Meme Creator Culture Production Arena on Facebook

Khairul Syafuddin[1]*
[1] Prodi Kajian Budaya dan Media, Sekolah Pascasarjana,
Universitas Gadjah Mada

Abstract

Ace Anthem Universe is a meme community that focuses on producing video content. One way to distribute this content is by the Ace Anthem Universe fan page. The meme creators can assume as cultural intermediaries because they can construct tastes for their consumers. However, it requires cultural, economic, social, and symbolic capital. This research aims to analyze the struggle of meme creators in the Ace Anthem Universe community to attain cultural intermediaries. This research uses the virtual ethnography method. The sampling technique used is purposive sampling. The data collection techniques use participant observation, interviews, and virtually studying cultural artifacts. Informants in this study are meme creators in the Ace Anthem Universe community. This study uses the concepts of habitus, arena, capital, and cultural intermediaries from Pierre Bourdieu. The results of this study explain that to penetrate the arena of meme culture, creators need smartphones as economic capital. In addition, knowledge as cultural capital is indispensable to obtaining symbolic and social capital in this arena. The capital obtained by meme creators becomes their capital to gain legitimacy as a cultural intermediary.

Keywords: Cultural production; habitus; cultural capital; Memes; Cultural intermediaries

Introduction

The rapid development of information technology makes it easier for everyone to produce content in digital format. Smartphones are a popular medium for producing digital content. This technology provides a variety of applications inside, making it easier for each user to carry out their digital activities as preferred. It is a long way to produce digital content; they need skills to produce engaging content and follow the consumer.

The digital world activities are an ongoing study because internet users worldwide, especially in Indonesia, are enormous. Due to the vast number of internet users, it is easy to find communication products with various discourses and interests. Based on data collected from cyber threats.id there are more than 338 million *smartphones* connected to the internet. Even though the total population in Indonesia, according to the data, is around 272 million people. The report shows that almost everyone in Indonesia has a *smartphone*; some use more than one device. The utilization and usage of the smartphone device are varied for communication purposes, surfing, social media, and producing creative content.

The popular digital content created using *smartphones* is internet *memes*. According to Denisova (2019: 2), memes are produced by framing information or opinions humorously and then shared directly through social media. *Memes* also have an essential role in political interests in the digital world. The production of *meme* content usually frames a severe piece of information and packages it into a parody so that the content becomes something funny and entertaining. Even though it is packaged in the parody format, *memes* still have the power to deliver criticism. The power of memes cannot be underestimated because they can significantly impact the recipients of their information. The impact of consuming memes can change a person's perspective or attitude. Mazambani, Carlson, Reysen, and Hempelmann (2015: 159) exemplify that low-status people can utilize memes to deliver new ideas and influence high-status groups' minds; it means that memes can be effective content for producing messages from minority voices. In addition, memes correspondingly bring up emotions in their consumers.

According to Kurniawan (2017), the production of internet *memes* in image format usually uses *paint* and *photoshop* applications. Both applications can be operated through a laptop device or computer. However, with the presence of *smartphones, memes* can also be produced through available applications, such as *meme generator* applications or other image editing applications. On the other hand, memes are also created in video format. Various video *meme* content produce through Kinemaster, Adobe Premiere Pro, and other video *editing* applications.

One of the video *meme* content sources circulating on the internet, especially on Facebook, is the Ace Anthem Universe *fan page.* This *fan page* was created in June 2020 by the owner, who has the Facebook account name Ace Anthem. The Ace Anthem Universe cultural arena was initiated to facilitate Ace Anthem fans to create and show their *meme content* creativity. However, Ace Anthem Universe cultural arena only received *meme* content in video format, so *meme* content designed in the image format will not be accepted.

Meme creators in the Ace Anthem Universe are more inclined to create meme content with anime or other animated themes, such as Sponge Bob. The content is for entertainment purposes only, although meme content is also produced to criticize the government or social phenomena. In addition to spreading content through the Ace Anthem Universe fan page or Facebook group, the group's administrator also distribute their content through other social media platforms. This consistency earned popularity for Ace Anthem Universe as a source of meme production and considered professional meme creators.

Most *netizens* think that *meme* content originating from Facebook is *fresh* content, indicate that the *meme* content is uploaded by the creator directly, including the results of *reuploads* from other accounts that provide various meme content. *Memes* content on the Facebook fan page is considered original and *updated*.

In the *virtual* world, *meme* creators are not merely content producers. More profoundly, they are also regarded as cultural intermediaries. Pierre Bourdieu (in Maguire & Matthews, 2010) explains that cultural intermediaries are mediators for the cultural production process and the production of tastes for consumers. Previously, the

intermediary cultural concept was used by Bourdieu to explain the problems of preferences and practices of the new petty-bourgeois group in France in the 1960s (Lee, 2012; Negus, 2002; Maguire & Matthews, 2010). Although this concept has been used for a long time to study social life problems, however, until now, it is still relevant to be used in examining social conditions in the *virtual* world. Especially in daily life, everyone has diverse preferences created by the parties who form it (media).

For Bourdieu (1984), this cultural intermediary emerged as a form of the practice of the petty bourgeoisie in the context of work, that is, any work involving a process of presentation and representation. The presentation and representation processes tend to be carried out in the realm of work in the field of sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, clothing, decoration, and all institutions that provide goods and services in symbolic format. If we look at the current context with the existence of new media, the marketing job is usually accomplished by *endorsers* through Instagram. They offer products through their accounts and shape the preferences of consumers. Similarly, in the world of *memes,* some creators play a role in shaping the preferences of these consumers, following their genre and market share.

The practice of cultural intermediaries cannot be separated from the concepts of habitus, capital, and arenas that support actors as *meme* creators. Bourdieu (1992) explains that habitus is a series of dispositions that construct specific structures. Jenkins (2006) adds that Bourdieu explains the relationship between the body and the habitus. The relationship between the body and the habitus relates to the social actor's experiences. It

cannot be separated from the surrounding environment. All these experiences will be stored in the head, part of the actor's body that is felt through the five senses.

Habitus moves in every arena occupied by social actors, and the social actor in this context are meme creators. The arena is considered a network with an objective relationship between positions for actors (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The arena becomes a place for actors to build their positions and social spaces. In the *meme* production context, the arena is a battle space between meme creators to gain symbolic capital to make a professional meme creator's images. Therefore, in this arena, actors require to hold capital. They were fighting for a place to gain recognition in the arena.

Capital is needed for the actors to maintain their position. Bourdieu divides these capitals into four; economic prosperity related to material goods, cultural capital related to culture and knowledge, social capital related to actor's social relations, and symbolic capital related to reputation or recognition (Bourdieu, 1991; Jenkins, 2006). None of the four capitals are more or the most authoritative. All capitals are equal and have the interrelationships to develop the *power* of each actor to fight in the arena they occupy.

Previously, many researchers have *conducted studies on memes,* focusing on content, consumers, and producers. This research focuses on the creator's point of view as a cultural intermediary. For consumers, *meme* content has a considerable influence on nature shaping perceptions because *memes* are formed into a parody, which cannot be separated from the political interests that overshadow it (Moody-ramirez

& Church, 2019). On the other hand, when they produce *meme* content, *meme* producers also accumulate the results of their work in economics by monetizing their accounts (Soha & McDowell, 2016). Monetization is usually accomplished through Youtube, but because the *meme's format* is replicated by combining various other content, there are problems in copyright terms.

Based on this background, this study aims to analyze *meme* creators on the Ace Anthem Universe *fan page* who have the role of cultural intermediaries who struggle to form preferences in the limited cultural arena.

Method

The method used in this study is virtual ethnography. According to Hymes, Gurak, and Silker (in Nasrullah, 2017), virtual ethnography is used to give people an idea of something hidden in the middle of social life. The data is obtained through observation and participation by researchers in a virtual life mediated by the internet. In addition, this method can also explain the social life created due to the emergence of the internet (Hine, 2015). Virtual ethnography becomes a suitable method to track and examine the social life of the actors who fight to survive in the virtual world.

This research used three informants as samples. The sampling technique used in this study was *purposive sampling*. Researchers obtained three appropriate informants as sources of information; they were memes creators of the Ace Anthem Universe community. The three informants are the owner of the Facebook account named Rick v Brian and Syaba, the "pillar" of The Ace Anthem Universe, and the owner of the

Facebook account named Chiko, who is one of the active creators of *memes* in the Ace Anthem Universe.

Furthermore, researchers used three data collection techniques to obtain research data, specifically participant observation, interviews, and virtual artifact collection. The data obtained through the three data collection techniques were then reduced and examined using the theory of the concept of habitus, arena, capital, and cultural intermediaries from Pierre Bourdieu.

Results and Discussion
Meme Culture Arena on Facebook

The thought of the cultural production arena originated from Bourdieu's view of forming the art arena. For Bourdieu (1993), the art arena was categorized between artists and non-artists. The implication is that every work of art and artist is autonomous. This authorization has become faster because of the support of the industrial revolution. Daily Pers strongly supported this autonomization, so mass-produced works of art were widespread short and revealed new classes triggered by the activities of cultural goods consumers. This art autonomy then emerges the public diversity based on the categories of manufacturers who market their products.

Autonomy and categorization emerge as a system that produces cultural goods in a limited production arena. The arena of limited production is opposed to large-scale cultural production, where the public can relish the production of cultural goods. Bourdieu (1993) explains that the limited production arena drives commodities from cultural products exclusively consumed by fellow groups of cultural products and competitors.

Such conditions led to closed competition in the arena to fight for cultural legitimacy. This struggle for legitimacy is to earn the title of a creative artist. For creators, legitimacy is fundamental to increasing the reputation and marketability of their work. Quoting from Delacroix's opinion (in Bourdieu, 1993) that any theme in the art will be good if the author is good. The statement shows that the creative reputation of an artist primarily determines the judgment of its consumers, so the struggle for a position in this limited arena becomes essential for the political goal of gaining cultural legitimacy. By having legitimacy, the product or work of the artist reaches a high selling point.

When Bourdieu explained the phenomenon, the conditions' background was similar to current conditions related to the limited production arena in the realm of internet *meme* culture. *Meme's* product is the result of an emergence development of modern culture due to the internet (Murfianti, 2019). The internet created a new space for those who wanted to display their work. Furthermore, *memes* are also regarded as visual artworks and audio-visual works when produced in video format.

Meme content cannot be separated from virality. The viral content provides relatively high stimulation for its consumers, either in the form of positive or negative emotions (Berger & Milkman, 2012). When we consume information through social media, we will be presented with various viral content from the accounts we follow. The viral news known by considerable people has become the primary material for *meme* creators to produce content in images and videos.

When *meme* creators strive to produce content as social actors in this limited cultural arena, they will fight in every arena that supports and shapes their experience. In the cyberculture's view, the internet is a place to produce culture, distribute, and consume to obscure geographical, space, and demographic problems. *Meme* creators take advantage of these conditions, and in the end, the battle between meme creators through content makes *memes* a limited culture. The little culture arises because not all meme consumers fight for symbolic capital. The acquisition of symbolic capital itself cannot be separated from the habitus possessed by each actor. The arena of each actor who forms their habitus is distinct. Habitus is the internalization of an arena formed from historical relationships (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017). The arena forms the habitus possessed by the actors. The arena occupied by each actor is diverse, so the experience that each *meme* creator is specific and produces diverse content.

Based on the observations and interviews conducted with the informants, they got capital by consuming informational content in various media, especially social media. Social willingness information disclosure, participation, interaction, sharing, and connectedness characteristics. These characteristics simplify the *meme* creators and social media users to acquire information and ideas for producing video *memes.* (Jiao, Yang, & Xu, 2013).

Cultural capital is related to the ability of the *memes* creator. One of the critical knowledge is video *editing*. *Meme* creators should be engaged in the educational arena to gain editing skills. Nowadays, the academic arena is not merely in traditional schools but also embraces virtual spaces, for example, through Youtube.

According to Cayari (2011), Youtube is a medium that provides space to consume and produce content, including for the benefit of academic knowledge. In line with Bourdieu's opinion (in Ignatow & Robinson, 2017), technology is required for actors to access education in the digital realm with the mediation of economic capital, specifically through *smartphones* as a medium to access Youtube.

Youtube shifts the existence of formal and non-formal educational institutions such as schools, universities, course institutions, etc. With youtube as an academic arena to get video *editing skills*, they save money to get the knowledge. The economic capital required in data quotas and smartphones is not considered economic capital for the education cost. *Smartphones* support meme creators to acquire video *editing* knowledge for free so that knowledge in the educational arena that usually requires high costs can be suppressed through the consumption of content on Youtube. The education arena only requires tools and network capital to access the knowledge.

The cultural capital of *meme* creators is not simply knowledge about video *editing*; they also require understanding of *meme* culture through *online meme* consumption. Online prosumtion *materializes* through computers and tablets/*smartphones*, which are versatile channels of consumption and production (Frayssé & O'Neil, 2015). Through this *online* prosumtion practice, *meme* creators can consume and produce content. They require knowledge of the information and ideas related to the *memes,* which ultimately determines the results of the work they produce.

"We have group, it has name STRESS season 2, UCS, and forgot the others. But what makes the idea is in Lemon Community. The others are just looking around. " (Syaba, February 9, 2021)

The interview results showed that the existence of an *online meme* community significantly affects the capital needed by each actor to compete in the arena they were sheltering. Connection to the virtual world is necessary to get a new fresh idea.

Syaba was one of three informants in the study. Even so, all informants have the same strategy and experience. They join and follow other *meme* communities or *meme* accounts to improve their insights and ideas according to their tastes. The choice of social media platforms also depends on the preferences of the creators.

The arena *culture of online memes* is not exclusively through social media but also in a more exclusive arena. The arena was formed through the WhatsApp group.

"In the past, sometimes I have made many memes, but the group administrator immediately deleted them, but as a member, I cannot protest; I am trying to make it again with other themes. In September 2020, I was asked to be a "pillar" at AAU. The "Pillar" here means members who can freely post without being selected by the administrator. In the AAU, there are about 25 "pillars." (Rick v Brian, February 8, 2021)

For Rick v Brian who became one of the "pillars" in the Ace Anthem Universe, the WhatsApp group is exclusive. Only 25 members allow, and they have privileges in the Ace Anthem Universe cultural arena. These various privileges include the "pillar" of being able to upload video *meme* content on the Ace Anthem Universe facebook community without selection. In addition, the "pillar" also has a role as a community moderator, so they

have equivalent power to the administrator or group owner.

The Ace Anthem Universe fan page is a limited cultural arena. This arena is composed of several classes that divide its social actors. First is the actor who became a "pillar" in the Ace Anthem Universe. The second is the *meme* creator who uploaded the content with the approval of the Ace Anthem Universe administrators. The last is passive social actors or silent readers, called *siders.*

Each *meme* creator in the Ace Anthem Universe also has their social capital built through the media they utilize, especially when they became part of the Ace Anthem Universe mediated by Facebook. The Ace Anthem Universe is an encounter arena for meme creators. Through Facebook, they establish relationships based on their interests. This social relationship is not limited to friendship for creators actively producing content. The association is also essential as an arena of competition to gamble its symbolic capital.

As *meme* creators, they build their social and symbolic capital with various strategies: some struggle individually, and some struggle with a team.

> *"Make the content alone anyway. There is a friend of mine who invites me to create a group. He is the owner of the UCS group. AAU uploaded it. My role is to arrange the group and hold the IG account. I am responsible for sharing memes uploaded by members and the group's admin. More-over, it is a reputation." (Chiko, February 10, 2021)*

Chiko is one of the *meme* creators who is actively producing content in the Ace Anthem Universe. He has the experience of building his arena. He and his colleagues, also members of the Ace Anthem Universe arena, created an *online* community they named UCS.

UCS became the name of the community and the fan page they built, intending to increase social and symbolic capital. By having their arena, their position will automatically become at the top. They will be the owners with power in the community and gain social capital. This social capital is recognized by the number of UCS fans and members from different communities joining.

Symbolic capital will increase if each actor can build his arena to build power. While meme creators are active in producing content in the Ace Anthem Universe, at the same time, they also develop their arena through the social media they hold and increase their symbolic capital. As a creator in the Ace Anthem Universe, they eventually gained recognition and reputation from consumers and competitors in the Ace Anthem Universe. In addition, when they become a moderator and "pillars" in this arena, their popularity will increase rapidly, as experienced by Rick V Brian. In line with the increase in symbolic capital he has, the personal Instagram account of Rick V Brian has a *following* of more than 20 thousand people. Another symbolic capital that can be recognized is the *rising star* badge obtained based on the activeness in this arena. Strong symbolic capital ownership will also strengthen the cultural legitimacy of every actor who fights in the cultural arena of *internet memes*.

Capital Battle Among Meme Creators

Every actor who fights in an arena needs supporting capital. Bourdieu explains that capital refers to possessing internalized abilities in the actor and becoming a socially valued external resource (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017). According to Bourdieu (in

Jenkins, 2006), four types of capital have their roles, and there is no more essential and primary capital among the four. All capitals have their positions according to their needs. Without one of the capitals, the strength of the actors in an arena will be defenseless, especially if they have interests in the arena.

The first type of capital is the economic capital. This capital is not directly related to money but manages to be anything material or actors' device to procure video *memes* on the internet. Based on the experience possessed by these three research informants, the equipment they utilize to perform meme production is *a smartphone*. No one uses a laptop or PC to produce video *memes; even they should use* more complex video editing applications. Nowadays, *smartphones'* capabilities are enough to support actors' needs, so smartphones have a role as economic capital.

As meme creators, they use a variety of applications on one device to produce a specific quality video *meme*. They use Kinemaster, Pixellab, Alight Motion, Background Eraser, Picsay pro, Flipsclip, etc. Based on the informant's experience, Kinemaster is their primary application. As for other applications, it is supported when required.

The ownership of economic capital for social actors in this *meme* culture is the primary avenue for them to penetrate the virtual cultural arena. To engage the virtual space, they need the *device to support, for example, a smartphone*, laptop, or PC device linked to the internet to connect to the virtual network. It can be concluded that material economic capital is essential for every actor.

The importance of *smartphone* devices is not solely to concatenate the *meme* culture

arena in the Ace Anthem Universe but also to enter other cultural arenas, such as the educational arena. The experience of creators with meme video content skills, especially in video *editing*, is not obtained from the school. All three informants gained the ability automatically through Youtube. They develop their technical skills through video *editing* tutorial *channels* and are applied to their works. Meanwhile, the idea and creativity of the content are very dependent on the habitus of *meme* creators.

The *meme* creator should have enough knowledge before producing the *meme*, so the message conveyed does not *miss* or fail. They should produce content instantly understandable to consumers. Although content also requires special knowledge to consume, it is like knowledge about viral social phenomena. The production of *meme* content sometimes also starts from viral news. The viral news or memes arises when the content is aired and watched by many consumers in a short period through sharing facilities (Tellis, Macinnis, Tirunillai, & Zhang, 2019).

In addition, knowledge of *memes* is essential so that creators do not get caught up in the production of *shitpost* content. Shitpost content tends to demean others even if packaged for parody or entertainment.

> *"I think it is essential. Let me know what a meme is and what a shitpost is; it is different. If, to my knowledge, shitpost is more teasing. It is mocking other people even if it is in entertaining meme format. Suppose shitpost is comforting but more referencing insulting or demeaning to others. Meme and shitpost are almost similar. It is just a different purpose anyway. " (Syaba, February 25, 2021)*

The battle of *meme* creators in *the arena of meme culture* is not simply related to

economic and cultural capital alone. They also fight for creative and professional legitimacy for a *meme* creator—this legitimacy is based on the symbolic capitals confessed by the meme creators.

The fight in this cultural arena also risks symbolic capital and obtaining the capital, and they strive to gain reputation and recognition by constantly producing content. The knowledge seemed to be tested and fought. If the logic of the memes they produce does not match the knowledge possessed by other creators or *meme* consumers who have sufficient knowledge, their reputation will decline. However, their symbolic capital will continue to grow when their content is recognized. Even meme consumers will volunteer to share the content that has been posted.

The symbolic capital battle looks stronger when the *meme* creators in the Ace Anthem Universe have a position as a "pillar ."As a "pillar," he earned the privilege to post *meme* content in the community without curation. Even the content will have a reasonably high chance of being *reposted* on the Ace Anthem Universe *fan page* or Instagram account. The creator can be directly involved in the Ace Anthem Universe works on a project. The impact of the symbolic capital of meme creators will increase and eventually be recognized by many creators or *siders* in the community.

> *"The advantage of being a "pillar" in addition to being free to post in the group, being able to join the same "pillar" and administrator in GC WhatsApp with our content can also be directly reposted in the community IG without selected by the administrator. I also participated in the 2020 rewind meme project, which was worked on by the "pillars" and group administrators. The profit of reposted is to*

increase the IG''s followers. " (Rick V Brian, February 8, 2021)

The symbolic capital will strengthen the bargaining position of meme creators. When a creator is acknowledged and has a high reputation, his existence in the Ace Anthem Universe will be highly figured. This reputation increases the fans of the creators concerned and gives the *meme* creators an advantage. A strong reputation will impact strong power, and legitimacy as a creative creator will increase.

Symbolic and social capital is visible through information in the Ace Anthem Universe's *virtual* cultural artifacts or on their accounts. This information includes information on friendships, *followers*, number of likes, the content of comments, and how much the content is shared. All the capital owned and fought in a limited cultural arena is an essential capital for creators to become a cultural intermediary.

Creation of Meme Tastes

The *creator of the meme* on the Ace Anthem Universe *fan page* is not exclusively an actor who does prosumtion. They also became a cultural intermediary because they could shape consumers' preferences in a limited cultural arena. Creators are digital workers because they produce content not just for themselves. If we look at the social space where they upload content, meme creators also become workers for the Ace Anthem Universe. They make cultural products as symbolic economic memes, not market economics.

The work of a cultural intermediary involves a process of presentation and representation of symbolic goods and

services (Bourdieu, 1984). Based on the cultural intermediaries concept described by Bourdieu, the assignment is similar to an advertiser or promotion worker. Their work is like an *endorser,* where *meme* creators try to offer their products through the Ace Anthem Universe. They strive to build the preferences of their consumers so that the products fit the consumer demand. The product offered to the audience is an information product in entertaining video *meme* content that becomes an information commodity.

For Bourdieu (in Maguire & Matthews, 2010), the taste is a contested terrain for legitimacy and specs to fight. When *meme* creators can build their *meme* consumers' tastes, they can master the battleground. The creators must make preferences because every creator has a taste for the content based on their interests. If creators can manage consumers following the tastes of *meme* content owned by producers, it will make it easier for creators to produce content that interests the audience. Thus, creators can grab loyal consumers quickly.

In shaping the tastes of meme creators, they should avoid producing *overused content.* Overused content is overused, had a lot, and is often produced by creators. Usually, this kind of content will not be long endurance or life span because its power to become *viral* content has decreased.

> *"If you make that meme—that is just a matter of looking at it, for example, the sad boy genre meme is so ordinary, nothing special. It does not make sophisticated, huh. What is more, the cute meme, like the chatting among the couple, is not attractive anymore, and I think it is a bit cringe. So let me be clear again. I make memes that can entertain people and not make them happy. The overused meme, and it will not be made anyway. (Chiko, February 10, 2021)*

For the duration of *meme* content to last a long time, *meme* creators need to consider the issue of *overused* content. A cultural intermediary has a significant role so that the content presented can be long-lived and widely spread. The acultural intermediary mediates cultural products' production and consumer tastes (Maguire & Matthews, 2010). Cultural intermediaries have the challenge of shaping the tastes of their consumers. The success of forming preferences by *meme* creators has made themselves, even more existing in this limited arena. Furthermore, they can increase their social and symbolic capital so that they already have a strong enough power when fighting their capital in the Ace Anthem Universe.

The freedom of creators to produce content as they wish makes various *genres* in *meme* culture appear, such as Rick V Brian and Chiko experiences. *Previously, meme* creators liked to create content with the sad *boy's genre,* but as time passed and their social conditions changed, these two *meme* creators began to abandon the habit of producing content with the *genre*. They started creating content with the most crowded genres and were often produced in the Ace Anthem Universe.

Shifman (2014) has divided nine meme genres: *reaction photoshop, photo fads, flash mobs, lipsynch, misheard lyrics, recut trailers, LOLCats, stock character macros,* and *rage comics.* Along with the development of *meme* content produced by creators based on the preferences of creators, many *genres* have emerged. Some of them are like the Sponge Bob and Anime genres. Both genres are commonly known as animated videos. *Animation meme* theme is recognized as a *genre* because the production of its content takes the primary material from the visuals in these animations.

The ability *of meme* creators as a cultural intermediary is a creative work practice, especially in the digital world. Cultural intermediaries' knowledge, talent, and skill are also recognized as innovative economy components (Lee, 2012). With this ability, they can generate economic capital through money. They can sell the content they produce as an information commodity. In the Ace Anthem Universe community, their benefits are not always in economic value but a symbolic form of satisfaction and recognition as *meme* creators.

As cultural intermediaries, Chiko, Rick V Brian, and Syaba, who became *meme* creators, also became the new petty bourgeoisie in the modern era through its work practices in the media, arts, and entertainment industries at the center of capitalism (Negus, 2002; Maguire & Matthews, 2010). Although they are not digital workers or paid content creators, they produce content in the media and entertainment realms under digital capitalism. They eventually became a petty bourgeoisie due to their labor through the media.

Conclusion

Capital ownership in a *meme-limited* cultural arena determines *the power* of every creator who fights in it. They need cultural, economic, symbolic, and social capital to survive in this arena. Every capital owned by meme creators in the Ace Anthem Universe has its role as capital for creators to gain legitimacy as creative creators.

Their reputation and social relationships will increase when they have substantial capital. The reputation provides a great advantage. With a high reputation *meme,*

creators can have loyal fans. Reputation is also the primary provider for meme creators to become cultural intermediaries.

Their success in mediating culture is when *meme* creators can construct preferences for their consumers. This preference relates to the *genre* of the content to be disseminated. By having substantial capital, they can create genres that are in demand by consumers. This capital's strength has made meme creators' *existence* in the Ace Anthem Universe get recognition. This recognition ultimately drives meme creators *to* gain legitimacy as creative creators.

The limitations of this research only focus on the producers and their capital to survive and can build an appetite for *meme content.* Suggestions for future research could focus on the siders' consumption of *meme* content spread through social media. This research is essential because *memes* are content with political interests, which can influence audience perceptions and change their behavior in everyday life.

References

Berger, J., & Milkman, K. L. (2012). What Makes Online Content Viral? *Journal of Marketing Research*, XLIX, 192–205.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Harvard: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Bourdieu, P. (1992). *The Logic of Practice.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The Field of Cultural Production.* US: Columbia University Press.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology.* Oxford: Blackwell Publisher.

Cayari, C. (2011). The YouTube Effect: How YouTube Has Provided New Ways to Consume, Create, and Share Music. *International Journal of Education & the Arts*, 12(6), 1–28.

Denisova, A. (2019). *Internet Memes and Society: Social, Cultural, and Political Contexts.* New York: Routledge.

Digital 2020: Pengguna Internet Indonesia dalam Angka. (2020). Retrieved October 18, 2020, from https://cyberthreat.id/read/5387/Digital-2020-Pengguna-Internet-Indonesia-dalam-Angka

Frayssé, O., & O'Neil, M. (2015). Hacked in the USA: Presumption and Digital Labour. In O. Fraysse & M. O'Neil (Eds.), *Digital Labour and Prosumer Capitalism The US Matrix* (pp. 1–19). Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hine, C. (2015). *Ethnography for the Internet: Embedded, Embodied, and Everyday. London, New Delhi, New York,* Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic.

Ignatow, G., & Robinson, L. (2017). Pierre Bourdieu: Theorizing the Digital. *Information, Communication & Society*, 20(7), 950–966. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1301519

Jenkins, R. (2006). *Key Sociologists: Pierre Bourdieu*. London and New York: Taylor & Francis.

Jiao, Y., Yang, J., & Xu, S. (2013). A Study of the Impact of Social Media Characteristics on Customer Adoption Intention of Social Media. I*n International Academic Workshop on Social Science* (pp. 1095–1099). https://doi.org/10.2991/iaw-sc.2013.252

Kurniawan, B. (2017). *Internet Meme: Memarodikan Peringatan Kesehatan Bergambar pada Bungkus Rokok (Studi Semiotika Meme dalam Budaya Digital).* Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Lee, H.-K. (2012). Cultural Consumers as "New Cultural Intermediaries": Manga Scanlators. *Arts Marketing: An International Journal,* 2(2), 131–143. https://doi.org/10.1108/20442081211274011

Maguire, J. S., & Matthews, J. (2010). Cultural Intermediaries and the Media. *Sociology Compass,* 4(7), 405–416. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2010.00285.x

Mazambani, G., Carlson, M. A., Reysen, S., & Hempelmann, C. F. (2015). Impact of Status and Meme Content on Spread of Memes in Virtual Communities. *An Interdisciplinary Journal on Humans in ICT Environments,* 11(2), 148–164. https://doi.org/10.17011/ht/urn.201511113638

Moody-ramirez, M., & Church, A. B. (2019). Analysis of Facebook Meme Groups Used During the 2016 US Presidential Election. Social Media + Society, 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118808799

Murfianti, F. (2019). Meme di Era Digital dan Budaya Siber. *Acintya: Jurnal Penelirian Seni Budaya,* 11(1), 42–50.

Nasrullah, R. (2017). *Etnografi Virtual Riset Komunikasi, Budaya, dan Sosioteknologi di Internet.* Bandung: Simbiosa Rekatama Media.

Negus, K. (2002). The Work of Cultural Intermediaries and the Enduring Distance

Between Production and Consumption. *Cultural Studies,* 16(4), 501–515. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380210139089

Shifman, L. (2014). *Memes In Digital Culture.* Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Soha, M., & McDowell, Z. J. (2016). Monetizing a Meme: Youtube, Content ID, and the Harlem Shake. In *Social Media + Society* (pp. 1–12). https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115623801

Tellis, G. J., Macinnis, D. J., Tirunillai, S., & Zhang, Y. (2019). What Drives Virality (Sharing) of Online Digital Content? The Critical Role of Information, Emotion, and Brand Prominence. *Journal of Marketing*, XX(X), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022242919841034