

**REPRESENTASI DAN INTERPRETASI FENOMENA HYPERDEMOCRACY DI  
RUANG VIRTUAL: KAJIAN SEMIOTIK PRAGMATIK KASUS MEME COVID 19  
DI INDONESIA**

**DISERTASI**

**diajukan untuk memenuhi sebagian syarat untuk memperoleh gelar  
Doktor Linguistik**



**Oleh**

**Prapti Wigati Purwaningrum**

**NIM 1906647**

**PROGRAM STUDI PROGRAM STUDI  
LINGUISTIK SEKOLAH PASCASARJANA  
UNIVERSITAS PENDIDIKAN INDONESIA  
2022**

**REPRESENTASI DAN INTERPRETASI FENOMENA HYPERDEMOCRACY DI  
RUANG VIRTUAL: KAJIAN SEMIOTIK PRAGMATIK KASUS MEME COVID 19  
DI INDONESIA**

Oleh  
Prapti Wigati Purwaningrum

Sebuah Disertasi yang diajukan untuk memenuhi salah satu syarat memperoleh  
gelar Doktor Linguistik (Dr) Pada Sekolah Pascasarjana  
Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia

©Prapti Wigati Purwaningrum  
Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia  
Agustus 2022

Hak Cipta dilindungi undang-undang.  
Disertasi ini tidak boleh diperbanyak seluruhnya atau sebagian, dengan  
dicetak ulang, difoto kopi, atau cara lainnya tanpa ijin dari penulis.

## LEMBAR PENGESAHAN DISERTASI

PRAPTI WIGATI PURWANINGRUM

REPRESENTASI DAN INTERPRETASI FENOMENA *HYPERDEMOCRACY* DI  
RUANG VIRTUAL: KAJIAN SEMIOTIK PRAGMATIK KASUS MEME COVID 19 DI  
INDONESIA

disetujui dan disahkan oleh panitia disertasi

Promotor



Kopromotor



Prof. Dr. Aceng Ruhendi Saifullah, M.Hum

NIP: 195608071980121001

Pengaji

Dadang Sudana, M.A., Ph.D

NIP. 196009191990031001



Wawan Gunawan, M.Ed., Ph.D.

NIP. 197209162000031001

Pengaji

Pengaji



Prof. Dr. Syihabuddin, M.Pd

NIP. 196001201987031001



Prof. Dr. Adiwijaya, M.Si

NIP. 00740046

Mengetahui,  
Ketua Program Studi Linguistik Sekolah  
Pascasarjana Universitas Pendidikan  
Indonesia,



Wawan Gunawan, M.Ed., Ph.D.

NIP. 197209162000031001

**REPRESENTASI DAN INTERPRETASI FENOMENA HYPERDEMOCRACY DI  
RUANG VIRTUAL: KAJIAN SEMIOTIK PRAGMATIK KASUS MEME COVID-19 DI  
INDONESIA**

**ABSTRAK**

COVID-19 sebagai isu global telah menarik perhatian dan menimbulkan kontroversi, khususnya dalam penanganan COVID-19 di Indonesia. Sejak merebaknya COVID-19, berbagai pro dan kontra muncul sebagai tanggapan atas langkah pemerintah yang dianggap tidak adil oleh sebagian kalangan. Posisi relasi kuasa publik tampak semakin dominan, hal ini menunjukkan munculnya fenomena hiperdemokrasi. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk menelusuri bukti-bukti linguistik yang menunjukkan fenomena *hyperdemocracy* di ruang virtual. Penelitian ini merupakan studi kasus menggunakan tanggapan pembaca terhadap isu langkah pemerintah di masa pandemi COVID-19 yang dikonstruksi dalam bentuk meme oleh media sosial. Data penelitian ini berupa meme dan tanggapan warganet dari akun instagram @fakartun.

Penelitian kualitatif ini bertumpu pada teori semiotik Peirce, pendekatan CMDA Herring, relasi kuasa dari perspektif Foucault, dan gejala *hyperdemocracy* dari Welch. Hasil analisis menunjukkan partisipasi, kebebasan berekspresi, dan relasi yang mewujud dalam bentuk dialog antara penanggap dan media sosial, penanggap dan sumber informasi, dan sesama penanggap. Penanggap cenderung mendukung tanda dan makna yang dibangun oleh media sosial yang memaknai informasi tentang langkah pemerintah di masa pandemi COVID-19 sebagai bentuk pembiaran, lepas tanggung jawab, dan cenderung menguntungkan kepentingan para pelaku usaha. Banyak tanggapan kasar cenderung menghina, mengejek diarahkan kepada pemerintah dan penanggap lain yang dianggap berseberangan. Perdebatan terjadi antara penanggap dan media sosial, dan antarsesama penanggap yang terus berlanjut hingga terjadi perluasan topik perdebatan. Situasi tersebut mengindikasikan terjadinya proses semiosis “getok tular”. Hal ini didukung oleh faktor konteks media sosial yang ramah dan faktor konteks situasi komunikasi yang leluasa untuk berinteraksi. Berdasarkan temuan tersebut, penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa saat ini semua orang dapat mengakses, menulis, membaca, dan memperoleh pengikut yang sepemahaman. Dengan demikian pelan-pelan kepakaran akan “kalih benar” dibandingkan dengan seseorang yang memiliki banyak pengikut atau *follower* (kejatuhan media). Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa publik tampak semakin dominan. Beberapa fenomena di atas dapat dijadikan indikator gejala *hyperdemocracy* yang sedang berlangsung di media sosial.

Keywords: Tanda, Makna, Semiotik, *Hyperdemocracy*, Instagram, COVID-19

# **REPRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE HYPERDEMOCRACY PHENOMENON IN THE VIRTUAL SPACE: PRAGMATIC SEMIOTICS STUDY OF A CASE OF THE COVID-19 MEME IN INDONESIA**

## *Abstract*

*COVID-19 as a global issue has attracted attention and caused controversy, especially in the handling of COVID-19 in Indonesia. Since the outbreak of COVID-19, various pros and cons have emerged in response to the government move. It is considered unfair by some. The position of public power relations appears to be increasingly dominant, it shows the emergence of the hyper-democracy phenomenon. The purpose of this study is to explore linguistic evidence that shows the phenomenon of hyper-democracy in virtual space. This research is a case study using reader responses to the issue of government measures during the COVID-19 pandemic constructed in the form of memes by social media. This research data is in memes and citizen responses from the @fakartun Instagram account. This qualitative research used semiotic theory from Peirce, CMDA approach from Herring, power relations from Foucault, and hyperdemocracy phenomenon from Welch. The results of the analysis show participation, freedom of expression, and relationships that manifest in the form of a dialogue between responders and social media, responders and information sources, and fellow responders. Responders tend to support signs and meanings built by social media that interpret information about government steps during the COVID-19 pandemic as a form of neglect, escaping responsibility, and tending to benefit the interests of business actors. Many harsh responses tend to be insulting, mockingly directed at the government and other responders who are considered as opposing. Debates took place between responders and social media and among fellow responders continued until there was an expansion of the topic. This situation indicates the occurrence of a getok-tular semiosis process. It was supported by the context of social media and the context of the communication situation that is free to interact. Based on these findings, this study concludes that recently everyone can access, write, read, gain like-minded followers. Thus, the expertise will slowly "lose right" compared to someone who has a lot of followers or followers (the fall of the media). It shows that the public seems increasingly dominant. Some of the phenomena above can be indicators of ongoing hyper-democracy symptoms on social media.*

**Keywords:** *Sign, Meaning, Semiotic, Hyperdemocracy, Instagram, COVID-19 Memes*

## DAFTAR ISI

<b>HALAMAN JUDUL.....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>HALAMAN PENGESAHAN.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>HALAMAN PERNYATAAN PLAGIARISME.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>UCAPAN TERIMA KASIH.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>ABSTRAK.....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>DAFTAR ISI.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>DAFTAR TABEL.....</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>AFTAR GAMBAR.....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>DAFTAR LAMPIRAN.....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>BAB I PENDAHULUAN.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Latar Belakang Penelitian.....	1
1.2 Rumusan Masalah.....	5
1.3 Tujuan Penelitian.....	6
1.4 Manfaat Penelitian Atau Signifikansi Penelitian.....	6
1.4.1 Manfaat Teoretis.....	7
1.4.2 Manfaat Praktis.....	7
1.5 Struktur Organisasi Disertasi .....	7
1.6 Definisi Operasional.....	8
<b>BAB II KAJIAN PUSTAKA.....</b>	<b>11</b>
2.1 Kerangka Teori.....	11
2.1.1 Semiotik.....	11
2.1.1.1 Teori Semiotik Ferdinand De Saussure.....	11
2.1.1.1.1 Perkembangan Semiotika Saussure.....	11
2.1.1.1.2 Pemikiran Saussure.....	12
2.1.1.2 Teori Semiotik Charles Sanders Peirce.....	14
2.1.1.2.1 Perkembangan Semiotika Peirce.....	15
2.1.1.2.2 Pemikiran Peirce.....	15
2.1.1.3 Teori Semiotik Barthes.....	21
2.1.1.3.1 Konotasi dan Metabahasa.....	21
2.1.1.3.2 Mitologi dan Ideologi.....	22
2.1.1.3.3 Penelitian Sistem Semiotika.....	23
2.1.1.3.4 Sistem Objek sebagai Sistem Sekunder.....	24
2.1.2 Demokrasi.....	28
2.1.2.1 Definisi Demokrasi.....	28
2.1.2.2 Perkembangan Demokrasi.....	29
2.1.2.3 Demokratisasi di Ruang Virtual.....	31
2.1.3 Konteks Wacana Interaktif di Media Sosial Instagram.....	32
2.1.3.1 Media Sosial.....	33
2.1.3.1.1 <i>Instagram</i> .....	34
2.1.3.2 <i>Meme</i> .....	34
2.1.3.2.1 Definisi <i>Meme</i> .....	34

2.1.3.2.2	Perkembangan <i>Meme</i> .....	37
2.1.4	Gejala <i>Hyperdemocracy</i> : Media.....	39
2.1.4.1	Kebangkitan Objektivitas Media.....	40
2.1.4.2	Kejatuhan Objektivitas Media.....	41
2.1.5	Model Analisis Buhler.....	46
2.1.6	Konsep Proposisi.....	47
2.1.6.1	Proposisi Mendukung.....	48
2.1.6.2	Proposisi Membantah.....	48
2.1.6.3	Proposisi Samar atau Ambigu.....	48
2.1.7	Teori Emozi.....	48
2.1.7.1	Fungsi Fatis.....	49
2.1.7.2	Fungsi Emosi atau <i>Emotive Function</i> .....	49
2.1.8	Computer Mediated Discourse Analysis (CDMA).....	53
2.1.8.1	Faktor Konteks Media.....	54
2.1.8.2	Faktor Konteks Situasi Komunikasi.....	56
2.1.9	Relasi Kekuasanaan (Foucault).....	57
2.2	Kajian Pustaka.....	61
2.2.1	Penelitian Terdahulu Yang Relevan.....	61
2.2.2	Posisi Teoretis Peneliti.....	80
2.3	Model Konseptual.....	82
<b>BAB III METODE PENELITIAN.....</b>		<b>84</b>
3.1	Pendekatan Penelitian.....	84
3.2	Data dan Sumber Data.....	85
3.2.1	Data Penelitian.....	85
3.2.2	Sumber Data Penelitian.....	93
3.3	Prosedur Penelitian.....	95
3.3.1	Prosedur Pengumpulan Data.....	95
3.3.2	Prosedur Analisis Data.....	96
<b>BAB IV TEMUAN DAN PEMBAHASAN.....</b>		<b>104</b>
4.1	Temuan Penelitian.....	104
4.1.1	Representamen, Objek, dan Interpretant.....	104
4.1.1.1	Perumusan dan Penyusunan Undang-Undang di masa Pandemi COVID-19.....	104
4.1.1.1.1	Representamen.....	105
4.1.1.1.2	Objek.....	105
4.1.1.1.3	Interpretant.....	106
4.1.1.2	Wacana <i>New Normal</i> Di masa Pandemi COVID-19.....	107
4.1.1.2.1	Representamen.....	108
4.1.1.2.2	Objek.....	108
4.1.1.2.3	Interpretant.....	109
4.1.1.3	Penyaluran Dana Bansos di Masa Pandemi COVID-19.....	111
4.1.1.3.1	Representamen.....	111
4.1.1.3.2	Objek.....	112
4.1.1.3.3	Interpretant.....	112

4.1.1.4	Investasi Di masa Pandemi COVID-19.....	114
4.1.1.4.1	Representamen.....	114
4.1.1.4.2	Objek.....	114
4.1.1.4.3	Interpretant.....	115
4.1.1.5	Pembelajaran Jarak Jauh (PJJ)	
	Di masa Pandemi COVID-19.....	117
4.1.1.5.1	Representamen.....	117
4.1.1.5.2	Objek.....	118
4.1.1.5.3	Interpretant.....	118
4.1.1.6	Data 6 Larangan Mudik di Masa Pandemi COVID-19.....	120
4.1.1.6.1	Representamen.....	120
4.1.1.6.2	Objek.....	120
4.1.1.6.3	Interpretant.....	121
4.1.2	Interpretasi Publik terhadap Representasi Tanda Verbal dan Nonverbal.....	122
4.1.2.1	Tanggapan penanggap terhadap langkah pemerintah di masa pandemi COVID-19 cenderung mendukung, membantah, dan samar atau ambigu.....	123
4.1.2.1.1	Perumusan dan Penyusunan Undang-Undang (Mendukung, Membantah, Ambigu).....	123
4.1.2.1.2	Wacana New Normal (Mendukung, membantah, Ambigu).....	126
4.1.2.1.3	Penyaluran Dana Bansos (Mendukung, Membantah, Ambigu).....	130
4.1.2.1.4	Investasi (Mendukung, Membantah, Ambigu).....	132
4.1.2.1.5	Pembelajaran Jarak Jauh (Mendukung, Membantah, Ambigu).....	135
4.1.2.1.6	Larangan Mudik (Mendukung, Membantah, Ambigu).....	138
4.1.2.2	Fungsi Emozi Dalam Tanggapan Penanggap Terhadap Langkah Pemerintah di Masa Pandemi COVID-19.....	141
4.1.2.2.1	Perumusan dan Penyusunan Undang-Undang (Fungsi Fatis dan Fungsi emosi).....	142
4.1.2.2.2	Wacana New Normal (Fungsi Fatis dan Fungsi emosi).....	147
4.1.2.2.3	Penyaluran Dana Bansos (Fungsi Fatis dan Fungsi Emosi).....	154
4.1.2.2.4	Investasi (Fungsi Emosi dan Fungsi Emosi).....	159
4.1.2.2.5	Pembelajaran Jarak Jauh (Fungsi Fatis dan Fungsi Emosi).....	161

4.1.2.2.6 Larangan Mudik. (Fungsi Fatis dan Fungsi Emosi).....	166
4.1.2.3 Proses semiosis antara penanggap dan media sosial.....	172
4.1.2.3.1 Perumusan dan Penyusunan Undang-Undang (terjadi proses semiosis satu tahap dan beberapa tahap).....	172
4.1.2.3.2 Wacana <i>New Normal</i> (terjadi proses semiosis satu tahap dan beberapa tahap).....	175
4.1.2.3.3 Penyaluran Dana Bansos (terjadi proses semiosis satu tahap dan beberapa tahap).....	178
4.1.2.3.4 Investasi (terjadi proses semiosis satu tahap dan beberapa tahap).....	186
4.1.2.3.5 Pembelajaran Tatap Muka (terjadi proses semiosis satu tahap).....	192
4.1.2.3.6 Larangan Mudik (terjadi proses semiosis beberapa tahap).....	193
4.1.3 Interaksi dan Relasi Yang Terjadi Antara Media Sosial dan Penanggap, Penanggap dan Sumber Informasi, serta Antar-Penanggap dalam Menanggapi Informasi Langkah Pemerintah di Masa Pandemi COVID-19.....	198
4.1.2.4 Interaksi Penanggap dan Media Sosial, dan Antar Sesama Penanggap.....	199
4.1.2.4.1 Faktor Konteks Media.....	199
4.1.2.4.2 Faktor Konteks Situasi Komunikasi.....	212
4.1.2.5 Posisi Relasi Kuasa Publik atau Penanggap (dominan dan setara).....	224
4.1.2.5.1 Penanggap Tampak Dominan.....	225
4.1.2.5.2 Penanggap Tampak Setara.....	236
4.2 Pembahasan.....	239
4.2.1 Representasi Tanda Verbal dan Nonverbal dalam Meme Tentang Isu Langkah Pemerintah di Masa Pandemi COVID-19.....	239
4.2.2 Interpretasi Publik terhadap Representasi Tanda Verbal dan Nonverbal dalam Meme yang Menginformasikan tentang Langkah Pemerintah di Masa Pandemi COVID-19.....	244
4.2.3 Posisi Relasi Kuasa yang Terbangun antara Media Sosial dan Penanggap dDan antara Sesama Penanggap.....	252
<b>BAB V SIMPULAN, IMPLIKASI, dan REKOMENDASI.....</b>	<b>259</b>
5.1 Simpulan.....	259
5.2 Implikasi.....	262
5.2.1 Implikasi Teoritis.....	262

5.2.2 Implikasi Praktis.....	263
5.3 Rekomendasi.....	264
<b>DAFTAR PUSTAKA.....</b>	<b>265</b>
<b>DAFTAR LAMPIRAN.....</b>	<b>277</b>

## DAFTAR TABEL

Tabel 1.1 10 Besar Kasus COVID-19 Tertinggi di Dunia.....	1
Tabel 2.1 Peirce's Three Trichotomies of Signs.....	19
Tabel 2.2 Gelombang Demokratisasi Dan Gelombang Balik.....	30
Tabel 2.3 <i>Meme</i> Dawkinsian dan <i>Meme</i> Internet.....	36
Tabel 2.4 Perubahan Bentuk <i>Meme</i> .....	39
Tabel 2.5 Daftar Emoji Visual.....	53
Tabel 2.6 Kategorisasi Faktor Konteks Media.....	54
Tabel 2.7 Kategorisasi Faktor Konteks Situasi Komunikasi.....	55
Tabel 2.8 Perbedaan Relasi Kekuasaan Dominasi dan <i>Govermentality</i> .....	60
Tabel 3.1 Sumber Data.....	85
Tabel 3.2 Prosedur Penelitian.....	95
Tabel 4.1 Proposisi Tanggapan Penanggap di Kolom Komentar Instagram.....	123
Tabel 4.2 Pola interaksi antara media sosial dan penanggap, penanggap dan sumber informasi, dan antar-penanggap.....	198
Tabel 4.3 Faktor Konteks Media.....	199
Tabel 4.4 Contoh Dukungan Terhadap Informasi yang Dikonstruksi oleh Media Sosial ..	201
Tabel 4.5 Contoh Interaksi pada Transmisi Pesan.....	203
Tabel 4.6 Contoh Interaksi pada Persistensi Transkrip Data 13.....	204
Tabel 4.7 Contoh Ukuran Tanggapan.....	206
Tabel 4.8 Contoh Tanggapan Penanggap Berupa Tekstual, Visual, dan Gabungan Keduanya.....	207
Tabel 4.9 Contoh Tanggapan yang Disampaikan oleh Akun Anonim.....	209
Tabel 4.10 Contoh Tanggapan yang Tersaji Secara Berurutan.....	210
Tabel 4.11 Contoh Tanggapan yang dapat Ditanggapi Kembali oleh Penanggap Lain....	211
Tabel 4.12 Contoh Interaksi di Kolom Komentar pada Instagram.....	212
Tabel 4.13 Faktor Konteks Situasi Komunikasi.....	212
Tabel 4.14 Contoh Tanggapan pada Dimensi Tujuan/ <i>Purpose</i> .....	215
Tabel 4.15 Contoh Tanggapan pada Dimensi Tema/ <i>Theme</i> .....	217
Tabel 4.16 Contoh Tanggapan pada Dimensi Nada/ <i>Tone</i> .....	218
Tabel 4.17 Contoh Tanggapan pada Dimensi Kegiatan/ <i>Activity</i> .....	220
Tabel 4.18 Contoh Tanggapan pada Dimensi Norma/ <i>Norms</i> .....	222
Tabel 4.19 Contoh Tanggapan pada Dimensi Kode/ <i>Code</i> .....	223
Tabel 4.20 Contoh Penggunaan Kosakata dan Frasa Menghujat dalam Tanggapan Mendukung.....	225
Tabel 4.21 Contoh Penggunaan Kosakata dan Frasa Mengejek	

dalam Tanggapan Mendukung.....	228
Tabel 4.22 Contoh Tuturan Kasar Sebagai Bukti Dukungan ke Sesama Penanggap yang Mendukung Informasi yang Dibangun Oleh Media Sosial.....	230
Tabel 4.23 Contoh Penggunaan Kosakata dan Frasa Menghujat dalam Tanggapan Membantah.....	231
Tabel 4.24 Contoh Penggunaan Kosakata dan Frasa Mengejek dalam Tanggapan Membantah.....	234
Tabel 4.25 Contoh Penggunaan Kosakata dan Frasa dalam Tanggapan Ambigu.....	237

## DAFTAR GAMBAR

Gambar 2.1 Tiga Gagasan dalam Model Tanda Diadik Saussure.....	13
Gambar 2.2 Model Semiotik Ferdinand De Saussure.....	13
Gambar 2.3 Proses Semiosis Model Peirce.....	16
Gambar 2.4 Proses Semiosis Berlanjut.....	19
Gambar 2.5 Proses Semiosis “Getok Tular”.....	20
Gambar 2.6 Model Konotasi Barthes.....	21
Gambar 2.7 Model Metabahasa Barthes.....	22
Gambar 2.8 Perbedaan Format Media.....	32
Gambar 2.9 Gejala <i>Hyperdemocracy</i> .....	45
Gambar 2.10 Fungsi Tiga Tipe Tanda dalam Komunikasi Buhler.....	46
Gambar 2.11 Beberapa Contoh Emoji Wajah.....	51
Gambar 2.12 Emoji Melambaikan Tangan.....	51
Gambar 2.13 Emoji Tepuk Tangan dan Tangan Terbuka.....	52
Gambar 2.14 Model Konseptual.....	82
Gambar 4.1 Bentuk Tanggapan Penanggap di Kolom Komentar Instagram.....	141
Gambar 4.2 Proses semiosis tahap 1.....	172
Gambar 4.3 Proses semiosis tahap 2.....	173
Gambar 4.4 Proses semiosis tahap 3.....	173
Gambar 4.5 Proses semiosis tahap 4.....	173
Gambar 4.6 Proses semiosis tahap 1.....	174
Gambar 4.7 Proses semiosis tahap 1.....	175
Gambar 4.8 Proses semiosis tahap 2.....	176
Gambar 4.9 Proses semiosis tahap 3.....	176
Gambar 4.10 Proses semiosis tahap 1.....	177
Gambar 4.11 Proses semiosis tahap 1.....	179
Gambar 4.12 Proses semiosis tahap 2.....	179
Gambar 4.13 Proses semiosis tahap 3.....	180
Gambar 4.14 Proses semiosis tahap 4.....	180
Gambar 4.15 Proses semiosis tahap 5.....	181
Gambar 4.16 Proses semiosis tahap 6.....	181

Gambar 4.17	Proses semiosis tahap 7.....	182
Gambar 4.18	Proses semiosis tahap 8.....	182
Gambar 4.19	Proses semiosis tahap 9.....	183
Gambar 4.20	Proses semiosis tahap 10.....	183
Gambar 4.21	Proses semiosis tahap 11.....	183
Gambar 4.22	Proses semiosis tahap 12.....	184
Gambar 4.23	Proses semiosis tahap 13.....	184
Gambar 4.24	Proses semiosis tahap 14.....	185
Gambar 4.25	Proses semiosis tahap 1.....	186
Gambar 4.26	Proses semiosis tahap 2.....	187
Gambar 4.27	Proses semiosis tahap 3.....	187
Gambar 4.28	Proses semiosis tahap 4.....	187
Gambar 4.29	Proses semiosis tahap 5.....	188
Gambar 4.30	Proses semiosis tahap 6.....	188
Gambar 4.31	Proses semiosis tahap 7.....	189
Gambar 4.32	Proses semiosis tahap 8.....	189
Gambar 4.33	Proses semiosis tahap 9.....	189
Gambar 4.34	Proses semiosis tahap 1.....	191
Gambar 4.35	Proses semiosis tahap 1.....	192
Gambar 4.36	Proses semiosis tahap 1.....	193
Gambar 4.37	Proses semiosis tahap 2.....	194
Gambar 4.38	Proses semiosis tahap 3.....	194
Gambar 4.39	Proses semiosis tahap 4.....	195
Gambar 4.40	Proses semiosis tahap 5.....	195
Gambar 4.41	Proses semiosis tahap 6.....	195
Gambar 4.42	Relasi Kuasa (Dominan dan Setara).....	224

## DAFTAR LAMPIRAN

Lampiran 1	<i>Meme</i> Merepresentasikan Langkah Pemerintah di Masa Pandemi COVID-19.....	277
Lampiran 2	<i>Meme</i> dan Tanggapan di Media Sosial.....	308
Lampiran 3	Fungsi Emoji (Fungsi Fatis/ <i>Fatis Function</i> ).....	328
Lampiran 4	Fungsi Emoji (Fungsi Emosi/ <i>Emotive Function</i> ).....	333
Lampiran 5	Struktur Partisipasi (Tanggapan Penanggap di Kolom Komentar).....	340

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Adhiarso, D. S., Utari, P., Hastjarjo, S., Sebelas, U., Surakarta, M., & Jebres, K. (2018). *The Influence of News Construction and Netizen Response to the Hoax News in Online Media Pengaruh Konstruksi Berita dan Respon Netizen terhadap Berita Hoaks di Media Online.* 10(2), 162–173. <https://doi.org/10.26623/themessenger.v10i2.782>
- Aditya, Ratih, B. (2015). Fenomena Meme di Media Sosial (Studi Etnografi Virtual Posting Meme Pada Pengguna Media Sosial Instagram) Universitas Telkom. *Jurnal Sosioteknologi*, 14, No.3, 1–9. Retrieved from <https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/41731-ID-fenomena-meme-di-media-sosial-studi-etnografi-virtual-posting-meme-pada-pengguna.pdf>
- Allcott, H., & Gentzkow, M. (2017). Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 31(2), 211–236. Retrieved from <http://www.nber.org/papers/w23089%0Ahttp://www.nber.org/papers/w23089.ack>
- Alotaibi, Y. (2017). A New Analysis of Verbal Irony. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics and English Literature*, 6(5), 154. <https://doi.org/10.7575/aiac.ijalel.v.6n.5p.154>
- Amanda, N. R. (2020). Social Interaction Among Adolescents Who Use Social Media. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research, Volume 395 5th ASEAN Conference on Psychology, Counselling, and Humanities (ACPCH 2019)*, 395(Acpch 2019), 112–117. <https://doi.org/10.2991/asehr.k.200120.025>
- Andriani, V. W. (2019). Meme Politik Setya Novanto Sebagai Representasi Demokrasi Digital Di Indonesia: Analisis Wacana Kritis. *Adabiyāt: Jurnal Bahasa Dan Sastra*, 3(2), 231. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajbs.2019.03205>
- Andung, P. A., & Swan, M. V. D. P. (2021). The Dynamics of Public Sphere in Social Media: Cybermedia Analysis. *Jurnal ASPIKOM*, 6(1), 42. <https://doi.org/10.24329/aspikom.v6i1.825>
- Annisa Nurul Izmi, Hajrah, A. A. A. (2021). Indonesian Netizen Reponse to Covid-19 Vaccine News in Instagram IDN Times. *INSIGHT*, 1(1), 11–22. Retrieved from <https://ojs.unm.ac.id/insight/article/view/22549>
- Anstead, N. (2015). Internet democracy. In *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought* (First Edit, Vol. 2). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118474396.wbept0532>

- Anwar, F. (2017). Perubahan dan Permasalahan Media Sosial. *Jurnal Muara Ilmu Sosial, Humaniora, Dan Seni*, 1(1), 137. <https://doi.org/10.24912/jmishumsen.v1i1.343>
- Arafah, B., & Hasyim, M. (2019a). Linguistic functions of emoji in social media communication. *Opcion*, 35(24), 558–574.
- Arafah, B., & Hasyim, M. (2019b). The Language of Emoji in Social Media. *KnE Social Sciences*, 494–504. <https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v3i19.4880>
- Ardi, Z., & Putri, S. A. (2020). The Analysis of the Social Media Impact on the Millennial Generation Behavior and Social Interactions. *Southeast Asian Journal of Technology and Science*, 1(2), 70–77. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.29210/81065100>
- Asenbaum, H. (2018). Anonymity and democracy: Absence as presence in the public sphere. *American Political Science Review*, 112(3), 459–472.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055418000163>
- Ashrianto, P. D., & Yustitia, S. (2020). The Use of Social Media in Searching for Information about Papua. *Jurnal The Messenger*, 12(2), 122.  
<https://doi.org/10.26623/themessenger.v12i2.1939>
- Ayvaz, S., & Shiha, M. O. (2017). The Effects of Emoji in Sentiment Analysis. *International Journal of Computer and Electrical Engineering*, 9(1), 360–369.  
<https://doi.org/10.17706/ijcee.2017.9.1.360-369>
- Barthes, Roland. (1964). *Elements of Semiology*. London: Cape.
- Barthes, Roland. (1967). *Elements of Semiology*. London: Cape.
- Barthes, Roland. (1986). Elements of Semiology. In *Klinichna khirurhiia / Ministerstvo okhorony zdorov'ia Ukrayny, Naukove tovarystvo khirurhiv Ukrayny*. New York: A Division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Barthes, Roland. (1987). *Mythologies*. New York: Hill & Wang.
- Barthes, Rolland. (1964). *Critical Essay*. Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Press.
- Bauckhage, C. (2011). Insight into Internet Memes. *Proceedings of the Fifth International AAAI Conference on Weblogs and Social Media*, 42–49.
- Beth Simone Noveck. (2000). “*Paradoxical Partners: Electronic Communication and Electronic Democracy*,” in *The Internet, Democracy, and Democratization*, ed. London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass.

- Bima Jati, B. J., & Putra, G. R. A. (2020). Optimalisasi Upaya Pemerintah Dalam Mengatasi Pandemi Covid 19 Sebagai Bentuk Pemenuhan Hak Warga Negara. *SALAM: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Syar-I*, 7(5). <https://doi.org/10.15408/sjsbs.v7i5.15316>
- Bimber, B. (2001). The internet and citizen communication with government: Does the medium matter? *Political Communication*, 16(4), 409–428.
- Bimber, Bruce. (2003). *Information and American Democracy: Technology in the Evolution of Political Power*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Briandana, R., Fasta, F., Mihardja, E. J., & Qasem, A. (2021). *Exploring Self Identity : An Analysis of Audience Reception of Vlogs Menyelidiki Identitas Diri : Analisis Penerimaan Khalayak Terhadap Konten Vlog*. 6(2), 303–314.
- Candra Gayatri Wibawa , P. A. C., & Cindy Arieska Putri, N. K. (2021). Kebijakan Pmerintah dalam Menangani Covid-19. *Ganesha Civic Education Journal*, 3(1), 10–18. Retrieved from <https://ejournal2.undiksha.ac.id/index.php/GANCEJ/article/view/349/224>
- Candrasari, Y. (2021). Nonverbal Communication Reconstruction on Facebook. *Jurnal The Messenger*, 13(1), 94. <https://doi.org/10.26623/themessenger.v13i1.1000>
- Carpini, B. A. W. and M. X. D. (2000). “*Unchained Reaction: The Collapse of Media Gatekeeping and the Clinton-Lewinsky Scandal*,” Journalism 1.
- Creswell, J. W. (2019). *Researc Design: Pendekatan, Metode Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, Campuran*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Crouch, C. (2016). The March Towards Post-Democracy, Ten Years On. *Political Quarterly*, 87(1), 71–75. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.12210>
- Danesi, M. (2017). *The Semiotics of Emoji: The Rise of Visual Language in the Age of the Internet*. London: BLOOMSBURY and the Diana logo are trademarks of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.
- Dawkins, R. (2006). Selfish gene. In *New Scientist* (anniversar, Vol. 214). [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0262-4079\(12\)61286-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0262-4079(12)61286-X)
- Denzin, K.N., & Lincoln, Y., S. (2018). *Handbook of Qualitative Research. (trsl)*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Dewi, R. S. (2017). “Meme” sebagai sebuah Pesan dan Bentuk Hiperrealitas di Media Sosial. *Mediakom: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 1(1), 16–28. Retrieved from [www.gunadarma.ac.id](http://www.gunadarma.ac.id)

- Dewi, R. S. (2019). Kreator Meme dan Konstruksi Makna Meme Politik di Media Soaial. *Jurnal Komunikasi Global*, 8(1), 1–16.
- Dey, S. (2020). Let There Be Clamor: Exploring the Emergence of a New Public Sphere in India and Use of Social Media as an Instrument of Activism. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 44(1), 48–68. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0196859919827319>
- Dharmawan, A. (2015). Kritik Netizen Terhadap Nekrokultura Media Mainstream ( Studi Demokrasi Partisipan Weblog Kompasiana ). *Simbolika: Research and Learning in Communication Study*, 1(1), 23–33. Retrieved from <http://ojs.uma.ac.id/index.php/simbolika/article/view/47>
- Dresner, E., & Herring, S. C. (2010). Functions of the nonverbal in CMC: Emoticons and illocutionary force. *International Communication Association*, 20(3), 249–268. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2010.01362.x>
- Fatah, Z. & M. N. F. (2019). Mempolisasi ruang virtual: Posisi warga-net dalam praktik demokrasi digital di Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmiah Manajemen Publik Dan Kebijakan Sosial*, 3(1), 306–326. <https://doi.org/https://dx.doi.org/10.25139/jmnegara.v3i1.1459>
- Flinders, M. (2016). The Problem with Democracy. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 69(1), 181–203. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsv008>
- Flinders, M., & Wood, M. (2015a). When politics fails: Hyper-democracy and hyper-depoliticization. *New Political Science*, 37(3), 363–381. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07393148.2015.1056431>
- Flinders, M., & Wood, M. (2015b). When politics fails: Hyper-democracy and hyper-depoliticization. *New Political Science*, 37(3), 363–381. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07393148.2015.1056431>
- Forceville, C., & Clark, B. (2014). Can Pictures Have Explicatures? *Linguagem Em (Dis)Curso*, 14(3), 451–472. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1982-4017-140301-0114>
- Foucault. (1990). *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, Vol. 1. New York: Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. (1982). *The Order of Discourse* (M. Sapiro, Ed.). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Foucault, M. (2010). *The Archeology of Knowledge and The Discourse of Language*. New York: Vintage Book Edition.
- Foucault, Michel. (1966). *The Order of Things*. London: Tavistock.

- Foucault, Michel. (1997). *Sejarah Seksualitas: Sex dan Kekuasaan. (Terj. S.H. Rahayu)*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Foucault, Michel. (2002). *Kuasa/Pengetahuan, terj. Santosa, Y*. Jogjakarta: Bentang Budaya.
- Foucoult, M. (1982). Questions of Method. In J. D. Faubion (Ed.), *Michel Foucault: Power*, 3, 223–228.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- gramedia.com. (2021). 10 Sosial Media Paling Populer di Indonesia. *Gramedia.Com*. Retrieved from <https://www.gramedia.com/best-seller/sosial-media-paling-populer/>
- Gumilang, L., & Juanda, M. (2018). Interpretation of Meme Conversations Using Multimodality Analysis. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research (ASSEHR)*, 228(Klua 2018), 135–144. <https://doi.org/10.2991/klua-18.2018.20>
- Gupta, S., Singh, A., & Ranjan, J. (2019). Sentiment analysis: Usage of text and emoji for expressing sentiments. In P. A. of S. Janusz Kacprzyk, Systems Research Institute & P. Warsaw (Eds.), *Proceedings of ICDIS* (Vol. 94, pp. 477–486). [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-0694-9\\_45](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-0694-9_45)
- Halbert, D. (2015). Digital democracy. In *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought* (pp. 479–490). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118474396.wbept0274>
- Hamid, A. I. (2020). Analisis Semiotik Meme Anies Baswedan Banjir Jakarta. *DIALEKTIKA KOMUNIKA: Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi Dan Pembangunan Daerah*, 8(1), 36–45. <https://doi.org/10.33592/dk.v8i1.554>
- Hanafi, W. (2019). HIPERSEMIOTIKA (Representasi Kedustaan Semiotika dalam Penafsiran al-Qur'an). *QOF*, 3(1), 79–88.
- Haq, A. S., & Nugraha, I. S. (2020). Bill Gates Covid19 Conspiracy in Reddit Memes: A Semiotic Approach. *Al-Tsaqafa : Jurnal Ilmiah Peradaban Islam*, 17(2), 186–194. <https://doi.org/10.15575/al-tsaqafa.v17i2.9320>
- Harchandani, P., & Shome, S. (2021). The Effects of Covid-19 on Global Tourism. *ASEAN Journal on Hospitality and Tourism*, 19(1), 63–82. <https://doi.org/10.5614/ajht.2021.19.1.06>
- Hasfi, N., Usmand, S., & Santoso, H. P. (2017). Anonimitas di Media Sosial: Sarana Kebebasan Berekspresi atau Patologi Demokrasi? *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 15(1), 28–38. <https://doi.org/10.31315/jik.v15i1.2152>

- Herring, S. C. (2001). Computer-mediated Discourse. In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis. Deborah Tannem, Deborah Schiffrin, Heidi Hamilton (Peny)* (pp. 612–634).
- [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-56711-8\\_3](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-56711-8_3)
- Herring, S. C. (2007). A Faceted Classification Scheme for Computer - Mediated Discourse. *Discourse*, 2007(1), 1–37. Retrieved from [http://www.languageatinternet.de/articles/2007/761/index\\_html](http://www.languageatinternet.de/articles/2007/761/index_html)
- Herring, S. C. (2011). *A Faceted Classificaton Scheme For Computer-Mediated Discourse*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hoed, H. B. (2011). *Semiotik dan Dinamika Sosial Budaya* (kedua). Depok: Komunitas Bambu.
- Hoed, H. B. (2014). *Semiotik dan Dinamika Sosial Budaya*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu.
- Holmes, D. (2005). *Communication Theory: Media, Technology, and Society*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Huntington, S. P. (1991). *The Third Wave Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. London: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Huntington, S. p. (1991). *The Third Wave: Democratization in The Late Twentieth Century* (First). Norman and London: University of Oklahomas Press.
- Hussein, A. T., & Nabil, L. (2020). COVID-19 humor in Jordanian social media : A socio-semiotic approach. *Heliyon*, 6(October), e05696.
- <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2020.e05696>
- Isnaniah, S., & Tiya Agustina. (2020). “Covid-19” Meme in Social Media: Study of Roland Barthes Semiology. *BAHTERA : Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra*, 19(2), 351–378.
- <https://doi.org/10.21009/bahtera.192.010>
- Jakobson, R. (1977). *Quest for the essence of language*. In Jakobson, R., *Selected Writings II*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Jati, W. R. (2021). Fenomena Kemunduran Demokrasi Indonesia 2021. *The Habibie Center Insights*, (27). Retrieved from [www.habibiecenter.or.id](http://www.habibiecenter.or.id)
- Juditha, C. (2016). News Objectivity and Journalism Ethics in Online Media: Case on BUMN Employees Recruitment (Obyektivitas Berita dan Etika Jurnalistik di Media Online: Kasus Rekrutmen Karyawan BUMN). *Journal Pekommas*, 1(1), 1–12.
- <https://doi.org/10.30818/jpkm.2016.2010101>

- Juditha, C. (2018). Interaksi Komunikasi Hoax di Media Sosial Serta Antisipasinya. *Journal Pekommas*, 3(1), 31–34.
- Johnstone Barbara. (2008). Discourse Analysis. Massachusett: Blackwell Publishers.
- kbbi.web.id. (n.d.-a). Retrieved June 7, 2021, from <https://kbbi.web.id/demokratisasi>
- kbbi.web.id. (n.d.-b). Retrieved from <https://kbbi.web.id/demokrasi>
- kbbi.web.id. (n.d.-c). Retrieved from <https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id/entri/meme>
- Kevin A. Hill and John E. Hughes. (1998). *Cyberpolitics: Citizen Activism in the Age of the Internet*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Kneuer, M. (2016). E-democracy: A new challenge for measuring democracy. *International Political Science Review*, 37(5), 666–678. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512116657677>
- Koerner, E. F. K. (1973). *Ferdinand de Saussure*. Braunschweig: Vieweg.
- Kominfo. (2020). Pengguna Internet di Indonesia. Retrieved November 10, 2020, from republika.co.id website: <https://republika.co.id/berita/qhgibx335/kominfo-pengguna-internet-di-indonesia-capai-1755-juta-jiw#:~:text=REPUBLIKA.CO.ID%2C>  
JAKARTA,populasi sebanyak 268.583.016 penduduk.
- kompas.com. (2020). Apa Itu New Normal? Presiden Jokowi Sebut Hidup Berdamai dengan Covid-19. *Kompas.Com*. Retrieved from <https://www.kompas.com/sains/read/2020/05/26/163200023/apa-itu-new-normal-presiden-jokowi-sebut-hidup-berdamai-dengan-covid-19?page=all>
- Kompas. (2021). Melangkah di Tengah Labirin Informasi. *Kompas*, p. 15.
- Kridalaksana, H. (2009). *Kamus Linguistik* (9th ed.). Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Kurniawati, N. A., & Karim, A. (2018). RUANG PUBLIK VIRTUAL TWITTER PADA AKUN @ PemkotBPN SEBAGAI ALAT KONTROL PUBLIK. *EJournal Ilmu Komunikas*, 6(3), 333–347.
- Ladiqi, S., & Suarde Wekke, I. (2018). *Gambaran Demokrasi : Demografi Dan Perkembangan*. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/36308314/GAMBARAN\\_DEMOKRASI\\_DEMOGRAFI\\_DAN\\_PERKEMBANGAN](https://www.academia.edu/36308314/GAMBARAN_DEMOKRASI_DEMOGRAFI_DAN_PERKEMBANGAN)
- Launa & Samdar. (2020). Subjektivitas Kekuasaan Dalam Pemberitaan Media Online. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi Dan Media*, 24(1), 17. <https://doi.org/10.31445/jskm.2020.2047>

- Lee, P. S. N., So, C. Y. K., Lee, F., Leung, L., & Chan, M. (2018). Social media and political partisanship – A subaltern public sphere's role in democracy. *Telematics and Informatics*, 35(7), 1949–1957. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tele.2018.06.007>
- Lestari, W. (2019). Irony Analysis of Memes on Instagram Social Media. *PIONEER: Journal of Language and Literature*, 10(2), 114. <https://doi.org/10.36841/pioneer.v10i2.192>
- Manuel, C. (2012). *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*. Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Masrukhi, M. (2019). Hypersemiotics in Printed Commercial Advertising. *Humaniora*, 31(2), 200–210.
- Matthew, H. (2009). *The Myth of Digital Democracy*. Princeton, NJ, and London: Princeton University Press.
- McGerr, M. E. (1986). *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865–1928*. New York and Oxford: New York and Oxford University press.
- McNair, B. (2006). *Cultural Chaos: Journalism, News and Power in a Globalised World*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Mounin. (1970). *Introduction a la Semiology*. Paris: Minuit.
- Murfianti, F. (2019). Meme Di Era Digital Dan Budaya Siber. *Acintya Jurnal Penelitian Seni Budaya*, 11(1), 42–50. <https://doi.org/10.33153/acy.v11i1.2613>
- news.detik.com. (2020). Polemik Beda Mudik dan Pulang Kampung yang Dimulai Jokowi. Retrieved from news.detik.com website: <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4989126/polemik-beda-mudik-dan-pulang-kampung-yang-dimulai-jokowi>
- news.detik.com. (2021, September 24). Kasus Covid Dunia: Data Lengkap dan 10 Negara Kasus Tertinggi. *News.Detik.Com*. Retrieved from <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5738223/kasus-covid-dunia-data-lengkap-dan-10-negara-kasus-tertinggi/1>
- Nissenbaum, A., & Shifman, L. (2017). Internet memes as contested cultural capital: The case of 4chan's /b/ board. *New Media and Society*, 19(4), 483–501. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444815609313>
- Norris, P., & Curtice, J. (2008). Getting the message out: A two-step model of the role of the internet in campaign communication flows during the 2005 British general election. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 4(4), 3–13.

- Noth, W. (1995). *Handbook of Semiotics*. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Noth, Winfried. (1995). *Handook of Semiotics* (First paperback, Ed.). Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Owen, D. (2000). "Popular Politics and the Clinton/Lewinsky Affair: The Implications for Leadership." *Political Psychology* 21.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. USA: Sage Publications inc.
- Perbowani, P. S., Rahayu, R., & Anshari, I. N. (2018). Online Political Participation and Netizen Anonymity in Indonesia's Digital Democracy. *PCD Journal*, 6(2), 185.  
<https://doi.org/10.22146/pcd.41905>
- Piliang, Y. A. (2019). *Semiotika dan Hipersemiotika: Kode, Gaya, dan Matinya Makna*. Yogyakarta: Cantrik Pustaka.
- Rahardjo, F. R. S. & I. D. (2013). KONTEMPORER JIM ALLEN ABEL " INDONESIA UNIFORM " Hipersemiotika. *Komunikasi Visual*, V(01), 42–51. Retrieved from <https://ejournals.umn.ac.id/index.php/FSD/article/view/380>
- Rahyono, F. . (2017). Kecerdasan Kebinekatunggalikaan Yang Takterbarukan Sebuah Kajian Semiopragmatik Terhadap Proposisi Kebudayaan Jawa. *Kajian Mutahir Bahasa, Sastra, Dan Budaya Daerah Untuk Membangun Kebinetunggalikaan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia Kecerdasan*, 20–28. Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, UNS Surakarta.
- Reminiskey, E. (2019). Hyperdemocracy: Euroscepticism and Elections in the United Kingdom. *History in the Making*, 12(1), 13.
- Renkema, J. (2004). *Introduction to Discourse Studies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Ritonga, R., & Syahputra, I. (2019). Citizen journalism and public participation in the Era of New Media in Indonesia: From street to tweet. *Media and Communication*, 7(3), 79–90.  
<https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v7i3.2094>
- Ross, A. S., & Rivers, D. J. (2017). Digital cultures of political participation: Internet memes and the discursive delegitimization of the 2016 U.S Presidential candidates. *Discourse, Context and Media*, 16, 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2017.01.001>
- Ross, A. S., & Rivers, D. J. (2018). Internet memes, media frames, and the conflicting logics of

- climate change discourse. *Environmental Communication A Journal of Nature and Culture*, 12(December). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2018.1560347>
- Sabato, L. J. (2000). *Feeding Frenzy: Attack Journalism and American Politics*, revised ed. Baltimore, MD: Lanahan Publishers.
- Saifullah, A. R. (2014). *Tanda dan Makna Wacana Interaktif di Internet: Kajian Semiotik-Pragmatik Tentang Demokratisasi Melalui Tema Terorisme*. Indonesia.
- Saifullah, A. R. (2016). Issues of terrorism on the internet in the wave of democratization of post-reform Indonesia: A semiotic analysis. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 5(2), 307–315. <https://doi.org/10.17509/ijal.v5i2.1354>
- Saifullah, A. R. (2017). Pengembangan Model Analisis Relasi Bahasa Dan Internet Berbasis Paradigma Cmda (Computer Mediated Discourse Analysis). *Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra*, 17(2), 169. [https://doi.org/10.17509/bs\\_jpbsp.v17i2.9655](https://doi.org/10.17509/bs_jpbsp.v17i2.9655)
- Saifullah, A. R. (2019). *Semiotik dan Kajian Wacana Interaktif di Internet* (pertama). Bandung: UPI Press.
- Sampietro, A. (2019). Emoji and rapport management in Spanish WhatsApp chats. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 143, 109–120. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2019.02.009>
- Saussure, F. de. (1916). *Course in General Linguistics*, trans. Baskin, Wade. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Sebeok, T. A. (1976). *Contribution to the Doctrine of Signs*. Lanham: Md: Univ. Press of America.
- Shifman, L. (2013). Memes in a digital world: Reconciling with a conceptual troublemaker. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 18(3), 362–377.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12013>
- Shifman, Limor. (2014). *Memes In Digital Culture* (Vol. 148).
- Shirky, C. (2009). *Here Comes Everybody: How Change Happens When People Come Together*. Updated ed. London and New York: Penguin Books.
- Sontag, Susan, ed. (1982). *A Barthes Reader*. New York: Hill & Wang.
- Strauss, A., & Cobin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: grounded theory, prosedure and technique*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Sukarno dan Amurwani, P. P. (2019). Konstruksi Mendukung dan Mengkritisi Realitas Prabowo

- Subianto Menjadi Menteri Pertahanan Oleh Beberapa Media Online. *Addabiyyat: Jurnal Bahasa Dan Sastra*, III(2), 140–164.
- Supadiyanto, S. (2020). (Opportunities) Death of Newspaper Industry in Digital Age and Covid-19 Pandemic. *Jurnal The Messenger*, 12(2), 192.  
<https://doi.org/10.26623/themessenger.v12i2.2244>
- Thompson, J. B. (1995). *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Tinarbuko, S. (2008). Semiotika Komunikasi Viasual. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Uhlen, A. (1997). *Indonesia and the “Third Wave Democratization”: The Indonesian pro-democracy movement in a changing world*. London: Corzon Press.
- van Dijk, J. (2013). *The Culture of Connectivity: A Critical History of Social Media*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vasan M. (2016). Netizens' Attitude towards Social Networking Sites -A Factor Analysis Approach. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development*, 3(3), 201–204.
- Welch, S. (2013). Hyperdemocracy. In *Macmillan* (First Edit).  
<https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137099174>
- Wells, R. (1974). *De Saussure's System of Linguistics*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press.
- Wibowo, A. A. (2019). Kajian Konsep Tanda Hipersemiotika. *Citradirga : Jurnal Desain Komunikasi Visual Dan Intermedia*, 01(01), 36–45. Retrieved from  
<https://jurnal.machung.ac.id/index.php/citradirga/article/view/157>
- Wiegand Herbert Ernst. (1970). Synchronische Onomasologie und Semasiologie. *Germanistische Linguistik*, 3(70), 243–384.
- Wiggins, B. E. & Bowers, G. B. (2014). Memes as genre: A structurational analysis of the memescape. *New Media and Society*, 17(11), 1886–1906.
- Wiggins, B. E. (2019). The Discursive Power of Memes in Digital Culture. In *The Discursive Power of Memes in Digital Culture*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429492303-2>
- Williams, R. (1998). *Political Scandals in the USA*. Edinburgh: Keele University Press.
- Wiryawan, I. W. (2020). Kebijakan Pemerintah Dalam Penanganan Pandemi Virus Corona Disease 2019 (Covid-19) Di Indonesia. *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Webinar Nasional*

- Universitas Mahasaraswati Denpasar, 2019(6), 179–188. Retrieved from <https://ejournal.unmas.ac.id/index.php/webinaradat/article/view/1180/1012>*
- Wunderli, P. (1981). *Saussure und die "Signification."* In Geckeler, Horst, et al., eds., *Logos Semanticos*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Yüce, A., Aydoğdu, V., & Katırcı, H. (2021). Common Language of New Era in Sport Clubs: Emojis. *Jurnal The Messenger*, 13(1), 63.  
<https://doi.org/10.26623/themessenger.v13i1.2390>
- Yule, G. (1996). *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yuliarti, M. S. (2020). Democracy and New Media: Capturing Masculinity in Online News About Election Selfie. *Jurnal ASPIKOM*, 5(1), 27.  
<https://doi.org/10.24329/aspikom.v5i1.440>
- Zotov, V. V., & Gubanov, A. V. (2021). Interaction Between Public Authorities and Stakeholders in Social Media (Comparative Analysis of the Regional Practician). *XXIII International Conference Culture, Personality, Society in the Conditions of Digitalization: Methodology and Experience of Empirical Research Conference, 2020*, 315–322.  
<https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v5i2.8372>