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Manhwa "Semut": Studi Kasus Perempuan Penggemar Komik Erotika Korea di Yogyakarta
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INTISARI

Penelitian ini mengkaji pengalaman perempuan di Yogyakarta dalam mengonsumsi *manhwa* erotik, berupa komik digital Korea bermuatan seksual yang oleh penggemarnya disebut "*manhwa* semut". Berangkat dari kenyataan bahwa industri pornografi arus utama dibangun untuk pandangan laki-laki. Perempuan dianggap harus menjaga moralitasnya dengan tidak mengonsumsi konten-konten seksual. Namun, menyikapi batasan moral ini perempuan berstrategi untuk dapat mengeksplorasi hasrat dan fantasi dengan mencari alternatif berbentuk media komik erotika.

Penelitian menggunakan metode kualitatif. Data diperoleh melalui wawancara mendalam terhadap empat informan perempuan penggemar *manhwa* erotika di Yogyakarta, studi literatur, serta observasi partisipatoris pada komunitas penggemar *manhwa* di media sosial.

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan tiga hal. Pertama, erotika masuk ke dalam kehidupan perempuan bukan melalui pintu depan industri pornografi resmi, melainkan menyelinap lewat celah budaya populer, sehingga perempuan telah terbiasa memahami istilah erotika sebelum menyentuh *manhwa* komersial. Kedua, format digital yang mudah diakses, murah, dan anonim memungkinkan perempuan menikmati erotika di ruang privat tanpa harus menyembunyikan barang cetak. Pilihan mereka atas *manhwa*, mencerminkan tatapan perempuan (female gaze) yang menolak objektifikasi tubuh perempuan yang lazim dalam pornografi bertatapan laki-laki (male gaze). Ketiga, dalam menegosiasikan praktik ini, perempuan memilah antara fantasi dan realitas, memilah konten sesuai kenyamanan, dan memilih secara cermat kepada siapa mereka membuka diri. Sehingga dapat dikatakan bahwa perempuan penikmat *manhwa* erotik adalah konsumen yang aktif dan memiliki strategi untuk menegosiasikan kegemarannya dengan batas-batas moral dan sosial yang berlaku di Indonesia.

Kata kunci: *manhwa*, erotika, perempuan, negosiasi, female gaze

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the experiences of women in Yogyakarta in consuming erotic *manhwa*, sexually explicit Korean digital comics referred to by their fans as "*manhwa* semut". It is based on the reality that the mainstream pornography industry is designed from a male perspective. Women are expected to maintain their morality by avoiding sexual content. However, in response to their moral constraints, women have developed strategies to explore their desire and fantasies by seeking alternatives in the form of erotic comics.

This study uses a qualitative research method. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with four female informants who are fans of erotic *manhwa* in Yogyakarta, literature review, and participatory observation of the *manhwa* fan community on social media.

The research findings reveal three key points. First, erotica enters women's lives not through the front door of the official pornography industry, but rather by slipping through popular culture, so that women have become accustomed to understanding the concept of erotica before encountering commercial *manhwa*. Second, the easily accesible, inexpensive, and anonymous nature of digital formats allows women to enjoy erotica in private without having to hide the printed materials. Their choice of *manhwa* reflects the "female gaze", which rejects the objectification of women's bodies that is common in male-gaze pornography. Third, in navigating this practice, women distinguish between fantasy and reality, filter content based on their comfort level, and carefully choose with whom they share their interest. Thus, it can be said that women who enjoy erotic *manhwa* are active consumers who employ strategies to reconcile their interests with the moral and social boundaries prevailing in Indonesia.

Keywords: *manhwa*, erotica, female, negotiation, female gaze