IDEOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTION OF POLITICAL MEMES

ON 9GAG

THESIS

BY:

DHITA FARIKHA APRILIA (13320027)

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LETTERS DEPARTMENT

HUMANITIES FACULTY

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IDEOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTION OF POLITICAL MEMES

ON 9GAG

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By:

Dhita Farikha Aprilia

NIM 1320027

Advisor:

Agus Eko Cahyono, M.Pd

NIP 19820811 201101 1 008

ENGLISH LETTERS AND LANGUAGE DEPARTMENT

HUMANITIES FACULTY

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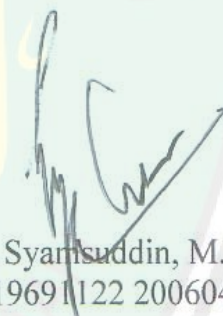
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Malang, 20 June 2017

Approved by
the Advisor,

Acknowledged by
the Head of English Letters and
Language Department,

Agus Eko Cahyono, M.Pd
NIP 19820811 201101 1 008

Dr. Syamsuddin, M.Hum
NIP 19691122 200604 1 001

The Dean of
Faculty of Humanities
Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang

Dr. Hj. Istiadah, M.A

NIP 19670313 199203 2 002

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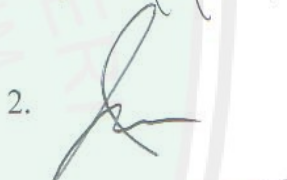
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This is to certify that Dhita Farikha Aprilia's thesis entitled *Ideological Construction of Political Memes on 9GAG* has been approved by the Board of Examiners as the requirement for the Degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S).

The Board of Examiners   Signatures

1. Deny Efita Nur Rakhmawati, M.Pd   (Examiner)   1.

   NIP 19850530 200912 2 006

2. Agwin Degaf, MA   (Chair)   2.

   NIP 19880523 201503 1 004

3. Agus Eko Cahyono, M.Pd   (Advisor)   3.

   NIP 19820811 201101 1 008

The Dean of
Faculty of Humanities
Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang

Dr. Hj. Istiadah, M.A

NIP 19670313 199203 2 002

iv

STATEMENT OF THESIS AUTHORSHIP

I certify that the thesis I wrote to fulfill the requirement for the Degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S) entitled "*Ideological Construction of Political Memes on 9GAG*" is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by other person, except those indicated in quotation and bibliography. Due to this fact, I am the only person responsible for the thesis if there is any objection or claim from others.

Malang, 20 June 2017

Dhita Farikha Aprilia

NIM 13320027

MOTTO

Close your ears if anyone says "you can't do anything for your broken family", shut them up with proof of your success.

DEDICATION

I proudly dedicate this thesis to my honorable mother, Muji Nurhayati, S.Pd; my

uncles and my aunties; and also my father, Lukman Hakim.

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All praises to Allah S.W.T as the highest power, who gives His blessing for all creatures in the universe. Particularly, His blessing is given to me, so I can finish this thesis entitled "*Ideological Construction of Political Memes on 9GAG*". *Sholawat* and *Salam* praise to our beloved Prophet Rasulullah Muhammad p.b.u.h, the messenger as well as the one who brings good news to human life.

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Malang, 20 June 2017

The Researcher

ABSTRACT

Nowadays, social media is not only a tool for its users to share photos, videos or statuses. However, social media becomes another entertainment for some users to just look for another fun by reading memes. Internet meme is now one of the main elements that must exist in every feature in social media, especially Instagram. Memes become one of the media for creative people who want to entertain others by talking about many things beginning from daily activities to serious issues that can be discussed. Today, politics is gaining great attention from the whole world, thus, many people want to argue about politics. Therefore, meme is becoming one of the media to express mind. In order to anticipate the opinion is not well-received, now some of people become meme makers in order to produce meme with the intention to poke fun sarcastic at politics.

This study explores the ideology of political meme using the theory of Gricean's Maxims in the scope of pragmatics. In finding out the ideology, the researcher uses the concept of cooperative offered by Grice that are maxims of quality, quantity, relevance and manner. However, it may occur some breaking of the maxims such as flouting maxims and violating maxims. Since the description of ideology is in a form of motives or importance, this is why the memes are produced. In order to look how the construction of the ideology, this study goes with Fairclough's theory of Ideology dealing with linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes" (Fairclough 1989: 97)

The results of this study indicate that the meme makers tend to flout and violate the proper maxims rather than following the rule. From eight (8) selected memes, there are only two data which conduct proper maxims. From six models of ideology, this study finds there are only two models of ideology found on those selected data: (1) talking negative about Donald Trump (attacking Trump) and (2) Talking negative about both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton (attacking both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton). In order to look for the ideology of each political meme, the way these memes talking about the candidates uses the strategy of strengthening the falling down image of both America Presidential Election' candidates.

ABSTRAK

Aprilia, Dhita Farikha. 2017. *Konstruksi Ideologi dari Meme Politik pada 9GAG*. Skripsi. Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris. Fakultas Humaniora. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang. Penasehat: Agus Eko Cahyono, M.Pd

Kata kunci: *Analisis Percakapan, Maksim Grice, Konstruksi Ideologi, Meme Politik*

Saat ini, media sosial bukan hanya alat bagi penggunanya untuk berbagi foto, video atau status. Namun, media sosial menjadi hiburan lain bagi beberapa pengguna untuk sekedar mencari kesenangan lain dengan membaca meme. Meme kini menjadi salah satu elemen utama yang harus ada di setiap fitur pada media sosial, terutama Instagram. Meme menjadi salah satu media bagi orang-orang kreatif yang ingin menghibur orang lain dengan membicarakan banyak hal, mulai dari aktivitas sehari-hari hingga isu serius yang bisa didiskusikan. Saat ini, politik mendapat perhatian besar dari seluruh dunia, sehingga banyak orang ingin berpendapat tentang politik. Karena itu, meme menjadi salah satu media untuk mengekspresikan pikiran. Untuk mengantisipasi anggapan tersebut tidak diterima dengan baik, saat ini orang tertarik menjadi pembuat meme yang membuat meme untuk menghasilkan meme yang menyindir politik melalui humor.

Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi ideologi dari meme politik dengan menggunakan teori Maksim dari Grice dalam lingkup pragmatik. Dalam menggali ideologi tersebut, peneliti menggunakan konsep prinsip kerjasama yang ditawarkan oleh Grice (1975) yaitu maksim kualitas, kuantitas, relevansi dan cara. Namun, hal itu mungkin terjadi beberapa terobosan maksim seperti *flouting maxims dan violating maxims*. Karena deskripsi ideologi adalah dalam bentuk motif atau kepentingan, inilah mengapa meme diproduksi. Untuk menemukan konstruksi ideologi dalam setiap meme, penelitian ini mengunakan teori dari Fairclough dengan menggunakan metode deskripsi bahasa pada teks, interpretasi antara hubungan proses diskusif dengan teks dan penjelasan antara hubungan proses diskursif dengan proses sosial.

Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa maksim yang dilakukan oleh pembuat meme cenderung melanggar peraturan dari pada mengikuti maksim yang dikenalkan oleh Grice. Dari delapan (8) meme yang terpilih, hanya muncul dua data yang melakukan maksim dengan benar. Dari delapan model ideologi yang ditemukan, penelitian ini menemukan hanya dua model ideologi yang dilakukan

yakni: (1) membicakan hal negatif mengenai Donald Trump (menyerang sisi Donald Trump) dan (2) membicarakan hal negatif mengenai kedua kandidat (menyerang kedua sisi baik Donald Trump maupun Hillary Clinton). Untuk mencari tahu ideologipada setiap meme, cara yang dilakukan meme – meme tersebut adalah dengan strategi untuk memperkuat citra kedua kandidat pemilihan Presiden Amerika yang sudah buruk.

الماخّص

ضيتا فريحا أفريليا، ٢٠١٧. بنية أيديولوجية من الميمي السياسي في GAG9. البحث الجامعي. اللغة الإنجليزية وأدبها كلية علوم الإنسانية جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج.

المشريف: أغوس إيكو تجهيونو، الماجستير

الكلمات الرئيسية: تحليل الحوار، مبادئ جريس، بنية أيديولوجية، الميمي السياحي.

اليوم، وسائل الاعلام الاجتماعية ليست أداة استخدامها المستخدم لتبادل الصور والفيديو والحالات، بل وسائل الاعلام الاجتماعية تصبح التسلية الأخرى لبعض المستخدمين لطلب متعة بقراءة ميمي. وقد أصبح ميمي الآن واحد من العناصر الرئيسية التي يجب وجوده في كل ميزة علي وسائل الاعلام الاجتماعية، خاصة في انسنقرام. أصبح الميمي وسيلة للمبتدعين الذين يريحين الآخرين مع مباحثة عن أشياء، من الأعمال اليومية حتى الأمر دقيق. واليوم، أخذت السياسة الاهتمام الكبير من سائر العالم. ومعظم الناس يريدون أن يؤتوا فكرتهم عليها. والميمي الآن يكون آلة لتعبير الأفكار وآلة لتسخر السياسة.

هذا البحث يسكشف الأيديولوجيات السياسية الميمي باستخدام نظرية Grice في مجال البراغماتية. وتستخدم الباحثة مبادئ التعاون من جريس (١٩٧٥) لتكشيف هذه الإيديولوجية، وهي مبدأ الكيفي، ومبدأ الكمي، ومبدأ المناسبة، ومبدأ الطريقة. ويمكن هنا تستحدم الباحثة الطريقة الأخرى يعني flouting maxims و violating maxims. ولتكشيف بنية الإيديولوجية في كل الميمي، هذا البحث مستخدم نظرية

فيركلوغ باستخدام طريقة وصف اللغة علي النص، والتأويل علاقة عملية تعرّضية، وتبيين علاقة بين عملية تعرّضية وعملية إجتماعية.

والنتائج من هذا البحث تشير إلى أن المبادئ التي عملها مبدع الميمي تنتهك مبادئ جريس. ومن ثمانية ميميات المختارات، ظهرت ميميان اثنان يتبعان المبادئ صحيحا. ومن ثماني أيديولوجيات، فاكتشف هذا البحث أيديولوجيتان المستخدمتان، يعني: ١) تكلم عن الأشياء السلبية من دونل تروم. ٢) تكلم عن الأشياء السلبية من ناحيتي هيلري كلينتون و دونل تروم. ولتعيين أيديولوجية في كل ميمي، استخدم ميمي الطريقة التي تأكد الصور السيئة من جهتين.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers some basic parts of the study, starting from the background of the study, objective of the study, research question, to significance of the study as the importance of the study. Besides, scope and limitation, research design, data and data source, data collection and trustworthiness are presented to explain the data of the study in details.

1.1 Background of the Study

Today, people have moved into a freedom of expression era where Internet becomes dependence for communication among Internet users. Internet functions as not only provider to look for any information but also to facilitate people communicating each other easily by social media. Social media has been designed for information sharing, expressing ideas that can spread to thousands of people in a matter of minutes such as blogs, Twitter, *Instagram*, Facebook, Skype, and MSN Messenger. Therefore, social media can be said as revolution era since it change the style of web in which it flows one-way, with people acting as readers. On the contrary, social media allows a two-way communication where common people become content producer and, ultimately, language creators (Zanzotto & Pennacchiotti, 2012, p.211). Due to the fact that social media allows people being a creators, many social media users rapidly tend to use social media as a tool to express their mind freely.

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The matter of expressing idea freely through social media is the readers' interpretation. The information spread among social media users is categorized into spoken and written form. However, what this study wants to investigate is written form. Mostly, information shared on social media is in a form of text rather than videos of people talking. Thus, it is interesting to investigate since what is written and what is implied by the writer are perhaps interpreted in diverse way by the readers. It has also offered by Pragmatics study in which this study of 'invisible' meaning, or how it recognize what is meant even it is not actually said or written (Yule, 2006, p.112). Therefore, the language use is depending on how the writer formulates the words. As well as readers, in interpreting words, readers depend on their personal matter that is background knowledge. As a result, various understandings or interpretations are commonly happened toward the context of a text. However, this case becomes less problem for people to express their mind in various way.

Expressing ideas containing serious topic in a straightforward method often creates deep message so that forming a tight understanding. This condition affects emotion of the readers, as a result high tension in reading a text. This might be happened towards people who attempt to comment, deliver their opinion, or even criticize about politics are sensitively questioned since language can change the perceptions. In order to push down that condition, social media users tend to use humor to express their idea. One of the most popular forms of humor is Internet memes. Meme or *mimetics* is firstly created by Richard Dawkins in his book *The Selfish Gene* (1976). Dawkins defined the *meme* as :

"A unit of cultural transmission or a unit of imitation and replication, but later definitions would vary. A meme acts as a unit for carrying cultural ideas, symbols or practices, which can be transmitted from one mind to another through writing, speech, gestures, rituals or other imitable phenomena." (189-201)

In the other words, a meme conveys ideas, stories, habits or any other kind of information that is copied from person to person within a culture.

Internet memes emerge for a variety of topics, ranging from commentary on news, events to personal experience. Definitely, internet meme is an image or video of a person or animal with a funny or witty caption that spreads virally from one person to another via the Internet. Memes are often puzzling, humorous, entertaining or inspiring where the infectious content is often delivered through images or video files but a meme can also be simply text. Specifically, memes are produced in various way of condition based on the meme creator's point to go with. This sense becomes memes established in various types and form. Eychaner (2013) emphasized that the meme genre is dependent on the image which the joke is written (p.9). Basically, the production of memes functions as entertainment, so that memes are typically for fun in which meme can be a tool for decreasing tension or seriousness of text, thus, the information can be accepted easily. This platform is useful for people who express their mind containing sensitive content like commenting about politics.

Touching on politics, many people have unintentionally been political thinker for particular situation. Whether they like to talk politics or not, alike Karl Max emphasized that all people have their own critical thinking on politics. People also often consider the statements uttered by a candidate when she/he does

speech, where somehow people judge, comment, or evaluate the candidate's honesty, integrity and many aspects. Besides, the importance of investigating on politics is caused politics is not only limited on politics but also economic, social, and even cultural aspects. Therefore, politics has turned into a wide scope of entire people where people must observe their leader to be. However, in order to utter opinions about politics, mostly the ways people express their mind somehow emerge high tension among the other readers, consequently, there are often misconceptions so that, most of them blame and judge each other. Hence, there is another way to express political thinking through a meme, namely political meme.

One way meme used is to poke fun sarcastic about politics. In order to deliver opinion particularly about politics, the use of humor becomes new idea among social media users due to its fast dissemination. This humor is well-known with the term "political memes", a meme which talks about politics. In the context of discourse, political memes are the examples of criticism for the political reality in which the creators of "political" memes usually refer to current public news and try to mock either the situation or the politician responsible for it (Kobierecki, p.249). This phenomenon is interesting to be investigated since political meme is capable to attract the readers following the recent issues about politics, thus indirectly political meme not only serves news about politics but also builds the readers to be a critical thinker. Similar with the political issues which have been the world interest, many memes attempt to depict it into a political meme. Hence, political memes come to be this subject of the study in order to look at how meme makers utter their opinion through their humor.

During the American Presidential Election 2016, there was an exponential increase in the number of memes that flooded the Internet. Denis (2016) has explained in October 2016, am meme an aggregator called Sizzle shared a subset of their data that was filtered for political content in which the data contain 32.000 memes spanning four social networks: *Facebook, Instagram, Twitter* and *Imgur*. Many meme makers attempted to depict the controversy during the American Presidential Election 2016, beginning from the background of both candidates which was somehow becoming public attention up to the interference of beyond parties. Furthermore, some debates that had been conducted showed their personalities to be public consideration that was better to run a state. If this cases are commented, discussed, or even criticized through the humor, it indirectly drives public perspective agree with the message delivered. Therefore, this topic is fascinating for social media users to create memes by depicting these occurrences then it is disseminated over the Internet freely as happened to one of meme website, 9GAG.

A social media website namely 9GAG has been midpoint to look for fun through humor created by the production of memes. This kind of online platform provides freedom for everyone to create and share their memes. Unlike social networks, 9GAG is community focusing on productions (or "posts") only, not on individual profiles which has 80 million active users, as of January 2015 (Wagener, 2014; Russell, 2015). This site is one of many alternative communities where users are allowed or encouraged to create new types of publications, which can then be found on general forums or websites but mostly meme production.

Thus, there are a lot of memes from diverse meme makers' background who contend with their own perspectives. In 9GAG worlds, the members of 9GAG act as both reader and creator, so that one another can evaluate the posts.

In addition, the most interesting point on 9GAG is the process of uploading a meme. Meme makers who have been the member of 9GAG have to pass the voting steps. Meme that has uploaded then enter first page namely "*fresh*" to get vote from other 9GAG users by choosing icon 'smile' for like or 'sad' for dislike. Meme which gets more smile than sad later come into "*Trending*" page. The increasing of voting 'smile' will be a meme on "*Hot*" page. Such Wagener (2014) description, a meme that has successfully reached '*Hot*' page becomes a pleasant or satisfying for a meme creator. It means what meme maker wants to delivered has been accepted, as well as the other 9GAG users agree with the topic discussed. Therefore, the subject of this study is taken from memes that have been reached "*Hot*" page in which those memes have accepted well among 9GAG users and are definitely interesting to be investigated as well.

Besides, there are several kinds of memes presented by 9GAG on those three pages. The categories of 9GAG's memes technically are rage comic and meme itself (contains an image that has its own tagline). However, in order to go with the subject of this study, the memes used are from both rage comic and meme but particularly in form of conversational memes. Memes that are investigated are memes consisting of dialogs between speaker(s) and hearer(s) or responder(s) which are not only presenting images of both speaker and hearer but also the text or caption written in the picture of meme. Some memes are presented

in various images where one another are related such conversation by sign and symbol without any caption written. By this reason, the subject of this study is conversational memes that contain both images and text.

Meme in a form of conversation has special attraction to be analyzed since the utterance of both speaker(s) and hearer(s) have to be well cooperated in order to make the conversation successfully and smoothly. Grice (1989) describes cooperative principle with four different types of maxim; maxim of quality, quantity, relation and manner. The four maxims are used to understand the responses of hearers in which the contribution has been as much as helpful, honest, relevant, and clear. On the other hand, most conversations are intentionally broke that rules for particular purpose, specifically to look for another meaning from what has been literally said, as this following example.

Figure 1.1 the example of political meme during American Presidential Election 2016

By the picture above, it technically presents simply simulation of description on how Donald Trump and Hillary Clintons express their opinion during their debate. The meme maker tries to depict the situation by exchanging the topic discussed in order to make the readers curious about what is implied. From Gricean Maxim's perspective, Hillary's response has to follow the maxim of quantity in which the contribution should be as informative as is required. However, this meme proves that she has broken the maxim of quantity since her contribution exchanges the current purpose from what is required. This phenomenon is commonly occurred in almost all memes, especially political memes. This case is occurred definitely leading particular aim in which meme maker wants to show his/her criticism about Trump and Hillary's controversies. Therefore, meme maker expresses his/her criticism by depicting their situation in form a meme.

The purposes or motives of the meme maker making meme can be defined as ideology. Ideology refers to the system of abstracted meaning applied to public matters, thus making this concept central to politics. Van Dijk (2006) describes the ideology as system of ideas in which he explains the ideology:

> *"As the basis of a social group's self-image, ideologies organize its identity, actions, aims, norms and values, and resources as well as its relations to other social groups. Ideologies are expressed and generally reproduced in the social practices of their members, and more particularly acquired, confirmed, changed and perpetuated through discourse."*

In finding out the ideology, meme readers require having deep understanding what is said and what is implied. It may provide some probabilities of particular context that want to be told. Therefore, memes which talk about politics are very

depending on the construction of context described and the target of political

memes; either society or government.

This study's conceptual basis is Norman Fairclough's ideas on discourse,

power and discourse and hegemony. At the same time, analytical part of this study

analyzes the possible interrelatedness of textual properties and power relations,

which is also underpinned in Fairclough's conceptual work. Furthermore, this

study attempts to deconstruct covert ideology which is 'hidden' in the text,

stemming from the theoretical conceptualization of Batstone, who claims that

"critical discourse analysis seeks to reveal how texts are constructed so that

particular (and potentially indoctrinating) perspectives can be expressed delicately

and covertly; because they are covert, they are elusive of direct challenge,

facilitating what Kress calls the 'retreat into mystification and impersonality

(Batstone 1995: 198-199). These notions of Fairclough transform into an

analytical method, including the "linguistic description of the language text,

interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the text,

and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the

social processes" (Fairclough, 1989, p.97).

The meme's interest is also shown by some researchers who is one of them

is Pusanti (2015). She had studied memes based on selected memes and the

observation to "*netizen*" about their practice of posting memes on social media.

Yet, those memes have the purposes on politics which convey messages in

criticizing the ruling parties, politicians, political campaigns and other political

events throughout humorous message in memes. Technically, this researcher

investigated memes talking about politics. Mostly, the memes used by her were in a form of pictures and some others only pictures. It is very possible to investigate pictures using semiotics analysis due to it deals with sign or symbol in a picture.

Kurniawati (2011) also had investigated memes by combining maxims and code-mixing using by Sundanese memes. This study investigated whether or not the Sundanese memes flout the Grice's Maxim and also the humor types applied within in order to form social messages, political aspects, universal emotions, or even just to be funny to entertain the readers. The code-mixing in the memes showed that Sundanese people tend to mix their first language with second language or even with foreign language. They often used other language rather than their first language only to prove that they use it in daily life. Technically, the data used were not in a conversational form in which Gricean's maxim is technically the concept of cooperative principles. However, the researcher can prove that maxims can work although it is not in conversational form.

From the previous studies, the researcher learns about the combination process of code-mixing and flouting and/or violating maxims proved that Gricean's maxims could reveal implicit meaning. The prior studies also presented what and how the motives of meme makers in its role to criticize the political issues through type of humor. Relating to those cases, the researcher is interested in working with Gricean's maxims in order to analyze how four maxims can lead out the ideology of political memes. The ideological construction is interesting to be investigated due to an ideology is less encompassing than the ideas expressed in concepts importance or interest of why a meme was produced. Therefore,

analyzing ideology can give comprehensive understanding to comprehend political memes and take position for the readers about what should they behave after reading political memes.

Moreover, Presidential Election 2016 conducted by the USA government was described with many controversies during that time. This is perhaps, since presidential election involves not only political side but also economic and social sides, thus it becomes largely public spotlight. It has widely known that America is one of states having vast relation around the world in which many countries economically, politically and socially are depending on them. From those cases above, this study aims to analyze how four Gricean's Maxims can lead out the ideology of political memes during American Presidential Election 2016 especially in conversational form to give clear comprehension about the four maxims.

The researcher learns the conversation by using Gricean maxims's perspective for the beginning steps of analysis process. A meme should be classified the types of maxims in order to learn the purpose of speaker and or hearer does maxims. From what the speaker and hearer's statements and responses, it can be learnt what is implied by the conversation. An inference that has been obtained then has to be related with the exact occurrence or controversy to find out the ideology of a meme. Some probabilities and assumptions are presented both for Gricean Maxim's perspective and for the motives or ideology's perspective to show the various way of interpreting since the researches acts both meme maker and meme reader.

1.2 Research Question

Reviewing the case described on the background above, the focus of this study goes to investigate 'how Gricean's maxims construct the ideology of political memes on 9GAG'.

1.3 Objective of the Study

Related with the focus of the study, the objectives of the study is to analyze the ideological construction of the political memes on 9gag, particularly on conversational memes during the American Presidential Election on 2016 using the theory of Gricean's Maxims.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study is expected to give both theoretical and practical contributions. Theoretically, this study contributes on the Theory of Gricean's Cooperative Principle which concerns on four maxims. This study is expected to provide the empirical data of political memes that are particularly in form of conversational memes. This study works on pragmatics field, thus it expected to describe the communication phenomena especially the conversational written occurred in political memes. In addition, this study can prove that Gricean's Maxims are able to describe the ideological construction by looking from the cooperative principles that are built.

Practically, this study is expected to lead new information both for the meme makers and meme readers in which for meme makers, creating memes is not merely made it and easily to be understood by memes readers. In order to

make textual memes, it needs design which fulfills linguistics features. Transferring the meaning and ideology is not a simple matter because not all people can relish it. Due to the fact that the effect of political memes whether positive or negative can only be based on how people interpret the meaning of memes itself, memes makers have to consider the linguistics features presented within. Hence, as meme readers, reading memes demands the readers to be open-minded thinker. Perhaps, memes often provide uncompleted satisfies the readers to understand the meaning in which the incomplete linguistics feature even can lead to particular aim and meaning in conveying the ideology. Therefore memes readers have to intend in comprehending the aims and contexts discussed.

1.5 Scope and Limitation

The scope of this study is pragmatics dealing with the theory of Gricean's maxims. Grice introduced four maxims: (1) maxim of quality; (2) maxim of quantity; (3) maxim of relevance; and (4) maxim of manner. The reason of using pragmatics is due to the subject that is investigated in conversational form. Conversational form involves the demanded relation between speakers and hearers, thus it is within pragmatics scope. This study also uses the forms of breaking maxims such as Flouting Maxims and Violating Maxims to analyze the selected memes which conduct violating the rule of maxims.

In order to anticipate the study is going broader, the study is limited on political memes during The American Presidential Election 2016 posted in official website of 9GAG, namely "*www.9gag.com*". The selected memes are about politics during presidential election by inserting keyword in the search column of

9GAG, and then it directly classifies them into cases only. The selected political memes are classified into the topic which focuses on Donald Trump. The data are taken in conversational form only, due to it relates to the theory used, Cooperative Principles in the concept of Gricean's four maxims and breaking the maxims. The data taken are 8 pictures of meme as the most potential data to be analyzed. Those 8 data have been filtered as conversational memes which talk about politics in which it consists of picture and text.

1.6 Research Design

This study employed descriptive qualitative research due to it seeks understanding on certain phenomenon, namely political memes. According to Hancock et al. (2009), qualitative research is concerned with developing explanation of social phenomena. That is to say, it aims to help the researcher to understand the social world in which we live and why things are the way they are. Qualitative research was used to emphasize on describing the phenomenon in its context by interpreting the data. Qualitative research was descriptive, in which it is interested in the process of meaning construction and understanding gained through the words or utterances. Besides, the data and analysis in this study were in the form of description, thus this study is included into descriptive qualitative research.

In addition, this study uses qualitative approach to describe the phenomena occurred in political memes. Political memes is regarded as one of linguistics phenomena in which each memes certainly lead particular ideology. To find out the ideology, descriptions are needed to present the ideological construction. The

analysis is not in a form of number or measurement in which the result of the study is testing the theory. However, qualitative research presents generating the theory in which the result of the study is constructing particular concepts or theory.

1.7 Data and Data Source

Data in qualitative research are mostly in the form of texts and or descriptions of actions. Denscombe (2007) explained that qualitative data take the forms of words (spoken or written) and visual images (observed or creatively produced) (p.286). In this study, the data are in the form pictures in which the pictures consist of linguistic features such as words, phrases, clauses, sentences and or utterances supported by images or videos. While, those data are in form of pictures and texts, yet, pictures are not only selecting since the data must contain linguistics features. The analysis of picture is mostly under the scope of communication field. Therefore, the data taken are only in a form of texts and pictures in which pictures are being the background to enhance the understanding of the texts in meme.

The source of data is from 9gag's official website, https://9gag.com/. The Official link is chosen since the data on it are easily classified by some themes or dates. The data are in the form of picture containing caption or text inside which are downloaded from that official link. The political memes are selected only during the campaign of American Presidential Election on 2016 in which the memes talking about circumstance during Presidential Election. The data are

selected by the number *'vote'* symbolized by "♥" below the memes picture. It indicates that the people have agreed with the topic delivered.

1.8 Data Collection

Data collection involves the steps that the researcher employed to get the data needed. In qualitative research the researcher plays the role as the designer, the data collector, the analyst, the data interpreter, the reporter of the research finding and the conclusion maker (Moleong, 2001, p.121). The data of this study were collected from pictures of meme containing utterances in form of conversation. To collect the data, firstly, the researcher opened the official website "www.9gag.com" and then inserted some keywords relating with the subject such as "American Presidential Election 2016", "Donald Trump", "Donald Trump vs Hillary". Then, the researcher sorted the presented memes into the highest point number of '*vote*' under the pictures into the lowest one.

After that, the researcher selected the memes which focused on discussing Donald Trump and the issue which involves Donald Trump. Some issues beyond the intern case of Presidential Election may become the topics to make memes, thus it must be the data. Next, the researcher reselects the data into the conversational form either Donald Trump is the speaker in memes or other people who talk about him. Not all conversational memes are containing Donald Trump's issues. Although the surrounding present memes which talk about Donald Trump, it will be selected as potential data. Lastly, downloading the pictures is the last procedure before the researcher starts to analyze the data using Gricean's Maxims.

1.9 Data Analysis

The most important step of the study is the procedures of how the data have to be analyzed. Bogdan & Biklen (1998) define data analysis as the process of systematically searching and arranging accumulated materials to increase the researcher understands and is enable the researcher to present what has been found. In the process of analyzing the data, several steps which are undertaken in order to answer the research question are firstly presenting the data that have been downloaded. Second, reaching deep understanding on the meaning of the texts presented and finding out the meaning by looking at the context are become the next procedure.

Third, analyzing the texts and or conversations with the concept of four maxims has to be conducted due to it is the most important step in analyzing the meme. Finding one of maxim or more in a conversation will be interpreted by relating to context of the topic conversation, issues which come up during the presidential election or other aspects related to the meme. Fourth, observing and interpreting the pictures provided (if the meme in the form of text and picture) then relating to the text or topics discussed.

Fifth, finding out the ideology of the memes and the probability in affecting public perception is the following procedures. Each individual certainly has their own interpretation and perception. Therefore, those all probabilities of perceptions have to be told. The researcher place herself in many positions, whether take the position as meme reader or meme maker. Thus, the researcher can consider which one is the most logical ideology which is constructed by particular memes. Lastly,

the most important procedure is drawing the conclusion of each meme being analyzed.

1.10   Trustworthiness of the Study

The trustworthiness of qualitative research generally is often questioned by positivists, perhaps because their concepts of validity and reliability cannot be addressed in the same way in naturalistic work. Nevertheless, several writers on research methods have demonstrated how qualitative researchers can incorporate measures that deal with these issues, and investigators have attempted to respond directly to the issues of validity and reliability in their own qualitative studies. Since qualitative researchers do not use instruments with establish metrics about validity and reliability, (Lincoln & Guba, 1981) explain that it is pertinent to address how qualitative researchers establish that the research study's findings are credible, transferable, confirmable and dependable.

According to Merriam (1998), the qualitative investigator's equivalent concept, i.e. **credibility**, deals with the question, '*How congruent are the findings with reality?*'. In order to answer that question, the researcher ensures the finding with the comments given to a meme by other 9GAG users posted below the picture. Through the comments, the researcher identifies opinions appeared the most then compares with the finding. The comments show how the readers comprehend the message delivered by the meme maker where there are pro and contra or perhaps neutral stand with the message delivered. From this identification, the researcher adjusts the ideology found in thi study and the

people opinion whether the ideas found the same or not then generalize the idea in form of conclusion of each ideological analysis.

Since the findings of a qualitative project are specific to a small number of particular environments and individuals, it is impossible to demonstrate that the findings and conclusions are applicable to other situations and populations (Shenton, 2004). This study will describe related other phenomena which has interrelation with the topic of the study to prove that the study is **transferable**. In order to make this study transferable, the researcher provides the real situations which have been depicted by the meme makers. For instance, a meme talking about Trump banning Muslims to come in America in which meme maker makes a depiction where Trump eat '*halal*' meat that tastier. This is actually becoming the criticism for him that Muslim is not bad as what Trump said. There is contrary with the real situation. This may happen in other memes where what is said and what is implied have its own aims. Therefore, the example of another situation or the real situation presents in this study to make this study transferable.

Besides, Shenton (2004) explained **dependability** employs techniques to show that if the work were repeated, in the same context, methods and participants, similar with would be obtained. The study goes to involve broad aspects of linguistics fields to make sure that other next researcher will get the same point with the study in investigating memes especially on their finding. Basically, finding out ideology of political meme, the researcher must generalize the finding of this study by comparing with other 9GAG users who comment on the meme posted. This is caused each individual is different on how they percept

meaning of meme especially on political meme. However, the researcher will take procedures that are making position in some other people. Even though the researcher has gotten ideology of a meme, it does not mean the result is the most trusted one. Therefore, generalizing the idea is importance in order to make the work similar with would be obtained.

The last is the concept of **confirmability** which is the qualitative investigator's comparable concern to objectivity. Patton (1990) recognizes the difficulty of ensuring real objectivity, since, as even tests and questionnaires are designed by humans, the intrusion of the researcher's biases is inevitable. To make this study confirmable, the researcher is not depended on human skill and perception, but there will be other studies related to the topic in which the reader can confirm the objectivity of the study. Some cases also will be provided to support the accuracy of the findings. The validity of data can be confirmed that the data are valid due to the data are taken from official website in which each meme has 9gag's watermark on it. It indicates of copyright which shows that 9gag users who have signed up as the member of 9gag communities make the meme, and also there is no other official websites produce it.

1.11   Definition of Key Terms

- **Pragmatics:** The study of speaker and contextual meaning, the expression of relative distance and the study of how more gets communicated than is said. It is concerned with the study of meaning as communicated by speaker and interpreted by listener and involves interpretation of what

people mean in a particular context and how the context influences what is said.

- **Meme:** A humorous image video, piece of text, etc, that is copied or replicated (often with slight variations) and spread rapidly by Internet users. It can be defined as a concept of behavior that spreads from person to person through social media. The Meme that is being captioned is usually centered on a specific trend or central idea.

- **9GAG: A** meme-sharing website based in Hong Kong but hosted in the United States which is mainly a common repetition of many popular memes. The site uses the same style of image sharing that sites such as *4chan, reddit* and *Funnyjunk* do, but allows people to post with their Facebook accounts and has a "like" system (similar to those found on reddit and Funnyjunk) on individual posts.

- **Ideology:** A system of ideas and ideals, especially one that forms the basis of economic or political theory and policy. It is related to concepts such as worldview, belief system, ad values but it is broader than those terms. It refers not only to the beliefs held about the world but also to the basic ways, in which the world defined.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter consists of theories related to this study. It discusses the theories about Pragmatics, Cooperative Principles and Gricean's Maxim, Memes, and Political Memes, Ideology and Previous Studies.

2.1 Pragmatics

Pragmatics starts out from an active conception of language as being used. Pragmatics is study of 'invisible' meaning, or how we recognize what is meant even it is not actually said or written (Yule, 2006, p.112). Generally, it is study of language usage in communication, in studying language; one cannot ignore the situation in which the speech is uttered. The principle of language can be achieved if the speech situation is fulfilled. A speech situation comprises the elements of addresser and addressee, context, goal, illocutionary act and utterance. The context includes where and when the event occurs, the behavior of both addressee (speaker) and addresser (hearer), the utterance preliminary and following the speaker's utterance and any background knowledge assumed to be shared by speaker and hearer which contributes to hearer interpretation of what speaker means. A goal is utterance's intended meaning or speaker's intention in uttering particular sentence.

Yule (1996) emphasized, there are four pragmatics areas which are identically concerned with scope of pragmatics. First, pragmatics studies the speaker meaning in which it has consequently more to do with the analysis of

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what people mean by their utterances. Second, pragmatics is the study dealing with contextual meaning. In comprehending what speaker means certainly it needs observing how the context tells about the situation of the topic discussed. Third, pragmatics deals with how more gets communicated that is said. The last one is pragmatics studying the expression of relative distance. Technically, pragmatics is about explaining how we produce and understand the language which is used in communication everyday but apparently rather peculiar uses of language.

2.2 Cooperative Principle

For reaching smooth and successful outcome of speech communication, there must be felicitous condition to facilitate the speaker and hearer. The success of a conversation depends on the various speakers' approaches to the interaction. One of the most basic criteria that have to be made for successful communication is both speaker and hearer in a conversation are doing cooperation. The conversation is unconsciously bound with conversational principles "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which is occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged (Renkema, 1993, p.9). Grice (1989) suggested cooperative principles which make the conversational contribution is in the right size and agrees with the accepted purpose of the conversation a speaker is connected to. It means the speaker needs to be as informative as it requires based on the context of the conversation so that the communication will be run smoothly and successfully.

To make the principles are acceptable, Grice (1989) generates the principles into four conversational categories or maxims that will result in accordance with cooperative principle (p.26). The cooperative principle can be explained by four underlying rules of maxims; they are maxims of quality, quantity, relevance, and manner. There are some reasons why people tend to use maxims; these maxims allow us to be briefer in communicating, due to we do not necessary to say complexly if we were being perfectly logical. Hence, maxims allow us to say thing indirectly to avoid discomfort coming from saying unpleasant thing directly. Maxims also allow us to insult or deride people indirectly without as much danger of confrontation. Implying dissatisfaction or anger without putting us in a position where we will have to directly defend our views is allowed as well. In sum, one of the main uses of the maxims, aside from describing how communication generally takes place is to signal the presence of indirect speech.

2.3 Gricean's Maxims

2.3.1 Maxim of Quantity

This maxim requires saying as much as helpful. A contribution should be as informative as is required for the conversation to proceed. It should be neither too little, nor too much (it is not clear how one can decide what quantity of information satisfies the maxim in a given case). Maxim of quantity states that the speaker must give as much information as it is needed. It means the speaker must answer or speak as much as what they heard. For instance, when you are asking to someone a

question then he or she has to give you an answer only for that question. (Renkema, 1993, p.9).

For example :
Mary : John, where is the nearest mosque?
John : It is in in front of the post office.

From this conversation, John has answered as much as Mary requires. It indicates the maxim of quantity has been fulfilled. It is due to John's answer is informative and explicit without leaving a crucial piece of information does not give information more than is required. In this case, John's utterance makes understand that the nearest mosque in located in front of the post office.

2.3.2 Maxim of Quality

Maxim of quality can be defined as honestly, sincerely or badly which means that speakers should tell the right information. The speakers should say nothing if the information which is believed to be false or has no sufficient facts. The point of maxim of quality is that the speakers have to say what they believe to be true and have the evidences of it. Maxim of quality is also well-known as super-maxim (Renkema, 1993, p.10). This maxim deals with avoiding saying something which you believe to be false or must not tell a lie. The speakers should give contribution that is true and based on adequate evidence or fact.

Example #1:

Most of third semester students of biotechnology faculty get bad scores for Plants Machine Anatomy middle test. The points which are often

misunderstood by the student is the way to compare original plants and discovered plant (fake).

Therefore, it can be proved that the statement below is true: "Plants Machine Anatomy is difficult."

Being assumed to be well founded gives rise to the implicature, the speaker believes or has evidence that it is. Thus, it fulfills the maxim of quality.

Example #2:

Sam   : There is a cute boy on the corner station.
George   : Yes, you right.

This conversation is including maxim of quality, because George answers truly, that he saw the cute boy on the corner station.

2.3.3 Maxim of Relation

Maxims of relevance means that the utterance must be relevant to the topic being discussed. As Grice in Cutting (2002) stated that the maxim of relevance is possible because the speaker's utterances are always taken as relevant to the preceding text. Speaker's contribution should relate clearly to the purpose of the exchange. It should be relevant. Relation means response which is relevant to the topic of discussion.

> *For example :*
> *James: I am out of petrol.*
> *Clara : There is a gas station around the corner.*

In this case, Clara's utterance may be taken to implicate that A may obtain petrol there, and he would certainly being less fully cooperative if he knew the garage was closed or was sold out of petrol.

Nevertheless, the addressee should infer that the addresser is following the maxim. Clara gave relevant answer, she did not change the topic that has been discussed when communication happen, so it makes understand that James can find a gas station around the corner where James may obtain petrol there.

2.3.4 Maxim of Manner.

Maxim of manner suggests speakers to be clear. This maxim relate to the form of the speech we use. Speakers should not use words that they know their listener does not understand or say things in which the speaker knows that it could be taken multiple ways. Maxim of manner is a matter of being clear and orderly when conversing. The speaker describes things in order, in which they occurred and avoids ambiguity and obscurity (Thomas, 1995: 64). A speaker fails to observe the maxims of manner, for instance, when she/he said "I went to bed and got undressed", in fact she/ he got undressed first then went to bed. Black (2006) stated that "this maxim refers not to that is said, but to how it expressed" (p.30).

Example #1:

Paul   : What the day is today?
Chris : Wednesday.
Paul   : What the date is today?
Chris : It is 22th .

This conversation is clear without the appearance of misunderstanding. It was perfectly brief and well-ordered. Those all are how maxims work in cooperative principle.

Example #2:

Jack : Is there anyone who can make this present look good?
Marry : I can do it.

Marry' statement shows that she can decorate the present and does not do other things. It implies that she is a girl; and girls usually like to decorate and make something look prettier. Therefore, the statement above fulfills the maxim of manner because it is brief and not ambiguous.

2.4 Flouting Maxims

Logically, a speaker and a hearer in a conversation should have cooperation by using maxims. However, in some cases they choose not to cooperate or flout the maxims because of some reasons, especially to look for another meaning from what has been literally said. According to Grundy (2008, p.28), flouting maxim is a particularly silent way of getting an addressee to draw inference and hence recover an implicature.

There are many occasions in which people fail to observe the maxims, one of the others is by flouting maxims. Thomas (1995) explains that flouting a maxim occurs when a speaker obviously fails to observe a maxim of what is said, with the deliberate intention of generating an implicature (p.65). Flouting maxims is when the speaker appears not to follow the maxim but expects the hearer to appreciate the meaning implied.

When the speaker seems not to hold on the maxims but expects the hearer to get the meaning implied, so it is called flouting maxims. Cutting (2002: p.37) states that the speaker says an indirect speech act that implies a different function of the literal meaning of the word form. Then flouting maxim, the speaker supposes to the hearer knows that the words should not be taken at the direct meaning and the speaker can expects the implicit meaning of the words. Flouting maxims happen in which the speaker deliberately does not explicitly show what she/he means so the maxims cannot operate normally. The example of flouting maxim can be seen in the following conversation:

A: Well, how do I look?
B: *Your shoes are nice….*

(Cutting, 2002: 36)

In the conversation above, B flouts a maxim, particularly maxim of quantity since he/she gives too little information. A wants B to gives his/her comment about A's appearance wholly. However, B only gives information about A's shoes and does not say about the dress or jeans or the other part of his/her appearance. Flouting maxim is determined on the basis on some criteria. According to Cutting (2002, p.37), these criteria are:

1) A speaker flouts the maxim of quantity when his contribution is not as informative as is required for the current purpose of the exchange and more informative than is required.

2) A speaker flouts the maxim of relation if his contribution is not relevant, and

3) A speaker flouts the maxims of manner if the contribution is not perspicuous it may be obscure, ambiguous and disorderly.

2.4.1 Flouting Maxim of Quantity

The maxim of quantity makes us make our contribution as informative as is required for the current purpose of the exchange and do not make our contribution more informative than is required. However, a speaker violates the Quantity maxim and invites the hearer to consider the conversational implication by saying more (that is, providing more information) or less (providing less information) than is required. Let's see how the maxim of quantity is flouted in the following example :

Boss   :   *Are you able to find the type of ink catridge I need for my*
                printer?
Secretary   :   *Well, yes I do, you should visit that new office building*
                they have hundreds of printer catridges, all you'd ever
                want to see or buy, and my son works there, you know, he
                is a very intelligent man.

The conversation is between a manager and his secretary in their office. Instead of just saying "yes", it can easily find that the secretary violates the maxim of Quantity, because she provides much more information than the manager actually needs. The implication of her utterance is that she would like to introduce her son to the manager.

2.4.2 Flouting Maxim of Quality

The maxim of quality requires us not to say what we believe to be false and what we lack adequate evidence. The violation of the Quality maxim is realized by saying things that are not true. The following example is the analysis of conversational implications generated by

flouting the maxim of quality of the Cooperative Principle. People often use polite and indirect strategies to express their real meanings.

Example:

A: What do you think of Jason?
B: He is a good friend. He always keeps eye on my pocket.

This example shows that how the maxim of quality is breached. When A asks B the question, he may have already thought that Jason is not a good friend, and he wants to ensure that B has the same opinion with him. But deliberately says that Jason is a good friend, which himself considers to be incorrect. Then B adds that Jason always asks him for money. The reason why B says so indirectly is that he wants to save Jason's face.

2.4.3 Flouting Maxim of Relation

The flouting of the relation maxim means that the utterance of the speaker is irrelevant to the context for some reasons. Some conversational implications are produced by violation of the relation maxim. The speaker may not say anything explicitly related to the topic of the conversation but invite the hearer to seek for an interpretation of possible relevance. The following example can be used to analyze conversational implications produced by the violation of relation maxim.

Example:

Tom   : Tom is such a noisy man, isn't he?
Dick   : I saw a fantastic movie yesterday.

This is a dialogue between two roommates; Dick's answer flouts the maxim of relation. What can we know from Dick's answer? He did not want to talk more about Tom's topic.

2.4.4   Flouting Maxim of Manner

The violation of the manner maxim means giving obscure and ambiguous information. Below this is the analysis how the following example violates the manner maxim that gives rise to conversational implications.

Example:

Teacher A   : *shall we get something for the kids?*
Teacher B   : *Yes. But I veto C-A-N-D-Y.*

Here, teacher B intentionally breaks the maxim of manner by spelling out the word "candy", and thereby conveys that teacher B would rather not have candy mentioned directly in the presence of the children, in case they are prompted to demand some.

2.5 Violating Maxims

According to Grice (1975: 49) the speaker violates a maxim when she/he will be liable to mislead the hearer to have such implicature. The speaker deliberately tries to make his utterance overt or to be noticed. This makes the hearer infers an implicature (Murray, 2007).In the real life situations, many people tend to tell untruth and break the maxims of Grice's cooperative principle when they communicate, they even do multiple violations for lying purposes (Grice, 1975, p.45).

People in real life tend to tell lies for different reasons: hide the truth, save face, feel jealous, satisfying the hearer, cheer the hearer, building one's belief, avoid hurting the hearer, and convincing the hearer. They believe that a lying is the natural tool to survive and to avoid them from anything that may put them in an inappropriate condition (Tupan & Natalia, 2008: 64-66). The talk of the non-observance of the four maxims is the same whether these maxims located in flouting, violating, and other non-observance, but the difference is in the kind of non-observance, therefore, in the following, the examples will be adequate to illustrate how speaker violates a maxim.

2.5.1 Violating the maxim of quantity

The following example is a conversation between two friends John and Mike:

John : Where have you been? I searched everywhere for you during the past three months!
Mike : I wasn't around. So, what's the big deal?

John poses a question, which he needs to be answered by Mike. What Mike says in return does not lack the truth, however is still insufficient. This can be due to the fact that Mike prefers to refrain from providing John with the answer. John's sentence implies that Mike has not been around otherwise, he did not have to search everywhere. John does not say as much as it is necessary to make his contribution cooperative. Therefore, John violated quantity maxim (Khosravizadeh & Sadehvandi, 2011, p.123).

2.5.2 Violating the maxim of quality

The following example is a conversation between mother and her

son:

Mother	:	Did you study all day long?
Son who has been playing all day long	:	I've been studying till know!

In this conversation, the boy is not truthful and he violates the

maxim of quality. He lied to avoid unpleasant consequences such as,

punishment or to be forced to study for the rest of the day (Ibid: 122-

123).

2.5.3 Violating the maxim of relation

The following is an example of conversation between a teacher and

one of his students;

Teacher	: Why didn't you do your homework?
Student	: May I go and get some water? I'm so thirsty.

In this example the student's answer is by no means irrelevant to

the teacher's question. One reason for this answer can be the fact that the

student is trying to evade the interrogation posed by the teacher (Ibid:

123).

2.1.1 Violating the maxim of manner

The following is an example of conversation between two friends

Sara and Anna:

Sara : Did you enjoy the party last night?

Anna : There was plenty of oriental food on the table, lots of flowers all over the place, people hanging around chatting with each other

Sara asked a very simple question, however what she receives from Anna is a protracted description of what was going on in the party. Two interpretations can be made from Anna's description: 1.Anna had such a good time and2. She does not know how to complain about it. Anna is ambiguous; therefore, she violated the maxim of manner (Ibid: 123).

2.6 Meme(s)

The word meme originated with Richard Dawkins' 1976 book '*The Selfish Gene'*. A meme is an idea, behavior, or style that spreads from person to person within a culture. The word meme is a shortening of *mimeme* from Ancient Greek which means imitated thing. Dawkins used the term to refer to any cultural entity that an observer might consider a replicator. He hypothesized that one could view many cultural entities as replicators, and pointed to melodies, fashions, and learned skills as examples. Memes generally replicate through exposure to humans, who have evolved as efficient copiers of information and behavior. Dawkins defined the meme as a unit of cultural transmission, or unit of imitation and replication, but later definitions would vary.

Dawkins defines meme based on the notion of replicator (applied to culture). A replicator is a biological or chemical singularity of indivisible proportions. This "molecule" acts as a template, and has the capacity of creating copies of it. (Dawkins, 1976, p. 15) Furthermore, Dawkins states in his book three properties that a replicator should encompass in order to be "successful" (that is,

to manage to make copies of itself): a) *Longevity* is the amount of time the replicator can live or otherwise the amount of time it can reproduce itself. b) *Fecundity* is the rate at which copies are done. c) *Copy-Fidelity* is the precision of which copies of it can be created, taking into account that every replication process generates a certain amount of mistakes every time a copy is made.

Figure 2.1 The example of meme

A *meme* is a snapshot of a picture that has a caption on it, which is the proper name that has become the vernacular for this type of meme. The Meme that is being captioned is usually centered on a specific trend or central idea. Meme is a humorous image, video, piece of text, etc., that is copied (often with slight variations) and spread rapidly by Internet users. It is shown by the example of meme above is intentionally made into sliding of reality to catch something more humorous. Meme can be defined as an amusing or interesting item (such as captioned picture or video) or genre of online especially through social media. The presented meme has been sprout through social media; the characteristics of meme have also had by the figure 2.1, hence it is typical example of internet meme.

An internet meme is a concept that spreads rapidly from person to person via the Internet, largely through Internet-based E-mailing, blogs, forums, Imageboards like 4chan, social networking sites like Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter, Instant messaging and video hosting services like Youtube and Twitch.tv. (Schubert, 2003). Marta Juza (2013) explained the notion of "internet memes" is most commonly used to describe certain kinds of information disseminated among the Internet users by themselves. This information may include pictures, films (usually short), and video clips, graphics, texts, quotes, animations, as well as their various combinations (e.g. captioned pictures).

Memes are "self-replicating units of culture" (Dawkins 1999), or "multimodal symbolic artifacts created, circulated, and transferred by countless mediated cultural participants" (Milner 2013b, p.2359). Memes are characterized by some key attributes; they evolve through remixes and commentary and spread through homogeneous communities (Bauckhage, 2011). Additionally, memes are rapidly created and distributed, reaching an extended audience without being limited by geographic boundaries; they also have the ability to focus on "seemingly unimportant – but highly shareable – sound bites" (Nasri, 2012). Lastly, memes heavily depend on intertextuality, relating not only to each other, but to popular culture at large (Shifman, 2014). Memes emerge for a variety of topics, ranging from commentary on news and events to personal experiences. The focus of this project, though, is on political memes.

2.7 Political Memes

Manifestations of politics can be traced not only in the narrow confines of formal politics, but also in popular culture (Street et al, 2013). Representations of politics in popular culture offer people a chance to "pick up and confirm a broad sense of politicians and the political process", while they also "enable them to express general political reflections and judgments" (Van Zoonen, 2005, p.139). Popular culture functions as a language (Street, 1997), thus memes can be regarded as a form of expression. Considering the ease with which memes are generated and spread, they offer internet users the opportunity to voice their opinions in an accessible, inexpensive and pleasurable manner (Shifman, 2014). Memes allow young people to reflect on politics, as "the serious world of politics and the trivial one of entertainment feed off each other" in their lives (Street et al, 2013, p.7).

Political memes satirizing politics are about making a statement, "participating in a normative debate about how the world should look like" (Shifman, 2014, p.120). The creation and dissemination of such satirical memes constitutes both an act of self-expression and political participation. At this point, it is important to note to the definition of political participation has been broadened to encompass activities that were previously dismissed as trivial, such as joking about politicians (Shifman, 2014). Collective discussion about politics is now seen as a form of political participation (Street et al, 2013).

Figure 2.2 The example of Political Meme

In particular, young people could greatly benefit from entertaining politics; popular culture, with its inclusive mode of representation, has the potential to link them to topics of public interest, like politics (Street et al, 2013). Modern politics is characterized by a profound lack of commitment to traditional institutions and a distrust toward governments (Street et al, 2013; Dahlgren 2009), and political authorities are viewed as indifferent; in such cases, "non-hierarchical channels, which abound online, may seem more attractive for participation" (Anduiza et al, 2012, p.6). Satire is perceived as more authentic by younger individuals, since it maintains a distance from the "manufactured" realities that politicians and advertisers create and promote (Jones, 2010). The exact reason why satire is viewed as more authentic is not clear; it could be either due to the antiauthority tone it promotes, or simply its entertaining and "seemingly less agenda driven" language, which sharply contrasts with the manipulative speech politicians conventionally use (Jones 2010, p.246).

Popular culture and the leaking of humor into politics have been seen as cheapening politics, and memes are occasionally regarded as trivializing politics

(Milner, 2013b; Tay, 2012). Moreover, critics of entertainment-based political discourse claim that there is a positive correlation between satire and cynical views towards politics (Gray, Jones and Thompson 2009; Guggenheim, Kwak and Campbell 2011). Irony and satire are seen in a negative light, since they supposedly belittle politics. However, this is not the case; as explained above, laughter can have an empowering role, and it is a tool for public judgment and sound political criticism. Additionally, satire is "provocative, not dismissive", and its purpose is not merely to condemn, but to bring about positive change (Gray et al, 2009, p.13).
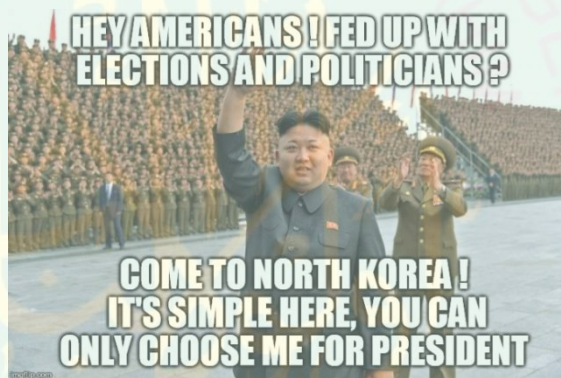

Figure 2.3 The example of Political Meme

Meme is becoming another choice in political spectrum. During the presidential election, there were number of memes flooded on Internet. From this view, the existence of meme is to move ideas toward political view point but still have the same central idea. The political humor in mass media shows like it will help understand how humor has the power to persuade individuals on their opinions of politics. It simply ends just for persuading, but it leads particular ideology. Political memes are actually representation of public assumption which represents by a meme maker(s). Hence, each political meme leads particular

ideology which cannot be easily understood. Therefore, the ideology of political memes is very important to be investigated due to somehow most people are critical thinkers of political reality. Therefore, from political meme, the researcher and the future reader of this study can widely know how public perception about particular political meme by the methodology of generalization idea conducted in this study.

2.8 Ideology

Norman Fairclough's Language and Power was one of the first seminal texts to focus on one of the most compelling issues in contemporary pragmatics today that is, the exploration of the relationship between language, power and ideology. Fairclough's aim is the raising of critical consciousness concerning the ideological assumptions embedded in language use in contemporary society, largely through an explanation of existing social conventions which are seen as outcomes of struggles for power. Evidence is offered by Fairclough about a deeper level of pragmatic thinking, which goes beyond the usual interpretive stage of ethno-methodology or descriptive socio-linguistic conventions. He is particularly stimulating in the way he offers credible understandings of the interrelationship of language and social practices.

Fairclough's work, in its attention to language as social practice dealing with the social conditions of discourse production and its hidden power, ideology and domination dimensions, was a forerunner of a now-prevalent linguistic emphasis. It has today clearly found its audience and has changed the nature of important aspects of pragmatic enquiry (Morley, 2004). While Fairclough revitalized a new

approach to the study of pragmatics, it would be unwise to expect CLA to begin to restore social inequalities or injustices. However, a widespread understanding of critical language analysis and the power dimensions hidden in language can be an important first step in contributing to a more informed, critical awareness of the realities of the social order, contributing to opening opportunities to dominated groups and individuals in our society in accessing and participating more fully in various, decision-making power forums. As Fairclough says, the first step in such social emancipation is the awareness gained through an analysis of discourse in contemporary society.

The interpretive and social explanatory emphasis of CLA, which Fairclough adopted, is now of primary concern in pragmatic linguistic enquiry. However, from a personal perspective Morley (2004) likes about his work is not just the effective sustained manner in which the writer argues his case (even though, at times, he does get a little repetitive), but also the intellectually affective way in which he involves his readers. In confronting matters of grave, social concern, Fairclough has the ability to make us feel like caring participants in his endeavor (Morley, 2004). This is far preferable, in Morley view, to being disinterested readers of some linguistic text, bereft of any robust personal opinion or commitment. Despite this, Fairclough never seems polemic or disputatious in tone although his views must seem challenging and provocative to those readers satisfied with the acceptance of the status quo.

On the other hand, unlike formal linguistics, whose aim is to study only linguistic form without its social function, the aims of critical linguistics are to

explore the social function of language, to describe linguistic processes in social terms, and to reveal the 'ideological and political investments' (Fairclough,1992, p.315). The method of systematic textual analysis adopted in this study to uncover the way in which discourses operate in society comes from the unified discursive framework proposed in Fairclough 1989, 1992. As Fairclough (1989: p.129) suggests, an Ideology of the powerful class is turned into a universal belief through the process of 'naturalization' and the media plays an important role in naturalizing these dominant ideologies. Thus critical language study is a proper approach in language studies to uncover underlying power relationships in the use of language that are normally hidden.

Fairclough 1989 identifies three stages of critical linguistic analysis: first, description of the text; second, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction; third, explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context. The first stage, description of the text, is the level of textual analysis. The second and third stages are the integration of contextual analysis and interpretive analysis. Thus, the method of analysis employed in this study will be the interaction of these three levels of analysis. Even though Fairclough presents the stages of analyses in a linear fashion, the stages of discursive analysis, social analysis, and interpretation and explanation are often simultaneous processes. Since this study goes with pragmatic analysis, it means social factors which are affected by the ideology found is also considered as well.

Simultaneously with the above sociological approach, the socio-cognitive framework is necessary to examine the ideological construction within news

discourse. From the socio-cognitive angle, ideologies are conceived as 'basic frame-works that organize social representations in the minds of social group members' (van Dijk, 1994, p.1). Ideology is therefore conceptualized as a mental schema consisting of various categories such as identity/membership, task, goal, norms, and positions, all of which define and shape the ideology of a group. In these cognitive structures of ideology and its social manifestation the role of attitudes plays a central part. Attitudes are manifested in discourse via values accorded and contained in linguistic items, and the identity membership that underlies the well-known 'us vs. them' categorization is found in many attitudes (van Dijk, 1994). Thus, the fact that attitudes form such a central part in the internal structure of ideology emphasizes the intensity of attitudinal orientation and values embedded in particularly political memes and accentuate the need to identify and study them.

Discourse is very complex, featuring many levels of structures, each with their own categories and elements, which may be combined in innumerable ways. As that has seen, ideologies may be expressed explicitly and then are easy to detect, but this may also happen very indirectly, implicitly, concealed or in less obvious structures of discourse, such as an intonation, a hesitation or a pronoun (van Dijk, 2000, p.42). Since discourse is so complex, and hence ideological structures can be expressed in so many different ways, it is useful to have a more practical 'heuristic', a method to 'find' ideology in text and talk. These were represented as some kind of basic self-schema of a group, featuring the fundamental information by which group members identify and categorize

themselves, such as their membership criteria, group activities, aims, norms, relations to others, resources, etc. These categories offered by van Dijk (2000) typically organize information of the following kind:

- Membership: Who are we? Who belongs to us? Who can be admitted?
- Activities: What are we doing, planning? What is expected of us?
- Aims: Why are we doing this? What do we want to achieve?
- Norms: What is good or bad, allowed or not in what we do?
- Relations: Who are our friends or enemies? Where do we stand in society?
- Resources: What do we have that others don't? What don't we have what others do have?

These then are the kind of questions that typically are associated with group identity and hence also with ideologies. As that much of this information is about Us vs. Them. Indeed, ideologies typically organize people and society in polarized terms. Group membership first of all has to do with who belongs or does not belong to Us, and how we distinguish ourselves from others by our actions, aims and norms, as well as our resources. Van Dijk (2000) states that socially fundamental is what position we have relative to the Others -- whether we are in a dominant or dominated position, or whether we are respected or marginalized, etc. as is typically the case in chauvinist vs. feminist, racist vs. anti-racist ideologies. Many social ideologies of groups and movements have these properties. Some other ideologies, such as the ecological ones, combine these social views with views about nature and how people should interact with nature, whereas religious ideologies in addition will feature propositions about people's relation to God. Given this informal rendering of 'typical' ideologies and their typical contents, it may try to formulate the heuristic that tries to combine such underlying social

beliefs to their expression in discourse. Basically, van Dijk (2000) the overall strategy of most ideological discourse is a very general one:

- Say positive things about Us

- Say negative things about Them

This form of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation is not only a very general characteristic of group conflict and the ways we interact with opposed groups, but also characterizes the way we talk about ourselves and others. Now, this overall strategy typically applies to meaning (content), and would therefore be rather limited. Thus, it needs to extend it in some ways so that also other discourse structures can be characterized by it. But first, there is necessary to complement it with its opposite meanings:

- Do not say negative things about Us

- Do not say positive things about Them.

As formulated, the strategy is too absolute and too general. So in order to enable a more subtle ideological analysis that also applies to others structures in the expression of ideology, we modify the four principles as follows:

- Emphasize positive things about Us.

- Emphasize negative things about Them.

- De-emphasize negative things about Us.

- De-emphasize positive things about Them.

This four of possibilities form a conceptual square, which may be called the 'ideological square' (van Dijk,2000). It may be applied to the analysis of all levels of discourse structures. As to their content, they may apply to semantic and lexical

analysis, but the use of the opposing pairs 'emphasize' and 'de-emphasize' allows for many forms of structural variation: we may talk at length or briefly about our good or their bad things, prominently or not, explicitly or implicitly, with hyperbolas or euphemisms, with big or small headlines, and so on. In other words, discourse has many ways to emphasize of de-emphasize meanings, and as soon as these have an ideological basis, we are able to analyze the expression of ideology on many levels of discourse.

From those over four principles, considering the ideology toward political memes especially during American Presidential Election, it can be formulate six models of ideology:

1. Taking stand on Trump (Talking positive about Trump)
2. Taking stand on Hillary (Talking positive about Hillary)
3. Talking positive of both Trump and Hillary
4. Attacking Trump's position (Talking negative about Trump)
5. Attacking Hillary's position (Talking negative about Hillary)
6. Attacking both sides Trump and Hillary (Talking negative about Trump and Hillary)

Those six models of ideology on political memes have frequently emerged especially in order to talking about the candidates. Simply simulation of racism in being devotee is habitually offered toward political memes.

2.9 Previous Studies

In regard to the topic of the present study, there have been some researchers who conduct their studies on four Gricean maxims and political meme. One of the other is study conducted by Pusanti (2015) which concerns on investigating political memes posted on social network "Path" during the election 2014. This

study uses semiotics analysis in interpreting the meme and observation to the "netizen" about their practice of posting memes on social media to convey messages to criticize the ruling party, political actors, political campaign and other political events through humorous message form known as meme. The data used are actually not valid, due to they are not taken from official link or clearly shows the maker. Political memes in "Path" are also quite irrelevant due to "path" is mainly used for sharing the location where people are.

This study explores signs that represent netizen's critique in memes form spread during the election in 2014 based on semiotics analysis of Charles Sanders Peirce with three levels of analysis; textual analysis (icon, index, and symbol), textual interpretation, and inter-textual. The objects of this study are based on selected political memes consisting of eight different corpuses related to corruption of political party, campaign equipment, mass media, and the president and vice president candidacy. It can be the strength of the study due to understanding symbol from meme is interesting to be investigated and also it will presents in a complex result. However, the corpus through a meme presented is better if it is supported by other political memes, so the reader will deep understand in broadly description.

The results suggest icon, index and symbol in political memes hold potential for powerfully conveying message in a visual form and vernacular for bridging playful political engagement on social network "Path" with critical awareness of political issues. The selected political memes spread during the election in 2014 showing representations of critiques on several political events in Indonesia. The

study shows that memes have become important vehicles of expressing political views and there has been a surge of interest in using new media platforms for political engagement since mainstream media is seen as pro-establishment and conservative.

Meanwhile, Kuniawati (2011) investigated meme by combining Gricean Maxims and code-mixing. The result of this research reveals that the memes tend to flout at least one of maxims. Concerning with the humor types, there are three types of humor that can be found in the memes. They are burlesque, caricature, hyperbole, irony, satire, and understatement. The researcher also found out that from twelve memes presented, six of them used code-mixing. The meme makers used Sundanese, bahasa Indonesia, and even English on their memes. The code-mixing in the memes showed that nowadays Sundanese people tend to mix their first language and second language or even with foreign language, and they often used other language only rather than their first language only in their daily life.

This study is very interesting to be read due to the combining theories as tools to investigate the meaning of each meme giving new comprehension about cultural identity. Sundanese's meme makers produce meme using code-mixing among their memes showing the readers, that meme is heavily affected by the personal background of the makers. The code-mixing meme makers will tend to combine their mother tongue and other language to give diverse humor impression. However, in this study, the role of maxims does not completely and maximally used by the researcher to investigate the meaning of each meme. Therefore, it seems showing; for instance meme (A) using maxim A, meme (B)

using maxim C, but does not give description how the maxims work for revealing the implicit meaning.

In addition, the study on ideology toward the discourse has also conducted by the other researcher that is Juraj Hovath (2013). He examines the persuasive strategies of President Obama's public speaking as well as the covert ideology of the same, enshrined in his inaugural address. His analysis is grounded in Norman Fairclough's assumptions in critical discourse analysis, claiming that "ideologies reside in texts "that it is not possible to 'read off' ideologies from texts" and that "texts are open to diverse interpretations". The selected corpus' ideological and persuasive components are assessed, thus revealing Obama's persuasive strategies.

Hovath analyzes the inaugural address in a six parts that are; (1) Thanking his predecessor, (2) Acknowledging the economic crisis, (3) Pointing out crisis of the past, (4) Addressing cynics, (5) Addressing the World, and (6) The solution lies with the people. He also provides the ideological analysis first in which he systematically explains sentence by sentence and reveals the implicit meaning while introduces the ideology inside. Then, he presents analysis of frequently used words and connotations. He also adds his study by the understanding of biblical references in which it is customary in American political discourse. From those analyses, he found three main results that are the key ideological components of Obama's speech can be summarized into the following concepts: pragmatism, liberalism, inclusiveness, acceptance of religious and ethnic diversity and unity.

Hovath has also identified the keyword analysis have shown that the most prominent words employed by Obama are nation, new and America, and a overall

dominance of the personal pronoun we which is an evidence of Obama's inclusive perception of the American society and a need for unity, understood as necessary in the time of national peril. And for the last one, the results of the biblical references have shown that Obama's choice of Scripture references – quoting the Corinthians "love section" was to strengthen the notion of unity and brotherly love among the various members of the American diverse society. Besides, the discursive event and discursive structure interrelatedness ideas proposed by Fairclough have been by the results of his analysis. The inaugural address – the discursive event shaped the text – the discursive structure, plus, the discourse became subject of interpretation by the audience, which shaped the following discourse practice of Obama.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the results of this study which is divided into two sections: findings and discussion. The first one is the findings section which shows the data and the analysis on the maxims used in each political memes, the description of maxims in the conversation of each meme, and the ideology found. The second section is discussion which explains about the findings in details and the interesting things that have occurred in political memes.

3.1 Research Findings

This section intends to investigate the data that have been taken from the official website www.9gag.com, in which the data have been sorted into political memes; memes which are talking about politics. In this chapter, the researcher tries to explain the types of maxims, violating or flouting maxim used in each political memes. The researcher focuses on how maxims are used to construct the meaning in the conversation before the researcher goes to deeply investigate the ideology of each meme. The data taken are political memes which have reached '*Hot*' pages where it indicates other 9GAG users' interest or enthusiasm about the topic discussed. The data taken are considered by two conditions that are the number of *Up Vote* has reached more than 5000 likes (presented by symbol ♥ under the picture) and the comments given have reached more than 50 comments. The researcher esteems that the limitation number of *Up Vote* and *Comments* can

be categorized into the most interesting political memes that can be investigated to answer the question in this study.

The data presented by putting the time of the memes posted which highly indicate the ideology since some memes are rapidly produced in certain situation. The numbers of data taken are firstly 36 pictures which are political memes. Then, the researcher has filtered into 8 conversational memes in which those data be able to be potential images of political meme in which all the data have been containing the matters on what the researcher wants to investigate. In order to know how the maxims can construct the meaning of each utterance, then revealing the ideology of political memes, those following analysis will be presented.

DATA 1

Figure 3.1. Posted 24th Mei, ♥ 19.239

Context:

In this meme, there is conversation between Donald Trump and one of the 9gag icon figures namely high bro. The high bro offers to give a joke for Donald Trump. However, the joke of high bro cannot be understood by Donald Trump, but high bro has known that Trump will not understand what the topics discussed. Therefore, Trump's confusion is increasing since there is no longer explanation to him.

Analysis:

The first line of picture presents that the high bro wants to tell Donald Trump a joke. The response of Donald Trump is comprehended as *maxim of quality*. The maxim of quality can be inferred from how Trump asks high bro to give his best shot. From this conersation, this meme clearly presents joke either about Trump or topics which can make Trump laughing. However, the next conversation is categorized as *flouting maxim of quantity*. High bro is only giving very limited information to Trump. In this context, high bro should give longer explanation to make Donald Trump gets more details about the joke. However, High Bro only gives the word politics as the joke.

The meaning of "politics" literally cannot be understood as a joke without any background topics discussed previously. This line is presented in order to make the meme readers focus on "politics" relating to Trump. This meme wants to show that Trump does not understand about politics in which the production of this meme along the increasing of Trump's news where he does not have enough background to run politics. This assumption is supported by the response of high

bro that is included as *violating the maxim of quantity*. In order to respond Trump's reply "I don'get it", high bro is just saying 'I know', it breaks the maxim of quantity since high bro gives very short reply so that it makes Trump gets more confused of what high bro try to deliver.

This kind of response deliberately uttered to inform Trump that high bro (description of the American people) has already known that Trump does not have experience on politics. High bro should explain the reasons why he knows Donald Trump does not understand the joke of the word 'politics'. However, this meme does not show the requirement in order to show Trump weakness (no political background). This meme clearly criticizes Donald Trump through the meaning of each its conversation.

In sum, firstly, high bro offers to tell Donald Trump a joke. However, it just says "politics" which makes Trump does not understand about the meaning of politics delivered. The flouting maxim done by high bro saying only one word "politics" means the readers are directed into having the same perception that politics which does not be understood by Trump is on a wide scope. In the early Trump goes to public as one of American Presidential Election's Candidates, people are promptly finding and talking about Trump's background. It can be assumed that personal background of candidate is heavily crucial as the consideration for American people whether the candidate is enough qualified to run a state or not. This kind of situation makes meme maker depict Trump as the candidate who is lack of political experience.

This argument is legitimated by the response of high bro which says "I know" in which he knows that Donald Trump will not understand about this joke. In contrast, what thing that does not be understood by Trump is not the joke of word "politics", but what the politics is, and how to work with politics. It perhaps this meme is delivering the criticism for Trump where he looks at politics is seemingly in a kind of a joke. It can be the interpretation of the joke uttered. Meme maker may regards that politics for Trump is a joke. It can be assumed since how Trump delivers his arguments tends to be savage and unusual for political candidates especially for presidential candidate. It is also supported by the response of Trump which says "I don't get it". The meaning of Trump's nescience shows his nescience about real politics due to Trump has less political experience.

This kind of meme definitely aims to criticize how Trump expresses his minds and ideas unconsciously without following the rule of politics. Some 9GAG commenters are supporting this idea, while some others reject. Some people argue that political experience is very demanded for candidates in order to measure the historical works. However, some commenters argue that how Trump deliver his arguments which are clear, honest, not bombastic becomes a necessary for voters to consider whether the candidates are able to create new face for state or not. **Obviously, this is meme wants to bind the same agreement if Donald Trump is not suitable choice for American President due to his lack of political experience.**

DATA 2

Figure 3.2. Posted 11th July 2016, ♥ 17.201

Context:

   The place described in this meme looks in a certain company where Donald
Trump applies for a job. The conversation occurs between Trump and company's
interviewer. The interviewer says that Trump is not enough qualified since he
does not have experience for the job Trump applied. The response of Trump is
quite similar with his perspective when he is going to be a candidate for
presidential election that is "Make America Great Again". Then, the job reviewer
easily accepts Donald Trump by saying "you're hired".

Analysis:

The first line of the conversation shows that the response given by Trump is categorized as *flouting maxim of manner* due to his obscure answer. It can build a question will be how Trump can make the company great again if he does not have experience for that job. Trump's response is a bit irrelevant since there is an impossibility to make a company great if the worker is not well-qualified. The response should be not too confident like what Trump performs, but he should ask for another appropriate position for his qualification. Therefore, Trump's response flouts the maxim of manner. Trump's response is irrelevant to be uttered to the interviewer. Moreover, he acts impolitely by saying "shut up". This kind of utterance is impolite to be uttered especially to the interviewer like the situation presented. It shows Trump's impoliteness and disrespecting to other people.

From this conversation, the readers are directly and easily thinking the power Donald Trump in bargaining or particular cases. As the reader, people can assume both bad side and good side. In a good side, the way Trump promotes himself; it means he is too confident with himself although he has no experience for the job (as President). This meme can inform people that Trump is optimistic man, brave to take risks, and confident to bring the company (America) to be better. On the contrary, it can be seen that this meme wants to show the other side rather the good side. It may want to inform Americans do not need a leader who is rude, disrespected and impolite from how Trump react the interviewer. Meme reader can learn that Trump cannot build a good relation with another person, how can he make other relations if he were a President by his rude attitude.

Besides, the last response "*you're hired*" from the interviewer can be categorized as *flouting maxim of relevance*. It is seen from last utterance in the picture above that is crystal clear that Donald Trump is not qualified to work on the field proposed by Trump. Yet, after Trump offers his confident while shuts the interviewer up, the interviewer suddenly received Trump in the company. The acceptance of Trump working in that company can be interpreted into two cases. The first is the interviewer wants to observe Trump's work, and the second one is the interviewer fall for Trump's words "I'll make your company great again".

This kind of response is considered as irrelevance of proper answer. She should not easily accept Trump since he is lack of experience on that job. If the interviewer accepts him, it means there is a question, why he has to be accepted whereas he is not qualified of that job. It may show that, people who are standing for Trump are fool. They cannot consider the qualification of being a President where Trump has no political experience. **Or it may just want to inform as the emphasizing to public if Trump is not the best pick for President**.

This meme uses interviewer as American people where they need to offer a question in order to exam the Presidential candidate is well-qualified or not. Nevertheless, Trump's response is only asking to shut the mouth up. Positively, he attempts to extremely Americans trust him to bring America great again. Negatively, it can be an allusion for Trump's devotees who are easily trust Trump to be a President by his arrogance, rudeness, spoken out frankly. Furthermore, this meme brings another positive point is about the confidence of leader to be. Alike what Trump did, during his campaign and debate, he mostly expressed his

opinions with such confidence as a result many people supported Trump to be their leader.

Unfortunately, some 9GAG commenters argue to attack Trump relating to his personal background where he does not have political experience. This meme becomes people agreement of distrust on candidate who is lack of political experience. In looking at how the commenters attempt to fall down Trump's image, totally it means as voters, people should consider personal background since experience is very vital and crucial for Presidential candidates.

DATA 3

Figure 3.3. Posted 4ᵗʰ October 2016, ♥ 16.221

Context:

The situation described in this meme is occurred during a particular debate which is conducted by Hillary and Trump and moderated by a man moderator of the debate. The moderator gives both Trump and Hillary question about their favorite TV show. After they tell their favorite TV show, Hillary and Trump begin debating in which they are relating the film with their personal issues to strike each other. Due to the moderator feels irk, he says "we're fuck" as the expression of getting upset.

Analysis:

The question from the moderator has been well-answered by Hillary and Trump, thus it is included as *maxim of quantity*. Both Trump and Hillary have answered appropriately based on maxim perspective. Their contribution in answering the question is not more informative than is required. However, they bring additional topics then which can be categorized as *flouting maxim of relation*. This conversation has flouted two maxims, relation and quantity. They reopen a topic by themselves which does not be asked by the moderator and also they do not lead topic which is relevant with the topic discussed previously.

Talking about favorite film and making them relate to their personal cases becomes the point in this meme. Beginning from Hillary, she loves X-Files in which the series revolves around Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) special agents Fox Mulder (David Duchovny) and Dana Scully (Gillian Anderson) who investigate X-Files: marginalized, unsolved cases involving paranormal

phenomena. This film's description has been related to Hillary's case by Trump to attack Hillary during the debate. In this conversation, Trump has called Hillary as "Scully" who is one of X-files main characters. It indicates that Trump likens Hillary into Scully in this case. In the X-Files movie, Scully is characterized as a FBI's special agent who investigates Government's conspiracy of their practice in several fields of science related to the world and even outer space.

From that description, what Donald Trump would like to say is how she (Hillary) places her position as Scully in the X-Files film. This becomes an attack from Trump to Hillary where Trump links the storyline and characterizations in the film to what Hillary has done while serving as Foreign Minister. Furthermore, what Donald Trump has mentioned before will be the attack from Hillary to Trump since Trump's statement about separating Mexicans with a wall becomes controversy. This meme explains that Hillary relates Trump's statement with the storyline of film "Game of Throne".

The relation between what Trump said in his campaign and the storyline of the Game of Throne film is pretty closely related. Trump has said that there will be a separation of a nation of Mexico that Trump judged his people as evil and problem-makers. So Hillary responded with a question "*That's why you want to build a wall? To keep the 'brown worker' outside*?". In the game of throne story, it is clearly visible from the title of a game in which power is contested by people who consider themselves worthy of being the successor to the throne. However, it is a frightening picture for families whose family members are so trying to get the throne even killing each other.

The attitude of Trump who wanted to separate Mexico from the United States became a point for Hillary to attack Trump where Hillary regards Trump's attitude as desperately wanting the throne, so that, it is unfair for those whom he considers will not help to fulfill his mission of "*Make America Great Again*". This meme presents an offensive view to both Trump and Hillary. **This meme is impartial or does not attack one person but illustrates that both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton have a negative side that can be attacked through unrelated things like TV shows' favorite as an example**. So that, from the films favored by each of those candidates, it becomes the bridge in order to know what they are about on their previous and later positions.

This meme comes up since the interesting controversies of both candidates. Most of commenters of 9GAG are also supporting this meme's message where they are discussing the controversy each other. Some of them argue to take a side to be Trump's attackers and some others take a side to be Hillary's attackers. This case explains that this meme is produced in order to inform the readers about both candidates who are not the best pick for president. Each candidate has their own controversy which demands Americans to think deep before they take a stand for putting their vote. Therefore, this meme can be news for readers to reanalyze their choice later by considering the controversy.
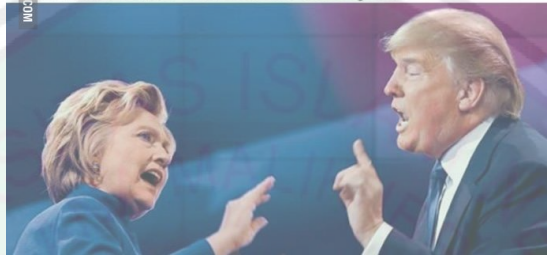
DATA 4

Figure 3.4. Posted 10th November 2016, ♥ 20.567

Context:

This conversation is occurred between two American Presidential Candidates, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump who are conducting a debate. It begins by the Hillary's utterance where she underestimates Donald Trump by saying that Trump is the worst pick for president. The circumstance in the conversation looks serious that similar with the situation in real debates which have always brought down each other. Every section of debate will decide who wins the debates, thus this meme presents similarly. This meme presents about how Trump defeats Hillary easily by his fraudulent way. Moreover, the last debate before this meme was published, the quick count at 2nd August 2016 for both declare that Hillary got more points than Trump and then she says "I win" during the real debate.

Analysis:

Looking at the context explained above, Hillary's utterance, "*You're the worst pick for president*" has been replied by Donald Trump with answer and question. Donald Trump says "*I know you are, but what am I?",* is actually *flouting the maxim of relation* since what Trump's saying implicitly moves the case discussed to make the interlocutor comprehend what he intents on. This answer can be interpreted into two meanings. Firstly, Trump knows what Hillary will say that utterance to him. Secondly, Trump gives accusation back to Hillary which means Hillary is the worst pick for president. The most possible meaning for Trump's answer is he gives accusation back Hillary which place Hillary in position on the worst pick for president. This answer the person who is talked by Hillary is Trump and he knows it. However, he reverses the issue back to Hillary. Therefore, the first point presented in this meme shows that there is flouting on maxim of relation done by Trump.

The last three utterances in this conversation also indicate the role of maxim. This meme actually leads two topics, firstly accusation of the person who is the worst pick for president and the second one is about the loser and winner. After the first topic is closed by the answer of Hillary and Trump; "*Nu uh"* and "*Yu uh"*, Trump opens the topics again about the loser. "*Loser say what"*, this utterance definitely provokes the interlocutor wonders about what the speaker wants to say. Therefore, Hillary asks *"what?"*. The answer of Donald Trump presents that he *has violated the maxim of quality*. Trump exactly does not want to say the utterance that will be said by the loser, he just want to say that the loser

will say "what". Due to the Trump's utterance has provoked Hillary to say "what", thus he claims that he has won the debate. In sum, the loser will say *what*, and Hillary says *what*, which explicitly means Hillary is being the loser.

This meme definitely wants to show that both of them (Trump and Hillary) are the worst candidate for American Presidential Election 2016. Some people argued that the U.S cannot be led by the likes of them. As politicians especially candidates who will manage the government have to know the ethics particularly in how to express the mind and respect each other even though they are rivals. Both Trump and Hillary have mocked and revealed each other's weaknesses. It should not be performed by the politicians since they are becoming the most important figures for a future state. Looking at how Hillary said that Trump is the worst pick for president, it automatically represents herself since the best pick for president will not ridicule her/his rival. This meme is actually positioning Hillary in a lower position than Trump. Perhaps the meme maker wants to place Hillary in a bad side by showing Hillary is showing-off and easily being defeated badly by her rival.

The last conversation shows that how Trump defeats Hillary is in form of a joke. By this conversation, the researcher learns that this situation just like want to describe how Trump pushes down Hillary by something which does not make sense but particularly aims clear thing. It may want to show how easy Hillary getting trap in a trapped situation unconsciously. It also wants to describe that she is incompetent pick for president. This meme definitely does not take sides neither Trump nor Hillary. Both of them are presented in a bad way in this meme. For

Donald Trump as well, this meme presents that Trump is not a hard-thinking person. He expresses what he thinks, although it is good but one big line which cannot be accepted is violating political ethics in expressing idea. He has to respect other people's opinions although he has opposite argument.

Some readers (9GAG users) argue that this meme emerges in order to describe how cocky Hillary when she is capable to surpass Donald Trump during their debate. It has been public focus that makes Trump' devotees attempt to produce replica keeping implicit and sharp message about Trump's shrewdness. This case supposes to be Hillary's reflection since winning the vote once does not mean winning forth. It has to burn Hillary's zest to deliver more and more attracting and guaranteed, thus it makes Americans put their vote for her. On the other hand, it has to be Trump's notice that his rival is extraordinary from the Hillary's winning towards Trump. Looking at this situation, it can be inferred that this meme production is caused Hillary's utterance about her win, at the same time in order to inform public that victory that is only once does not mean extremely win but this case has to be able to rebuild public trust for Hillary.

Even though in his meme Trump is showed more shrewd rather than Hillary were he turns the question into a question, it does not affect meme readers to underestimate towards Trump, yet there has been an impression that Trump has more attractive in perceiving simple cases. This case can be people's consideration relating to country's problem. It can be describe that Trump can handle country's problem although in his simple way but it looks real and honest.

This kind of leader is very important to run a state. Therefore, it can be additional points for Trump in order to get people's support.

DATA 5

Figure 3.5. Posted 22nd June 2016, ♥ 13.990

Context:

The situation in the conversation in this meme is occurred in a conference room where a speaker discussing the FBI investigations that had to be fixed. There are three people inside who give comments of the speaker's statement. Those three people respond as a result of the suggestion requested by the speaker. A person attending the meeting gives a statement that make him kicked out of the building (looking at the last picture).

From the last picture, Donald Trump's face is presented following by someone who kicked out the building. Therefore, it can be assumed that the speaker is Donald Trump although in first image presented by cartoon face. This is because Trump is the one who discusses the peculiarities of an FBI investigation on Hillary's email case. The second assumption is that, this is exactly having similar case with a journalist from CNN who had been threatened to run out from the place for Trump's conference. During his conference, the journalist was regarded impolite and also asking too personal things.

Analysis:

The answer given by three commentators in the room is essentially flouting the maxims. The statements submitted by both respondents (first and second respondents) indicate that they have *flouted maxim of quantity,* while one respondent *flouting maxim of quantity and violating maxim of manner*. The important point in this meme is the answer of the last respondent, because he is the last person who responds improperly and seems to underestimate or disrespect other people (see second picture). Therefore, he was kicked out from the building in last picture presented. The responses from first and second responders can be understood that the investigation's concepts of the X-Files and Big Foot films can be emulated to become a reference for the FBI in investigating cases. However, the answer given should not be short because it will lead to a blurry comprehension. So, their utterances are categorized as a flouting maxim of quantity. They have to give longer and clear answer about their opinions since

they are required to give suggestion, thus it has to be crystal clear to be understood.

The focus of this meme is the last respondent's answer. The respondent says "Trump/Russia Connections" in giving suggestion for fixing FBI. The respondent did two violations at once, *flouting maxim of quantity and violating maxim of manner*. It is categorized as flouting maxim of quantity because the answer given is not informative than is required. Furthermore, respondents also provide obscure and ambiguous answers. Therefore, it is categorized as violating maxim not categorized as flouting maxim since the violation committed deliberately to deceive but still keeps the person in question understanding what is implicitly stated.

In fact, during the presidential election, Trump has been suspected of having a close relationship with the Russian President, Vladimir Putin. Even more, there is an issue that claims Trump as pick for president of America replacing Obama has been supported by Putin. Badly, the recent news says that Obama has warned to the Russian's president to not interfere in the domestic political affairs of America. This case has been mentioned by Hillary as well, during a debate with Trump after this case aired. Hillary mentioned there is an indication of a conspiracy between Trump and Putin in which Hillary claims if Trump wins the presidential election, Trump will be made as a doll or puppet by Russia.

This meme was made to attack Trump on two major counts, firstly, because of his actions threatening a journalist to step out of a press conference and secondly, because of his dubious or questionable behavior of the FBI investigation

on Hillary's case. Looking at the last picture presented in this meme, a disgruntled Trump's face appears, followed by the throwing of someone from a building, indicating that if Donald Trump does not like a thing, he is capable of doing something, even the worst one. Besides, the last respondent discusses about the connection Trump and Russia which should be secret but somehow can be known by public. Therefore, it is also one of the reasons Trump became angry.

Technically, this meme is initially wants to make allusion for Hillary in which previously Hillary has problem with FBI. Trump also has emerged this problem, thus it is possible if Trump wants to repair FBI work where he regards FBI is in problem. However, the last responder makes the focus of discussion change into attack Trump himself by stating about Trump connection and Russia. Therefore, this meme makes Trump getting angry since he feels gotten allusion by another person. This argument strengthens by how Trump kicks the last responder, so that this is a depiction of how Trump move out a reporter during his speech. **From this description, this meme is actually talking negative about Trump through Hillary's case.**

DATA 6

Figure 3.6, Posted 25th June 2016, ♥ 10.777

Context:

This meme describes Barrack Obama (former president of America) and Vladimir Putin (Russian President) who were talking. In the conversation, as if there is something important to be discussed. After Obama asked something to Putin and answered by Putin, suddenly the expression of Obama shows that he is uncomfortable or not happy for the answer given Putin, while Putin also looks down bow.

Analysis:

This meme presents a conversation conducted by Obama and Putin where they discuss about Putin's actions against America. Obama gave Putin a question about what Putin will do next. But the answer given by Putin exactly *violates maxim of relevance* because the answer posed Putin not related to what Barrack

Obama asked. The answer given also has no meaning, but apparently well understood by Obama through his expression after hearing speech from Putin.

Some news informs that Russia has been suspected by the Americans to interfere in American politics, especially during the 2016 presidential election. It is known that Russia has hacked the American security system so that America feels the need for a fairly severe warning against Russia considering this is a pretty tough case. Quoted from CNN news, Obama and Putin refused to meet and negotiate so that diplomatic relations between the two countries is not good. Even, Obama had repatriated some Russian diplomats from America as a counterattack that is quite harsh because Russia has disturbing stability in America.

Focus on the core issues discussed by Obama and Putin, Putin considers himself only looking for criminals and trying to help America. But Obama still judge that this is an action that makes other countries become puppets. So Obama asks "*what is your plans after annexing crime*?", which is basically being a question that indirectly insults and corners Putin for his hacking of the American security system. In addition, Putin explains that Alaska was Russian, seen through maxim theory, Putin has done flame maxim. However, this intention shows that Obama's criminal annexation is not only to annex the criminals but to the state and society as well. From a statement saying that Alaskans are Russians meaning the country is claimed by Russia.

This assumption comes from the annexation phrase expressed by Putin. Perhaps, a meme maker would like to point out that the issues Putin faces regarding his involvement in the 2016 American Presidential Election are acts that

want to make the U.S a fictional state. Which means a puppet state is a country whose system of government can be controlled by other countries. This became the view for the meme maker to respond to Putin's involvement issue. It is possible to make America a puppet state intended to dominate the country. Therefore, the meme maker uses the diction "annexed" and explained by the statement "Alaska was Russian" in which Alaska belongs to America.

People commenting towards this meme mention contrary with the focus of the topic discussed by this meme. Most of commenters (have been analyzed that are Trump's devotees) argue the interference of Russia (Trump and Russia connection) is a good way in order to heal the relation between America and Russia. They think that American Government is exaggerating the issues for merely to fall Trump down. However, some others argue that this kind of interference threatens America's privacy. This case can be assumed as deliberately aim. **It can be inferred that this meme exactly talks about the connection of Russia and Trump although the topic discussed is only focused on Vladimir Putin and Obama.**
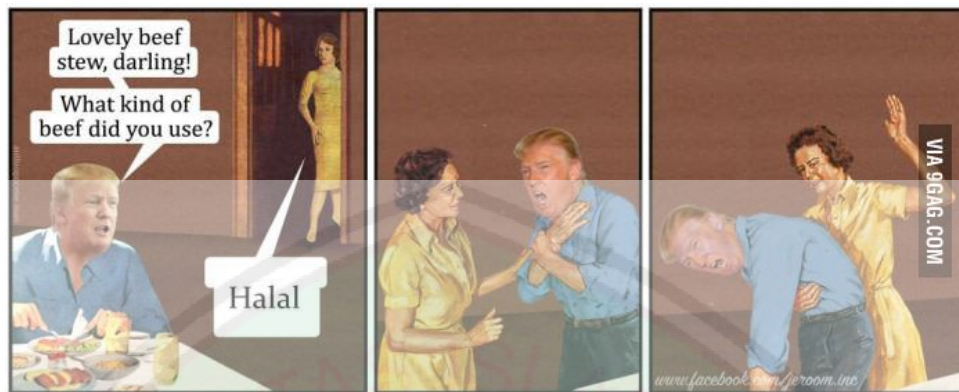
DATA 7

Figure 3.7. Posted14th November 2016, ♥ 11.159

Context:

The conversation in this meme takes place in a room inside the house where Donald Trump is eating a beef stew. In this meme, Donald Trump praised the taste of the food to his wife (how Trump called her by darling). Then, he asked the type of meat used, but his wife's answer made him choke and vomit even limp.

Analysis:

In the conversation above, there has happened *violating maxim of relevance*. Basically, *Halal* is not a term to call the types of meat. She should answer the type of meat with Tenderloin or sirloin, or chuck or T-Bone for instance, because those are name to call types of beef, but the woman answered *Halal*. *Halal* is not the kind of beef that should be mentioned, since he means the type or part of the cow's body. The woman was deliberately doing violating and impressed cheats with the answer. She knows that the answer should be given is the type of beef that is on the body of a cow. Yet, she is liable to mislead Trump to have such implicature, thus she replies *Halal* as an allusion.

This meme appeared on November 14th, 2016 as a reminder of Trump's statement that seemed to hate Muslims. In his campaign, he has stated that if he is elected to be president of the United States, one of his missions is to ban the entry of Muslims to America. This kind of policy has been stamped to strengthen the racists in America. Talking about the word *halal*, directly indicates Islam and Muslims. Therefore, Trump in this meme is nauseated and vomited when hearing words related to Islam and Muslims. The goal is to show Trump's dislike about Muslims.

There is an irony in this meme that lies in the way the meme maker describes the taste of the delicious meat of the halal meat with the dislike of Trump to the Muslims. There is another ideology to be expressed by the meme maker that is the positive side of the Muslims. Although the description is unclear, it is clear that the meme maker wants to show that not all Muslims are as bad as Trump thinks. With the praise of the meat he eats, it shows the positive side of the *halal* (Muslim) meat. Or it could be a meme maker is a good thing from Muslims who do not be known yet by Trump.

In this meme, the meme maker wants to give opposite facts to what Trump has been thinking about Muslims. By giving a statement "lovely beef" means there is a good side of the Muslims that actually need to be re-examined by Trump. Thus, his judgment of Muslims where some people perceive as racist acts may be reconsidered. This meme becomes a blow or criticism of the Trump's planning that will be taken while serving as president.

Most of 9GAG commenters are also give opinion that America has lived for thousand years with tolerance, unity, and diversity. Most of them disagree with Trump's decision to ban Muslim from America for just an illogical reason. Although some commenters attack Muslim and express their opinion to move Muslim out from America, but this kind of decision has been world attention. It is heavily influenced especially the relation of some Muslim country. Therefore, the emergence of this meme is referred to criticize Trump's decision for banning Muslims enter America.

DATA 8

Figure 3.8. Posted 18ᵗʰ December 2016, ♥ 10.020

Context:

The conversation in this meme was done by two persons, a girl and a boy, which was heard by Donald Trump. They discussed the way a person with no brain can speak. Speaking in this meme means to speak in front of public. Public

speaking requires good cognitive skills, so that, what is communicated can be accepted by the public at large, so the brain is indispensable in formulating words. However, the male character answered the woman's question with an answer that indirectly insulted Donald Trump, resulting in a picture of Trump with a disheartened face.

Analysis:

Looking at this conversation, the question of how well answered in accordance with what is asked so that the response from the listener is categorized as *flouting the maxim of manner*. This is because he gives an obsecure example that there is person talking not use the brain but looks like a person who is so great and smart. Seeing from the expression of the man, it becomes a picture that explains the male figure also speaks without using his brain. The expression seems to underestimate and insinuate someone. The next picture is Trump's cynical face or does not like the words spoken by the man.

This meme is made to slap Trump which in the field of politics, he is not an experienced person in political affairs. However, during the campaign and debate, he showed his charisma and beliefs with the vision of "make America great again". So some people assume that he has no brains. Not having a brain basically means not understanding ethics. This is because, if you see the way Trump convey opinions and argue with his opponent (Hillary). He seems to underestimate ethics in expressing the opinion that ethics is an ethic in politics.

The man's intent in the meme desires to show that Trump is not a potential figure of choice for president because of his unkind attitude. This meme maker

wants to affirm how Trump talks too much without thinking to who he is talking to, what and how he talks. So, the meme maker may want to represent the opinion of public's dislike on Donald Trump. Therefore, this meme is made exactly to strike Donald Trump and to criticize his attitude in expressing his mind. This meme purposes to build public assumption that Trump is not good enough, as if he talks fool.

This meme clearly gives a description of the meme maker's dislike on every Trump's remark. The meme maker wants to describe what Donald Trump has been saying is too confident to be accepted by the public. Meanwhile, some public hearers may not be able to accept his opinions at all. Looking at Trump's ways and tricks in giving opinion reviewing from every debate, it's possible for the public to feel that Trump speaks without thinking ethically. In a culture and belief, ethics becomes a mirror for everyone to show wisdom, dignity and even mindset. These things are the reference, so that, when these three things are not met in a person when someone speaking in public especially, will arise the assumption of talking without brain.

3.2 Discussion

This section provides the use of Gricean's Maxims of the data that have been analyzed on the findings section. The number of the use of Gricean's Maxims is presented in the following table in order to present how the maxim making a role to build ideology. In doing so, the table functions as a description of the number of maxim usage. Meanwhile, the six models of ideology as presented

in Chapter II are also presented in this section to show this study has answered the research question.

After doing the analysis, the following table is presented to show the maxims which are used by those 8 selected memes. The researcher found that mostly the responders in 9GAG political memes not only conduct proper maxims as Grice (1975) suggested that are maxim quality, quantity, relation, and manner, but also the speaker and/ hearer tend to flout and violate one or two maxims.

GRICEAN MAXIMS	QUALITY	QUANTITY	RELEVANCE	MANNER	TOTAL
MAXIM	Data 1 Utterance 2	Data 3 Utterance 2&4	-	-	2
FLOUTING MAXIM	-	Data 1 Utterance 3	Data 3 Utterance 5&6	Data 2 Utterance 2	7
		Data 5 Utterance 2,3&4	Data 4 Utterance 2 / Data 2 Utterance 3	Data 8 Utterance 2	
VIOLATING MAXIM	Data 4 Utterance 8	Data 1 Utterance 5	Data 6 Utterance 2 / Data 7 Utterance 3	Data 5 Utterance 4	5

Table 3.1 Sums of the use of Gricean Maxims among 8 selected data

From the table 3.1, it can be inferred that most of political memes have conducted flouting maxim and violating maxim rather than follow the rule of maxim. From the analysis, the aim of meme maker doing flouting and violating is

to create more interesting and funnier meme which provides not only content for fun but also political opinion with reducing the seriousness and high tension of the topic. The use of proper maxim in those 8 selected memes mostly stands as the introduction of the topics before leading to the main topics. As a result, the conversations which conduct proper maxims have always followed by either flouting or violating maxims to gain a sincere joke.

Additionally, the purpose of the speaker or hearer does flouting maxims as Grundy (2008, p.28) said that flouting maxim is a particularly silent way of getting an addressee to draw inference and hence recover an implicature has proved by those memes which have done flouting maxims, for instance, the conversation on *figure 3.1*. This conversation presents a flouting maxim done by High Bro where this kind of flouting maxim is categorized in flouting maxim of quantity. In conducting very simple answer, it means that the meme wants to make the readers thinking out the intention. Although the meme only gives very short answer, in fact, the limit information even lifts the ideology. Alike in *figure 3.5,* the short answer purposes to talk another case instead of the main topics. From those two memes, both of them attempt to make the image of Trump going down and bad. Looking at *figure 3.1* where it tells about Trump who does not have political experience, then *figure 3.5* which tells about the Trump and Russia connection, both of those memes have broken Trump's image down. This kind of meme can build people's assumption that Trump is not the best pick or President. In other words, those memes wants to tell negatively about Trump.

The description about depiction of Trump above has similarly occurred toward the use of flouting maxim of relevance. Flouting maxim of relevance means the speaker or responder utters irrelevantly with the topics discussed. Looking at *figure 3.2*, the way meme maker create a situation in lifting the image of Donald Trump. This meme actually tries to provide the negative side of Trump, however he way meme maker breaks Trump's image down by making Trump in a good way. It can be seen in how the conversation flows, it is seemingly describing Trump's ability in convincing someone, by the use of flouting maxim of relevance. However, the second aim of this meme is making allusion for Trump's devotees where they have been fallen down by Trump's utterance particularly his slogan 'I'll make America great again'. However, in fact, this meme's emphasizing is not located on those cases but on the lack of Trump's political experience. It means that this meme dishonestly wants to attack Trump's side through another object and good case.

On the other hand, the conducting of flouting maxim of relevance has been occurred differently on *figure 3.3* and *3.4*, both memes talk about Trump and Hillary's debate. These memes describe their personal background and problem. Both figures describe their controversy and also how they deliver their ideas. These memes serve two depictions about persons who will run a state but they tend to be busy with mocking, breaking down image, and disrespecting each other. Exactly, these memes want to inform public that there is no one who can be the best pick for President. Besides, these memes existence come up along with the issues which are being talked by public. Thus, these memes emergence

increases negative side of both candidates. If *figure 3.2* uses a good way to hit down Trump, *fugure3.3.*and *3.4* are diverse where these memes provide direct show in order to inform public about their negative side through their responses.

Overall, the use of flouting maxims in political memes shows that ideology of political memes can be gained toughly rather than uses the proper maxims. Although the conversations break maxim but the joke is located on that breaking maxims. Besides, the ideology can be understood from those breaking maxims. Furthermore, the other breaking maxim that is violating maxims tends to be funnier than flouting maxims. It does not mean that there has been declension of the joke but there has been another aspect in violating maxims which is not conducted by flouting maxims. Both flouting maxim and violating maxim do breaking maxim in order to tell the story or message behind what is said. However, how the speaker does playing around with the interlocutor can increase the level of joke, it tends to be funnier.

Something that has to be emphasized is not the level of joke yet the way violating maxims reveal the ideology of political memes. The strategy used by the speakers who do violating is playing around with their interlocutor. It can be seen such *figure 3.1,* where the speaker attempts to hide the intention in details to keep the implicit meaning of what is said, thus the speaker does violating maxim. The use of violating maxims especially in *figure 3.4* where this meme wants to attack both Hillary and Trump but it tends to use one side to attack another side. In this figure, this meme wants to show the negative side of Hillary, however, though how this meme talks about Hillary indicating the negative side of Trump as well.

This description is actually a technique used by meme maker in which in order to attack the bigger object, it needs to attack the smaller object first to gain a powerful attack. Besides, almost the entire violating maxims that have been conducted attempt to make the readers not easily to find the intention of what a meme wants to deliver. However, this strategy even serves deeply comprehension among the readers and thus the readers are suggested to evaluate the topic discussed by their own thinking.

In sum, the use of flouting and violating maxims apparently shows about the way the memes talk the Presidential Election's candidates who go along with a lot of controversies. All political memes want to present the negative side of Trump although in some memes there have been attacked both Hillary and Trump. It can be inferred as well about the way the memes serve the conversation before attacking someone. Some memes attempt talking directly about what the intention is, yet some others choose to use another topic of discussion in order to make allusion indirectly. Those memes also prove that the use of breaking maxims is more fascinating rather than using proper maxims since the wrong answers apparently have successfully revealed the ideology. Besides, from all six models of ideology employs in this study, this study has found only two models of ideology that most commonly occurs in the selected data, that are attacking Donald Trump and attacking both Hillary and Trump. This case might be caused by most of controversy during the Presidential election befall toward Trump.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter summarizes the findings and the implications for future research on the political memes from widely perspectives.

4.1 Conclusion

Some previous chapters have been explained about the types of cooperative principle in the concept of four maxims; maxim quality, quantity, relevance and manner. However, Grice also provides the type of irregularities or violations committed by speech in the form of violating and flouting. Those are intentionally or unaddressed to make the other person do not understand what is conveyed but rather provide a particular linguistic code so that the listener is able to comprehend what is expressed in implicit. From those analysis, the researcher found that the political memes will be more interesting if the use of maxim not in a proper maxim; maxim quantity, quality, relevance and manner, but it the joke can be experienced by breaking the maxim, whether flouting or violating maxims.

The use of breaking the maxims of both maxim flouting and violating maxim aims to draw the understanding of the meme reader to interpret the meanings and messages in accordance with the background knowledge and their personal understanding. There is also found a data in which its utterance breaking two types of maxim at once flouting maxims and violating maxims. It means every utterance conveyed in the meme is really deliberately created to entertain the reader by incorporating elements of political criticism optimally. Thus,

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expressing ideas through memes can be easily accepted and approved by the public. The use of proper maxims toward political memes does not imply the ideology of each meme.

However, the use of breaking maxims that are flouting and violating maxims tends to be more possible to construct what is implied (ideology) rather than uses proper maxims. Furthermore, from six models of ideology such as (1) Taking stand on Trump (Talking positive about Trump), (2) Taking stand on Hillary (Talking positive about Hillary), (3) Talking positive of both Trump and Hillary, (4) Attacking Trump's position (Talking negative about Trump), (5) Attacking Hillary's position (Talking negative about Hillary, and (6) Attacking both sides Trump and Hillary (Talking negative about Trump and Hillary), there have been found only two models used on eight (8) selected memes. Those models of ideology are attacking Trump's side and attacking both sides (Hillary and Trump).

4.3 Suggestion

Conducting the analysis of memes is fascinating where this subject can be explored deeper and wider, thus for further researchers are expected to investigate meme in other types of meme. Besides, the next researchers are expected to conduct the study on meme in scope of Critical Discourse Analysis in order to produce diverse views in looking at meme as recent phenomenon. Moreover, in investigating meme using CDA, the next researchers can more focused on the word formulation, so that the result of the study is richer.

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APPENDIX

PICTURES	UTTERANCE	MAXIM	IDEOLOGY
	High bro: Hey Trump, wanna hear a joke? Trump: Give it your best shot	Maxim of quality	Talking negative about Trump (attack Trump)
	Trump: Give it your best shot High bro: Politics	Flouting maxim of quantity	
	Trump: I don't get it High bro: I know	Violating maxim of quantity	

	Interviewer: Sir, you have no experience for this job Trump: Shut up I'll make your company great again	Flouting maxim of manner	Talking negative about Trump (attack Trump)
	Trump: Shut up I'll make your company great again Interviewer: Okay, you're hired	Flouting maxim of relevance	

	The moderator: Candidate Hillary, what's your favorite tv show? Hillary: The X-Files The moderator: What about you candidate Trump? Trump: For me, It's Game of Thrones	Maxim of quantity	Talking negative on both sides (Hillary andTrump)
	Trump: Let's have some disclosure on your emails "Scully" Hillary: That's why you want to build a wall? To keep "brown workers" outside?	Flouting maxim of relevance	

	Hillary: You're the wost pick for President Donald : I know you are but what am I ?	Floutingg maxim of relevance	Talking negative of both sides (Hillary and Trump)
	Donald : Loser say what Hillary : what? Donald : Haha I win. Sucks to be you!!	Violating maxim of quality	

	The speaker: It's about time for proper FBI investigations - any suggestions? First responnder: X-Files Second responder: BigFoot Third responder : Trump/Russia Connection	Flouting maxim of quantity	Talking negative about Trump (attack Trump)
	The speaker: It's about time fr proper FBI investigations - any suggestions? Third Responder: Trump/Connection	Violating maxim of quantity	

	Obama: So what are your plans, after annexing Crimea? Putin: Well, Alaska was Russian	Flouting maxim of relevance	Talking negative about Trump (attack Trump)

	Trump: Lovely beef stew darling! What kind of beef did you use? The woman: Halal	Violating maxim of relevance	Talking negative about Trump (attack Trump)
	A girl: How can you talk if you haven't got a brain? A boy: Some people without brain do an awful lot of talking	Flouting maxim of manner	Talking negative about Trump (attack Trump)