

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANYALYSIS OF MEMES IN FACEBOOK AND INSTAGRAM



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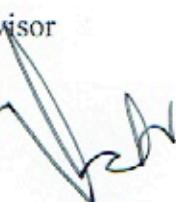
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CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANYALYSIS OF MEMES IN FACEBOOK AND INSTAGRAM

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ABSTRACT

This research was aimed to find out the position of memes in Facebook and Instagram towards two issues and reveal how memes support their position through legitimization. According to the researcher, meme is an interesting phenomenon in digital world. The viral meme has power the influence the netizens to take a side in a certain issue. Meme has a simple way to convey a message such as funny illustration, simple language, emoticons, and some other visualization. However, behind its simplicity, meme has power as a propaganda tool a to unite and also to disperse some religions, ethic groups, and races in Indonesia. The data was taken from two Facebook accounts such as Kata Kita and Meme Merah Indonesia and two other account from instagram like Mozaik Islam and Ala_NU. The theme were about 212 Demonstration toward Ahok and HTI dismissal. The interval of time to take the data was a week, 3 days before the demonstration and 3 days after the demonstration. This interval of time also applied to the second theme. Meaning that the meme retrieved only those which posted from November 29th until December 5th 2016. For the second theme, memes were downloaded only those which posted from Mei 7th until 14th 2017. The data was analyzed using theory from van leewen, four legitimization strategies. It was found that the data related to the fist theme “about Ahok” were about 39 memes and it was about 48 memes related to the second theme. In the findings, the researcher found that most of the strategy used to legitimate and de-legitimate the memes’ position were authorization and moral evaluation, only few of them used rationalization and mythopoesis.

Key words: Critical Discourse Analysis, Meme, Van Leewen

ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS PADA MEME-MEME DI FACEBOOK DAN INSTAGRAM

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis posisi meme-meme di Facebook dan Instagram terhadap dua isu, serta mengungkap bagaimana meme mendukung posisinya melalui. Menurut peneliti, meme merupakan salah satu fenomena menarik di dunia digital. Meme yang viral memiliki kekuatan untuk mempengaruhi warganet untuk berpihak pada isu tertentu. Meme memiliki cara yang sederhana untuk menyampaikan pesan seperti ilustrasi yang jenaka, bahasa sederhana, emotikon dan beberapa visualisasi lainnya. Namun dibelakang kesimpelannya, meme memiliki kekuatan sebagai alat propaganda untuk menyatukan bahkan memecah belah agama-agama, suku-suku, dan ras-rasa di Indonesia. Data diambil dari dua akun Facebook yakni Kata Kita dan Mozaik Islam serta, dua akun di Instagram yakni Mozaik Islam dan Ala-NU. Tema yang diambil adalah Demo 212 dan Pembubaran HTI. Interval waktu pengambilan data selama satu minggu, tiga hari sebelum demo dan tiga hari sesudah demo. Interval waktu yang sama juga ditetapkan pada tema ke dua itu berate bahawa, meme-meme yang diambil hanyalah meme yang unggah pada 29 November sampai 5 Desember 2016. Untuk tema ke dua, meme-meme yang diunduh hanya meme-meme yang terbitkan pada tanggal 7 sampai 14 Mei 2017. Data yang diperoleh dianalisis menggunakan teori Van Leewen yakni empat strategi legitimasi. Ditemukan bahwa ada 39 meme yang sesuai dengan tema pertama, sedangkan untuk tema ke dua tedapat 48 meme. Di pembahasana dan temua, diketahui bahwa sebagian besar meme menggunakan strategi legitimasi otoritas dan evaluasi moral, dan hanya sebagia meme menggunakan rasionaliasi dan mitopoesis atau naratif.

.Kata kunci: Analisis Wacana Kritis, Meme, Van Leewen.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

Social media has a very wide connection that cannot be limited by territorial border. It connects people from various parts of the world. Thus, the information access is unlimited; it may include information which banned in the mainstream media like televisions or newspapers. Besides that, people are free to write or share their thoughts, feelings or expose their daily routine on it. That makes social media rich of information with various perspectives.

One remarkable case in 2016 is Video of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama's (Ahok) speech which became trending topic until 2017. The video suspected as insulting act toward Islam's holly Qur'an. There is hashtag "Bela Islam" "Protect Islam" that spread from one user to others in social media. This case caused more than a million demonstrator came to Jakarta demand Ahok to be jailed.

The case above shows that social media has potency to create mass movement, beside some factors which influenced it. Through Social Media people can share their thought through some ways. It can be shared in serious or fun way. It also can be transmitted in written form, picture, and video. From some styles of the way netizens spread their ideas which commonly found today, one of them which the interesting for the researcher is meme. Researcher usually searches for some memes as entertainment. However, sometimes meme creators post meme which relate to the newest information, so internet not only find some jokes but also able to know what happened in world wide.

The word meme initially refers to a smallest unit that can spread through culture. In The Selfish Gene, Rishcard Dawkins uses memes to describe Darwinism's principles and describes the evolution and exposure of ideas, styles, behaviors or other cultural phenomena. This cultural phenomenon spreads by multiplying. However, today's internet memes are better known as images or videos that contain pictures and words.

In the digital world, there is also a term called viral. Memes can become viral or spread widely because they use an understandable and common language, and adding some images. The topics are taken from daily life, might be allusions of various issues in social life or the latest issues developing in society. So memes acceptable by various circles, from young to old people.

Because memes are easily received by various parts, it has a potency to be propaganda medium that can cause a very massive effect

Behind its simplicity like understandable and acceptable to almost all circles, memes that can be a tool of this propaganda unable to separate from the distortion of meaning. Because of the inherent character of the message, this meme may cause problems if it is not analyzed deeply. It has potency to disperse unitary of some religions, races, and ethnic groups exist in Indonesia.

The existence of meme came along with current phenomena and issues spread in society. However, as researcher stated before, the product cannot be separated from creator's thoughts and tendencies. It can be seen through the product, whether the creator is a right-wing, left-wing, or a supporter of the current government. This makes this research important. This study aims to dismantle the pattern of legitimacy and (de)legitimacy in memes made by some accounts.

By knowing more deeply the intention behind the meme, the public in this case netizens are trained to think critically in response to any information spread through social media, especially memes. By being critical, netizens are expected to be less reactive and less emotional in responding to issues spread through memes, and can face issues calmly. So that the unitary among various groups in Indonesia can be protect.

1.2 Statement of the problems

These two case are taken based on Van leewen's theory of legitimization.

1. What position does the meme stand for?
2. How does meme support its position through discourse?

1.3 Objective of study

1. To show in what position the meme stands in.
2. To explain the way meme support its thought and stance.

1.4 Limitation of study

The study focused on discussing about internet meme which not only used by netizen as joke, but also as propaganda and tool to convey critique. The internet meme here is in form picture, not a video. The researcher also analyzed the caption of each meme to know the context and also a further the description about the meme.

1.5 Significance of study

1.5.1 Theoretical significance

In general, this study provides some theoretical terms to conduct the research which may helpful for other researchers who will do similar case, especially for the theory of critical discourse analysis. This thesis may also become guidance for other researcher who interested in doing similar research about internet meme. For the theory which used in this research, it is helpful to know legitimization strategy in internet memes and also other internet post. However, the legitimization theory by Van Leeuwen need to be developed more in order to be able to distinguish each kind of legitimization precisely.

1.5.2 Practical significance

Moreover, it is hoped that the result of the study may enrich our knowledge about the effect of media especially social media, since social media especially meme may construct our thought through unconscious way. So that, we should open our eyes in order to empower and construct our own foundation of thought to give us some different perspective to choose what kind of information is appropriate to be taken.

1.6 Definitions of key terms

1.6.1 Social media

Information Communication Technology (ICTs) is defined by Manuel Castells (2001) as “the converging set of technologies in microelectronics, computing (machines and software), telecommunications/broadcasting, and optoelectronics.” For the purpose of this discussion, social media networks (SMNs), a subset of ICTs, will be defined as “online tools and utilities that allow communication of information online and participation and collaboration.” Additionally, social media tools are websites that “interact with the users, while giving them information.”. In this research, there are two kinds of social media from which the data of the research is taken, the first is Facebook and the second one is Instagram.

Netizen is a user of the Internet, especially a habitual or keen one. In other definition, netizen is a variant on citizen or a person who interacts with others through the Internet. In effect, anyone who uses the internet becomes a netizen. This study will involve two famous of social media like Facebook and Instagram, From each social media, the researcher take two different account that has numbers followers that also can be called as netizens.

1.6.2 Meme

A meme is a name for the new replicator, a noun that conveys the idea of a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of imitation. According to Shifman (2014) A meme acts as a unit for carrying cultural ideas, symbols, or practices that can be transmitted from one mind to another through writing, speech, gestures, rituals, or other imitable phenomena with a mimicked theme. Supporters of the concept regard memes as cultural analogues to genes in that they self-replicate, mutate, and respond to selective pressures. In the internet, meme is well-known as a picture with a word on it. However, this research not only focuses on the picture, but also the caption which give a clue related to the picture. Picture meme can be made from poster, screenshot of chat in social media or even screenshot of a news, as long as the source of the meme can be modified, shared and also imitate.

1.6.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) refers to a divers collection of socio-theoretical perspective on discourse in society, encompassing a wide range of applications and approaches in discourse analysis. CDA, as it has been commonly understood, is thus concerned with the production, circulation, and interpretation of text which relation to domination and control. CDA also present critique to ideology which perceive as legitimation for inequality relation and provide power or domination for certain group Fairclough (2010b).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Review of Related Studies

The study about meme had been done by some previous researchers, although with different method of data analysis. Moreover, critical discourse analysis had been used by many students in University of Mataram in their research. However, most of the researches which use critical discourse as research approach focus on film, advertisement, book and news as the object of study.

There were some studies which use legitimization as their theory. The related study used critical discourse analysis of meme was conducted by Andrew S. Ross and Damian J. Rivers *entitled Digital cultures of political participation: Internet memes ad the discursive delegitimization of the 2016 U.S Presidential Candidates*. The study is about meme analysis using Van Leeuwen's framework for analysis of legitimizing discourse in relation how meme (de)legitimate U.S president candidates in 2016 election. Another previous study was conducted by Septian Algifari in 2016 entitled *Legitimasi dan Delegitimasi Melalui Ekspresi Bahasa : Analisis Wacana pada Berita Politik Dalam Surat Kabar Lombok Post*. This research tried to find the form of legitimization and delegitimation used in political news and how they are built.

Another previous study which analyzed meme was done by Muh. Ilham (2017). He took the memes from Meme Comic Indonesia in Facebook. He used Semiotics as the method of data analysis which make his study different from this study because he focused on the meaning or sign behind the meme. Semiotics which used to analyze meme is from C.S Pearce's theory.

2.2 Theoretical Frameworks

2.2.1 Discourse analysis

Sara Mills (1997) stated that the word discourse is widely used, ranging from Language studies, psychology, sociology, sociology of communication, literature and others. The use of the term

discourse is often followed by various terms, definitions, not just every scientific discipline has its own terms, many experts provide different definitions and limitations on the discourse.

In the field of sociology, discourse refers primarily to the relationship between social context and language users. In the linguistic sense, discourse is a unit of language greater than the sentence. Discourse analysis in this linguistic study is a reaction in the form of formal linguistics that pay more attention to unit words, phrases, or sentences only without seeing the linkage between the elements.

Therefore, discourse has a dialectical relationship with other social dimensions. Fairclough understands social structures as social relationships in society as a whole and in specialized institutions comprising elements of discontent and non-discretion (Fairclough, 1992) Primary non-primary practice practices are physical practices involved in bridge development, on the contrary, practices such as journalism and public relations are primarily of discourse. It can be concluded that discourse as a certain way to talk about and understand the world

2.2.2 Critical discourse analysis

Horkheimer urged social theory to critique and change society, which mean to improve its understanding by integrating social sciences, to show how social phenomena are interconnected, to produce knowledge that helps social actors emancipate themselves from domination through self-reflection and to describe, explain and eradicate delusion, by revealing structures of power and ideologies behind discourse, that is, by making visible causes that are hidden. The scope of CDA is not only language-based. The philosophical and linguistic basis of CDA is the branch of social theory, discourse analysis, linguistic texts and transactional sociolinguistics.

Althusser's (1969/1971) conception of interpellation, which describe the way an individual can be aware of themselves as constructed subject within discourse on their becoming part of someone's utterance. Likewise, Gramsci hegemony (1971) influences a number of CDA scholar. It formulates the idea that power can be exercised and domination achieved not only through repressive coercion, oppression, and exploitation, but also through the persuasive potential of discourse, which leads to consensus and complicity.

In conclusion, discourse analysis is defined as an attempt to explain a text on social phenomena to know the interests contained inside. Discourse as a social practice form can be

analyzed by CDA to know the relationship between discourse and social culture development in different social domain in linguistic dimension. CDA also emphasizes the power and inequalities made on social phenomena. It seeks to uncover the manipulative nature of discursive practice and improve communication with people by removing the barriers of assumptions assumed to be legitimized through discourse.

2.2.3 Ideology and discourse

It is said that nobody has yet come up with single definition of ideology. This is not because workers in the field are remarkable for their low intelligence, but it is because the term "ideology" has a whole range of useful meaning, not all of which are compatible each other. However, here the researcher will choose the definition of ideology and its relation to discourse and legitimization. It is believed that the best way to think of ideology is to see it as the "signification of ideas and beliefs which help to legitimate the interests of a ruling group", but this limits the conceptual power of ideology by prematurely relegating subordinate groups to a position of voicelessness (Eagleton 1991 :30).

According to Karl Mannheim, ideology is best conceived as the totality of opinions, statements, propositions, and systems of ideas that are derived from the life-situation of the social groups who express these sentiments (Mannheim 1936). In contrast to the former conception of ideology, this view of ideology does not presuppose that the construction of an ideology is reserved for the dominant elites; it makes room for a diversity of ideologies that may or may not oppose the ideology of the dominant group.

Ideology became a central concept in critical discourse analysis. It is because of text, dialogue, and other language production is form of ideological practice. As stated above, some classic theory about ideology claimed that ideology is created by dominant group in order to legitimate their domination. One of their main strategy is making people taken for granted that domination is through discourse.

2.2.4 Meme and digital world

Human being have come a long way from cave painting and from the time when written communication was new (some 30,000 years ago). Language has been evolving constantly. In English, there are over 1,000,000 words has been added. It is fascinating achievement since language becomes the main tool to interact each other whether its directly or though media.

From the period, media can be divided into new media and old media. Old media is when the printed media reaches the peak of success whereas new media when the online media has expanded becomes more booming and undermine the triumph of print or even broadcasted media. the new media also cannot be separated from social media like Twitter, Facebook, Instagram and etc.

One of an interesting phenomenon which appears in social media as one of digital culture is meme. The word meme was first used by Dawkins through his book *The Selfish Gene* in 1976. Memes are ideas, behaviors, or styles that spread from one person to another in a culture. In his book *The Selfish Gene*, Richard Dawkins explains how he used the term meme to tell the principle of Darwinism to explain the spread of ideas or cultural phenomena. Meme theory explores how memes develop like natural selection similar to the principles of biological evolution through the process of variation, mutation, competition and cultural heritage which will affect the reproductive success of each individual.

However, internet meme has been described as “the propagation of content such as jokes, rumors, videos, or websites from one person to others via the internet” (Shifman, 2013). Internet meme has variety form, but most popular are GIF file, YouTube clips and image macro (an image with text superimposed over the top). Image macro memes is widespread than the others due to the ease of adaptation and understanding.

2.2.4 Legitimization Theo Van Leeuwen

Theo Van Leeuwen introduced the discourse analysis model to detect and examine how a group or a person is marginalized in a discourse. How a dominant group has more control over the interpretation of an event and its meaning, while other groups of low position tend to be the object of meaning.

A legitimization notion frequently referenced in relation to political discourse. Vaara (2014,503) defines legitimization as “the creation of a sense of positive, beneficial, ethical, understandable, necessary or otherwise acceptable action in a specific setting”. This is evident in the manner that institutions including corporations and governments have sought to establish legitimacy in many contentious areas such as immigration policy, defense strategy, and environmental issues, among others.

The problems which will be discussed in this thesis, will be analysed using the theory of Van Leeuwen. According to, Van Leeuwen, there are four types legitimization according to

Van Leeuwen, such as legitimization through authorization, legitimization through moral evaluation, legitimization through rationalization, legitimization through mythopoeis.

Authorization, that is, legitimization by reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law, and/or people in whom institutional authority of some kind is vested. For example, if the “why” question – “why we should do this”, or “why I have to believe this”, and the answer is because I said so. Where the “I” is someone that have status or role in a particular institution, since that this kind of legitimization is called Authorization. There also some other authorities beside personal authority, like expert authority, role model authority, impersonal authority, authority of tradition and authority of conformity.

Moral evaluation, that is, legitimization by reference to value system rather than imposed by some kind of authority without further justification. In some cases it deals with troublesome words like good and bad that combined with authority legitimization, as when President George W. Bush pronouncing his enemies an “axis of evil”. But, in most cases moral evaluation is linked to specific discourses of moral value. However, these discourses are not made explicit and sometimes debatable. There are so many words like normal, healthy, hygienist, useful, natural and so on. These adjectives are then the tip off iceberg of moral value. They triggering moral concept, but are detached from the system of interpretation from which they derived, at lease on conscious level. Some words used with various motives, so that need deep analysis to know whether it is truly based on moral value or a certain interest.

Rationalization, that is legitimization reference to the goals and uses of institutionalized social action and to the knowledge that society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity. Moralization and rationalization keep each other at arm’s length. In the case of moral evaluation, rationality has gone underground. In the case of rationalization, morality remains oblique and submerged, even though rationalization can function as legitimization without it. There are two kinds of rationality. Instrumental rationality legitimizes practices by reference to their goals, uses and effects. Like legitimization, purposes are to constructed in discourse in order to explain why social practice exist and why they take the forms they do. The focus is in the kind of truth on the way things are. The second is theoretical rationalization that kind of naturalization that state a practice or action natural, theoretical legitimization provide explicit representation of the way things are.

Mythopoesis, that is, legitimization conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate action. In moral tales, protagonists are rewarded for engaging in legitimate social practices or restoring legitimate order.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Research Approach

In order to achieve a maximum result of study, it needs research method which supports problem solving. Here the researcher uses qualitative descriptive research method. Meanwhile the approach used was Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). According to Van Dijk (2006) critical discourse analysis is primarily interested in and motivated by the endeavor to understand social issue.

Based on the statement above, we can conclude that CDA is critical analytic activity to analyze social phenomena in our environment by searching the information deeply to uncover relationship or even domination among communities.

3.2 Data and source of data

Data is a raw material that requires further processing to produce information or information, both quantitative and qualitative, which shows a fact. In the context of research data can be interpreted as a description of the variables in some objects. The data provides information about the objects in a particular variable.

Data needed in the study can be collected or obtained from various data sources. Source data from this study came from Facebook and Instagram accounts that have been selected based on two topics which have been chosen such as Ahok's case and Khilafah. Each post is considered to represent a various background of thought like Kata Kita account representing the Jokowi government, Mozaik Islam representing the extremist Islamic group, Ala NU representing the Islamic nationalist group, and the Meme Merah Indonesia representing the left wing.

3.3 Data collecting technique

Method of data collection depends on the type of research, whether it is qualitative or quantitative research. Since the data were derived and collected from the internet, meaning that this research uses secondary resource as primary data and the technique of collecting data which is used is documentation. The researcher will choose four memes from each account which show the stance of each account.

3.4 Data analysis technique

In this part, each post from the fourth account will be analyzed based on Legitimization strategies of Van Leeuwen, but before that there are some steps which were done:

1. Identifying

Before retrieving the meme, each meme from the fourth account is identified and selected by considering the topics and the interval of time.

2. Retrieving and reducing

Memes which taken as are only those that fulfill criteria such as time and topic. If the account has more than four memes which fulfill the requirements, the researcher only took 25% - 30 % of them.

3. Classifying

After retrieving the memes, they will be classified based on the them and the source account.

4. Explaining

in this steps each meme will be analyzed and the researcher describe what does each meme means. In this also can been seen what strategy each account is used to support its thought and stance.

5. Concluding

The conclusion is taken from the findings. in this step, there will be a brief review about legitimization strategies which used by each account and what stance they stand in.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Findings

After considering the issues related to the two themes for the data, the researcher decided to take two big moments. The first moment was the demonstration toward Ahok on December 2nd 2016. The second moment was when the discourse about dismissing HTI appeared on Mei 7th 2017.

The interval of time to take the data was a week, 3 days before the demonstration and 3 days after the demonstration. This interval of time also applied to the second theme. Meaning that the memes were retrieved only those which posted from November 29th until December 5th 2016. For the second theme memes were downloaded only those which posted from Mei 7th until 14th 2017. The data showed as follow:

Account	First theme (212)	Second theme (Dismissing HTI)
Ala NU	9 Memes	18
Kata Kita	6 memes	5
Meme merah indoensia	3 memes	0
Mozaik Islam	21 memes	25
Amount	39 memes	48

At last, it was found that the data related to the fist theme “about Ahok” were about It was found that the data related to the fist theme “about Ahok” were about 39 memes, 9 memes were taken from Ala_NU, 6 memes from Kata_Kita, 3 memes from Meme Merah Indonesia, and 21 memes from Mozaik Islam. For the second theme “NKRI Bersyariah”, specifically the issue of dismissing HTI, it was found about 48 memes which gained from three account such as Ala_NU with 18 memes, Kata_Kita with 5 memes, and Mozaik Islam with 25 memes. Especially for Meme Merah Indonesia, the researcher cannot find the meme for the interval of time Mei 7th – Mei 14th 2017.

Considering the number of meme which should be analyzed more than the researcher expected in the early research planning, so the researcher decided to omit some memes. The way of omitting the memes by only taking 30 % of memes for each account that had more than 4

memes. This percentage was taken based on the consideration that the data would not too far from the expected data in the early research. It also hoped that data taken was able to represent the whole data. The memes which took were the most popular memes by considering number of likes that memes had.

4.1.1 Meme related to Ahok's case

It was known that this case consumed a lot of attention in 2016. There were numbers of demonstrations which held in order to ask the judge gave sentence to Ahok for religion insulting case. There were some reaction to the case, one the demonstration. The biggest demonstration was held on December 2nd 2016. The reaction toward demonstration came from various parts of community, including Netizen from the fourth account which researcher analyzed. Here the researcher presented the memes related Ahok's case and also the analysis how the accounts legitimate their thought through memes to persuade the netizen to agree or disagree

4.1.1.1 Ala_NU



Pic. 1.1

Picture 1.1 the position of the meme was legitimization. This meme legitimated its position through moral evaluation. The picture showed that there were million demonstrators gathered in Jakarta to demand for sending Ahok to jail. However, through this picture ala NU focused on one of agendas during that demonstration, that was Friday prayer together. This post emphasized on the togetherness between the demonstration and the representation of government (President and Vice president) to show that the demonstration run peacefully and there was no rude action done by demonstrator. Ala NU, legitimated this demonstration using Moral Evaluation, since they focused on pray

jam'at together, described as an honorable action did by demonstrator. According to Van Leewen's theory, dealing with good and bad term categorized as moral evaluation. It is known that pray is a worship in Islam, so that this action has a good value. Moreover, through this post, Ala_Nu point out that the president treated the demonstration well, by saying that the president join in the row.

4.1.1.2 Kata_Kita

KataKita 3 Des 2016 pukul 23.15 •

Nah, kalau begini kan adem. Semoga didengar oleh jamaah... Eh, pak Riziek Shihab kesindir ga ya?

Ia pun menyampaikan keinginannya untuk bertemu dengan Ahok dalam waktu dekat. Dia ingin menyampaikan secara langsung betapa indahnya dan mulianya Islam. "Insya Allah dalam waktu dekat," katanya.

Pic. 1.5

indahnya dan mulianya Islam. "Insya Allah dalam waktu dekat," katanya.

https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=1143782599071382&id=100003185587835



Arifin Ilham: Sebagai Seorang Muslim, Tidak Boleh Menghujat Ahok..
regional.kompas.com

Suka Komentar Bagikan

Deta Pahlega Perdana dan 1.829 lainnya

This meme De-legitimate 212 demonstration through authorization. In the picture, there is Arifin Ilham. He is one of famous religion leader. He has a role to influence Moeslem community. His words would be taken granted by some people who follow him. His role in this meme can be seen as Authorization to legitimate Ahok's position, in another side it tried to (de)legitimate Riziek Shihab who seen as prominent figure to lead the demonstration. Riziek Shihab (RS) is Islam Defender Front (FPI)'s leader who spoke up to sent Ahok into the jail. RS's attitude seemed gruff for a certain people, including fro the writer of this meme. So that, the writer compared RS's attitude with Arifin Ilham that seem calm.

4.1.1.3 Meme Merah Indonesia



Pic 1.8

This meme is legitimate 212 demonstration through de-legitimated its leader. Habib Riziek was de-legitimated through mythopoesis. The picture in the left side is a comic character Ben 10. The character has a power to attack people in the film. The picture of camel in his watch represent Habib Riziek, it is known that he is from Arab. Ben 10 is a protagonist character in the film who uses his power to dismiss his rival who usually an antagonist character. In this meme, Ben 10 faced habib Riziek as his enemy. In the demonstration, Habib riziek's became the leader, however this meme put him as an antagonist character who should be defeated by Ben 10. It showed that this account cannot be agree to the demonstrators, it could be because of some reason. This account might think that this demonstration associated with politics (government election) or it might also based on the ideology of the left wing such as demonstrators should protest the government for lack of attention that gave to proletariat people like facility in economic, education and other aspect of life.

4.1.2 Meme related to NKRI Bersayriah (Dismiss HTI)

HT (Hizbut Tahrir) is an international Islamic organization established by Taqiyuddina al-nabhani in 1953. Hizbut Tahrir consist of two words, the first is Hizb means one group based upon one ideology that believed by all members of the group about to be realized to all community in all kind of interaction. While, the second words is at-Tahrir means freedom. The ideology of HT is called Khilafah. Khilafah itself is the term in Islam which means leader. Khilafah is a system that use rules based on Islam in all aspects of life including politic.

4.1.2.1 Ala Nu



Pic 2.1

Prophet Muhammad is someone who play an an important role in Islam. His words, attitude, and action become rules which should be followed. Mention someone who have right to justify or arraign something in a certain institution is one of the ways to legitimate something. This kind of legitimization is called Authorization. In this case, definitely because Muhammad has the authority in Islam, so this meme used authorization to legitimate their thought according to Khilafah. Ala_NU think that Khilafah is not a system that Muhammad ever create, so that people should doubt that

statement which said that Khilafah is Islam's rule. Mentioning Muhammad was the way to support argument and stance of this meme.

4.1.2.2 KataKita



KataKita

12 May 2017 at 08:00 •

...

Ketua MUI: HTI Layak Dibubarkan

Rencana pemerintah membubarkan ormas Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia melalui proses hukum dinilai wajar karena komitmen kebangsaan orangaisasi ini yang tidak jelas.

Ketua Umum Majelis Ulama Indonesia KH Ma'ruf Amin pun berpendapat HTI layak dibubarkan. Pernyataan ini disampaikan KH Ma'ruf Amin yang juga Rais Aam PB Nahdlatul Ulama ini usai menjadi pembicara dalam seminar kebangsaan dengan tema 'Manhaj beragama ala wali songo perekat persaudaraan islam dan persatuan nasional' di Masjid Agung Ampel, Surabaya, Kamis (11/5).

Dia menjelaskan HTI tidak menjadi bagian dari anggota Majelis Ulama Indonesia karena tidak jelas komitmen kebangsaan dan kenegaraannya. KH Ma'ruf mengungkapkan di MUI organisasi kemasyarakatan atau ormas harus jelas komitmen kebangsaan dan kenegaraannya serta tidak boleh ada yang anti Pancasila.

Namun, imbauannya, jika HTI berbalik dan bertobat dengan menghilangkan isu khilafah dan membuat komitmen kebangsaan maka bisa diberi hak hidup di Indonesia.

Sumber:

[http://mediaindonesia.com/news/read/104306
/ketua-mui-hti-layak-dibubarkan/2017-05-11](http://mediaindonesia.com/news/read/104306/ketua-mui-hti-layak-dibubarkan/2017-05-11)

Terkait:

[http://www.nukita.id/read/303/20170412/164830
/kh-maruf-amin-pemerintah-bisa-bubarkan-hti/](http://www.nukita.id/read/303/20170412/164830/kh-maruf-amin-pemerintah-bisa-bubarkan-hti/)

https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=1310916859024621&id=100003189587835

Ketua MUI: HTI Layak Dibubarkan



Like

Comment

Share

1k

Pic 2.9

This meme took statement from the leader of Indonesian Council of Religious Scholar (MUI) to empower this account thought according to government planning to dismiss HTI through law process. Ma'ruf Amin as the laeder of the council said that it was reasonable if the government dispersed HTI according to its commitment of nationalism which is questionable. He said that all mass organization should not opposed to Pancasila as the national ideology. Mentioning prominent figure from MUI in the meme, this meme used one kind of legitimization from Van Leewen which called authorization to support its stance. It is known that muslim people would take every instruction and guidance which published by this council for granted. This council has authority to evaluate or judge a certain condition or thing based on religious rule of national law. This council has law legality from government to publish rules.

4.1.2.3 Meme Merah Indonesia

Meme merah Indonesia doesn't have any post related to issue of dismissing HTI in the interval of time which had been set by researcher. However, these are the example of meme that create by Meme Merah indonesiaia related to NKRI Bersyariah.



Pic. 10
2.12



Pic 2.11

4.1.2.4 Mozaik islam



Gospel means rule. The rule of Islam has power to set Muslim people. By saying that Khilafah as rule of Islam, means that this meme used legitimization of authority. Government should not dismiss HTI because Khilafan and whatever HTI brings is compatible to Islam's rule. Khilafah united the nation, not spread it. The also used the picture of prominent person in MUI (Indonesian Council of Religious Scholar) to empower their statement. It well known that MUI has authority to publish a certain rule which should be obeyed by all Muslim people.



12.500 suka

mozaik_islam Mungkin ada yg bilang khilafah islam
akan tegak itu hanya mimpi. Lah terus knapa kalo
cuma mimpi, takut mimpiinya jd kenyataan?

Pic 2.14

Udah Biarin Aja..!! Kan Cuma Mimpi Ini 😂😂😂

■Follow @Mozaik_Islam 🔥❤️🔥
■Follow @Mozaik_Islam 🔥❤️🔥
■Follow @Mozaik_Islam 🔥❤️🔥

#MozaikIslam

Lihat semua 38 komentar

8 MEI 2017

Some people said that the raise of kilafah is a dream. This statement is (de)legitimate HTI and it's ideology about Khilafah. They used this as their legitimization in other hand. at first they lower their selves so they can fly to the ninth cloud. By saying "if it is only a dream, then why are government and other people afraid of a dream?" (De)legitimate government's decision through a joke by saying "government afraid of a dream". Their fear of that dream will come true makes them dismiss HTI. However, this meme cannot be categorized into the fourth strategies because there was no sign found to categorized.

4.2 Discussion

4.2.1 Insulting case by Ahok (212 Demonstration)

Based on the findings, there were 16 memes that had been chosen by the researcher related to the first case "insulting religion case by Ahok". There were four memes from Ala_NU, three memes from Kata_Kita, three memes from Meme Merah Indonesia, and six meme from Mozaik Islam.

The memes from Ala_Nu legitimate the 212 demonstration without directly de-legitimate Ahok. The memes focused on the agendas during the demonstration like praying together, mauled and the closeness between the president, police and the demonstrators. Three memes used Moral evaluation and one meme used authorization.

The second account that legitimate this demonstration is Mozaik islam. This account also used two strategies of legitimization such as moral evaluation in three memes and authorization in two memes. There was one meme that used both moral evaluation and also authorization. Although Mozaik Islam legitimate the demonstration using the same strategy as Ala_NU, but Mozaik islam also (de)legitimate Ahok by using hashtag “Hukum penista agama, Penjarakan Ahok and seruan ulama hukum ahok.” and also emphasized on symbol like Arrayan Flag which belong to HTI. Mozaik islam also quoting verse from Quran and Hadith to emphasize its legitimization.

The two account that (de)legitimate 212 demonstration are Kata Kita and Meme Merah Indonesia. Kata Kita de-legitimated demonstration though authorization, moral evaluation and rationalization. In one meme, this account de-legitimizing one of the figure in demonstration, that is Riziek Shibah in one meme. The other meme showed the closeness of Jokowi to the demonstrator without legitimate the demonstration. In the last meme, Kata Kita de-legitimate one meme which backstabbed Ahok when he became suspect for insulting case. Meanwhile, Meme merah Indonesian focused de-legitimate the figure in the demonstration (Habib Riziek) and the demonstration through mythopoesis and Authorization. Meme Merah Indonesia de-legitimate this demonstration by saying that it was a funny thing and the figure like Habib Riezik should be dismissed. It also emphasized that this action is the result of religion addiction.

4.2.2 The dismissing of HTI

According to the findings, there are 58 memes and the researcher only took 16 of them. The researcher also enclosed two example of memes that related to NKRI bersyariah from Meme Merah Indonesia that cannot be included as data because they did not meet the requirements. In the first theme the researcher only finds three types of legitimization that used to in this theme such as moral evaluation, authorization and rationalization.

There are two account that the legitimate this topic, they are Kata Kita and Ala_NU. From the two account Ala_NU had the biggest number of meme. This account strongly supported the government to dismiss HTI as the organization which suspected against Pancasila. It is well known that NU is an Islamic organization that respect to pluralism,

so that the idea of ruling a country based on one religion cannot be acceptable according to NU. The other famous from NU is that the idea about Islam Nusantara, a concept about Islam that unite with Indonesian culture. Since Pancasila is extracted from Indonesian culture, Ala_NU will always support the idea about Pancasila and against any ideas which oppose to it.

24 memes Ala_NU, the researcher only took 5 of them. Two of the fifth memes from Ala_NU used authorization to legitimate the issue and also de-legitimate the existence of HTI and Its ideology (Khilafah). Two memes used moral evaluation, and one meme uses a combination between moral evaluation and mythopoesis. To legitimate the dismissing of HTI, Ala_NU mention important figure in Islam, prophet Muhammad and also mention the constitutional law of Indonesian such as act, Pancasila and constitution of 1945. Through moral evaluation, Ala_NU also de-legitimate HTI by saying this organization had taken oath to terrorism organization in middle east. Similar to Ala_NU, Kata-Kita used constitutional reason to support the discrediting of HTI like Pancasila and regulation from Ministry of Law and Human Right. Kata_Kita also used the statement from prominent figure of Islam in Indonesia, the leader of Indonesian Council of Religious Scholars. One of meme from Kata Kita Used rationalization prove the logical fallacy from HTI's supporters.

As it was stated before, Hizbut Tahrir has some peculiarity one of them is based on Syariah (rule of Islam). In the context of Khilafah's establishment, there are two ways according to HTI. The first is ideas about Islamic government system in form of khilafah, meaning that it is not based on republic, monarchy, empire, federal or democracy system. The second strategy to establish Khilafah is from intensive founding through halaqah (gathering to learn Quran and other religious activity); publishing magazine, weekly newsletter, leaflets and book; idea to oppose rules, belief and infidel thoughts; and adopting community service based on Islamic law.

One account that supports HTI and its ideology (khilafah) is Mozaik Islam. This account de-legitimate the government decision to dismiss HTI through authorization strategy by mentioning statement that supports HTI from important figures of Islam in Indonesia like the leader of MUI, vice general secretary of MUI. Moreover, Mozaik Islam also quoted some verses from Quran and Hadith that support their existence. They also used moral evaluation strategy by mentioning the good side of HTI and there is also a meme that uses the combination between rationalization and moral evaluation to de-

legitimate the government's decision and legitimate HTI. However, there was also one meme that researcher cannot categorized to the strategy of legitimization.

According to the findings, there is a meme that researcher could not categorized to the fourth strategy by Van Leewen. Looking at that meme, the researcher thought that not all meme could be analyzed using this theory. Besides that, some memes tend to use emoticon to express its emotion rather than a word. Meanwhile, this theory is easier to be applied in words. So that if other researchers wanted to do the similar study using this theory, it is better to chose memes which used words to express its thoughts and also take the caption of meme as guidance to understand the context. The other lack from this theory is the probability of one strategy overlapping with other strategy while applied to the meme. Dealing with moral evaluation and rationalization somehow is not always easy, because in the explanation of the theory it has already mentioned that rationalization might go underground with moral evaluation. When the researcher applied the theory to the meme, sometimes it was confusing, so that rereading the theory and match it with the context is very important to avoid miscomprehension and mistake to categorize the meme based on the strategy used.

Regarding the theme of the meme above, there are some other theme based on the style and function of meme.

1. Clarification or issue encountered

In some meme, the researcher found that some meme used to encountered the issues from the opposite group. For example, one meme from Kata-kita which used to clarify a hoax meme made by another Facebook user. In another case, Mozaik islam was encounter the post from Kata-kita which posted a meme made up from news screenshot about Arifin's statement to support Ahok.

2. Analysis presentation

There is meme that present a deep analysis in caption, related to the two theme. Like in one meme from Kata-kita which analyzed the motif behind the demonstration was to drop Jokiwi through Ahok. There also an analysis from Al-NU about the attitude toward HTI's dismissal. This meme not only used to legitimate or de-legitimate, but also to present an analysis from each account to show their point of view toward the issue.

3. Mocking and sarcasm

The common style of meme is mocking in sarcastic way. Meme Merah Indonesia used style to de-legitimate Habib Riziek and also 212 demonstration. Although the sarcasm behind it tended to more implicit, but the effect was scolding.

4. Live Report

Meme also could be used to give a report, because it might contain the newest event or issue. There was a meme from Ala_Nu which contained a announcement and also command for its followers. There were also meme from Mozaik Islam and Ala-Nu which showed the activity of demonstrators. This was another function of meme, live report.

5. Threaten

Beside containing command and announcement, memes also contain threat to threaten viewers. This kind of meme mostly used by Mozaik Islam in both theme, 212 demonstration and and HTI's dismissal. The style of Mozaik Islam was threatening the viewer through quoting verses from Quran, Hadith, and important figure in Islam.

6. Appeal and announcement

There ware some memes which used to inform the reader. it also invite the readers to do or not to do something. This made memes become a a useful propaganda tool.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusions

1. In the first theme (212 demonstration), there are two account that legitimate the demonstration such as Ala_NU and Mozaik islam. Meanwhile the two other accounts like Kata_kita and Meme Merah Indonesia tend to de-legitimate the demonstration. The most strategy of legitimization that used are authorization and moral evaluation, and only some meme used mythopoesis.
2. The the second theme (Dismissing of HTI), there are two account that legitimate the issue like Ala_NU and Kata_kita. While, Mozaik islam became the only one account that de-legitimate this government's decision. Memes from Meme Merah Indonesia cannot be analyzed because there was no meme met the requirement. Again, in the second theme, the most legitimization strategies used are Authorizatin and Moral evaluation, only a few memes used rationalization and mythopoesis.
3. Some memes have double function, as legitimization tool and also (de)legitimization tool. Moreover, based on the findings some meme contains misinformation and logical fallacy to outwit and lead the reader to agree with the accounts opinion.

5.2 Recommendations

1. Recommendation for other researcher who want to the study about meme try to find other aspect that contain in the meme, not only the way of legitimization but also misinformation, logical fallacy, and also other aspect that tried to outwit netizen's mind. Because, this research only talk about the way the meme creators legitimate their opinion, but not describe more about the fact contain in the text.
2. For the readers, whatever kind of text that read, try to think that it not something neutral. So that, readers are not easily accepting the argument or also the data contain in the text. By thinking critical toward the text, the reader also will not easily trap in the creators' or writers' opinion that lead the readers to believe in them.

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