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Universidad del Zulia
Facultad Experimental de Ciencias
Departamento de Ciencias Humanas
Maracaibo - Venezuela

# Memes and millennial voters: Identities of an indonesian female political leader

**Nurul Fitri Hapsari**
Universitas Airlangga
nurul.fitri@fib.unair.ac.id

**Gesang M. N. Putra**
Universitas Airlangga
gesang.m@fib.unair.ac.id

## Abstract

This research aimed to reveal how the identity of Khofifah as the East Java Governor candidacy was redefined through memes shared by millennials in social media during the East Java governor election campaign from February – Juli 2018. After analyzing with Kress Van Luween's multimodality approach and Kevin Robin's identity theory, memes selected with purposive sampling technique indicated the intersection of religious, traditional, and national identities of Khofifah signified with several pop-cultural symbols. In conclusion, the intersecting identities of Khofifah popular among millennials seems to adopt the political style of Sengkuni, an antagonist character in Javanese culture.

**Keywords:** Intersecting Identity, Millennials, Memes, Leader.

# Memes y votantes milenarios: identidades de una líder política Indonesia

## Resumen

Esta investigación tuvo como objetivo revelar cómo se redefinió la identidad de Khofifah como la candidatura del Gobernador de Java Oriental a través de los memes compartidos por los millennials en las redes sociales durante la campaña electoral del gobernador de Java Oriental de febrero a julio de 2018. Después de analizar con el enfoque de multimodalidad de Kress Van Luween y Kevin Robin's la teoría de la identidad, los memes seleccionados con una técnica de muestreo intencional indicaron la intersección de identidades religiosas, tradicionales y nacionales de Khofifah significadas con varios símbolos

pop-culturales. En conclusión, las identidades entrecruzadas de Khofifah populares entre los millennials parecen adoptar el estilo político de Sengkuni, un personaje antagonista en la cultura javanesa.

**Palabras clave:** identidad de intersección, millennials, memes, líder.

# 1. INTRODUCTION

Social media facilitate both social presence (closeness) as well as self-presentation (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Social media can also disseminate messages to the public instantly without reporting, production and editing processes as in traditional media. Castells (2012) even argues that social media has been the most important element of the public sphere in the network society, offering platforms based on participation and discussion for the public to share their opinions and activities. As a result, social media are now regarded as indispensable vehicles of modern campaigns. Political candidacies often encode and disseminate their campaign messages by passing the gatekeepers in traditional media channels since they can avoid the filters of journalism and directly release their messages. Politicians and parties also have strategically used the communicative affordances of online media in interacting with citizens Kruikemeier (2014), Ahmad & Ahmad to disseminate and promote ideas, as well as exert influence on politics. The affordances and capacities that social media providers have brought changes to how candidacies and parties disseminate their campaigns and interact with citizens. In the 2008 U.S. presidential election, for instance, Facebook and Twitter usage were definitely considered as the reason for Obama's victory. Similarly, in other more-established democratic countries with direct election, many political leaders have recently used social media extensively to construct

their self-image and identity as well as strengthen the ties among electorates since they do not have to be supported by a winning political party in order to win the election.

In contrast, the direct election for regional leaders in Indonesia is a relatively new practice in the country. Prior to June 2015, regional leaders, such as mayors and governors, were elected by the winning party of the general election. This new election method was formalized by Law Number 1 the Year 2015, Law Number 8 the Year 2015, and Law Number 10 the Year 2016. On the one hand, such an election method is viewed as the winning of democracy in Indonesia Prabowo (2015) since it gives an increasingly larger role to the people in actually influencing the result of the election. On the other hand, direct election burdens the candidate even more. Not only they have to convince the party to support their candidacy, but also make themselves known by the public. The latter has created a new demand for crafting such publicly available publicity and recognition that will lead to public acknowledgment, support, and eventually, votes. In Indonesia, Jokowi and Prabowo actually used social media extensively to reach electorate easily and quickly during their presidential election campaign in 2014 since the number of Indonesian social media users was 8 out of 10 people dominantly aged 15-35 years old, also considered as 44% of potential voters in a presidential election in 2014. Similarly, during the 2018 East Java governor election campaign, both of candidacies, Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Iful) and Khofifah Indar Parawansa, also actively used their social media accounts as political campaign media. Unfortunately, as a province, East Java province has various characters that may generate more effort for the female political leader to negotiate more in the political arena. Some areas in East Java are known as santri

cities, such as Jombang, Lamongan, Pasuruan, and Probolinggo since there are many Islamic schools (madrasah) and Islamic Boarding Schools (pesantren) in those areas. The other regencies are known as industrial areas, such as Surabaya, Gresik, Sidoarjo, and Pasuruan. And, another one is known as the city of heroes, Surabaya. As a result, there might be an intersection of religious, nationalism, and urban discourses faced by the female political leader and voters.   On one side, religious (Islamic) discourse glorify men with a holy duty as a leader more than women. Meanwhile, on the other side, nationalism and urban culture may reduce the religious discourse fanaticism among society due to high patriotism and global perspective, allowing women to be a leader.

Furthermore, traditional gender roles may also discourage women from participating in the political arena (Carpini & Keeter, 2000). The political arena is always connected with actor, structure, and idea. But, there also has been an institutional turn in gender and politics. It means that institutions as gendered structures operate in gendered ways. Thus, women need to negotiate more with the public sphere creating politics considered as a male sphere since they are easily excluded as political subjects in the political arena. Based on previous research, to gain her victory in the 2018 East Java governor election, Khofifah Indar Parawansa, consequently, still branded herself as a woman leader with ideal female characters and roles for patriarchal society as the second leader. However, in this participatory culture era, what self-image and identity the political leaders construct can be decoded differently due to political participation platforms in social media. Social media constitute a space of expression and discussion. The enhanced communication among citizens through social media even also has empowered grassroots

networks and activism across the globe. According to Mengü (2015), generation Y, known as millennials, use social media as an element of political activism enabling them to express their political choices and decisions. Millennials are influential on political decisions and preferences, reflected in their correspondence in social media, which often indicates parallelism with the election results. In other words, millennials have utilized social media not only as a means of political action but also a domain for expressing themselves and having discussions. One of their political expressions in social media is delivered in the form of memes.

The word meme derives from the Greek mimema, signifying something which is imitated. In digital culture, Dupreez and Lombard (2014) observe that any Internet user can create memes since social media has provided the most fertile environment for the reproduction of memes to date. Internet memes should be considered as dynamic entities spreading in response to technological, cultural, and social choices made by people (Shifman, 2014). Shifman (2014) then argues that memes are commonly used to make propagation of contents, such as jokes, rumors, videos, or websites from one person to others via the Internet. Similarly, Segev et al. (2015) also define Internet memes as groups of digital textual units made up and disseminated by many participants. Hence, Shifman (2014) considers Internet meme as the most useful concept for understanding current cultural trends. Like Shifman also consider Internet memes as artifacts of participatory digital culture since they possess virtual physicality existing in the human mind as well as in the digital environment, highlight social and cultural roles on the new media landscape, as well as underline the purposeful production and consumption among members of the participatory digital culture. Digital

culture, according to Shifman (2014), becomes an arena of bottom-up expression blending pop culture, politics, and participation in unexpected ways leading to the construction of identity either consciously or subconsciously in online political communication between political candidacies and voters. Therefore, this study aimed to reveal how the identity of Khofifah as the East Java Governor candidacy was redefined through memes shared by millennials in social media during the East Java governor election campaign from February – Juli 2018.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. *Self-identity in cyberspace*

In the new techno-reality, identity will be a matter of freedom and choice (Robins, 1995). In the ultimate artificial reality, Kevin Robins argues further that physical appearance will be completely composable (Robins, 1995). It would be instructive to see how changed physical attributes altered how other people interact with you. Not only might people treat you differently, but you might find yourself treating them differently as well. Virtual reality is or is imagined as a combination of the objectivity of the physical world with the unlimitedness and the uncensored content normally associated with dreams or imagination (Robins, 1995). It means that technology is invested by omnipotence fantasies. Therefore, the idea of identity in cyberspace reflects the postmodern condition in which there is an inconsistency of the ego-image. The new technological environments of virtual reality and cyberspace confuse the boundaries between internal and external worlds, creating the

illusion that internal and external realities are one and the same. Artificial reality is designed and ordered in conformity with the dictates of pleasure and desire. Hence, to reveal how the pleasure and desire of millennials influence the identity of Khofifah constructed, the internal setting of the two samples were analyzed and then compared to the external ones.

## 2.2.  Memes as multimodal media

Memes are derived from the interactions between linguistic and visual forms (Dancygier  & Vandelanotte, 2017). Thus, Internet memes are considered as multimodal media. Multimodal media use both verbal and visual communications, related to each other. Hence, multimodality theory by Theo Van Leuuwen was used to analyze the memes of Khofifah shared in social media during the 2018 East Java governor election campaign. In multimodality theory, verbal communication has certain compositions, namely subject, predicate, and object to make a sentence. Meanwhile, visual communication has different compositions which have similar functions as a verbal one, such as angle, actor, participant and etc. to achieve the perspective. There are two processes in analyzing verbal communication, conceptual and narrative processes. The narrative process represents vector connects between participants, reflecting an action. Meanwhile, the conceptual process refers to how participants are portrayed in terms of their class, structure, or meaning. On the other hand, visual communication involves two kinds of participants, namely represented participants (which refer to the people, the places, and things depicted in images) and interactive participants (which refer to real people or participants who have communication). There are also some visual

communication elements to be analyzed in a multimodality approach, such as act and gaze, frame position and frame size, camera movement, as well as camera angle.

## 3. METHODOLOGY

The population of this study comprises all memes of Khofifah shared in social media from 13 February to 27 June 2018. February 13, 2018, was chosen because, in that date, Khofifah was officially designated as one of the candidacies of the 2018 East Java governor election by East Java Regional Election Commission. Therefore, it can be assumed that the date is considered as an official milestone of online political expressions undertaken by millennials in responding to the identity of Khofifah branded in her official social media accounts. Meanwhile, June 27, 2018, was chosen as the end of collecting data since on that date the 2018 East Java governor election was held. Next, purposive sampling was performed in selecting samples of data. Purposive sampling is the process of selecting sample data based on predetermined criteria (Marvasti, 2004). There were two main criteria for selecting samples in this research. First, they were mostly shared in social media since the popularity of the memes may reflect the significance of the memes in millennials. To select the samples, questionnaires were delivered randomly to seventeen-year-old high school students and college students in some areas in East Java province. The questionnaires were about the top ten selected memes of Khofifah chosen by using a hashtag (#) in Instagram as well as the top

ten results in a google search engine on June 27, 2018, at 12 p.m. All of those respondents then were asked to choose one or more memes ever shared through social media. Second, the results of the questionnaire distribution were categorized based on a theme. Memes mostly selected by the respondents actually were inspired by pop cultures, such as idols, popular films, etc. It may be because pop culture is identical to millennials. There were two samples similarly and mostly selected, namely Dilan movie meme and Kartini movie meme.

## 4.   RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 4.1.  *Intersection Of Femininity And Masculine Identities*

In the meme shown in Figure 1, Gus Ipul is depicted as Dilan, while Khofifah as Dilan's teacher. It means that Gus Ipul is associated with Dilan's character, depicted as a teenager with mischievous behavior. In this film, Dilan often plays truant and has conflicts with his teachers, peers, and others. Meanwhile, Khofifah is associated with Dilan's teacher. Unlike Dilan's character, the character of Dilan's teacher in the Film is not considered as the main character. The presence of this figure even does not dominate the film. Hence, in this meme, Gus Ipul seems to be constructed as the primary figure, while Khofifah as the supporting figure.

Figure. 1. Meme of Jatim 2018 with a theme of Dilan Film

In Figure 1, Gus Ipul is visually constructed as a powerless figure, while Khofifah as powerful one since the figure of Gus Ipul is smaller than the figure of Khofifah. According to Goffman (1979), size of a model can reflect the power owned by the figure since one way in which power or authority is echoed expressively and visually in a social situation through relative size, especially height. In social interaction between sexes, Goffman (1979) also argues that biological dimorphism underlies the probability that the male's usual superiority of status over the female will be visually expressible in his greater girth and height. Thus, if women are pictured taller or bigger than men, the men will always be constructed as a subordinated figure. It means that Khofifah in this meme is visually more superior than Gus Ipul. Besides, the hierarchy of functions of models represented is often pictured within an occupational frame (Goffman, 1979). In this meme, the inferiority of Gus Ipul is legitimated more with the senior high school uniform worn by Gus Ipul. Unlike Gus Ipul, Khofifah wears a teacher's uniform as depicted in the film. However, the

color of the teacher's uniform in this meme is green, different from the one depicted in the film, cream. It may be because the green color reflected the color of Nahdlatul Ulama, the largest independent Islamic organization in East Java supporting Khofifah.

The superiority of Khofifah is also narratively represented in this meme. The dialog constructed to be delivered by figure Gus Ipul in this meme reflects the subordination of Gus Ipul since he asked for Khofifah's permission to be the Governor of East Java. The way he addressed Khofifah with Bu (Mam) also legitimates that Gus Ipul was constructed as a figure who respect Khofifah's social status. On the other hand, Figure Khofifah was constructed as a strong and brave female figure who offers herself to be the Governor of East Java. She even was portrayed as a figure bravely forbidding Gus Ipul to be the Governor. This superiority character is also visually supported since Khofifah becomes an interactive participant as an actor, while Gus Ipul as an object. That Khofifah is embracing Gus Ipul indicates embracing action as a vector. As an actor doing a vector, Khofifah becomes the primary figure in this meme.

As a unit of cultural transmission or a unit of imitation, this meme not only combines text and images to create a mode of communication, but also reflects ideas, opinions, and ideologies of millennials as the dominant users of the internet. By remixing the idea of the popular Dilan movie with the 2018 East Java Governor election, the identity of Khofifah as a political leader is constructed to be populist rather than elitist for millennials. Nevertheless, the identity of Khofifah is still depicted as a wise woman. She is also depicted as a warm and nurturing figure. It means that the motherhood identity of Khofifah constructed still reflects the ideal

femininity trait idolized by Indonesian society, especially millennials. Besides, she is also constructed as a strong and brave leader, imitating masculine traits. It legitimates that political arena is still considered as male domination. Thus, to be an ideal political leader, a female politician should adapt masculinity traits without losing the ideal characters of a woman defined in patriarchal society. In other words, there is an intersection of femininity and masculine identities in the identity of Khofifah portrayed in this memes. As Robins (1995) argues that technology is invested by omnipotence fantasies, leading to the inconsistency of the ego-image.

### 4.2. Intersection of nationalist and religious identities

The meme in Figure 2 adapts one of scenes in Film Kartini released on April 19th, 2017. Film Kartini is a movie about R.A. Kartini's life and struggle as a well-known Indonesian heroine empowering women in her days. This film also depicts the thoughts of R.A. Kartini, especially about education and rights of women. In this film, the figure of Kartini is represented as woman who dared to fight wrong things and make critical arguments against male domination. Furthermore, the figure of Kartini visually depicted in this movie has brown skin, long and black hair, and sharp nose. The physical appearance of Kartini with brown skin represents Indonesian female skin color. Meanwhile, her thick, black, long hair and his sharp nose reflect her identity as a noble descent. And, Kartini's big eyes indicate her firm character. With these visual depictions, Kartini's figure in this movie can be considered as the ideal representation of an Indonesian woman who is not only rich, but also has strong character.

This Kartini's film, moreover, was nominated for 14 categories of 22 categories at the 2017 Indonesian Film Festival (FFI) held in Manado, North Sulawesi. As reported by Movimagz, the film was also aired at the Eurasian and Australian International Film Festivals (Sydney, Darwin, Perth, Melbourne, Canberra, Brisbane, and Adelaide). Thus, Kartini's film seems to be not only popular in Indonesia, but also abroad. The selection of Dian Sastrowardoyo, the young popular artist in Indonesia, as the cast of Kartini also made this film very popular among millennials.



Figure. 2. Meme of Kartiniku with a theme of Kartini Film

In Figure 2, the figure of Kartini casted by Dian Sastro is sitting thoughtfully and holding up a pencil while looking up into the figure of Khofifah. This meme seems to portray how the figure of Kartini casted by Dian Sastro is captivating with the photo of Khofifah in white headscarf with a round frame. Unlike the figure of Kartini casted by Dian Sastro who looks serious in this meme, the figure of Khofifah is smiling friendly. Visually,

the figure of Kartini casted by Dian Sastrowardoyo is an actor who is captivating with (vector) Khofifah (object). The use of a round white frame and white headscarf on Khofifah's figure makes an impression of overexposure. The overexposure of Khofifah image leads to a kind of smooth brightness. Meanwhile, Kartini's figure casted by Dian Sastro was underexposure, resulting in muddy darkness. This means that Khofifah becomes an ideal angelic figure compared to Kartini's figure acted by Dian Sastro.

The positive impression of Khofifah is also illustrated through the composition of the two figures in this meme. The high position of Khofifah's figure makes her figure powerful than the figure of Kartini casted by Dian Sastro. The higher position of Khofifah also reflects the admiration of Kartini's figure acted by Dian Sastro towards the figure of Khofifah. In addition, eye level contact and smiling expressions made by Khofifah make Khofifah's figure more intimate with the viewers (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). Unlike Khofifah's figure, the figure of Kartini acted by Dian Sastro did not make an intimate relationship with the viewers. Therefore, it can be said that Khofifah's figure is visually portrayed as the Indonesian woman nowadays who is admired by Kartini's figure acted by Dian Sastro. It can also be said that Khofifah is considered as Kartini today better than Dian Sastro due to the brightness aspect. Besides, it seems that the religious one is better than the traditional one since Khofifah wearing hijab is depicted brighter and higher than Dian Sastro wearing a traditional kebaya. It also indicates the mature figure of Khofifah is better than the young one represented by Dian Sastro. In addition, the figure of Khofifah depicted inside a frame of Kartini's film indicates how Khofifah's identity is associated with Kartini's characters,

fighting for women's education and rights, struggling bravely, thinking critically, and willing to sacrifice for the improvement of Indonesian women's life. In reality, the figure of Khofifah actually can be equated with Kartini's figure in the past since both are known as female influential figures in Indonesia. However, the identity of Kartini represented by Khofifah becomes more Islamic because of the hijab sign worn by Khofifah. It seems that the nobility of Kartini's figure in the past changes into a pious female figure.

Since this meme has become very popular among Indonesian netizens, who dominantly are aged 15-35 years old known as millennials, it can be said that the figure of Khofifah depicted in this meme reflects the preference of millennials' idea, opinion, and ideology towards Khofifah's identity as a female political leader. Khofifah's identity as a pious woman leader who dares to fight for education and rights of Indonesian women is highly idolized by millennials. It may be caused by an external factor, in which Indonesian political atmosphere has recently been influenced by religiosity discourses. Robins (1995) states that the new technological environments of virtual reality and cyberspace confuse the boundaries between internal and external worlds, creating the illusion that internal and external realities are one and the same. Thus, religion becomes one of the institutions disciplining people's thinking of the political arena, including millennials' one. Religious identity, therefore, becomes an important element in defining an ideal political leader. Nevertheless, though Khofifah with this religious identity is more liked, Khofifah in this meme is still enriched with patriotism vibes. In other words, there is an intersection of nationalist and religious identities in Khofifah's identity described in this meme.

*4.3.        The adaptation of Sengkuni political style*

Based on the analysis results of both memes, it can also be said that the identity of Khofifah defined by millennials through the distribution of both memes adapted the political style of Sengkuni. Sengkuni is a character in traditional Javanese customs. Sengkuni in the Mahabharata book is known as Sakuni, and then in puppetry, it changes to Sengkuni to facilitate its pronunciation. Sengkuni is an antagonist in the epic Mahabharata. He is the uncle of Korawa, one of the royal families in the epic who became the rival of Pandhawa, the protagonist. In Javanese wayang, Sengkuni was described as a very smart person, both because he was from a royal family and because he was a knowledgeable person. As a prominent figure in a high position, Sengkuni found himself infatuated with all the privileges he got, which later grew to become dissatisfied. Sengkuni is a character who uses his resources, especially his intelligence, to talk to people to like him and finally gives him his wishes to benefit himself or his group. Sengkuni is also called as a character who always says thoughtful and inspiring words so that other people are captivated. He seemed to master mass psychology (Endraswara, 2014; Japen, 2019). In the Javanese context, Sengkuni will become a person who takes advantage of his status in the arrogance of Javanese and ethnic groups: priyayi, or nobility. At the same time, he also used religious sentiments. Primordial problems are the foundation of Sengkuni's persuasion, and he uses them to hide his true agenda.

In the 2018 East Java gubernatorial election, the figure of Sengkuni was also adapted by millenials to redefine the identity of Khofifah. In meme with the theme of Dilan film, millenials try to create the identity of

Khofifah as a wise teacher. Although in the Dilan film, the character of the teacher is not the main one like the character of Dilan represented by Gus Ipul figure in that meme, the figure of Khofifah is visually more powerful than Gus Ipul. Khofifah even becomes a sympathetic teacher with wise behavior. In that meme, she is wisely suggesting Gus Ipul not to nominate himself as the candidacy of East Java Governor. Her advice is more likely as a thoughtful suggestion from a teacher since she is portrayed with a teacher's uniform rather than as an intimidating statement. It seems that Khofifah is portrayed as a figure who takes advantage of her status as Dilan's teacher to hide her true agenda. As in Javanese wayang, Sengkuni is a prominent figure who always says thoughtful words so that other people are captivated with his figure as the wise one.

In Kartiniku meme, on the other hand, the figure of Khofifah seems to be an incarnation of Kartini, known as a feminist figure in Indonesia who inspired and supported women to be more independent and have more chance to enrich their knowledge at that time. During her life, Kartini was also known as a humble figure though she was from a royal family. Hence, Kartini can be considered as the female version of Semar. Rama Sindhunata in Endraswara (2014) explains that Semar is a demigod, a divine-human known as the Sanghyang Ismaya. Having such divine qualities, Semar is generally associated with two characteristics: anoraga (humble) and pamomong (nurturing). Moreover, the characters of Semar are also known to be simple, polite, and close to the people. In Javanese knowledge, Semar was usually appointed as the guardian of knights and royal lineages, including Pandhawa from the Mahabharata epic (Endraswara, 2014). He is part of the Punakawan, the servants of the royal leaders in many stories based on the Mahabharata. Punakawan consists of

four figures: Semar and three adopted children Petruk, Gareng, and Bagong. Unlike Sengkuni who upholds nobility and status, Semar represents himself as part of ordinary society.

By putting the figure of Khofifah in the frame of that meme, it seems that Khofifah is constructed as the incarnation figure of Kartini better than Dian Sastro acted as Kartini in that Kartini film. The humbleness and modesty of Khofifah figure in that frame are influenced by religious (Islamic) discourse dominating the political atmosphere of Indonesia recently since Islam is known as a religion with the largest number of followers in Indonesia. Besides, the identity of Khofifah is also constructed as the political figure that can help and encourage Indonesian women, similar to what Kartini did at that time. Unfortunately, how millienials created and redefined the identity of Khofifah through this meme just makes the identity of Khofifah not the same as Semar's one. It makes Khofifah more look like Sengkuni since, in reality, Khofifah is not from a noble or royal family. She is just an ordinary person who seems to uphold nobility and status by representing her as the incarnation figure of Khofifah to gather more voters. She is also portrayed as a figure with the image of a modest religious woman to be loved more by voters.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Social media as an indispensable element of modern campaigns not only can be used by political leaders to brand and promote their identity to the public instantly, but can also to disperse ideas and strengthen the ties among electorates. Nevertheless, social media use can also promote

political participation in this participatory culture era. Thus, what self-image and identity the political leaders construct can be decoded differently. Millennials as the dominant users have utilized social media not only as a means of political action, but also a domain for expressing themselves, one of which is through memes. Memes usually blend pop culture, politics, and participation in unexpected ways, leading to the construction of identity either consciously or subconsciously in online political communication between political candidacies and voters. Therefore, this study aimed to reveal how the identity of Khofifah as the East Java Governor candidacy was constructed by millennials through memes produced and shared in social media during the East Java governor election campaign from February – June 2018.

Based on the results of the analysis, it can be concluded that millennials like the figure of Khofifah more with her intersecting identities. In the first meme, although the motherhood identity of Khofifah constructed still reflects the ideal femininity trait, she is also constructed as a strong and brave leader, imitating masculine traits. It legitimates that political arena is still considered as male domination. In other words, there is an intersection of femininity and masculine identities in the identity of Khofifah portrayed in this memes. Meanwhile, in the second meme, Khofifah's identity is associated with Kartini's characters, fighting for women's education and rights, struggling bravely, thinking critically, and willing to sacrifice for the improvement of Indonesian women's life. However, the identity of Kartini represented by Khofifah becomes more Islamic because of the hijab sign worn by Khofifah. It may be assumed that the Indonesian political atmosphere has recently influenced by religiosity discourses. In other words, there is an intersection of nationalist

and religious identities in Khofifah's identity described in this meme, reflecting the acceptance of a woman as a political leader.

In addition, the identity of Khofifah created through both memes popular among millennials adapted the political style of Sengkuni. Interestingly, through the figures of Dilan's teacher and Kartini's incarnation figure, Khofifah is more represented as the antagonist rather than the protagonist. However, this does not indicate that millennials more like an antagonist figure to be the Governor of East Java. It may be assumed that millennials more concern on the popularity of the image of Khofifah. In this visual era, how an image on the screen is modified and constructed to gain popularity is actually more important rather than its reality. Thus, millenials like to redefine the figure of Khoffifah identical with the popular figures even though considered to adopt the political style of Sengkuni, the antagonist character in Javanese culture. In other words, millennials voters in Indonesia seem to be more easily affected by the popularity and constructed image of political leaders rather than their real image and achievements.

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