HYBRIDITY AND PARADOX: THE CULTURAL BRIDGE OF GEN Z (A CRITICAL MULTIMODAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON THE X ACCOUNT @ANIESBUBBLE)

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ABSTRACT

The internet and digital media have significantly changed the way information is produced, disseminated and consumed, which has had a profound impact on cultural, social and political dynamics. Social media, such as Twitter (now known as X), enable immediate and delayed interaction with a wide audience. Online personas of political figures, such as the X account @aniesbubble, are in the spotlight in the 2024 election campaign, especially in attracting the attention of potential young voters in Indonesia. This research aims to ana-lyze the critical multimodal discourse on X @aniesbubble account in the context of the 2024 election political campaign. The main focus is to understand how multimodal ele-ments are used to shape opinions and interactions with audiences, as well as the implica-tions of using this strategy in cultural and political contexts. This research uses a qualita-tive method with a multimodal critical discourse analysis approach. The main data was taken from the X @aniesbubble account in the time period before the general election until the determination of the election winner. The analysis was conducted based on Norman Fairclough's theory, which includes three levels of analysis: text (micro), discursive practice (meso), and social praxis (macro). Additional data was obtained from relevant books, news articles, and journal articles. The research found that the @aniesbubble X account succeeded in creating an authentic and attractive political persona for the younger generation through the use of glocalization and cultural hybridity strategies. The account also demonstrates the dynamic interaction between global and local influences, and is able to convert social capital into economic capital through the active participation of fans. The findings suggest that social media plays an important role in shaping political and cultural narratives.

KEYWORDS	Cultural Hybridity, Paradox, Critical Multimodal Discourse, K-Pop, Political Communication.

INTRODUCTION

The internet and digital media in the history of mankind have shaped the way information is produced, disseminated and consumed, thereby influencing cultural, social and political dynamics. They have played an important role in shaping public opinion, facilitating social movements and connecting people across geographical boundaries. The roles of various media are not mutually exclusive, as they often coexist and interact with each other in complex ways.

Social media, which is internet-based media, allows users the opportunity to interact and present themselves, either immediately or delayed with a wide audience or not. This is what underlies the value of user generated content and the perception of interaction with others (Carr & Hayes, 2015). Social media of various types and advantages is of course Twitter, which has been around since 2006 and is now X.

The digital world that uses multimodes (images, writing and various other modes) must also be analyzed thoroughly and intertertextually. Text cannot be separated from its context. The multimodality method emphasizes the use of semiotic sources used by language users/sign users. In the digital world, sign users practically have a huge choice of semiotic sources. Some previous scholarly writings that use multimodality in their methodology connect Korean culture (korean wave), accounts on digital platforms and cultural studies.

After the democratic jamboree is over, the online persona of political figures in the 2024 election campaign has received a lot of attention from the public and potential young voters in the country. Online personas themselves are often used by political figures to succeed in their political communication such as German Chancellor of State Angela Merkel (@bundeskanzlerin) who is very distinctive in personifying herself as a strong, rational and reliable leader who is able to change the political order in the midst of a crisis, so there is a term 'Merkelized Instagram' which is also a special term ('term') (Sonnevend & Steiert, 2022).

Using online persona observations chosen by the @aniesbubble account in authenticating for a political figure in the context of elections are "owl", "owl" and "abah" as close and respectful greetings. The conversation about the two personas attached to @aniesbubble's posts generated at least 162,400 uploads and 925,800 interactions, this data was taken from LitBang Kompas.

In addition to the Instagram platform, Twitter as social media is also used by President Obama and President Trump in creating soft power with different speaking styles in different policy contexts. However, the effects generated through this online communication are able to increase the positive or negative level of the superpower of the United States. This soft power is one of the strategies of the distinctive online persona of a political figure in social media (Collins & DeWitt, 2023).

Soft power was first introduced by Joseph Nye in the 1990s, which is a subtle concept of non-coercive power or non-force influence. Soft power lures others to do what it wants without coercion from hard power such as strong military or economic power (Nye, 2010; Nye Jr & Jisi, 2009). According to Nye (2010), soft power can result from anything that can persuade, attract, influence or induce others to desire what the sender of soft power wants. This includes political and economic systems, culture, products and heritage, historical sites, social values and attitudes, educational systems, domestic and foreign policies, and so on.

The United States has a long-standing and established soft power based on its economic, military, and cultural influence, while South Korea has successfully developed its soft power through the global popularity of its cultural products labeled the Korean Wave in English or Hallyu in Korean (Chang & Yun, 2022). Both countries have different soft power approaches, yet they have achieved similar benefits such as increased international tourism, cultural influence, and economic opportunities including the development of K-pop music, TV dramas, movies, and entertainment (Hahm et al., 2023). South Korea has utilized the power of social media and the internet to expand the reach of its cultural products and attract a global audience without the need for coercion.

Research by the journal Hahm and Song, 2023 further shows empirically, US soft power and the positive national image of the American state come from hard power, meaning that the state relies on the influence of hard power. In contrast, Korea does not have a positive national image or have the same level of power as the United States. In other words, Korea's soft power is a product of the digital era, while the US soft power is a product of the analog period as it is generated with the support of hard power.

According to Ryoo (2020), one of the key elements of the success of the spread of the Korean Wave to all countries in America, Europe, Asia and Australia is due to cultural hybridity. Korean cultural products contain a blend of tradition and modernity. They also blend Asian cultural values with Western culture. Due to the blending of past and present as well as Eastern and Western cultures, Jang and Kim (2013) argue that this concept is influenced by its rhizomorphic character. Korean cultural products tend to attract global attention with those of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds as they appreciate the value of the products. Korea's success story signals that any country can create soft power by producing cultural products that appeal to a global audience, and does not require large funds of resources (Song, 2019).

The consistent use of "hangeul" in every post on the @aniesbubble account certainly makes this account stand out and steal the attention of those affected by the korean wave. The Korean wave, also known as Hallyu, refers to the increasing popularity of Korean popular culture in Asia. It includes television dramas, movies, pop songs, and celebrities. The Korean wave started in the late 1990s and has gained huge popularity in countries such as China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Southeast Asian countries.

The Korean Wave can be traced back to the media liberalization that took place in Asia in the 1990s. The airing of the Korean television drama "What is Love All About?" on China Central Television Station (CCTV) in 1997 marked the beginning of the Korean Wave. The drama became a huge success and led to repeated airings of the program in prime-time slots, recording the second highest ratings in Chinese television history. This success paved the way for the rapid rise of Korean television dramas in countries such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Vietnam, and Indonesia.

In addition to television dramas, Korean pop music or K-pop also played an important role in the Korean Wave. Boy band H.O.T. gained popularity in China and Taiwan in 1998, and other K-pop stars such as BoA achieved success in Japan.

Korean movies, such as "Shiri" and "Joint Security Area," also received critical acclaim and attracted large audiences in countries such as Japan, Hong Kong, and Singapore.

The Korean Wave has had a significant impact on consumer culture in Asia. Korean celebrities have become cultural icons, influencing fashion trends, food choices, and even plastic surgery preferences. The popularity of Korean culture has also led to an increase in tourism to Korea, with fans visiting filming locations and participating in themed group tours.

The success of the Korean Wave can be attributed to various factors, including media liberalization, the development of the Korean media industry, and cultural hybridization of Korean popular culture. The Korean government has been instrumental in promoting the cultural industry and supporting the export of Korean media content. Korean entertainment agencies, such as SM Entertainment, have also contributed to the industrialization of the star-making process in K-pop.

Overall, the Korean Wave represents the resilience of Korean popular culture and its ability to create a distinct cultural identity in a global context. It has transformed Korea into a sub-Kingdom, enjoyed a historic moment of media liberalization in Asia and challenged the dominance of American cultural industries.

The proliferation of pop culture and its distribution in various forms of media can potentially bring about great discourse within it. K-pop related entertainment products consist of a combination of text, audio and visual modes. Previously, research with the Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) framework to examine entertainment products such as music videos (MVs). Naree (2019) focused her research on one of the music videos of the male group Bangtan Sonyeondan (BTS) with the title 'Idol', this music video was chosen because it was considered quite 'rich' and relevant in showing the hybridity of the Korean Wave. The findings show that the traditional Korean culture that is raised as the main theme of the video is at odds with the traditions and normative values of the original Korean society. The visualization of the 'idol' is not directly represented as a fully Korean figure despite the traditional dress but rather as a symbolization of certain universal elements that make it acceptable in the eyes of a worldwide audience.

As of mid-March 2024, the @aniesbubble X account has around 230,000 followers, which is not a small number for a community that bases their movement format on K-pop fandom, which is known to be very protective and most resistant to their idols being ridden by political interests. According to Masitoh Nur Rohma, assistant professor of International Relations at Universitas Islam Indonesia, the emergence of K-pop fandom volunteering to be involved in the 2024 election campaign process is unique. However, she emphasized that virality on social media does not necessarily lead to the victory of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates they support.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research used a qualitative method with a multimodality approach based on text, photos and videos. Researchers took the main data from the X

@aniesbubble account within the reporting period before the general election until the determination of the election winner. The data that has been collected will then be analyzed using Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. Fairclough (2013) states that critical discourse analysis is not just text analysis but includes analyzing systematic forms of relationships between elements in social processes. Fairclough and Wodak state that discourse is the use of language in speech and writing (Eriyanti, 2008), so that discourse becomes more complex and varied which is not only a text but reflects the practice in it.

Fairclough (2013) divides three levels of analysis, namely text (micro), discursive practice (meso), and social praxis (macro). The text stage looks at writing, speech, or metaphors. The discursive practice stage deals with the process of text production and dissemination. At this stage, the intertextuality of news is carried out by looking at the background of text production which is assessed from historical, political and socio-cultural aspects. The last stage is social practice related to how the text is shaped by social practices. This stage focuses on identifying the praxis of power hidden in the @aniesbubble account.

Qualitative methods produce descriptive data relating to oral and non-oral statements and the behavior of the people studied (Taylor et al., 2016.). In qualitative research, data is obtained through an approach to explore and understand the meaning given by individuals or groups derived from social or human problems (Creswell & Creswell, 2017).

The object of research is the X @aniesbubble account, data collection is carried out on text documents, images, videos, audio, background, and context as well as engagement (likes, comments, reposts, and views) obtained from account uploads from December 30, 2023 to March 14, 2024. Other supporting data were obtained from books, news articles, and journal articles that support the research. In addition, researchers used the background of the character as the actor of each upload as a strength in the argumentation of this research.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Cultural Hybridity on Glocalization transforms globalization by introducing a more differentiated understanding of the relationship between global and local forces. It recognizes the role of local actors in shaping and adapting global influences to fit their specific contexts, leading to the creation of hybrid cultural forms and the diversification of global systems. Glocalization challenges the idea of global cultural uniformity and highlights the dynamic interplay between global and local dynamics.

**Table 1. List of News of X @aniesbubble Account in Online Media
As Intertextuality of Data.**

No.	Media & Headline	Context / Insight (Intertextuality)	Keywords.
1.	January 4, 2024 bbc.com (Column article) https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/clme51pe842o Title: 'Aniesbubble' enlivens the 2024 Presidential Election campaign - How powerful is K-Pop Fandom in creating political movements? 'Aniesbubble' ramaikan kampanye Pilpres 2024 - Sebesar apa kekuatan fandom K-pop dalam membuat gerakan politik? Tiga kandidat capres: Ganjar Pranowo, Prabowo Subianto, dan Anies Baswedan dalam debat capres perdana yang diselenggarakan KPU. 4 Januari 2024 Kemunculan fandom K-pop berupa akun @aniesbubble di media sosial X pada masa kampanye Pilpres 2024 disebut pengamat politik "mengejutkan" karena belum pernah terjadi pada pemilu-pemilu sebelumnya.	Written based on a direct interview with the owner of the aniesbubble account regarding his motivation for promoting this account. In Indonesia, Kpopers emerged in the 2000s He himself is a Kpop fan since 2017. A survey from 'unique authors' puts Indonesia as the country with the largest number of K-Pop fans in the world by 2021. Data from the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN) says young voters (aged 20-30 years) will be the 'decisive key' in the presidential election. Their number is estimated to reach 56% of the total voters or around 114 million people.	**(from bbc interview written in online media)** "At first I was just doing it for fun and as Kpopers, I was used to managing fan accounts to promote my favorite idols in X" The nickname for presidential candidate number 1 has also sprung up. There are those who call Park Ahn Nis, Anies Ahjussi to Anies Appa. *(Hybridity Concept)* **"**I see that the only one who suits me the most and has the least shortcomings is Mr. Anies" "Only a few people can make the fandom (Kpopers) jump into (political movements) unless the candidate must have good criteria... If the candidate (Idol) criteria is bad or lacking, it cannot be used as a role model or fanbase" (**Concept of Online Persona, Authenticity and Glocalization**) The relationship between concepts that explain the success created by Anies Baswedan to make him **deserve to** be a new Idol among Kpopers. "There is an anonymous account that says if you are given Rp. 1 billion to promote another candidate, do you want it or not? I said no, money is not everything". **(The concept of Social Capital defeats Economic Capital in the Social MediaArena)** *For the record, the account's followers in the 3 days after the first tweet amounted to 102,964 "There is no idea to declare support for one of the presidential candidates, In is just hamming it up - as if (Anies)

| No.	Media & Headline	Context / Insight (Intertextuality)	Keywords.
			is a Korean Idol - until he made light sticks and merchandise. But not for sale. Just designs." (**Creativity in Entrepreneurial Habitus** - Observe-Imitate-Modify) "The problem is that they think politics is scary, but it can't be like that because we are Indonesians and need to know politics, especially when it comes to presidential elections." "So I urge Gen Z to choose wisely and critically." (**The concept of the Second Effect of Agenda Setting - Media-Mediatization**) is no longer the media making the agenda setting, but digital media users can also create agenda setting to the media / also their account followers)
2	January 16, 2024 mind-people.com Reporter: Egista Hidayah Title: Anies Baswedan's Kpop-style Videotron Ads Stopped, Supporters Find Solutions. Link: https://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/nasional/pr-017596004/iklan-videotron-anies-baswedan-ala-idol-kpop-dihentikan-gagal-tayang-sesuai-jadwal-rencana?page=all	On January 15, 2024, Anies Bubble's post on X featured a movement of support for their idol Anies Baswedan through the installation of LED Ads on the protocol road parallel to Bundaran HI. There was also an invitation to use the hashtag #SpotAbahAnies On the following day (January 16, 2024), this videotron advertisement was stopped and could not be displayed for an unspecified period of time. This unfortunate incident occurred before the IV Debate by the CAWAPRES	"It's great to receive such a positive appreciation for our project. This project would not have been possible without the moral and material support of all Humanies," (**Glocalization concept that has become a unifying factor for Idol fans**) "We must inform you that the LED Ads that had been scheduled to run for a week (January 15-21, 2024) in Bekasi and Jakarta will not be able to continue in these locations due to circumstances beyond our control," he continued. (**The concept of Symbolic Violence born from the cultural hybridity movement that is able to combine transforming social capital into economic capital through self-financing**) "We are working on the best solution with the relevant parties," he said (Olpproject Party) "Keep your spirits up, because no matter how much pressure we

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	HOME / NASIONAL **Iklan Videotron Anies Baswedan ala Idol Kpop Dihentikan, Pendukung Cari Solusi** **PIKIRAN RAKYAT** - Akun X @aniesbubble dan akun X @olpproject bekerja sama untuk menginisiasi proyek iklan videotron yang menampilkan capres nomor urut 1 Anies Baswedan ala Idol Kpop di Grand Metropolitan Bekasi dan Graha Mandiri Jakarta.	on January 21, 2024. A week before this debate schedule, of course, can have an impact on the electability of the opposing vice president who is close to power. This repression is quite busy on X accounts and online and offline news. For the first time, mainstream TV media gave awareness to the @aniesbubble account	receive, it is nothing compared to the pressure of life that ordinary people live every day. Whatever challenges we encounter in this struggle for the people of Indonesia, we will face them together. Thank you all, take care of your health! Greetings from Sorong," he said. (Anies' side) **(The socio-cultural changing concept of mediatization, in which these mediatized digital accounts are involved in delivering messages related to politics, economics, education, religion).**
3	February 26, 2024 Tempo.co Reporter: Han Revanda Title: Anies Baswedan Calls Anies Bubble an Unprecedented Political Breakthrough for Young People. https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1838032/anies-baswedan-sebut-anies-bubble-terobosan-politik-anak-muda-yang-belum-pernah-terjadi-sebelumnya 	The context of the online meeting, which was named after the Korean term 'De Space Anies', presented activists behind organic movements supporting Anies, including Leo (Humanies Project), Andin (Olppaemi Project). The @aniesbubble account admin himself was not present due to his commitment to maintain his privacy and anonymity. After the presidential election was held, these supporters (Humanies) did not stop. They organized a social service to help Demak flood victims and raised donations. A decision in line with this, the @aniesbubble account stapled the post with the text 'Thank you for fighting till the end. Let's walk on this Change Path together. There are also icons of a straight path and footsteps.	Presidential candidate number one Anies Baswedan said his supporters' fandom accounts were "an unprecedented political breakthrough" The accounts include Anies Bubble, Olppaemi Project, Humanies Project and the page haveaniesday.com. "This is a new breakthrough of involvement in politics that has not existed before," (**Glocalization concept of Cultural Hybridity results that are considered successful and create a space of novelty**) Anies Baswedan's supporting account, Anies Bubble held a space with the former Governor of DKI Jakarta on social media X (formerly Twitter) on Sunday, February 25, 2024 evening. The space titled DeSpace Anies (Unofficial) lasted for an hour and a half. (**Bourdieu's Class Concept, where hybridity is considered successful in raising the social class and symbolic capital of its supporters who are petit bourjouis in the Political Arena**) "Until 2019 it will still be like that," said the former Minister of Education and Culture. According to Anies, young people have previously been

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No.	Media & Headline	Context / Insight (Intertextuality)	Keywords.
			involved in politics, but did not bring new ways and approaches, instead still following the old style. **(Level 2 effect of agenda setting, namely Mediatization which is considered successful**)

Findings:

X @aniesbubble account was created in July 2016, as of March 22, 2024 has 230.3 thousand followers and has made 157 posts. The account uses a profile photo in the form of an owl and is equipped with an account statement "for indonesia's future. @aniesbaswedan's archive. Not a timses/buzzer. Just for gigs and laughs. Our sub @haveaniesday". In addition, the account only follows 6 other accounts, namely @UbahBareng, @cakimiNOW, @pemiluchart, @HaveAniesDay, @olpproject, and @aniesbaswedan.
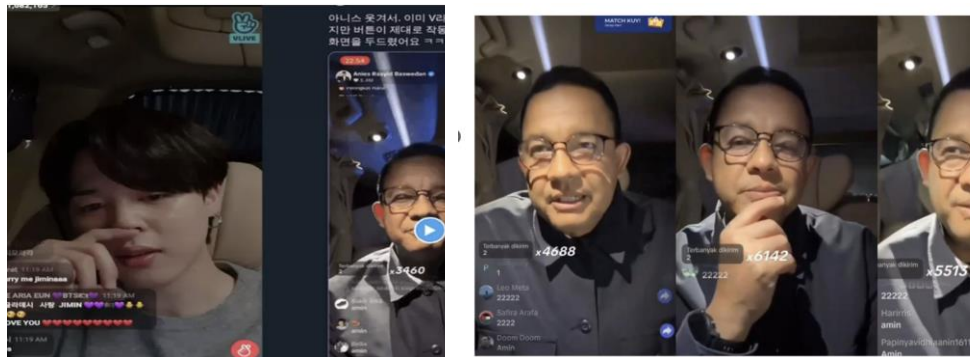
Figure 1: Mimicry raised by aniesbubble account

CONCLUSION

The main focus of cultural studies is the interplay of power, politics and culture. It examines how culture transmits power and is shaped and organized in diverse systems of representation, production, consumption, and distribution. Cultural studies theorists analyze how symbolic and institutional forms of culture and power are intertwined in constructing diverse identities, modes of political agency, and the social world itself. (Giroux, 2004) They recognize that culture is not static, but constantly mutating and subject to ongoing change and interpretation. Cultural studies also emphasizes the importance of pedagogy, as it plays a central role in shaping agency, consciousness, and political dynamics.

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and the social world itself. They recognize that culture is not static, but constantly mutating and subject to ongoing change and interpretation. Cultural studies also emphasizes the importance of pedagogy, as it plays a central role in shaping agency, consciousness, and political dynamics.

Several theorists have made significant contributions to our understanding of culture and power within the field of cultural studies. Some notable theorists include Stuart Hall, Raymond Williams, Michel Foucault, Judith Butler, Homi K. Bhabha, bell hooks, Lawrence Grossberg, Douglas Kellner, Meghan Morris, Toby Miller, and Tony Bennett. These theorists have explored various aspects of culture and power, including the relationship between culture and society, the role of dominant ideologies, the construction of social norms, the negotiation of cultural identities, and the ways in which culture is implicated in systems of representation, production, consumption, and distribution. These theories have also explored the relationship between culture and power, production, consumption, and distribution.

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