#### CHAPTER I

#### INTRODUCTION

# 1.1 Background of the Study

Every country has their own leader to be their role model. What we see in a leader characteristic is on how he can be a good figure for his society. In Indonesia, a good leader has started from Soeharto who was the second president. Soeharto was the role model of that time. New Order Era, where Soeharto led, was the first time that masculinity became matter in how a leader led. What society has understood about masculinity is usually close to the men figure and it is cultural (Beynon 2). This means that it is not genetic, it is cultural conception. The culture conceptualizes how masculinity is worked and perceived by the people. Masculinity mostly refers in men character.

Masculinity in Indonesia started to develop in New Order Era. Soeharto, the president at that time, was dubbed as *Bapak Pembangunan* or in English means The Father of development. Hegemonic masculinity made *Bapak* to be more essential during the New Order period (Nilan 332). *Bapak* is father in English and father is a man. The men take the roles of being masculine since Soeharto era. Actually, father is not only the term for the family but it also applies

in the state. Soeharto called himself as *Bapak Pembangunan*, The Father of Development.

The leader in Indonesia still applies *bapak* term to make society understand that he is dominant. The people respect the leader like they respect to their father. In Indonesia, there are some period of the leader that are Old regime, New Order, and Reformation Era. Old regime was led by Sukarno, Soeharto's New Order and the Reformation era was led by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Now, Indonesian's leader is Joko Widodo.

Talking about leader, those examples are the ex – presidents and now president in Indonesia. They have their own personal masculinity to be dominant and to influence their society. To be the leader, it is not always to be a president. There are some ways to be leaders in Indonesia. For example is Abraham Lunggana. He is one of the Legislative Council in Indonesia. Lunggana, this study here in after called Lulung, is also the leader in Indonesia because he is in legislative council.

Abraham Lunggana is a regional people's representative assembly in Jakarta city. The issue of the leader in Lulung figure is on how he obliged his society especially in Jakarta. In March, he was very famous among social media because of his action. The first all of the society knows him is when he manipulated UPS that cost 245 billion rupiahs (Maharani). When press tried to gain his confirmation, his action was not represented as the leader who was responsible in his action. Instead of making clarification, he showed his arrogance like saying "I do not do finance manipulation. You know why? When I spit, my

spit directly becomes money" (Wardhana). This action triggers society to speak up. Instead of calling him Lunggana, society prefers to call him Lulung to make his name funny. This condition makes Lulung famous in March 2015. The climax of this problem is when society makes the memes of his silly action and it spreads out through social media via the internet especially in the Twitter.

Meme is the simulation process used to describe what people feeling. The first meme was created by Richard Dawkins in 1976 in the book *The Selfish Gene*. The word meme derived from Greek, *Mimeme* means that imitation and in the French *Même* (Dawkins 192). Twenty three years later in the book *The Meme Machine*, Susan Blackmore said to understand what the meaning of memes are, a person must first understand those memes. The success of a meme depends on its replication or copied behavior among humans (Blackmore 5). There is a lot of memes in Indonesia, such as meme about artist and meme about political issue. The meme about artist in Indonesia mostly tells about the real artists, such as Bella Shapira, Bella Shofie, and Syahrini. Meanwhile, the meme that talks about politic issue is usually used as a Black Campaign (Indriyo).

Ministry of Communications and Informatics Technology (Kemenkominfo) reveals that the internet user in Indonesia has reached 63 million people. Selamatta Sebiring said, "Indonesia is in the fifth ranks largest in the world of Twitter users". Indonesia's position only lost from the USA, Brazil, Japan and the UK. Based on data taken from PT Bakrie Telecom, Indonesia has 19.5 million from 500 million global users (bint005). So, the writers choose

twitter than other social media because twitter meme comic #SaveHajiLulung becomes trending topic worldwide on March.

Based on some researcher on their journal used an operational definition of a meme by limiting their study to Twitter hashtags, which are slogans or subjects trending on Twitter to relate ideas or information to followers by using the "#" symbol or "hashtag" before a word or words (Foster 4).

In 2013, Hillary Clinton added #tweetsfromhillary from the very first time tweet in her twitter. Anderson and Sheeler (2014) analyzed Hillary Clinton's reuse of the "Text from Hillary" meme to create her own meme when she joined Twitter as a hashtag "#tweetsfromhillary." The success of Hillary's hashtag style is used by Lulung to get the same popularity and success as hers. In this case, the writer uses #SaveHajiLulung because Haji Lulung becomes a very famous figure. All of the people ridicule him because there are some memes talks about him. Actually, the memes are about his madness to Ahok's illegal local government budget that triggers the conflict in regional people's representative assembly. The memes of Ahok vs Lulung become a trending topic worldwide in March 2015, especially in twitter with #SaveHajiLulung hashtag. This trending topic by hashtag (#) affects people who open their twitter account because they can directly know the update topic when they want to write the status especially with that hashtag. The hashtag actually can be accessed in the whole world.

Even the international famous people like Taylor Swift, Justin Bieber, Zayn Malik, and Ariana Grande as Hollywood celebrities can see this by hashtag.

As this study delivers the way hashtag can influence the people, this study attaches some pictures that describe how famous Haji Lulung (see figure 1.1).

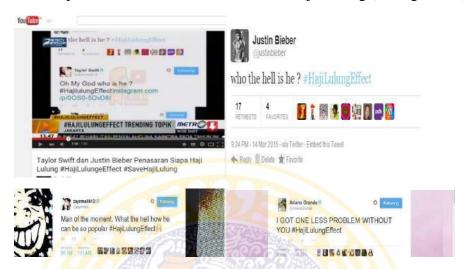


Figure 1.1: #SaveHajiLulung's become trending topic

This phenomenon happens for a month. The content of the memes is generally about making joke of Haji Lulung situation. The arrogance of Haji Lulung is the fact that he reluctantly apologize to other people every time he makes a mistake. So, his action can trigger the society to make a fun of Lulung's bad habbit.

Below is table of total number of #SaveHajiLulung found in twitter in a month (from 6 March 2015 - 31 March 2015). The writer concludes that from the first week until the last week, the number of hashtag decrease. The first week, the number is 1820 and the last week is only 15 people retweets the photo.

Week	Total Number
I	1820
II	311
III	61
IV	15
Total	2207

Table 1.1 the total number of #SaveHajiLulung

This study will analyze how Lulung's figure when he is a leader. From his action, the society starts to question his ability to lead. So, this study analyzes it by using hastag #SaveHajiLulung that is appeared meme on Twitter to measure the ideal leader in Indonesia. This meme comes from twitter and it is aired at one of the television in Indonesia on 17 March 2015. The news anchor or host asked to Lulung's reaction about what the people have done to him by creating him as the meme. The meme talks about him and UPS. He said that "saya tidak tahu kalau UPS itu sebesar ini" or in English, Lulung said, "Actually, I do not know that UPS is this big size" and also because of doubling the money by legislative. However, the meme of #SaveHajiLulung actually becomes a trending topic worldwide on twitter. However, on May, people still keep talking about it on the twitter. Here this study introduces the three most famous memes on the writer







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using #SaveHajiLulung hashtag.

Figure 1.2. Meme 1 Figure 1.3. Memes 2 Figure 1.4. Meme 3

Traffic Jam Lulung's technology challenged UPS and USB connector

The writer uses hegemonic masculinity that will be linked to the meme. Hegemonic masculnity is term that refers to the effort of someone or people, and it is always related to men, to understand and stabilize gender relations in their place (Connell and Messerschmidt 831).

Rapakism is theory used for this research. The purpose of the research is to know the ideal leader in Indonesia by using the #SaveHajiLulung hashtag version. This study used qualitative approach and semiotics proposed by Roland Barthes to reveal the meaning of each sign and myth. This study also uses masculinity theory about hegemonic masculinity in Indonesia that is called as Bapakism. Bapak was significant for hegemonic masculinity during the New Order period (Nilan). Bapak does not only takes control of family; but it often also controls over the business, the town, and the nation-state. The writer assumes the ideal perception of the leader in society in Indonesia has changed since the society uses the memes to represent Lulung's figure in protecting Jakarta. However, this study will find the truely meaning of this memes through semiotics and hegemonic masculinity.

#### 1.2 Statement of the Problem

From this introduction, the writer arranges the statement of the problem

How is the ideal leader represented in Memes Printed #SaveHajiLulung on Twitter?

### 1.3 Objective of the Study

The objective of this study is to answer the statement of the problem above. The purpose is to know the ideal leader represented in memes printed #SaveHajiLulung on twitter.

## 1.4 Significance of the Study

This study is hopefully significant for the readers. The non experts reader will hopefully understand about how society dreams about the leader figure. The writer hopes that this study will give a new perspective in defining the leader. It is also useful to give information of how to conduct a semiotic research in a meme. By looking at this case, this study hopefully gives benefit to the readers, that the result of this study will encourage them to develop more about the ideal leader in Indonesia from different perspective, in this case is humor satire in meme. the researcher also wishes that the result of this study will give contributions not only to the readers but also to every researcher who wants to study and analyze the ideal leader masculinity. The last, for the next researchers in Universitas Airlangga especially for those who analyzes the meme and satire humor.

## 1.5 Definition of Key Terms

Bapakism : blended feudal traditions of patron-client with a

modern development paradigm (Nilan 322).

Meme : replicators and the success of a meme depends on

its replication or copied behavior among humans

(Blackmore 5).

Hajj Hajj activities are like visiting Baitullah in

Mecca for doing Tawaf, Sa'i, doing Wukuf in

Arafah and other deeds in the certain times in order

to achieve the blessing of Allah (Kemenag).

Hegemonic Masculinity : term that refers to the effort of someone or

people, and it is always related to men, to

understand and stabilize gender relations in their

place (Connell and Messerschmidt 831).