

The Representation of Society Criticism on Meme (Semiotic Analysis of Charles Sanders Pierce on Politician Billboard Memes)

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to discover the meaning of three previously selected memes that highlight the practice of placing billboards for Indonesian politicians outside of the 2024 presidential election campaign using semiotic analysis from Charles Sanders Pierce with a descriptive qualitative approach. The three memes that are the subject of this research are three memes that have a high virality value and are included in Twitter's Trending Topics. The findings of this research show that the three memes have a negative attitude against the action of placing political billboards. These negative viewpoints are summed up in four key points that emerge from the three memes, namely (1) Criticism of installing billboards for politicians that are excessive in number and placement, (2) Criticism of the unimportance of installing billboards by politicians compared to other issues that are also being viral in the world. Twitter, (3) Criticism of the lack of empathy of politicians towards people who are experiencing economic difficulties in the midst of the second wave of the Covid-19 pandemic and (4) Criticism of politicians who only want to advertise themselves. In addition, the use of signs in the memes studied uses general signs that are close to the Indonesian people as well as things that are going viral close to the viral billboard phenomenon, such as The Beatles Album Cover, Tinder Dating App Logo, footballer Lionel Messi.

Keywords: Charles Sanders Pierce's Semiotic Analysis, Political Communications, Political Memes.

INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, it can be said that Memes exist on every social media that is often used by the public, especially on Twitter social media which incidentally has the *Like* and *Retweet* feature which makes it very easy to share messages, ideas, and ideas, including those in the form of Memes. In addition, the egalitarian and open culture on Twitter also encourages netizens (social media users) to participate in spreading the memes they see on social media. Netizens are expressed to be an "agents", active actors who are creative in creating and modifying meaning radically. This social phenomenon is also motivated by an overflowing pattern of expression

and is indicated as a democratic process (Permana, Yulyarti, & Andhika, 2020). If in general the media is considered a "Locus Politica" in example a place where political issues are discussed to become a political stage, then the internet and new media which have more open and free characteristics become Locus which is quite important for political discourse in a democratic country (Wadipalapa, 2015)

The use of memes in the context of political aspirations in Indonesian society today is not a new thing. Many memes discuss political issues to respond to, comment or even criticize a policy or political issue that is currently viral. In the context of being a critical medium, the use of humor in a meme can transcend socio-political boundaries and provide an openly acceptable space for criticizing (Utomo, 2015). Memes often convey criticism of popular culture or issues that are hot and developing in society. Political issues that are discussed and contain aspects of humor in the form of memes also function as a confirmation of the group's views and strengthen the values of certain groups in this case, of course, namely creators, senders, re-uploaders, and so on (Permana, Yulyarti, & Andhika, 2020).

One of the issues that Twitter users in Indonesia also responded to is the phenomenon of simultaneous installation of political billboards that occurred in mid-July 2021, or we can call it the "Politician Billboard Phenomenon. The politicians who installed billboards in several cities in Indonesia were Airlangga Hartanto (Chairman of the Golkar Party), Puan Maharani (Chairman of the PDI-P DPP), Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (General Chair of the Democratic Party), Muhaimin Iskandar (General Chairperson of PKB) (national.kompas.com). The phenomenon of this political billboard went viral because it was placed when the Indonesian people were amid the Covid-19 pandemic which was entering the second wave. In addition, the billboards seem aimed at introducing presidential candidates from each party in the 2024 presidential election, given that the 2024 presidential election is still three years away. (national.kompas.com). Memes uploaded by Twitter users in Indonesia take various forms and use different satire and criticism.

It's crucial to talk about a meme's meaning because the meme's shape already includes a sarcastic message and an inferred message. Additionally, it is becoming normal practice to employ memes to express political ambitions This is what makes this research important to discuss using the Semiotic Theory from Charles Sanders Pierce to reveal the meanings implied in a meme in the context of representation of public criticism. The semiotic theory of Charles Sanders Pierce is closer to the semiotics of communication (Semiotics of Communication This theory places a strong emphasis on the creation of social signs and how these indications are repeatedly interpreted by others, or what is known as semiosis (Sobur, 2016).

In particular for individuals the meme mentions, memes frequently create new issues. However, it is typical for this offense to be paid back by the creation of new memes meant to respond to earlier memes (Hamid, 2020). However, Memes have a special ability to draw in those who are emotionally invested in the topics under discussion, regardless of whether they accept or support those topics or reject or disagree with them. Apart from that, individuals continue to create memes to convey their ambitions despite the drawbacks of the memes outlined above and the official and legal manner of criticizing and making advice to those who are criticised. This is what gives memes their meaning, and it's intriguing to examine how this meme communicates its message using Charles Sanders Pierce's semiotics.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Memes in the Context of Political Aspirations on Twitter

The term "Meme" was first proposed by Richard Dawkins (1976) in his book entitled *The Selfish Gene*, which is one of the terms in the science of Microbiology. The memes in this book refer to the "unit of imitation and cultural transmission in genes." This is a biological term that deals with genes. The term "Meme" has since broadened to refer to the phenomenon known as "Meme culture" on the internet, which is a way in which ideas are imitated, disseminated, and mediated from person to person, through interaction or conversation, both through analog and digital media (Brunello, 2003). 2012). Referring to the definition of a meme in microbiology, which is essentially a unit of imitation and cultural transmission, the term *memesis*, which refers to simple imitation and producing creative work, is used to describe this technique in Hebrew (Jewish). Text and images that are turned into memes are formed, processed, and given new meanings in accordance with the goals of the new meme's author, rather than just being copied and duplicated.

According to Wiggins and Bowers (2014), Meme has advantages over other forms of satire such as ordinary caricatures, namely on the Internet. A meme operates by utilizing new media or the internet in distributing the message and meaning to be conveyed, of course, through humor. In addition, the memes distributed on social media and the internet will not only be in the same form, but the memes will continue to grow, either with the same message but with a different meme or with a similar meme but with a different message. The process of producing and distributing Memes is easy, they are produced/uploaded, cloned, distributed through social media, and then repeated. This is still related to the sharing culture that emerged when the internet and social media grew rapidly in the world.



Figure 1: Examples of Memes Discussing Political Issues in Indonesia

Source: memegenerator.net & history.com, 2021

In the Oxford Dictionary, Meme is a form of satire. Satire serves the objective of highlighting and denouncing the flaws of others (Permana, 2020). The form of criticism conveyed in Meme is in the form of a combination of images to a collection of several images and writings that refer to issues that are being discussed and become social discourse (Wadipalapa, 2015). Politics are frequently discussed in memes in the informal setting of communication or humor, and these memes frequently convey provocative, unreasonable, and hurtful sentiments (Tsakona & Popa, 2012). This statement is in line with the expression of Freedman (2009) which states that the messages in satire do have the aim of attacking a person or institution that is deemed worthy of being attacked. This attack that was launched was of course not a physical attack but in the

form of a symbolic meaning that opens up space for interpretation for anyone who reads or watches the satirical message in this case is a Political Meme.

Limor Shifman (2014) suggests that there are three general functions of memes in a political context for society or the people, namely; (1) forms of political persuasion and advocacy, (2) forms of community movement, (3) modes of expression and public discussion. Memes, in their role in mobilizing democracy, are currently able to help the public understand or represent the central issues obtained from the mainstream media (Permana, Yulyarti & Andhika, 2020). Furthermore, at this time Hasan (1981) also argues that Meme can also be called a benchmark for how far the public has awareness of political themes that are currently hot (Wadipalapa, 2015). In the context of the use of memes in politics, Rendy Pahrun Wadipalapa (2015) also classified it into three parts, namely; (1) Memes are very bold and interesting to discuss because the issues discussed are political issues, (2) enthusiasm and intense public involvement require publicity using new media and the internet, (3) Memes are also the antithesis of the media oligarchy. In the wider context of political communication, memes are not used to find solutions to what is currently being discussed by the public, but memes are used to spark and open up discussion spaces from readers' comments (Permana, Yulyarti, & Andhika, 2020).

The Phenomenon of Politicians Billboards

One of the political phenomena that had become the subject of discussion in the real world and in cyberspace was the appearance of billboards from Indonesian politicians in a number of cities in Indonesia starting in mid-July 2021. The politicians who installed billboards in a number of cities in Indonesia were Airlangga Hartanto (Chairman of the Golkar Party), Puan Maharani (Chairman of the PDI-P DPP), Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (General Chair of the Democratic Party), Muhaimin Iskandar (Chairman of the PKB). What causes the phenomenon of this political billboard to be the subject of discussion by netizens in cyberspace is that it was installed when the Indonesian people were in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic which was entering the second wave. In addition, the billboards seem aimed at introducing presidential candidates from each party in the 2024 presidential election, given that the 2024 presidential election is still three years away (nasional.kompas.com).

Responding to opinions about politicians' billboards on social media, PDIP politician Hendrawan Supratikno, said that the billboards with a picture of Puan were installed spontaneously by each PDIP cadre and volunteers. Hendrawan Supratikno also denied that the billboard installation was intended for the 2024 presidential election campaign because Puan Maharani's capacity in billboards was as the chairman of the Indonesian House of Representatives. The campaign that was communicated was not for the presidential election but a campaign for togetherness, unity and humanity (bali.tribunnews.com). The PKB camp also commented on opinions on social media. The deputy general chairman of PKB, Jailul Fawai, emphasized that the installation of billboards was not from the general chairman (Muhaimin Iskandar). He added that Muhaimin Iskandar, on the other hand, issued a notice to all cadres to help people who are experiencing difficulties during the Covid-19 pandemic (bali.tribunnews.com).

The Democratic Party also addressed online criticism of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono's face billboard, which is the general chairman of the party (AHY). The General Chair Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) face billboards were installed, according to Herzaky Mahendra Putra, Head

of the Democratic Party's Strategic Communications Agency, not for the benefit of the 2024 presidential election but rather as a protest against Moeldoko, Head of the Presidential Staff Office (KSP), who continues to claim to be the Democratic Party's chairman. Herzaky also added that the sentences on the billboards were consistent with religious nationalist statement, because that was what the Democratic Party of AHY's camp raised against the opinion of the Democratic Party of Moeldoko's camp which stated that the AHY's Democrat party was exposed by radicals (jawapos.com).

On the other hand, the Golkar Party has been frank that the installation of billboards with the face of the general chairman of the Golkar Party, Airlangga Hartanto, is indeed for the preparation of the presidential election in 2024. The Golkar Party has stated clearly that the Golkar Party will nominate Airlangga Hartanto as a presidential candidate for 2024. This is stated in a letter from DPP Golkar Number: Sprin- 23/DPP/GOLKAR/VII/2021 issued on July 3, 2021, one of the instructions is to order cadres to install billboards and videotrons from July 21 to December 31, 2021. The order is intended to all members of the DPR RI from the Golkar Party faction, the Chair of the Provincial DPD I, and the Regency/City DPD II, the General Chair of the wing organization, and the General Chair of the Hasta Karya Ormas (cnnindonesia.com). Apart from objections from politicians about billboards that put on the faces of the general chairman of each of these parties, netizens have made various kinds of memes that raise the issue of installing billboards for politicians. Some of these memes can even be said to be viral by getting quite a number of Retweets and Likes. Referring to the three meme functions proposed by Limor Shifman, the meme about politician billboards can fit into the three functions, namely the form of political persuasion and advocacy for political phenomena that occur, namely political billboards, forms of community movements or in this case netizens on issues related, and modes of public expression and discussion.



Figure 2: Politicians' Billboards
Source: jatim.suara.com, 2021

Semiotics Charles Sanders Pierce

Charles Sanders Pierce, a semiotic figure revealed that human can only think and communicate by means of signs. The sign referred to by Pierce is a sign that can be a visual sign that is verbal or non-verbal (Judhita, 2015). Sign in Pierce's semiotic analysis can represent an idea, idea or message from the sign maker himself. In short, these signs eventually cause an influence that is related to each other or in other word a sign (sign), an object (object) will produce an

interpretation (interpreter) or what is commonly known as Triangle Meaning Theory or Triangle Meaning Theory (Hamid, 2020).

According to Pierce, sign is a physical form that captured by the five human senses and represents something outside the sign itself. There are three types of signs according to Pierce; the first is the symbol, namely the sign that emerges from the agreement; the second is the icon, namely the sign that appears from the representation of physical objects; and the last is the index, which is a sign that arises from a cause-and-effect relationship. Furthermore, the (object) according to Pierce is a reference or reference to the sign itself. An example of a sign and object relationship is when we see someone with watery red eyes (object) then the sign that appears is that the person has been crying (sign). Furthermore, the interpreter is a means of interpretation from the creator. The interpreter can also be a new interpretation of an existing object, in this case a meme (Hamid, 2020).

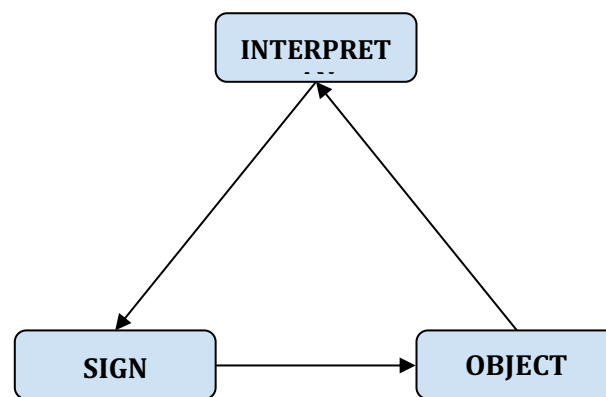


Figure 3: Triangle Meaning Theory Pierce
Source: Judhita, 2015

Pierce's communication semiotics principally refers to the vocabulary of signs, codes and rules that exist in the grammatical system. From there the communicator or sign maker begins to assemble the signs and finally creates a new meaning from the signs that have been strung together. In line with Pierce, Umberto Eco emphasizes that the semiotics of communication relies heavily on sign productions rather than the sign system. Therefore, semiotics of communication also relies on sign workers (labor) who sort out signs and combine them in order to produce a new meaning (Sobur, 2016).

In Pierce's Communication Semiotics, signs are classified into three categories in Pierce's Communication Semiotics: Rheme, Dicent Sign, and Argument. Rheme is a sign that allows the interpretant to interpret the sign with several choices. Dicent Sign or Dicsign is a sign that corresponds to reality. The last is Argument, which is a sign that directly gives reasons about something or a subjective assessment of the interpretant itself (Sobur, 2016). Furthermore, Pierce also developed the three types of signs into ten more specific types of signs, namely;

- a. *Qualisign*
- b. *Iconic Sinsign*
- c. *Rhematic Indexical Sinsign*
- d. *Dicent Sinsign*
- e. *Iconic Legisign*

- f. *Rhematic Indexical Legisign*
- g. *Dicent Indexical Legisign*
- h. *Rhematic Symbol*
- i. *Dicent Symbol*
- j. *and, Argument*

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this research, researchers used a descriptive qualitative method and used a semiotic analysis approach. Researchers use the theory of semiotic analysis of Charles Sanders Pierce. Semiotics analysis from Charles Sanders Pierce has three important aspects in analyzing an object of research, namely, Interpretant, Sign and Object which are also used in this research (Hamid, 2020). The subjects of this research are three memes that discuss the phenomenon of pre-selected politicians' billboards. The object of this research is the representation of the message of public criticism of the phenomenon of politician billboards in the three memes. This research focuses on the signs that exist in a design of the three memes. While the results of this research are representations of community criticism in the Meme.

Researchers chose Memes that were spread on Twitter by using the Search feature with the keywords "Billboards", "Billboards Memes" and "Politicians' billboards" in mid-July 2021 or when the Meme about Politician Billboards was going viral. The researchers also consider the upload virality score in choosing the memes to be researched. Virality score can be seen from the number of social media users who viewed the content (views), the content has more social media users who like the content (upvotes) than other content, has a small number of users who do not like the content (down votes)), and has the value of shares or the number of users who share the content more than other content (Agustina, 2020). After selecting three memes with high virality scores, the researchers later defined the object and research, collected the text, analyzed the memes using the Triangle Meaning Theory, and drew conclusions.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In analyzing the object of research using the Triangle Meaning Theory, the first step the researchers takes is to analyze the three Memes one by one and dissect them into three aspects in the Triangle Meaning Theory, namely Interpretant, Sign, and Object. The researchers then makes inferences based on the three memes' analyses. The investigation of the political billboards meme's portrayal of criticism yielded the results listed below.

Table 1: Triangle Meaning Theory Meme 1 Analysis

Meme 1	
Sign	 Source: <i>Twitter</i> account @berflovr, 2021
Object	Cover photo of The Beatles' 11th album entitled Abbey Road with a billboard "Kepak Sayap Kebhinekaan" Chairman of the Indonesian House of Representatives, Puan Maharani on Abbey Road.
Interpretant	This meme interprets that Puan Maharani's billboards have been placed anywhere, including inaccessible locations, in this Meme, it is Abbey Road, England. The representation of the criticism in Meme number 1 is a criticism of the placement of Puan Maharani's billboards which are considered unreasonable because there are too many scattered in various places. This meme is also made quite neatly as if to show that the photo is really real.

Source: Research Result, 2022

Table 2: Triangle Meaning Theory Meme 2 Analysis

Meme 2	
Sign	 Source: <i>Twitter</i> account @masaikdotco, 2021
Object	Two people are replacing Lionel Messi's billboard with a “Kepak Sayap Kebhinekaan” billboard, Chair of the Indonesian House of Representatives, Puan Maharani.
Interpretant	This Meme interprets that the issue of installing billboards by politicians seems to cover up other issues that are also viral at the same time, in this Meme it is described with the issue of Lionel Messi's move from Barcelona FC to Paris Saint Germain (PSG). The form of Puan Maharani's billboard, which is smaller than Lionel Messi's billboard, represents that in fact a bigger and more important issue to follow is the issue of Lionel Messi's transfer, not Puan Maharani's billboard that is too much installed on the streets. In addition, the phenomenon of installing billboards also coincides with the peak of the second wave of the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia, which of course needs more special attention.

Source: Research Result, 2022

Table 3: Triangle Meaning Theory Meme 3 Analysis

Meme 3	
Sign	 Source: <i>Twitter</i> account @hibooran, 2021
Object	The meme shows a billboard “Kepak Sayap Kebhinekaan” but what is different is that the photo of the woman on the billboard is not the Chairperson of the Indonesian House of Representatives, Puan Maharani. From the meme there is also the words "NINING. 112 MANTAN". In addition, the billboard also contains the Online Dating App logo, namely Tantan.
Interpretant	The Meme above interprets that politicians who campaign for themselves through billboards that are currently viral are similar to users of the Tantan Dating App application, which are both showing off themselves to be elected, of course being chosen in a different context, namely being elected to public office and elected to be a couple. The representation of criticism in this Meme is that the politicians who put up billboards are no better than Tantan users because they both want to be elected to fulfill their desires by showing off their achievements, which in the Meme is described by the word “112 EXP” achievements. This represents that the achievements of politicians cannot be separated from the pros and cons in society.

Source: Research Result, 2022

DISCUSSION

After conducting Charles Sanders Pierce's Semiotics analysis of the three Memes, the researchers managed to get a representation of criticism in the Memes. In the first meme, the meme shows a cover of The Beatles' 11th album entitled Abbey Road. The Beatles are a British rock band consisting of John Lennon, Paul McCartney, George Harrison and Ringo Starr. This band was popular in the 1960s. This photo album is quite iconic and famous, the album titled Abbey Road is also the last album of The Beatles and the best-selling album before the disbandment of the band in 1970. The photo was taken at the same place as the album's name, namely Abbey Road, England. In Meme 1, the photo of The Beatles' album looks different with the billboard “Kepak Sayap Kebhinekaan” from the Chair of the Indonesian House of Representatives, Puan Maharani which is currently viral on Twitter.

From the analysis that has been done, Meme 1 represents a criticism that the billboards of politicians (Puan Maharani) are scattered in various places even in places that are difficult to reach. The placement and number of billboards is considered excessive and disturbing to people who are in the second wave of the Covid-19 pandemic. Meme 1 also uses satire and hyperbole as humor in conveying the issues that are brought up, where Meme is deliberately "exaggerated" and made up. This can be seen from the Puan Maharani billboard on Abbey Road which of course is very irrelevant and makes no sense, because the location of Abbey Road is not the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, Meme 1 indirectly describes a new "Normal" situation, where the billboards of politicians that are posted in various places are considered normal, including at Abbey Road.

Meme 2 shows a large billboard with a picture of former Barcelona FC player, Lionel Messi. Lionel Messi's billboard was seen being replaced by two workers with a "Kepak Sayap Kebhinekaan" billboard from the Chair of the Indonesian House of Representatives, Puan Maharani. Lionel Messi himself has just changed clubs from Barcelona FC to Paris Saint Germain (PSG). Lionel Messi's move is quite viral on Twitter because this is Lionel Messi's first club move after 18 years playing at Barcelona FC and winning many titles. The news about Lionel Messi's move, along with the issue of political billboards that are also viral on Twitter, especially for users in Indonesia, one of which is the "Kepak Sayap Kebhinekaan" billboard from the Chair of the Indonesian House of Representatives, Puan Maharani.

Meme 2 represents criticism by ramming two issues that are currently viral on Twitter in the Indonesian region but have no relationship with each other, namely the international issue, namely the transfer of Lionel Messi from Barcelona FC to PSG and the national issue, namely the billboard of politicians depicted in Meme with billboards "Wings of Diversity". The picture of Lionel Messi's billboard which is covered or replaced with a "Kepak Sayap Kebhinekaan" billboard from Puan Maharani seems to want to say that the issue of Lionel Messi's move from Barcelona FC to PSG is no more important than the issue of the politician's billboard Puan Maharani.

But on the other hand, in Meme 2, Lionel Messi's billboard is much bigger than the "Kepak Sayap Kebhinekaan" billboard, which means that the issue of Lionel Messi's transfer is much bigger and more important than the issue of the "Kepak Sayap Kebhinekaan" billboard. If you look at the scale of the issue, it is true that the issue of Lionel Messi's transfer is an international issue that attracts the attention of more individuals, especially football fans around the world, while the issue of the billboard "Kepak Sayap Kebhinekaan" is a national issue within the country that tends to be controversial. Indirectly, this Meme 2 also illustrates that the issue of the billboard "Kepak Sayap Kebhinekaan" seems "not very important" because there are still bigger and more important issues, such as the issue of Lionel Messi's move to PSG.

Meme 3 shows a photo of a billboard "Kepak Sayap Kebhinekaan" from the Chairperson of the Indonesian House of Representatives, Puan Maharani. But what is different is that on the billboard it is not the face of Puan Maharani that is attached, but the face of another woman. Another difference from the billboards in Meme 3 above is the presence of the Tantan (Online Dating App) logo. Tantan is an application to find a partner online. In addition, there is the name "NINING" which refers to the name of the woman on the billboard and the words "112 MANTAN" which refers to the former lover of "NINING" itself. The shades of the billboards are

red and orange, which are similar to the “Kepak Sayap Kebhinekaan” billboard from Puan Maharani from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), which is identical to red. From the analysis that has been carried out, Meme 3 represents criticism by using Metaphorical figure of speech, by comparing politicians' campaigns with the Tantan application. According to the KBBI, Metaphorical figure of speech is the use of words or groups of words not with their true meaning, but as paintings based on similarities or comparisons (kbbi.web.id). The similarity that is compared between the billboards in Meme 3 and the billboards of politicians is the similarity in function, namely that people who use the Tantan application and install billboards both want to be elected. In the Tantan application, the application user will provide biodata and provide several photos of themselves in order to attract other users with the aim of finding a partner, if there is a match by looking at the biodata and photos, the user can immediately start an online conversation. While the billboards of politicians aim to be elected to certain public positions desired by the politician.

In addition, in Meme 3 there is the word “112 MANTAN” under the name “NINING”. The phrase or phrase “112 MANTAN” refers to a trend in the social media application TikTok which has also gone viral on various social media, including Twitter. This trend is a trend where TikTok users show each other the number of their ex-lovers on TikTok videos. This TikTok application trend has gone viral because some TikTok users claim to have hundreds of ex-lover. If it is associated with a politician's billboard, the writing under the name is usually the position currently occupied by the politician or it can also be referred to as an achievement owned by that person.

In contrast to the public positions held by politicians on billboards, the word “112 MANTAN” is satire, because in Indonesian culture the large number of ex-lover themselves is not something worthy of showing off, even if too much will bring a negative persona to the person himself. If it is correlated with the public office or political position of politicians, this position does have a much more positive impression. However, if you look deeper, of course, as a public official, a politician cannot be separated from the actions and policies he made while holding that position. If the policies made for the community are policies that prosper and help many people, the politician will be remembered with a positive track record in that public office, but if it is the other way around then the public will remember the politician with a negative impression and create a positive impact that being in that position is no better than the phrase “112 MANTAN” in Meme 3 above.

CONCLUSION

From the results of the research that has been done, it can be seen that the representation of criticism in the three research objects is in the form of satire in the form of memes. All criticisms are described as the cynicism of the Meme creators about the issue of excessive billboards and not taking into account the aspects of time and place. In addition, the researchers also draws several main points of critical representation from the three memes that have been analyzed, namely:

- Criticism about the excessive number and placement of political billboards. The meme indirectly shows the boredom and discomfort of the public/netizens towards the many politicians' billboards. Some Memes even visualize it by creating Memes with billboards of politicians in places where it is unlikely that there will be billboards of politicians in

question, such as at England's Abbey Road and the replacement of Lionel Messi's billboards with Puan Maharani's billboards.

- Criticism about the unimportance of billboards by politicians compared to other issues that also go viral on Twitter. Meme number 2 means that there are issues that are more important than the issue of installing billboards for politicians and the 2024 presidential election campaign, namely the issue of Lionel Messi's move from Barcelona FC to PSG and the second wave of the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia.
- Criticism about the lack of empathy of politicians towards people who are experiencing economic difficulties amid the second wave of the Covid-19 pandemic. During the second wave of the Covid-19 pandemic and the government's PPKM policies that directly impact the community's economy, of course, people are waiting for the help of various parties, especially the government. However, the government and politicians simultaneously put up billboards in large numbers and scattered in various cities in Indonesia. In addition to containing messages that are irrelevant to the situation and condition of the Indonesian people who are affected by the second wave of the Covid-19 pandemic, the large funds used to install billboards in various places invite the disappointment of the public and netizens.
- Criticism of politicians who only want to advertise themselves. This meme not only shows the irony about the empathetic attitude of politicians who are expected to have the power and strength to care more about the people. The meme also shows the ambition of politicians who are more focused on campaigning for the 2024 presidential election. In Meme 3, the meme billboard "Kepak Sayap Kebhinekaan" is shown with a woman's face. not Puan Maharani, the Tantan application logo, and the words "NINING. 112 MANTAN". This comparison of political parties with online dating applications has something in common, namely that they both want to attract netizens to have engagement and other special purposes.

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