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THE HISTORY OF INDONESIAN POLITICAL HUMOR DISCOURSE (Production Meme's on Twitter 2022)

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ABSTRACT

Humor discourse is constructing a social reality in Indonesia. It's proven by disciplines of humor production carried out by authorities. This article aims to trace the history of the power relations that construct humor in Indonesia, especially in 2022. This investigation uses Critical Discourse Analysis by Michele Foucault. The object of the study is discourse and power of Indonesian's humor history. The result of the research reveal that Indonesian humor discourse is a political practice. Political discourse constructs an Indonesian Humor identity that is democratic and does not offend certain individuals or other groups. Consequently, other humor discourse is excluded, considered not funny and kitschy. The excluded humor is not lost; however, they are included in the construction of the Indonesian humor history.

KEYWORDS: Critical Discourse Analysis, Humor Discourse, Meme, Michele Foucault.

1. INTRODUCTION

Humor production in Indonesia is divided into two, serious humor and playful humor. Serious humor is used as a tool for social criticism of serious social problems and gives the impression of satire, while playful humor is also used as social criticism, only the impression of satire is not identified with playful humor. Both of them are produced and consumed with free by the public in various popular media such as books, newspapers, puppet shows, television shows, feature films and social media memes. Another similarity between serious and playful humor is that it has a moral message, but both of them can be problematic if the message are offends moral values in society.

One examole is serious humor which is produced as meme in Twitter in 2019. At the time the campaign period in Indonesia was often dicussed and the Nurhadi-Aldo meme amerges as a parody buzzer wich was active promoted their candidat on social media. This meme was produced by

account with writings that seemed jokes but this humor was considered immoral and was considered as spreading immoral discourse that violated the values of decency therefore the production of this meme was stopped and punished by article 27 Paragraph 1 of the ITE Law No. 11 of 2008 (Juliana, 2019).

Discipline is also carried out regarding humor discourse in other popular media, such as television broadcasts. This social practice was carried out by stopping several television shows such as Komedi Nakal, Komedi Tengah Malam, Chatting, Bajaj Bajuri, and Extravaganza in 2005. Some of these television shows were broadcast on television stations. The humor discourse found in several of these programs is seen as pornographic spectacle, because it shows something that seems vulgar. At that time, discipline was carried out by KPI (Indonesian Broadcasting Commission) with discipline in the form of Broadcast Program Standards (SPS) and elimination of sexual elements was regulated in Article 16 concerning on sexual scenes and Article 17 concerning the prohibition of sexual scenes (Afifi, 2010).

Based on these two disciplines, humor production can't be separated from a power relation that influences the spread of the ideology of humor or in other words, the existence of discipline is a social practice that has an interest from the authorities to construct ideology of humor so that humor can survive or stop being produced in Indonesia. Eliminating and maintaining a discourse can be an effort of political and ideological. This effort aims to give certain powers to "one power" so that it dominates and regulates all other phenomena and discourses in subsequent developments. Therefore eliminating and maintenance of a discourse needs to be seen as a practice of ideology and power supported by knowledge for that purpose (Susanto, 2019).

As time goes by, the humor discourse produced in society will become more diverse and different. Through discipline by power, the main discourse will emerge and mixed with equal discourses. They will fight each other in every period. Even though each discourse is different, each discourse still has one power in common. The authorities are not like economic authorities who are legal and centralized, but the authorities from Foucault the power is productive and plays a role in protecting and creating discourse. Power in Foucault's view is realized in the form of government regulatory agencies, publishers, institutions, etc (Barker, 2005).

The productivity of power relations plays a role in disciplining humor discourse in society by filtering humor production so that there is humor that is funny and not funny, humor that is high and low. This is the same as the discourse of immoral humor and pornography which is eliminated by discipline from power relation, these discourses are seen as lowly humor that is not suitable for consumption by society. This eliminated doesn't actually remove from circulation of Indonesian humor discourse, however they are still plays a role for construction of the Indonesian humor discourse. Based on the social practices, it shows that there is a main discourse as an ideology of Indonesian humor. The main discourses that emerged and the battle between one discourse and another will be discussed in this

research. This research focused on searching for historical cracks in humor that are still scattered around and without realizing that these cracks are part of history that hasn't been voiced. This has similarities with Foucault's view that discourse is discontinuous, marked by historical cracks. These cracks are changes in conceptualizing and understanding an object. These cracks originate from differences in episteme or knowledge structures that can form unique social practices and orders in each period (Barker, 2005). The differences in epistles that conceptualize discourse in a certain historical period are connected with other discourses to form a unified discourse (Foucault, 2002).

Research studies on humor discourse have been carried out by previous research. Humor discourse research conducted by (Fataya, 2020) and (Rahman, 2021). The research from Fataya (2020) concluded that social reality builds humor discourse. The reality of the political practices and power of presidential candidates Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton provides a humor discourse effect. Humor discourse gave impact on the political practices of the two United States presidential candidates is personality discipline which is Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton from that era. The research from Rahman (2021) discusses the construction of comedian Bintang Emon's humor discourse which was constructed as a social criticism of the Novel Baswedan acid attack case. The research concluded that humor discourse is formed from practices of abuse of power and humorous discourse shapes other social practices. The humor discourse built by Bintang Emon came from the ambiguous statement of the person who admitted that he threw acid accidentally on the face of Novel Baswedan – investigator of corruption case in Indonesia while issue of corruption being up in Indonesia. The effect of the humor discourse built by Bintang Emon as DPO (Dewan Perwakilan Omel-Omel) –jokes of parody DPR or Indonesian Parliament is a form of appreciation by Indonesian people.

Various studies that have been carried out, there has been no humor discourse research that uses critical discourse analysis from Michele Foucault's perspective. Humor discourse has not yet been analyzed using Foucault's Critical Discourse Analysis, which is the main difference between them. This article aims to destruction the hidden practices of power relations in the construction of Indonesian humor. Other differences between this research and previous research are: First, previous research doesn't show the characteristics of humor. Second, it has not examined the historical aspects of humor discourse. Third, this research has not used a postmodern analysis. Fourth, this research eliminates the social context behind the birth of humor discourse. Based on that reason, this article was written.

Destraction power relations of political humor discourse will be carried out using Foucault theory of Critical Discourse Analysis. According to Foucault, discourse is a set of social practices in society that can regulate, control, normalize, position an object in a certain position and form pattern in a certain period. Discourse related to discipline and power. A social and cultural condition a certain period of time is determined by power exercised by social practices in the form of discipline. The things that are disciplined by power are things that can and can't be done in terms of the object being

discussed, the subject being discussed, and the time and place that may be discussed. Therefore, this critical discourse analysis defined of tracing of power relations (Barker, 2005).

This CDA can be called an “archeology of knowledge”. This analysis is influenced by Nietzsche – a historian who starts from the present and moves backwards to the past until the difference is discovered. The concept of this analysis is a new historical concept. The difference between traditional and new historical research is the principle of continuity and discontinuity. If traditional historical research explores existing (stable) continuities and then unifies them this new historical research looks for discontinuities (the cracks) in a stability (Foucault, 2002). According to Foucault, power has knowledge so that discipline is a protective practice. Knowledge also provides the view of power with knowledge is not repressive, but productive. The production of discourse in society will be diverse that all discourse will fight each other with their own truths (Sarup, 1989).

(Faruk, 2014) provides a way of applying Foucault’s CDA to a discourse order or a filtering practice. The order of the filtered discourse is carried out in two directions of analysis, it is an analysis and genealogical analysis. Critical analysis refines discourse externally and internally. Genealogical analysis classifies the circulation of discourse production. There are principles used in this analysis consist of (1) reversal is a filtering of discourse, (2) discontinuity is recognize the presence of excluded discourse, (3) specificity is an affirmation that discourse exists because of constructed by humans, (4) exteriority is a principle that doesn’t leave behind the external conditions of discourse.

2. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

2.1 Banned, Exclusion and Discipline of Humor Discourse

This filtering practice is based on critical analysis of humor discourse, especially on memes Twitter produced in 2022. Prohibitions in critical analysis consists of external, internal exclusion and application conditions. External exclusion includes objective, contextual, and subjective prohibitions. Internal exclusions consists of komentar, author and discipline. Application conditions consists of rituals, community discourse, doctrine, and social appropriation of society. Objective prohibition of humor discourse at that time is discourse of intolerance and bullying. These discourses can give of feeling hate and hostility between certain individuals/community groups based on ethnicity, religion, race and between groups (SARA). This prohibition was found in the Anies Baswedan meme which is then posted by Ruhut Sitompul’s twitter account – a politician from one of the parties in Indonesia. It has been reported that the meme was accused of being racist behaviour that wasn’t in accordance with the values of tolerance in Indonesia nation.

This meme was accused of being racist, was posted by Ruhut on his Twitter account @ruhutsitompul. The meme is a photo of Anies Baswedan – governor of DKI Jakarta wearing traditional clothes from the Dani people, Papua (Raharjo, 2020). The meme of Anies wearing traditional clothes from Dani people, Papua, caused controversy on Twitter. After that day, Ruhut was reported by Papuan young man to Police and Ruhut sued under Article 28 paragraph (juncto) Article 45A paragraph (2) of UU

RI No. 19 of 2016 concerning amendments to UU RI No. 11 of 2008, concerning Information and Electronic Transactions. Due this report the hashtag #RuhutLanggarUUTE became a trending topic on Twitter but Ruhut still not arrested because the police doing a research that case. The meme can be seen in the image below:



Image 1. Rasism Meme (Source: westjava.com).

The Intolerance humor discourse are found in the Borobudur temple stupa meme edited with President Joko Widodo’s face. The person who shared this meme is Roy Suryo –former Minister of Youth and Sport (KEMENPORA) in Indonesia. Roy suryo carried out his actions using three anonymous accounts. These accounts expressed hate speech against President Joko Widodo wich was based on the policy of increasing tourist tickets for Borobudur Temple. The attitude of the action against this policy which was disguised as a joke was not justified in humor. Therefore, Roy was accured by Indonesian Law in Article 28 paragraph (2) in conjunction with Article 45 of UU No. 19 of 2016 concerning amendments to UU No. 11 of 2008 concerning Information and Electronic Transaction or 156 A of the Criminal Code (KUHP) or Article 15 of UU No. 1 of 1946 concerning Criminal Law Regulations. Joking use of the stupa is considered an insult to religion. The Biddhists felt offended because the stupa was a sacred symbol that was inappropriate as a joke, so the Buddhists who were members of the Dharmapala organization reported Roy’s actions to the Police (Kumparan.com, 2022). The meme can be seen in the image below:



**Image 2. Religious Harrashment Meme
(Source: inews.id)**

Another discourse that was prohibited from being produced was found in a photo meme of Indonesian First Lady Riana Widodo. That meme started with news about the closeness between the two First Ladies of Indonesia and South Korea at the G20 Summit in Bali which was held on 15-16 November 2022. This photo made netizens misfocus on the South Korean First Lady –Kim Koen Hee who looked very young in 50 years old. After that, on November 17 2022 the @KoprofilJati account tweeted a photo of the two First Ladies with a tweet aimed for lowering the value of someone, even a First Lady. His tweet seemed that Mrs.Iriana's was an assistant of Mrs.Kim Koen Hee. This is a controversial meme was almost taken to legal action because netizen reponse didn't like the meme and not agree that the First Lady used as a joke. This meme also a part of criminal suspicion. However, there is not report to Police about this issue but owner of the @KoprofilJati account apologized on his Facebook account. An apology was made via Facebook, because his Twitter account had disappeared (news.detik.com, 2022).

The meme can be seen in the image below:



**Image 3. Meme Bullying
(Source: news.detik.com)**

The objective exclusions in memes Twitter of 2022 is expressly implemented. Memes are popular in the digital era and in Indonesia there are institutions that have a power to regulate social media behavior. The institution is the Ministry of Communication and Information (Kominfo). This institution is the institution that has the authority to carry out studies on the Information and Electronic Transactions Law (UU ITE) in Indonesia. As a form of legal instrument, the UU ITE plays a role in controlling and regulating people's lives on social media as well as a set of rules that regulate punishment for criminals or suspects based on electronic systems (cybercrime). The purpose of the UU ITE was formed to protect the entire community from electronic based crime. The UU ITE is based on changes from UU No. 11 of 2008 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions to Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 19 of 2016 (Wahyudi, 2022).

In those two cases that brought the suspect into legal action, including cases of racism and religious defamation, were registered under the UU ITE. The first case that dragged the name of Ruhut Sitompul –a politician, into legal action was a case of racism. The crime implied in this humor is seen as hate speech behaviour. The perpetrator carries out hate speech through communication with the intention of inciting, provoking, or defaming other individuals or groups based on race, skin color, gender, sexual orientation, etc (Tasmara, 2023). The second case is a case of religious blasphemy implied in humor carried out on social media. This case, especially religious blasphemy, has been designated as a criminal act. Based on the legal regulations of the KUHP and UU ITE this case is a criminal offense in terms of the prohibition of insulting religion, insulting individuals, or defamation (Ulumuddin, 2017).

Subjective prohibitions from memes on twitter are traditional figures, religious figures, politicians, language experts and artists. The first case of humor was found in the Anies Baswedana meme which included the issue of racism. People with power or authority who speak in this case are traditional figures and politicians. The traditional figure who spoke about the issue of racism in that meme was

the Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Patriots, Petroden Mega Keliduan. He is a Papuan youth who reported Ruhut Sitompul to legal action. Petroden's view regarding the traditional clothing as a joke is an insult to Papuan costumes and culture. Petroden did this because throughout history there have been tribes in Papua and he didn't want the humor to bring a new problem (makassar.terkini.id, 2022).

Political figure that spoke about this issue is Mardani Ale Sera. The political figures spoke in two directions in meme. First, on characters used as jokes and koteka as traditional clothes. Mardani views that the perpetrator's actions are categorized as acts of hatred of someone currently engaged in political competition. According to him, this kind of hatred must be avoided, because such actions are not wise, especially among community leaders and hatred from a community leader is better done as contesting works and ideas. He also contradicted the use of Koteka –papuan traditional clothing as a joke, because koteka has its own values and philosophies in it (Suara.com, 2022). There are several names of public figures who spoke up about the meme, they are Umar Sadat Hasibuan –Nahdlatul Ulama Figure, Alvien Liela –Former member of the Indonesian Ombudsman, Natulius Pigai –Former Commissioner of the National Human Rights Commission and Geisz Chalifahla –Commissioner of PT. Ancol (Suara.com, 2022).

The second discourse of intolerance in the issue of blasphemy is represented in the Stupa Borobudur Temple meme. This humor was designated as blasphemy and found offenses prohibited by two subjects. First, a Buddhist figure named Monk Bhadra Ruci. Anu Maha Nayaka Sangha Agung Indonesia considers that making fun using religious symbols is an act that is disrespectful and unwise. He adds that in the era of social media, it does not mean that wise and noble behavior should disappear. Monk Bhadra Ruci does not have an issue with the relationship between the God but rather he emphasizes the relationship with another human. He states that Buddha didn't get angry when he was pelted with filth but as a human one, must be respected by others (cnnindonesia.com, 2022).

The second speaker is a cultural figure, Antonius Benny Susetyo who works as a Special Staff to the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Agency for the Development of Pancasila Ideology (BPIP). According to Benny, such humor reflects a lack of reason because it plays with sacred and holy religious symbols. This action is inappropriate, especially in Indonesia which has the foundation of the state ideology, Pancasila. As Indonesian citizens, it is essential to understand that the identity of Indonesian is multicultural, requiring mutual respect and appreciation for every difference (new.solopos.com, 2022).

The third case involves a meme related to the issue of body shaming, and three individuals expressed their opinions. First, the Minister of BUMN, Erick Thohir, he spoke about his opposition to such humor. He argued that this type of humor is inappropriate for contemporary women because it has value, abilities, and potential in the public sphere. According to him, demeaning a woman solely based on her physical

appearance and not meeting beauty standards has no impact on anything, including the person doing the insulting, who will not become cooler (new.solopos.com, 2022).

Second, a Forensic Linguistics Expert, Wahyu Wibowo, provided his perspective. Based on his research, the humor conveyed through language is intended to insult and defame, leading him to conclude that this type of humor is inappropriate. Wahyu Wibowo commented on an image featuring a mother, stating that, in his view, the humor is inconsistent with the value upheld by the Indonesian nation which highly respects mothers. He added that someone who doesn't choose their words carefully when addressing a mother lacks good ethics, and a meme like this could potentially contribute to divisions in national unity and citizenship (kompas.tv.com, 2022).

Third speaker is dangdut singer, Inul Daratista. Her point of view is similar with linguistic experts, focusing on two aspects: the behavior of the perpetrator and value of a mother. Inul Daratista believes that humor like this is equivalent to demeaning others and those who engage in such demeaning behavior are lowest individuals in the world. She also emphasizes the high dignity of a mother, stating that it is the duty of a child to uphold the honor of their mother and family (liputan6.com).

Internal exclusion by Faruk (2014) discourse constructs, controls and limits its own. This exclusion controls the discourse based on three systems, there are classification, structuring, and distribution. In internal exclusion there are comments, authors, and disciplines. Comments are one of the discourse constructions in a discourse. Comments produce an unlimited new discourse constructions. In the abundance of discourse essence in the comment it will find dominant main discourse and re-actualised discourse. Comments also allow other discourses to go beyond the main discourse. Discourse in comments speaks of things that have been said and that haven't been said. Comments allow people to say something other than the text itself, but on condition that what they say is made as if the text itself is saying it (Faruk, 2014).

Construction of comments on the production of humor in memes excluded on Twitter in 2022. Humor is considered a reflection of racist behavior, defamation of a person's good name and the identity of a country, as well as harassment of symbols that have sacred, holy and honorable values. The discourse construction of the first comment is an assessment of racism from the meme of Anies Baswedan wearing a Koteka along with the content of Ruhut's tweet on Twitter. The racist value of this meme lies in the use of the Papuan-Betawi people as a joke and the humor offends the parties representing them. Various comments view that racist humor is the same as behavior that doesn't respect and appreciate the values of the cultural diversity that exists in Indonesia. The worst possibility of racist behavior could endanger national unity, and such behavior contradicts the values of multiculturalism. The issue highlighted in the Anies Baswedan racist humor meme is the context of Papua, which is still vulnerable to inter-tribal conflicts. Therefore, the meme is seen as dangerous if not handled seriously.

The discourse construction from the second comment is that humor can be considered as an act of defamation against someone. Defamation is directed towards the subject used as a joke. Insulting someone is prohibited and regulated of Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP) Chapter 315. According to this chapter, perpetrators who engage in defamation can be sanctioned with criminal imprisonment and fines. Three forbidden types of humor related to issue racism, religious blasphemy, and body shaming are considered as defamation against subject like Anies Baswedha, President Joko Widodo, and the Indonesian First Lady Iriana Widodo. This indicates that humor can diminish the value of an individual, even if the subject is a head of state or a leader. Humor with the subject being a head of state or important figures in society is still allowed if it serves as criticism. If the researched humor is not found to be a form of criticism, then it falls under the category of a criminal act, specifically defamation (hukumonline.com).

Third discourse construction from the comment is that humor can be regarded as an abuse of symbols that hold sacred value. According to information from Papua Youth Petroses Mega Keliduan, the Koteka has value, history and philosophy for Papuan people (makassar.terkini.id, 2022). From this information, it can be understood that the Koteka is not just ordinary clothing. This perspective views that humor can also demean values that are sacred, and this is what is prohibited in the context of being a nation.

Other abuse of symbols found in a meme related to the Borobudur Temple Stupa. The humor in this meme is considered as an insult to religion because, upon examination, the subject in the meme is not the Stupa, but rather that the Buddha statue symbolized the Greatness of the Almighty, so it is highly inappropriate for someone to find Buddha amusing. If Buddha is considered amusing, it was the same as mocking the beliefs of other religions (Kompas.com, 2022).

The respected symbol perceived to have been offended with humor is the meme featuring the First Lady Iriana Widodo with Kim Koen Hee –The First Lady of South Korea. The humor is considered an insult to the First Lady, who is a highly esteemed figure. This is labeled as an insult because a mother is considered to have high dignity and merits. A mother is the first home for every child, and every mother surely strives to nurture and bring happiness to her child. Therefore, the production of humor that employs sensitive symbols is considered prohibited and falls under criminal activity.

The internal discourse construction is complemented by the principle of refraction, termed as the author. Understanding the author is not seen as an individual who speaks but rather as a grouping principle. The author constructs internal discourse by categorizing various discourses spread throughout society. This categorization of discourse is carried out because the discourse around humans contains meaning that must be attributed, and the meanings of these discourses are disseminated without a decrease in meaning or utility from an author (Faruk, 2014).

Since social media has become a public space, all texts, including humor reflecting social practices, imply that humor on social media is not separate from political and cultural interests. Politically interested humor uses memes as a medium to criticize the morality of the Indonesian nation, which upholds tolerance, wisely follows the law, and upholds democracy. The concept of humor to be constructed from this identity politics is healthy humor. This politically and culturally engaged humor implicitly aims to make its readers laugh but in its jokes, it does not harm or demean others, remembering that humor, psychologically, is highly beneficial for the health of every individual.

Third internal discourse construction is a discipline based on the principle of limitation. Discipline is the need for the construction of new statements derived from instruments considered correct, and these new statements are only deemed true or false within the limits of the rules of that discipline. In this context, discipline becomes a principle of limitation.

The government established the Information and Electronic Transactions Law (UU ITE) as a means to indirectly limit funny and unfunny humor on social media. Although engaging in social media has been considered an effort to uphold democracy through the free expression of personal opinions, if such personal expressions act that need legal processing. Chapter regulated by legal institutions within the UU ITE asserts that memes detected as racist, religiously offensive, or promoting body shaming are considered not funny. Based on legal and religious knowledge, these memes are excluded.

The concept of humor in Twitter memes is a form of humor meant to entertain some people and uphold moral values. Humor with this concept is perceived as witty, easily accessible to the public, has no potential to divide national unity, and doesn't injure the identity of the Indonesian nation. In practice, immoral humor can be seen in memes like Anies Baswedan wearing a Koteka, memes editing the Borobudur Temple Stupa with the face of President Joko Widodo and memes featuring Mrs. Iriana Widodo. These three memes are considered not funny, not educational, and not reflective of Indonesian humor.

The construction of the discourse is also accompanied by the conditions of application. It is a grouping filtering of individuals who speak. This stage describes the conditions of use, to impose a number of rules on the individuals who hold them, and thus to allow everyone who has access to them (Faruk, 2014). There are rituals, societies of discourse, doctrine, and social appropriation of discourse within the conditions of application.

Rituals is a classification of individuals who speak. The classification starts from gestures, behaviors, environment, and overarching signs that accompany discourse. This classification confirms the individual by giving its effects and limits to discourse. In humor discourse, individuals who have the power speak at the boundaries of the circulation of humor memes on Twitter are experts who have special knowledge of politics, religion, and culture.

First individual to talk about humor discourse on memes on twitter was a politician. The views of politicians are considered as the dominant power holders in society. The power of politicians lies in the role of their constituents in society and their knowledge of power enforcement strategies is a value of those constituents. In order for his power to work, a politician needs to take steps by joining a party. The next step taken by politicians and their parties to be better known in the community is by campaigning. Campaigns are seen as political product marketing carried out with three strategies. The strategies are push political, pull political, and pass political.

There are expert ethical knowledge of politicians that applied so that the interests of politicians and all cadres are not only beneficial unilaterally, but it will be better to benefit the entire community. This ethic is divided into three ethics. First, minimalist ethic which is the ability of politicians to make prohibition orders from bad actions such as, legal arrangements of corruption. Second, functionalist ethic is the ethics of politicians' consciousness of their function in society. Third, rationalist ethics, which is the awareness of his trust as protector of society, therefore very irrational if a politician is only concerned with benefits for himself (Thompson, 1999).

The second individual to speak about humor discourse on forbidden memes on twitter is a religious expert, specifically a Monk. The spiritual life lived by a Monk is based on the Vinaya book, one of which is Shuttavibanga. A Monk goes through a series of rules in the book there are 277 rules with 8 types of divisions of which 4 are sanctions for violations. Based on the rules of the book there are prohibitions for a monk, there are have prohibition of having sex, stealing, killing or encouraging others to commit suicide, and pride in oneself to the degree of purity or inner strength. The term for the spiritual life of a monk is asceticism or celibacy. They left their possessions to practice religion (Leonara & Mubarok, 2022).

Third individual who spoke in the humor meme on twitter was an artist, specifically a dangdut singer. Every artist has a characteristic so that the community knows their existence and also rules in the realm of art. This opinion is supported by Andrew Weintraup's view according to which dangdut is not just a music, dangdut is a political, economic and ideological practice (Mega, 2021). The hallmark of Indonesian dangdut singers lies in their musical arrangements and rocking names. As a product of popular culture, dangdut is one of the music that combines multicultural consisting of Malay, Indian, and Arab cultures so that dangdut is impressed by music that sings and singers use certain cloths when singing. Dangdut music is also often combined with other music genres such as keroncong, lenggam, gambus, rock, pop, and house music (Kurniasari, 2014).

Each artist has their own creativity so that their works feel original. The creative process of the artist is not enough to think alone, but an artist must also balance it with feelings or imagination so that a high work of art is born. In this creative process, the artist was nicknamed "the madman", because the

work and attitude displayed were not like ordinary people. Artists do their own contemplation and imagine/imagine something that has never existed before for a work of art.

The discourse society serves to provide and produce discourse but also to make it circulate only in a closed space, distribute it only with strict rules, and strive that the distribution does not make the owner lose his property (Faruk, 2014). Other discourse that circulate and shape the main discourse and shape the main discourse exclude the humor society and they are interrelated with each other. The idea of politics excludes humor that circulates in the discourse society. Humor, which is a pillar in democracy, frees people to express opinions or expressions in public spaces such as social media in the form of social criticism. Even though this freedom is legalized by law, exclusion of humor discourse still occurs. Exclusion in Society discourse gets rid of humor criticism that attacks individuals. This humor is too objective, doesn't realize the error of morality or in other words the existence of humor doesn't have any benefit for society so it is included in the category of low-quality humor.

One example of criticism of rulers in democracies that can be said to be criticism is the production of the popular Haji Lulung meme in 2015. Haji Lulung is a member of the DKI Jakarta DPRD. This case stems from a mediation dispute between the leadership of Haji Lulung and Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) regarding the 2015 Regional Budget at the Ministry of Home Affairs. The result of this mediation was complicated because, the two had heated arguments and Haji Lulung often criticized Ahok with harsh criticism. Netizens who followed the news were more supportive of Ahok, because Ahok had a better performance than Haji Lulung. Since then the production of Haji Lulung Meme on Twitter is very high (Juditha, 2015). The meme is not considered high humor, as it aims to awaken one's performance and moral lapses. One of the criticisms of the Haji Lulung Meme was the UPS case and he mispronounced it with USB. Memes that criticize Haji Lulung's performance can be seen in the picture below.



Image 4. Haji Lulung's Meme
(Source: Juditha, 2015)

The further discourse is carried out by doctrine. The dissemination of discourse on doctrine is different from the discourse dissemination in the discourse society. If the discourse community disseminates its

knowledge in a limited environment, the doctrine of spreading discourse based on the same discourse and doctrine tends to spread on the basis of acknowledging the truth of valid discourse. The dissemination of discourse that is considered true will continue to be maintained while the dissemination of discourse that is different in value from the prevailing discourse will be questioned (Faruk, 2014).

Humor is one of the stimulations of tingling that can cause pleasure and expressed through laughter. Humor usually needs context for humor to work to be funny, that context is unusual things and with that context humor can make someone laugh. The context of this humor is the determination of the truth of a humor. Humor that uses a person's physical flaws as context is not true humor. An example of this humor is the meme of First Lady Iriana Jokowi whose body was made into a joke. Although this case has been spread and indicated as a lesson for society, humor that uses one's physical shortcomings still occurs. and this Rozi Meme is one of them.



Image 5. Rozi's Meme
(Source: Twitter.com)

This kind of humor is considered not true humor, because humorous practices like this are considered as psychic violent behavior with the category of cursing and not worthy of laughter. This humor is also discussed in the theory of superiority which views that humans laugh based on feelings that are superior to the position of others. In general, the context of humor that is considered not true humor is a context that has been accepted and cannot be rejected by humans. The context is something that is natural or a gift from God Almighty, including origin, race, skin color and face (Kagama.com,2020).

Unusualness that is used as a context for humor and considered as true humor is when unusual things are presented with the intention of realizing self-error so that, when awakened to this unusualness raises a sense of amusement and is expressed with laughter. The realization is certainly conveyed

explicitly or indirectly. True humor is humor that is considered an art. The view of humor as an art is Delueze's view of humor and views that humor is one of the arts of overturning the general view to transcendent and universal principles.

An example of true humor is found in the issue of cooking oil scarcity that occurred in 2022. This meme is a criticism of netizens to the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle which does not reflect the party of the little wong “wong cilik”. At that time cooking oil was very limited and people were difficult to get it in the midst of scarcity, there was a view that judged that mothers were not creative in cooking. From this issue, the head of the PDI-P Party, Megawati Soekarno Putri, was cornered as a target of humor. The meme can be seen in the image below (Kompas.com, 2022).



**Image 6. The Boiled Bakwan Meme
(Source: Kompas.id)**

The stage of social appropriation of discourse is a stage that makes it easier for many people to gain access to knowledge and this stage allows a discourse not to be separated from distances, oppositions and social battles. The restriction and discipline of identity politics discourse on humor in Indonesia is carried out by an institution, namely the Ministry of Information and Communication (KOMINFO). This ministry is authorized to make policies related to Internet abuse issues through the ITE Constitution. The establishment of regulations in the ITE Constitution has proven effective in providing compliance to people who abuse the Internet. Based on the regulations of the ITE Constitution, individual meme spreaders are subject to a number of penalties in the form of fines and imprisonment. One example from the Jokowi meme case which is seen as a religious harassment meme, the perpetrator of the meme spreader, Roy Suryo, was processed in court with a prison sentence of 9 months and a fine of Rp. 150. 000. 000,

Discipline and restrictions were also carried out by cultural, political, and artist experts. Experts view the identity of Indonesian humor in general still seems Kitsch or lowly. What includes lowly humor is humor that is quickly popular but does not require thinking to be laughed at which is important to be "entertained". Experts also view political humor in Indonesia as counterproductive, that is, humor is determined by certain political camps. Any humor will funny if it has similarities in politics, but laughter can also be forbidden due to different political camps. This forbidden humor is a problem when it appears during political times because the humor is lost, can offend other groups, until finally crowded by public attention and the effect extends uncontrollably. Seriousness in enforcing the regulation of the ITE Constitution is one of the ideas in filtering the spread of humor that seems still low. This is done so that humor as a product of public consumption becomes suitable for consumption without losing the Indonesian value of humor and without tarnishing democracy.

2.2 Circulation of Humor Discourse

Based on the critical analysis that has been done, the spread of humor discourse starts from the discourse of resistance humor, the discourse of intolerance humor, and the discourse of aggressive humor.

The discourse of resistance humor is a mention of humor that is contrary to the concept of humor of Indonesian identity politics and this humor is seen as a pornographic spectacle. The humor of resistance had emerged in the New Order era and developed until later times. The work that represents the humor of resistance was started by a comedy film, namely the Warkop DKI film during the New Order era and developed until the next period. This creation is that represents the humor of resistance was started by a comedy film, namely the Warkop DKI film during the New Order era. The film is popular for its slapstick comedy and blends the concept of witty humor with critiques of the social, economic, and political issues of the time. Based on the results of research, this film is often criticized as a pornographic spectacle in addition to its achievements in the world of Indonesian cinema. Instead of giving laughter with humor, this film actually inserts pornography as public viewing consumption. The insertion of pornography was detected on posters that used sexy women as movie pullers. The women who play Warkop DKI are famous for being synonymous with Angel's Warkop. There are five films that use this photo, including Gengsi Dong (1980), Dongkrak Antik (1983), Maju Kena Mundur Kena (1983), Depan Bisa Belakang Bisa (1983) (Patria, 2021). Pornography was also detected in scenes acted out by the cast of Warkop DKI.

This humor discourse of intolerance uses national identities such as ethnicity, race, and religion as a joke. This kind of humor has spread in various popular media. Based on the development of the era, starting from the New Order and Reformation era, the next era, namely the Post-reform era, was found in the comedy show Stand Up Comedy which was considered as a disseminator of intolerance humor discourse. In 2018 in the same year, comedy material from two comedians, Joshua Suherman and Ge Pamungkas was considered to be insulting to religion. Both comics have similar material themes, it's

just that the objects are different. Joshua Suherman's comedy material which is considered an insult to religion is a criticism of Indonesian consumers who prefer one of the personal Girl Group Band Cherrybele based on his religion and comedy material from Ge Pamungkas is a criticism of verses in the Qur'an (bbc.com. 2018).

Aggressive humor discourse includes discourse that was pushed aside by identity humor discourse in the 2015s. The aggressive humorous discourse displays excessive violence as a joke. This humor is similar to slapstick, only it is done excessively. For example, humor on the television show *Pesbukers* which has been reprimanded approximately 4 times by the KPI (Indonesian Broadcasting Commission) which finally ended airing in 2019. This television show was repeatedly reprimanded by KPI with a number of articles and one of them was NO. 103/K/KPI/01/16 in the form of violations of politeness norms using rude expressions and curses. These various reprimands are a form of removal of aggressive humorous discourse that is not friendly as a spectacle of children and adolescents (Ginting & Pohan, 2018).

3. CONCLUSION

Humor is included as a constructed literary work based on power relations. As a consumer product, humor needs to be tested for feasibility so that power relations discipline and filter humor production. Based on the results of the analysis, the rulers who have the authority to discipline humor production in Indonesia are important figures such as political figures, religious figures, culturalists, and artists. Written discipline is also found in legal regulations, precisely in the ITE Constitution (Basic Law on Information and Electronic Transactions). This discipline of humor production proves that humorous discourse in Indonesia leads to the importance of identity politics. This implied direction forms humor in Indonesia which is synonymous with high humor.

High humor is humor that does not use elements of outward differences from a person such as physical, racial, ethnic, and religious as jokes. High humor is synonymous as a tool of social criticism, so discipline also directs that humor that aims to criticize should not offend other parties or instead lead to hate speech behavior that can eventually defame someone. This identity politics discourse also leads to the establishment of democracy whose basis is free expression and directed opinion into a healthier democracy. This situation was carried out in previous times such as in the New Order, Reformation, to Post-reform. Opposing humorous discourses such as pornography, intolerance humorous discourses, and aggressive humorous discourses that use excessive slapstick methods despite being eliminated but, remain part of the historical construction of Indonesian Humor.

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