture is seen from the use of interactions with content related to Anies as well as the dissemination of information about Anies which applies communication and interaction styles that generally occur in the Kpop fandom community. Meanwhile, the campaign model through politicized fandom culture succeeded in influencing Gen-Z's views regarding Anies in the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election by 79%. This campaign model was also proven to be 82% effective, especially the impact aspect which was quite significant. Based on the existing results, it shows that 'Kpopification' can be an effort to promote and idolize political figures.

However, this Kpopification model of political campaign could have negative impact on practical political dynamics in Indonesia, especially among young people. Kpopification results in politicians being treated as idols, rather than public servants. This idolization might lead to several impacts. First, the

young voters/supporters might focus more on fandom gimmicks rather than the real political vision and mission from these politicians. Second, when these politicians make mistakes in the future, their young voters/supporters might tolerate it (as fans will do towards their idols). Hence, in the long run it might be detrimental for Indonesian youngster's critical thinking towards their politicians.

Finally, the study on Kpopification in political campaign is still considered as new and emerging study, even though it may be developed from the celebritization of politics. In the future, this topic needs to be elaborated in other cases, and not only in Indonesia, but also other countries that are heavily exposed on Kpop culture. In Indonesia itself, there is a high possibility that this practice might evolve in any ways, therefore future study might focus on the development of Kpopification in political campaign, not only presidential campaign, but also legislative and regional elections.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adinugroho, B., Prisanto, G. F., Irwansyah, I., & Ernungtyas, N. F. (2019). Media Sosial Dan Internet Dalam Ketelibatan Informasi Politik Dan Pemilihan Umum. *Representamen*, *5*(02). https://doi.org/10.30996/representamen.v5i02.2943
- Andersen, K., Ohme, J., Bjarnøe, C., Bordacconi, M. J., Albæk, E., & De Vreese, C. H. (2021). *Generational Gaps in Political Media Use and Civic Engagement*. Taylor & Francis. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003111498
- Andini, A. N., & Akhni, G. N. (2021). Exploring Youth Political Participation: K-Pop Fan Activism in Indonesia and Thailand. *Global Focus*, 1(1), 38–55.
- Arpandi, A. (2023). Media Online dalam Meningkatkan Partisipasi Politik Masyarakat pada Pemilihan Umum (Pemilu). *Edu Society: Jurnal Pendidikan, Ilmu Sosial Dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat, 3*(1), 843–855. https://doi.org/10.56832/edu.v3i1.293
- Christabella, M., & Sari, W. P. (2022). Pengaruh EPIC Model terhadap Pembentukan Perilaku Konsumtif Generasi Z (Studi Iklan Racun Shopee Pada Aplikasi TikTok). *Prologia*, 6(2), 280–287. https://doi.org/10.24912/pr.v6i2.15455
- Dean, J. (2017). Politicising fandom. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 19(2), 408–424.

- https://doi.org/10.1177/1369148117701754
- Dean, J., & Andrews, P. (2021). Celebritization from Below: Celebrity, Fandom, and Anti-Fandom in British Politics. *New Political Science*, 43(3), 320–338. https://doi.org/10.1080/07393148.2021.1957602
- Dimock, M. (2019). *Defining generations: Where Millennials end and Generation Z begins*. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/01/17/where-millennials-end-and-generation-z-begins/
- Fajardin, M. A. (2023, March 5). Perjalanan Karier Politik Anies Baswedan hingga Menuju Pilpres 2024. *Sindonews*, 1. https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/1038559/12/perjalanan-karier-politik-anies-baswedan-hingga-menuju-pilpres-2024-1677956590?showpage=all
- Fatimah, S. (2018). Kampanye sebagai Komunikasi Politik: Esensi dan Strategi dalam Pemilu. *Resolusi: Jurnal Sosial Politik, 1*(1), 5–16. https://doi.org/10.32699/resolusi.v1i1.154
- Gautama, S. A., & Kusuma, C. (2024). Pengaruh Komunikasi Pemasaran Politik Terhadap Keputusan Memilih Generasi Milenial. *PAEDAGOGY: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan Dan Psikologi*, *3*(4), 218–228. https://doi.org/10.51878/paedagogy.v3i4.2719
- Gracia, M. S. (2020). The Effectiveness of Political Campaign on Instagram to Influence Vote Intention. *COMMENTATE: Journal of Communication Management*, 1(1), 72. https://doi.org/10.37535/103001120206
- Gumelar, S. A., Almaida, R., & Laksmiwati, A. A. (2021). Dinamika psikologis fangirl k-pop. *Cognicia*, *9*(1), 17–24. https://doi.org/10.22219/cognicia.v9i1.15059
- Illahi, S. K., & Andarini, S. (2022). Pengaruh Brand Image dan Brand Awareness terhadap Brand Loyalty pada Pengguna Provider Telkomsel di Surabaya. *Reslaj : Religion Education Social Laa Roiba Journal*, 4(6), 1684–1697. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.47467/reslaj.v4i6.1206
- Jenkins, H. (2004). The Cultural Logic of Media Convergence. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 7(1), 33–43. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877904040603
- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence culture: where old and new media collide*. NYU Press.
- Jenkins, H. (2014). Participatory Culture: From Co-Creating Brand Meaning to Changing the World. *GfK Marketing Intelligence Review*, 6. https://doi.org/10.2478/gfkmir-2014-0096
- Kellner, D. M. (2020). *Media Culture: Cultural Studies, Identity, and Politics in the Contemporary Moment*. Routledge. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429244230

- Kozinets, R. (2017). Netnography: Radical participative understanding for a networked communications society. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology* (p. 374). SAGE Publications.
- Kozinets, R. V, & Gretzel, U. (2024). Netnography evolved: New contexts, scope, procedures and sensibilities. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *104*, 103693. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2023.103693
- Kurniasih, K. P., Mansoor, A. Z., & Mustikadara, I. S. (2024). Kajian Kampanye Organik Kpopfication "Aniesbubble" di Platform Twitter_2024. *Retorika: Jurnal Komunikasi, Sosial, Dan Ilmu Politik, 1*(3), 1–13.
- Litt, E., & Hargittai, E. (2016). The Imagined Audience on Social Network Sites. *Social Media and Society*, *2*(1). https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305116633482
- Livingstone, S. (2015). Active Audiences? The Debate Progresses But Is Far From Resolved. *Communication Theory*, *25*(4), 439–446. https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12078
- Lundy, J., Jenkins, A., & Van den Bulck, H. (2020). Fandom. In *The International Encyclopedia of Media Psychology* (pp. 1–5). https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119011071.iemp0214
- Maulidania, D. N. (2024). Struktur Kepribadian Pada Realitas Kampanye Politik Pemilihan Osis Dalam Film Carnivale. *Action Research Literate*, 8(1). https://doi.org/10.46799/arl.v8i1.246
- Nur, E. (2020). Tanggapan Generasi Z Terhadap Pemanfaatan Media Sosial Dalam Mendukung Keterlibatan Dalam Pemilu Legislatif 2019. *Jurnal Penelitian Pers Dan Komunikasi Pembangunan*, 24(2), 117–131. https://doi.org/10.46426/jp2kp.v24i2.122
- O'Sullivan, J., & Fortunati, L. (2021). Media Convergence. In G. Balbi, N. Ribeiro, V. Schafer, & C. Schwarzenegger (Eds.), *Digital Roots:*Historicizing Media and Communication Concepts of the Digital Age (pp. 41–58). De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/14966.003.0003
- Parry-Giles, T. (2022). Political Communication. In C. S. Beck (Ed.), Communication in the 2020s: Viewing Our World Through the Eyes of Communication Scholars (pp. 125–132). Routledge. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003220466
- Priana, A., & Wijayanti, V. (2020). Efektivitas Iklan Baliho Grace Natalie Dalam Meningkatkan Citra Diri Sebagai Ketua Umum Partai Solidaritas Indonesia Tahun 2019. *Commed: Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Media*, 4(2), 108–122. https://doi.org/10.33884/commed.v4i2.1652
- Putra, Y. S. (2016). THEORITICAL REVIEW: TEORI PERBEDAAN GENERASI. *Among Makarti*, *9*(18), 123–134.

- Robin, P., Alvin, S., & Hasugian, T. (2022). Gen-Z Perspective on Politics: High Interest, Uninformed, and Urging Political Education. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik (JISIP)*, 11(3), 183–189. https://doi.org/10.33366/jisip.v11i3.2550
- Rohma, M. N. (2024). *Bagaimana aktivisme digital penggemar k-pop di indonesia mewarnai pemilu 2024*. The Conversation Indonesia. https://theconversation.com/bagaimana-aktivisme-digital-penggemar-k-pop-di-indonesia-mewarnai-pemilu-2024-220778
- Saputro, R. H., Anggoro, T., Muslim, S., Wardani, I. U., Fatmawati, E., Yusuf, M., Prasetyo, D., & Yusuf, M. A. (2023). Gaining Millenial and Generation Z Vote: Social Media Optimization by Islamic Political Parties. *Res Militaris*, 13(1), 323–336.
- Sartikasari, S., Hardi, R., & Hartaman, N. (2021). Efektivitas Kampanye Politik Di Media Sosial Pada Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Tahun 2018 Di Kecamatan Sajoanging Kabupaten Wajo. *KYBERNOLOGY: Journal of Government Studies, 1*(1), 16–33. https://journal.unismuh.ac.id/index.php/kybernology
- Shatto, B., & Erwin, K. (2016). Moving on From Millennials: Preparing for Generation Z. *J Contin Educ Nurs*, *47*(6), 253–254. https://doi.org/10.3928/00220124-20160518-05
- Stever, G. S. (2021). Processes of Audience Involvement. In G. S. Stever, D. C. Giles, J. D. Cohen, & M. E. Myers (Eds.), *Understanding Media Psychology* (1st editio, p. 22). Routledge.
- Tambunan, T. U., Yuniman Zebua, & Junita Lubis. (2023). Pengaruh Fasilitas, Pelayanan, Harga Dan Pemberian Diskon Terhadap Kepuasan Pelanggan (Studi Kasus Pada Warnet @N-Kom Net). *JEMSI (Jurnal Ekonomi, Manajemen, Dan Akuntansi*), 9(3), 642–649. https://doi.org/10.35870/jemsi.v9i3.1099
- Wang, Y., Zhao, H., Lu, Z., & Wattenhofer, R. (2021). Idols that You Decide: Understanding the Phenomenon and Practices of Fan-Idol Crowdfunding. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 1(1). https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3843034
- Wang, Z. (2020). The Complicated Digital Fandom: Empowerment and Exploitation of Fans in Digital Media Era. *Humanities and Social Sciences*, 8(2), 45. https://doi.org/10.11648/j.hss.20200802.11
- Yahya, A. N. (2024, February 10). Survei LSI: Mayoritas Responden Anggap Prabowo-Gibran Kontestan Paling Jujur. *Kompas.Com*, 1. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2024/02/10/18073971/survei-lsi-mayoritas-responden-anggap-prabowo-gibran-kontestan-paling-jujur