Research Article

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Memes and the casting of a nation: A postmodernist study of the aesthetics of memes created and circulated in Kenya

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Abstract
The study of memes is an emerging field in literary works not only in Kenya but also internationally. This is attributed to a paradigm shift in the study of literature where focus has now moved to other forms of cultural productions that are literary in nature. As a sub-genre of social media, memes have enhanced a faster exchange of information and culture globally through their remixing and sharing. Consumers of the social are able to interact by sharing their feelings and thoughts on particular issues touching on social, political and economic dimensions across the globe by constructing and exchanging memes. Through memes, people can disseminate information, satirize or mock political leaders, express disappointment or disgust with regard to issues affecting their day to day lives. This paper mainly focuses on memes circulated on Facebook and WhatsApp, as they are the main popular platforms accessed by majority of Kenyans who have smartphones. This study ventures into the meme culture in Kenya with the intention of examining the dominant aesthetic features of memes. A textual elaboration and analysis of data was done using the tenets of literary postmodernism and the theory of semiotics. The study adopted a qualitative research design, which was instrumental in achieving a detailed comprehension of the data examined in this paper. A sample of 8 memes selected through purposive sampling was examined. The study found out that memes, like other forms of literature, are characterized by aesthetic features like satire, irony and metaphors among others.

Keywords: Netizens, satire, memes, literary, postmodernism, semiotics

1.0 Introduction

A meme is a digital artistic fabrication which utilizes a photo and a brief accompanying text. The invention of the term "meme" can be traced to an evolutionary biologist, Richard Dawkins who in 1976 reformulated the biological word 'gene' to 'meme' in his endeavor to describe information which was transferred culturally. This term was thus used in a parallel sense to the word 'genes' which means the basic biological hereditary units that are passed from parents to their offspring (Dawkins, 1976). A meme is, for that reason, regarded as a "unit of cultural transmission", just the way a gene is a unit of genetic inheritance in Dawkin's (1976) model. Etymologically, meme is derived from the Greek noun "Mimema" which denotes "something which is imitated". Just like gene transmits life, a meme transmits social memories.

Memes have been studied in different contexts across the globe. Lopez and Corrillo-Andrade (2020) carried out a study to reveal how the internet memes are used to enhance the popularity of particular presidential candidates during public debates. The study compares the most popular memes produced during the debates between American presidential candidates Trump and Biden in 2020 and Ecuadorian presidential candidates Lasso and Aurus in 2021. The findings suggest that during a public discussion, humour based on popular culture, is commonly used to question authority. The study also reveals that public discussions can be used to satirize political characters in a given society.

Wendo (2021) brings to light prevalent corruption and hypocrisy with regards to the management of the resources meant to curb the spread of COVID-19 pandemic in Kenya. By employing some tenets of semiotics theory to analyze data, the study investigates the use of humour to ridicule the government's approach in dealing with the disease. The study revealed how the meme creators employed satirical images to expose corruption and ridicule the excessive use of force by the authorities.

In Kenya, the rise in the use of memes is attributed to wide access to smartphones which have enabled users to easily access the social media platforms. The initial memes to be created and shared in the country were about Makmende, an imaginary vigilante who was regarded as a hero. Makmende was a fictional superhero and his popularity rose when his hashtag trended on Twitter for hours subsequently making the meme an international sensation (Ekdale & Tully, 2013).

Users from all over the world recreated myths around Makmende while drawing inspiration from their own cultures. Kaigwa (2017) posits that in creating and sharing myths using the Makmende meme, users employed satire to depict the hero as a fighter, a tough and very masculine character trouncing Western superheroes. The aftermath of Makmende saw a revolution in the meme culture in Kenya. Currently, Kenyans create and exchange memes on trending issues and current affairs on social media platforms. The spiraling fame of memes has made it an area of interest that has attracted the attention of scholars who have studied them from different fronts. It is therefore against this backdrop that this paper examines the dominant aesthetic features of memes in Kenya. The paper's focus is on memes circulated on Facebook and WhatsApp as they are the main popular platforms accessed by majority of Kenyans who have smartphones.

1.1 A background of meme studies

To investigate the types of irony in memes and their meanings, Lestari (2019) undertook a study on the memes shared by Indonesians on Instagram. In the study, a sample size of 30 memes was examined using the descriptive research method and the theory of meaning. The study found out that memes contain both verbal and situational ironies and their understanding is wholly dependent on culture and a personal interaction with them. The study provided a basis for this paper which aims at highlighting the aesthetic features of memes shared by Kenyans. The main variation between the two studies is that the former utilized the theory of meaning while the latter appropriated postmodernism and semiotics theories. Another difference between the two studies is that while the reviewed study was based on data from Instagram, the current one was based on Facebook and WhatsApp.

Existing literature by Laineste and Voolaid (2017) suggest that memes could be used to elicit laughter across borders. Using Darwinian Theory of Adaptation, they analyzed a corpus of 100 top-related memes collected from websites popular with Estonian users and those mainly dedicated to humour. The study reveals that memes as carriers of internet humour, undergo some changes before their eventual adoption as part of culture. The point of convergence between this study and the findings of this chapter is on the characteristics of memes. The former looked into properties of memes which are famous among the Estonian internet users while this paper examines the dominant aesthetic features of memes circulated by Kenyans.

Kulkarni (2017) explains how memes are used as a tool for mocking the political class. The focus of the study was on the internet memes used as part of political campaigns in India. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used in the study. Relying on the agenda-setting theory, the study revealed that internet memes are used by those in power to sway the citizenry to take a particular voting pattern. The research further revealed that memes are used to satirize the actions portrayed by the leadership. Though handling a similar theme, this chapter differs from the former in that it is purely qualitative and it employed semiotics and postmodernism theories to analyze data.

1.2 Examining the dominant aesthetic features of memes in Kenya.

Aesthetic features refer to the elements of style in memes. These include the literary attributes of memes that contribute to their beauty and meaning. Literature has undergone evolution and transformation over time from the initially oral forms, through the written ones preserved in books and into the current 21st Century forms attributed to digitalization and internet culture. Like other forms of literature, a meme qualifies to be considered as a new sub-class of social media literature (Cherian, 2019). As such, memes have some specific characteristics associated with other forms of literature such as metaphor, satire, allusion and symbolism among others.

1.2.1 Meme as a metaphor of the Kenyan Nation

According to Merriam Webster dictionary, a metaphor is a comparison that is implied in that a phrase or word denoting one kind of a thing is used in place of another to suggest a likeness between them. A metaphor therefore enables an individual to compare two things and draw an understanding between them. The use of metaphors in communication enables the audience to create mental pictures, thereby comprehending the meaning of an utterance or a text in relation to another. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) declare that metaphors create a notable effect in the mind of an individual by giving a strong description of a subject.

The success of a meme is partially a result of the metaphors it contains since memes are already metaphorical in nature (Shifman, 2013; Milner, 2016). Therefore, the metaphors which are clearly understood by the internet users are likely to out-compete the others. In addition, Younes and Altakhaineh (2022) opine that metaphors reflect contemporary issues in a given society. For instance, following the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in China, most countries were affected economically as the global pandemic caused massive deaths leading to the loss of manpower and closure of businesses. Foreign donors such as the European Union, International Monetary Fund among others gave out financial aid to support the global economies in fighting the disease. In Kenya, such aid was provided by the European Union, USAID and other non- governmental organizations. However, the memes reveal that Kenyans believe the funds were misappropriated and therefore it is felt that the intended victims did no benefit. This added to the reasons why Kenyans have a negative attitude towards their leadership.

As result of the negative perception that Kenyans have towards their leaders, they use memes to metaphorically paint them as individualistic and egocentric. They shared memes on Facebook to expose how the donor funds meant to help vulnerable Kenyans is suspected to have vanished. Meme 1 illustrates this. It reads: *80, 000 vulnerable Kenyans who lost income sources due to COVID-19 set to*

receive Ksh.606 million from E.U. To elaborate on the text, is a picture of a feminized image of a former president of Kenya, presented as a vulnerable citizen. He is dressed in a woman's attire and the meme author categorizes him among the 80,000 vulnerable Kenyans who lost income sources as a result of the pandemic and were due to receive Ksh.606 million from the E.U. The image is a metaphor of Kenyan leaders who, as portrayed by the meme, are perceived to be driven by egocentrism. The meme author speculates that the leadership put their interests first at the expense of the suffering masses felt to deserve help because most of their livelihoods were affected by the stringent measures laid down by the Kenyan government to curb the spread of the disease.

Semiotically, the picture signifies the Kenyan ruling class perceived by the Kenyan public as greedy and insatiable. They are suspected to have misappropriated the funds availed by the European Union in order to cushion vulnerable citizens adversely affected by the pandemic. As Mukhongo (2020) argues, digital platforms in Kenya have paved way for the people to participate in online protests which in turn enable them to hold the government accountable for its misdeeds. The meme shows how Kenyans are believed to be dissatisfied with their leaders and therefore use the image of a "president in disguise" as a form of protest and ridicule against those who are in power.

Similarly, Meme 2 presented as *Uhuru seeing Magufuli cancel a $ 10 billion loan from China*, is a parody of the immediate former president, who stares in surprise at the late former president of Tanzania, Pombe Magufuli, cancelling a 10 billion US dollar loan from China. The meme presumes that Magufuli, unlike his Kenyan counterpart, was against foreign borrowing. Ironically, the body language of his Kenyan colleague in the meme (glaring at Magufuli's action in consternation) raises a feeling that he could have accepted the loan. The meme is a metaphor revealing the Kenyan perception that most 'independent states' in Africa are dependent on foreign aid. The meme is considered a test to the sovereignty of the independent African countries. The eye gaze of the pictured former Kenyan ruler in the meme reveals the presumed insatiable appetite for foreign loans by the leadership. The meme author believes that financial borrowing from foreign nations is the norm in Kenya.

Foreign debts have made several African countries economically unstable. According to Yiega (2022), a large amount of government expenditure goes to foreign debt which has become increasingly unsustainable. While concurring with the sentiments in the meme, Moyo (2009) refers to the loans as 'dead aid' because it never benefits the intended persons and neither is it used for the right projects, yet it must be repaid. The meme creator has therefore used the image to expose what is considered as the fallacious thinking of the leadership in Kenya and also to criticize vulnerable economic policies in the country. The meme is thought of as a wakeup call to the Kenyan leadership to curb unnecessary borrowing which plunges the country into a bottomless pit of foreign debt hence retarding development.

1.2.2 Memes and the satirical

Satire involves criticizing a particular vice in a given society with a view to having those who engage in it stop or change their ways accordingly. According to Eisend (2009), satire gives room for one to attack a particular subject and in turn elicit comical emotions of discontent with the subject. Satire thus offers funny updates and gives an assessment of issues in a given society (Skalicky & Crossley, 2019; Tondoc et al., 2018; Young et al. 2019).

The main purpose of satire is to unmask the vices that exist in a society in addition to making known the height of hypocrisy embedded in the people's daily lives. It is generally used to comment on contemporary events, attitudes and political issues. In Kenyan social media platforms, memes are used to reveal particular issues believed to be disgusting. Moreover, the satire contained in a meme is used to humorously uncover human follies exercised by specific political classes, religious affiliations, communities and other sociocultural groups in Kenya.

In this regard, Meme 3 is a critique of the Kenyan leadership. In the picture we have a Kenyan president asking one of the leaders whether he has paid the heartbeat tax to the government. The meme

reads:" *mungwana alafu hii heartbeat umelipia tax kweli?"* (The speaker is asking the addressee whether he has paid the heartbeat tax). The meme creator utilizes the economy of words to humorously attack the leadership for imposing tax on everything within their reach. The meme implies that the government is increasing taxes at an alarming rate which further interpreted means that life is becoming unbearable for the common citizens.

Meme 4 equally exposes how Kenyans have been affected by the rising cost of living which they attribute to what is seen as the skyrocketing taxes they are subjected to. The meme shared on WhatsApp statuses reads: *waongeze kila kitu lakini wasiguze siku za mwizi* (let them increase the price of everything except the days of a thief). The words in the meme are accompanied by a picture of a sad lonely primate. There is a Kenyan Swahili proverb that says *siku za mwizi ni arobaini* (a thief has only forty days). The meme alludes to this Swahili proverb. The image of the sad monkey represents a Kenyan citizen perceived to have given up. The meme brings to perspective the disillusionment in Kenya as it portrays a people who have resigned to high cost of everything. The prayer from this image is that the days of a thief should not be increased so that they do not escape. This is a satirical request in that the words imply that those believed to embezzle funds collected from the raised taxes should be caught on time since the citizens are thought to have suffered as portrayed by the image.

Similarly, Meme 5 depicts a marriage negotiation session. It has been used by the author to expose the failure by the Kenyan government of the day to pay salaries to the recruited teachers on time. The content of the meme reads: *Wacha waende. Ulifanya vizurri kuuliza kijana anafanya kazi gani. JSS hawalipangi hawezi oa msichana wetu* (the speaker is reporting that the addressee did well to let the other party leave because the suitor could not afford the bride price by virtue of the nature of his work). This meme alludes to a marriage negotiation where old men are conversing about the payment of bride price by a young man who intends to marry their daughter. They agree to let go of the bridegroom since he is currently a teacher in a Junior Secondary School in Kenya. As the meme reveals, they claim that this job is not lucrative; moreover, the suitor's employer (the government) delays in remitting salaries of such teachers. To these old men, as disclosed in the text, this cadre of teachers cannot afford to pay bride price. Marriage is thus seen as a business venture that should bring proceeds. However, they do not see it happening with the kind of suitor seeking their daughter's hand. The teachers of Junior Secondary Schools were employed following the current transition in education system in Kenya. The meme author questions the essence of hiring teachers only to expose them to ridicule and suffering due to the delay in payment of their salaries.

1.2.3 Allusion: the referential function of memes

Allusion is defined by Meshacek (2008) as all forms of textual interrelation for example myths, genres, themes and period of style among others. It involves a writer making reference to an identifiable text, author, place, event or period of time earlier mentioned. Kenyans use memes in reference to the bible, particular historic period and other literary texts to draw comparisons and enable the online audience to comprehend and contextualize meaning.

Kenyan elections have been characterized by the sharing of memes across the political divide. For instance, during the 2017 elections in Kenya, netizens circulated memes that made significant reference to the bible. Wabende (2021) opines that during the 2017 voting period, some Kenyans envisioned a 'Canaan journey' reminiscent of the Israelites' journey to Canaan, the land of milk and honey as recorded in the bible. He explains that the opposition was able to persuade the electorate to join them in the quest to deliver the country from what they termed as an oppressive regime. A similar trend was witnessed during the 2022 general elections whereby Kenyans kept sharing memes about Canaan. However, the tune was ironically changed to suit the winning team.

Meme 6 alludes to the biblical Canaan, it reads: *Enyewe Joshua and Caleb reached Canaan.* The meme contains pictures of two prominent politicians in Kenya namely: Moses Wetangula (referred

to as Joshua in the meme) and Musalia Mudavadi (referred to as Caleb in the meme). The two are seated together close to a nice building. The meme uses biblical allusion by making reference to Joshua and Caleb who were companions of Moses. The two men eventually reached Canaan and they were rewarded for their faith (Numbers 13 & 14). The meme implies that owing to their loyalty to the party that won the elections, Wetangula and Mudavadi were rewarded just like Joshua and Caleb. They seem to be enjoying the good tidings associated with Canaan (the new government) as indicated by their relaxed posture in the meme.

Biblical allusion is equally used in Meme 7 where the author reveals the instability of relationships and the breakdown of the social fabric that holds the society. The meme reads: *UKIWA HEAVEN JUDGEMENT DAY ALAFU WAMAMA WA PLOTI WAITWE KAMA WITNESS YA KESI YAKO* (if women that you lived together with in the same neighbourhood are called upon as witnesses in your case). Below the words is a picture of a man who is seated on a chair. He looks uncomfortable and holds onto some support as if he would escape given the slightest chance. He stares in horror with his mouth agape at some object which is not visible. The meme foreshadows the final judgment when God will deal with sinners. According to the bible, it is believed that God will punish sinners and reward those who led righteous lives in accordance with the teachings of the holy book. The physical features of the man portrayed by the image such as gaping mouth and open stare at the women gives the impression that the man is quite scared that the women who had witnessed his misdeeds would probably reveal the truth to the judge. Even his tense sitting posture signifies that whatever he did while living on earth is unacceptable to the heavenly judge. The words in the meme and the mention of women called upon to testify about the wrongdoings of the man, signifies that he may have engaged in sin either with these women who were his neighbours or with others whom he interacted with in different places. The meaning of the meme in a religious context is that whatever sins people commit either openly or secretly will eventually be revealed during the judgment day.

1.2.4 Symbolism: memes and layered meanings

A symbol is a word, phrase or even a picture that has an underlying meaning. According to Lakhadive (2019), a symbol can be attributed to a variety of meanings depending on its usage and context. As such, different symbols contain different meanings as determined by culture because culture dictates how symbols are used in a given community. Identifying symbols therefore calls for an interrogation of a deeper meaning of a given word, phrase or text by a reader or an audience.

In the Kenyan context, people share memes online to reveal the underlying issues affecting them because as Ngwira and Lupenga (2018) argue, a problem shared attracts a solution. For instance, Meme 8 has a symbolic significance to the digital audience in Kenya. The meme is presented in form of a question posed to Kenya: *Why are you not growing like your friend*? The words are accompanied by pictures of four children, Kenya included. The speaker who looks older because of the baldhead specifically addresses Kenya. Among the four children in the meme, Kenya, who stands closer to the speaker in the queue, is the smallest. In addition, Kenya appears unhealthy in comparison to the others. The speaker is concerned about the stunted growth rate of Kenya and expects an explanation.

The author of the above meme uses children to symbolize the countries in question. All these countries are expected to grow and develop gradually though that is not what happens to one of them. The picture of the malnourished child symbolizes Kenya, a country that is thought of to have stagnated in development in many aspects such as infrastructure and the economy. This child as presented in the meme thus needs the support of others. The meme further implies that Kenya has continued to depend on the donors heavily relying on their support. In addition, the picture shows a child that eats too much which in the African context may be used to symbolize corruption. A further interpretation of the meme shows that the author has a feeling that as a result of corruption, many projects in the country have stalled. The meme is therefore a symbol of the many challenges bedeviling the Kenyan nation thereby hindering economic progress.

1.3 Conclusion

This paper has shed light on the dominant features of memes in Kenya such as metaphor, satire, allusion and symbolism. The presentation of memes metaphorically enables the online community in Kenya to understand and relate to the issues addressed by the meme creator. Besides, this paper endeavoured to demonstrate that the use of satire in memes provides opportunities for the public to criticize existing folly in the Kenyan nation with a view of having it corrected. To achieve this, satirical memes use humour to attack the excesses of the political leadership in the country. The paper has further paid attention to the notion that the use of allusion enables a meme author to link what is historically familiar, or what exists in other texts and cultures to what does not to enhance the understanding of the message. It also enhances critical thinking as the audience strives to make reference to a specific place, event or people alluded to. This paper concludes that aesthetically constructed and presented memes empower the reader's creative impetus by making him/her draw connections between concrete and abstract concepts.

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APPENDIX: MEMES USED IN THE PAPER.

Meme 1

Meme 2

Meme 3

Meme 4

Meme 5

Enyewe only Joshua and Caleb reached canaan 😂
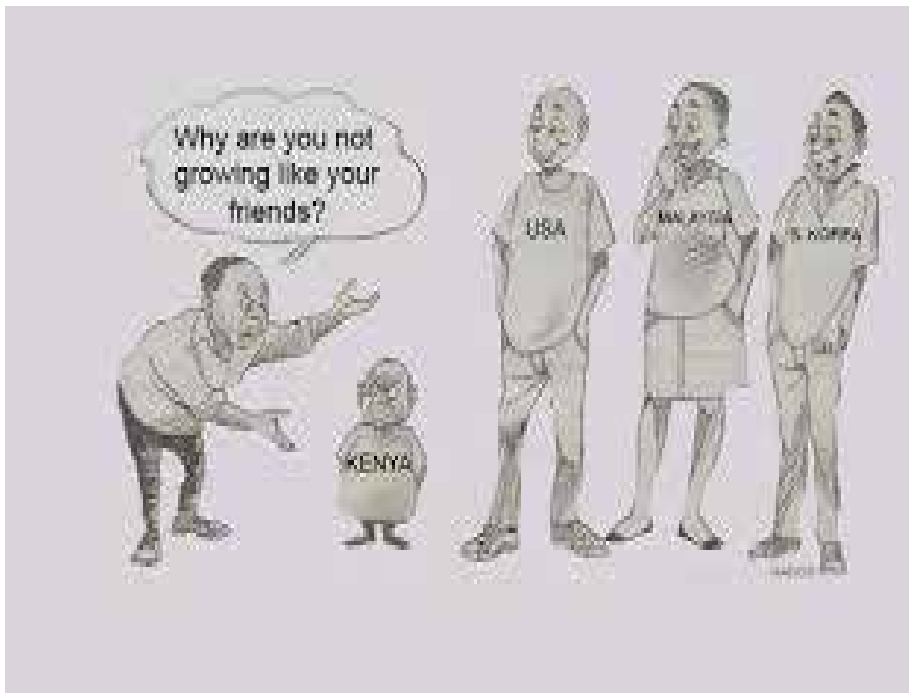😂

MEME

Meme 6

UKIWA HEAVEN JUDGEMENT DAY
ALAFU WAMAMA WA PLOTI
WAITWE KAMA MAWITNESS
WA KESI YAKO😁😁😁😁😁😁

Meme 7

Meme 8