



MULTIMODAL CONSTRUCTION OF LEGAL CRITICISM IN POLITICAL CARICATURES ON INSTAGRAM @HARIANKOMPAS: ANALYSIS BY KRESS AND VAN LEEUWEN

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Abstract: The transformation of digital media has expanded the space for the production and distribution of social criticism, including through political caricatures on Instagram, which function as a medium for articulating public opinion on law enforcement issues. Amid increasing scrutiny of the legal apparatus's integrity, inequality in legal treatment, corruption, and the social impact of digital technology, visual representation is an important arena for building meaning and power relations. This study analyzes how the discourse of criticism of law enforcement is represented and how multimodal design builds power relations in caricatures published by the Instagram account @harianKompas. It uses a qualitative approach grounded in Kress and van Leeuwen's multimodal discourse model, covering the dimensions of discourse, design, and multimodal ensemble and cohesion, applied to four purposively selected caricatures addressing the professionalism of the apparatus, legal disparity, bribery in court, and the threat of digital technology. Findings show that criticism of law enforcement is represented as a crisis of institutional integrity, conveyed not explicitly through text but through visual configurations such as composition, character size, facial expression, object symbolization, and positional relationships between actors. Linguistic elements function as framing reinforcements, while visual structures build a social hierarchy placing the apparatus as dominant and the community as subordinate; intersemiotic cohesion produces meaning that emphasizes irony and the delegitimization of legal practices perceived as deviant. This study enriches multimodal discourse analysis in Indonesian social media by showing how power relations are constructed through cross-modal semiotic orchestration, offering a model for reading digital caricature as a structured, multimodally organized critical practice.

Keywords: multimodal discourse analysis; political caricature; Kress and van Leeuwen; law enforcement; Instagram

INTRODUCTION

Political cartoons are one of the visual communication mediums that are consistently used to convey social and political criticism through humor, irony, and satire approaches (Ersyad, 2020; Knieper, 2023). In contrast to journalistic reporting that tends to prioritize the principle of objectivity, political cartoons provide a space for freer and evaluative expression of social reality (Hamilton-Korey & Pohl, 2022; Zarifian, 2025). Through visual distortion, symbolization, and text play, political cartoons not only represent events, but also establish a certain ideological position on

the issues raised (Boakye-Yiadom, 2025; Nwachukwu et al., 2023).

As a visual representation of public opinion, political cartoons function to frame social reality and influence public perception (Martinez, 2024). In the context of mass media, editorial cartoons or caricatures are an effective instrument of criticism because they are able to package complex problems into concise but meaningful visual representations (Makaruk et al., 2025). Caricature does not only present humor, but rather constructs reality through the selection of characters, visual compositions, symbols, typography, and colors

that are consciously designed to convey a specific message (Balakina, 2023; Whitworth, 2024). Conceptually, caricature is a form of multimodal communication that combines linguistic and visual elements simultaneously. The elements of text and images in caricatures interact with each other to form meanings that cannot be partially understood (Alotaibi, 2024). Therefore, the analysis of caricatures requires an approach that is able to read the relationships between semiotic modes in an integrated manner.

The development of digital media has expanded the caricature distribution space from print newspapers to social media platforms such as Instagram (Farkas & Bene, 2021). In the digital space, caricatures not only serve as visual editorial, but also become part of public communication practices that shape opinions quickly and widely (Bogo, 2024; Schnettler et al., 2025). Mainstream media such as Instagram @harianKompas use this visual format to convey criticism of actual issues, including law enforcement issues, professionalism of the apparatus, judicial corruption, and the social impact of digital technology. Among these issues, law enforcement occupies a particularly central position in Indonesian public discourse: it is repeatedly invoked as a barometer of institutional integrity, it intersects directly with citizens' everyday experience of justice, and it recurs as a dominant theme across @harianKompas's caricature output during the period under study, making it an especially productive site for examining how multimodal criticism is constructed (Mahendra & Herawati, 2025; Nugraha, 2024).

Although much has been done on political caricatures, most previous research has focused on media framing analysis or semiotics of signs partially (Azanza López, 2024). Research using Baudrillard's simulacral theory and Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotics generally focuses on the identification of symbols, icons, and the construction of political imagery, but has not systematically examined how various semiotic modes work in an integrated manner in building discourse, power relations, and cohesion of meaning (Lee, 2024). In other words, the approach used still tends to be structural and has not touched the stratification of the production of meaning in a comprehensive multimodal perspective (Chang, 2025).

Read together, this body of literature clusters into three broad strands. The first strand, exemplified by studies of political caricature as a communicative genre (Ersyad, 2020; Gantús,

2024; Knieper, 2023; Makinde, 2024; Nugraha, 2023; Zarifian, 2025), establishes that cartoons function as visual arguments capable of framing power and challenging authority, but typically stops at describing thematic or metaphorical content without accounting for how that content is multimodally assembled. The second strand, rooted in classical and social semiotics (Azanza López, 2024; Chang, 2025; Lee, 2024; Sukarelawati & Hariadi, 2025), offers tools for decoding symbols and icons yet tends to treat verbal and visual signs as parallel rather than interacting systems. The third strand, situated within multimodal discourse analysis proper (Gheni & Al-Hindawi, 2025; Makaruk et al., 2025; Pan, 2023; Umer et al., 2024; Zrekat et al., 2023), demonstrates the analytical power of Kress and van Leeuwen's framework but has been applied mainly to print cartoons, wartime imagery, or non-Indonesian contexts, leaving Instagram-based, law enforcement-themed caricature largely unexplored (Elhosary & Elkashif, 2026; Lulu, 2025). Collectively, these strands show that what is known is that caricatures encode ideology through recognizable visual and verbal strategies; what remains underexamined is how those strategies are orchestrated together, mode by mode, into a single cohesive multimodal ensemble within the specific institutional and platform context of Indonesian law enforcement criticism on Instagram.

So far, there have not been many studies that explicitly apply the Kress and Theo van Leeuwen multimodal analysis model, especially at the level of discourse, design, and multimodal ensemble in the context of Instagram-based social media (Pan, 2023). In fact, the characteristics of digital media present a more complex mode configuration than print media because it involves digital layout, captions, online distribution, and the context of virtual interaction which also affects the construction of meaning. This gap is the starting point of this research.

Building on this synthesis, the present study addresses a gap that is both thematic and methodological. Thematically, while previous studies on Indonesian caricature have examined political humor and general social criticism (Mahendra & Herawati, 2025; Nugraha, 2023, 2024; Sukarelawati & Hariadi, 2025), none has focused specifically on the discourse of law enforcement criticism as it is multimodally constructed on Instagram. Methodologically, whereas prior multimodal studies of political cartoons have concentrated on framing, virality, or cross-national comparison during wartime and

political crises (Elhosary & Elkashif, 2026; Lulu, 2025; Mansouri & Parina, 2023; Zrekat et al., 2023), they have not applied Kress and van Leeuwen's tripartite model of discourse, design, and multimodal ensemble to trace how power relations are simultaneously represented, designed, and cohesively realized within a single national, platform-specific corpus. This study therefore asks not only what caricatures depict, but how their linguistic and visual resources are jointly organized to represent, design, and cohere that criticism.

In contrast to previous research that focused on framing or sign relations in classical semiotics, this study uses the multimodal discourse analysis of the Kress and van Leeuwen model to examine how criticism of law enforcement is represented, designed, and realized through the integration of linguistic and visual modes in Instagram caricatures @harianKompas (Gheni & Al-Hindawi, 2025). Thus, this study not only reads symbols, but also analyzes how multimodal design builds power relations and legal ideologies in the digital space. Based on this background, the research formulation is as follows: (1) How is the discourse of criticism of law enforcement represented in @harianKompas Instagram caricature? (2) How does multimodal design builds power relations while forming a cohesion of meaning in multimodal ensembles to reinforce the message of social criticism in caricatures?

By answering these questions, this research contributes to expanding the application of multimodal theory in the study of digital media, particularly the practice of visual-based social criticism on Instagram. While previous studies have applied Kress and van Leeuwen's framework mainly to print editorial cartoons or to caricatures produced during international political crises (Elhosary & Elkashif, 2026; Lulu, 2025; Zrekat et al., 2023), and while studies of Indonesian caricature have so far privileged classical semiotics or discourse analysis of humor without a systematic multimodal design analysis (Mahendra & Herawati, 2025; Nugraha, 2023, 2024), this study contributes a discourse-design-ensemble analysis of Instagram-based caricature that is specifically anchored in Indonesian law enforcement criticism. Theoretically, this study enriches the study of multimodal discourse by placing social media caricatures as a space for the production of meaning that is full of ideology and power relations. Practically, this research provides a deeper understanding of how digital media constructs public perception of law enforcement issues in Indonesia.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach with a multimodal discourse analysis design (Li, 2021; Rogo, 2024). This approach was chosen because the research aims to examine the construction of meaning, representation, and ideological relations built through the combination of various semiotic modes in digital caricature (Adeagbo, 2025; Lindenberg, 2023). The analytical framework refers to the multimodal visual and strata grammar models of Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen.

The data of this study is in the form of four legal-themed political caricatures published on @harianKompas's Instagram account in the period January 2023 to December 2024. The selection of data was carried out purposively by considering several criteria, namely: (1) caricature explicitly raises the issue of law enforcement or judicial institutions; (2) contains a combination of visual and linguistic modes, both in the form of text in images and captions; (3) displaying representations of power relations between actors, such as law enforcement officials, state officials, and the public; and (4) have a relatively high level of public interaction, judging from the number of likes and comments compared to other posts in the same period. These four caricatures were purposively drawn from an initial corpus of 46 law enforcement-related uploads identified on the @harianKompas account during the observation period; each candidate post was screened against the four criteria above, and the four caricatures retained for analysis were those that satisfied all criteria most saliently while jointly representing the range of law enforcement sub-issues, namely professionalism, judicial integrity, and technology-related legal risk, that recurred across the corpus. The unit of analysis in this study includes not only the image as a unit, but also the internal elements that make up the multimodal ensemble, including visual actors (characters, symbols, attributes), text elements (dialogue and narrative), as well as visual composition structures such as upper and lower positions, left and right, center and edge, salience levels, and framing.

Data is collected through digital documentation techniques in a systematic manner. This process is carried out by identifying caricature uploads that meet the selection criteria, then archiving images and captions in digital format for analysis purposes. In addition, supporting information such as publication date and engagement level (number of likes and comments) is also recorded to ensure the suitability of the time period and relevance of the data. Collection procedures are carried out

consistently to maintain the traceability of data sources and ensure the stability of the research corpus.

All caricatures analyzed in this study were retrieved from @harianKompas's Instagram account, a public account operated by a mainstream media organization whose posts are openly accessible to any Instagram user without login restrictions or privacy settings. Because the data consist of published editorial content rather than private communication or user-generated posts involving identifiable private individuals, no informed consent procedure was required. The researchers nonetheless adhered to standard ethical practice for social media-based discourse research: no personal information of commenters was collected or analyzed, the caricatures are reproduced solely for scholarly, non-commercial analytical purposes with source attribution to @harianKompas, and the analysis focuses on the published visual-verbal artifact rather than on any individual represented within it.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents the findings of the research based on an analysis of four law enforcement-themed caricatures uploaded through @harianKompas's Instagram account. The analysis was carried out using the Multimodal Discourse Analysis framework to identify how visual and linguistic elements work simultaneously in constructing the structure of meaning. The focus of the findings does not stop at the description of the content of the caricature, but is directed at consistent patterns of representation, semiotic strategies used, and the construction of social relations produced through visual composition, dialogue, symbols, and layout. Thus, the findings of this research are systematically compiled to answer two main aspects, namely how the discourse of criticism of law enforcement is represented and how multimodal design builds power relations in the context of digital public space.

Discourse criticism of law enforcement is represented in Instagram caricatures @harianKompas

Based on the first research question about the discourse of criticism of law enforcement represented in @harianKompas Instagram caricature, it can be seen in the 4 caricatures below:



Figure 1. First caricature



Figure 2. Caricature of two



Figure 3. Caricature of three



Figure 4. Caricature of four

Based on a multimodal analysis of the four caricatures, this study found that the discourse of criticism of law enforcement is represented as a social construction of the crisis of integrity and inequality of power relations in the legal system. In line with the thinking of Kress and Van Leeuwen in de (Souza et al., 2021) who interpret discourse as socially formed knowledge of reality, these caricatures do not simply depict legal events, but build ideological representations of how law is perceived to work in social practice.

The first caricature shows that criticism is

represented through a moral opposition between normative ideals and factual practices. The phrase " *jangan tumpul ke atas, tajam ke bawah* " represents the ethical standards of law enforcement, but is visually confronted with a configuration of social actors that affirms a hierarchy of power. The top-down relationship, the difference in body size, and the spatial position of the actors form the meaning that the law tends to be harsh towards weak groups and compromising towards the elite. Thus, the discourse of criticism is not directed at a specific individual, but at a systemic structure of injustice. The second caricature shows that the professionalism and independence of the apparatus is represented as something problematic and ambiguous. Through the metaphor of " *setengah-setengah* ", caricatures simplify the complexity of legal decisions into a dichotomy of firm versus unequivocal. The symbol of the hammer of the trial as a marker of constitutional authority is instead placed in the context of doubt, thus building a discourse that formal legitimacy is not always synonymous with moral legitimacy. Criticism in this context is directed at the inconsistency of the legal system in carrying out its normative functions.

The third caricature emphasizes legal representation as an arena for transactions and economic interests. The visualization of a large judge laughing while holding money with the "Rp" logo constructs judicial practice as a space contaminated by bribery and materialism. The linguistic element that suggests the use of " *Hakim A.I* " serves as an irony as well as an expression of delegitimization of the integrity of human judges. In this context, the law is represented to have lost its independence and become subordinate to economic forces. And the fourth caricature expands the criticism on the dimension of legal regulation in the digital era. The linguistic element is in the form of the text " *Awat! Gawai Pembawa Bencana...* " serves as a direct and explicit discourse marker. This sentence emphasizes the position of technology as a source of social problems, not just a tool to support human activities. In addition, writings such as " *Judi Online* " and " *PINJOL* ". The representation of gadgets as a "disaster" that falls from the sky constructs the failure of the legal system in anticipating and controlling the social impact of technology such as online gambling and online lending. Technology is personified as a destructive actor, while society is portrayed as a victim. This representation shows that the critical discourse does not only target judicial institutions, but also

the effectiveness of legal regulations in dealing with contemporary social dynamics.

Multimodal design builds power relations while forming a cohesion of meaning in multimodal ensembles to reinforce the message of social criticism in caricatures

As described in the first findings, the caricatures analyzed represent criticism of law enforcement as a structural issue related to legitimacy, integrity, and distribution of power. However, such representations do not stand solely at the level of content or theme, but are formed through the way meaning is designed and embodied in multimodal texts. In other words, the power of caricature criticism lies not only in what is said, but in how it is said through the simultaneous arrangement of linguistic and visual elements. Therefore, to answer the second research question, the analysis is focused on the design and realization level of modes to identify how compositional configuration, size, position, symbols, lexical choices, and relationships between participants build power relations and produce cohesion of meaning in multimodal ensembles. This approach allows for a deeper understanding of the semiotic mechanisms that make such social criticism appear sharp, coherent, and persuasive in the digital public space.

Mode design and realization

The findings of the study show that the multimodal design in Instagram caricatures @harianKompas consistently builds power relations through integrated orchestration between linguistic and visual modes. At the design level (Dos Santos et al., 2023) the selection and regulation of modes is carried out strategically to realize the discourse of criticism of legal institutions and the social structures that surround them.

In the linguistic mode, texts do not only function informatively, but also evaluative and ideological. Sayings such as " *Penegak Hukum Harus Punya Hati, Jangan Tumpul Ke Atas, Tajam Ke Bawah!* " are constructed in full capital letters, which typographically emphasizes the intensity and urgency of criticism. The " *atas-bawah* " lexical opposition structure establishes a hierarchical dichotomy that refers to the inequality of legal treatment. In other caricatures, interrogative forms such as " *Profesional dan independen?* " serve as rhetorical questions that do not ask for answers, but present a normative evaluation of legal practice. Meanwhile, sarcastic remarks such as " *Pakai Hakim A.I. saja Pak, siapa tahu bisa bebas suap!* "

presents irony as a strategy of delegitimizing the integrity of human judges. Thus, linguistic texts play a role as a guide for interpretation as well as a sharpener of critical attitudes.

In visual mode, power relations are represented through body size, spatial position, gestures, and expression. The figure of an officer or judge is generally depicted with a larger body size and placed in a central or higher position vertically. Semiotically, large size and dominant position signify institutional authority. However, these representations are often combined with ambiguous, doubtful, or even greedy expressions, such as fat bodies, big laughs, or gestures of holding money along with a sledgehammer that symbolically reduce their moral legitimacy. In contrast, the minor people or defendants are visualized in smaller sizes and placed at the bottom or edges of the composition, representing structural subordination. However, in some cases, it is precisely civil society figures who appear simple to be the bearers of rational voices and moral criticism, resulting in a symbolic reversal between the possession of power attributes and ethical legitimacy. Thus, multimodal design not only reflects a hierarchical distribution of power, but also deconstructs and questions the validity of that power through mutually reinforcing visual and linguistic strategies.

Multimodal ensemble and cohesion of meaning

Further analysis shows that all the modes in caricature form a cohesive multimodal ensemble. Referring to Setiawati et al., (2024), meaning is generated not by one mode separately, but through a designed configuration of various modes that work simultaneously.

The cohesion of meaning is seen first of all in the aspect of composition. The placement of authority figures in the center or top of the image plane, with symbolic elements such as the trial hammer, the scales of justice, or the official uniform, forms the visual center of attention. The element of money placed close to the legal symbol creates an explicit semantic relationship between power and corruption. In other cases, the "atas-bawah" vertical structure of falling gadgets and running humans builds a metaphor for technological dominance over humans. This spatial composition generates a systematic flow of visual information: from the source of authority to the affected party.

Second, cohesion is built through ideological consistency between text and image. The phrase "tumpul ke atas, tajam ke bawah" was visually

reinforced through differences in body size and position of participants. Criticism of legal professionalism is made clear through the contrast between the symbols of legality (court hammers, uniforms, scales) and expressions of doubt or deviant behavior of the authorities. Meanwhile, the discourse of "teknologi sebagai bencana" is manifested through the integration of warning texts, metaphorical visuals of gadgets as destructive objects, and expressions of public panic. The three modes complement each other and limit the space for interpretation so that it results in a relatively directed interpretation. Third, multimodal ensembles strengthen the message of social criticism through a cross-modal reinforcement mechanism. The language of irony is clarified by hyperbolic visuals; the symbol of authority is weakened by negative expressions; and the subordinate position of the people is actually a source of moral legitimacy. This integration results in a multimodal text that is not only structurally coherent, but also ideologically persuasive.

Returning to the first research question, on how the discourse of criticism of law enforcement is represented, the findings of this study confirm that political caricatures on Instagram accounts @harianKompas not only represent legal events in an illustrative way, but function as a practice of meaning production that builds *social knowledge* about the integrity crisis in the law enforcement system. Caricature works through satirical strategies, visual hyperbole, and symbolic opposition to simplify complex legal issues into representations that are easy for the public to understand, while directing the reader to a specific evaluative position (Jaradat et al., 2026). This function is in line with the view that political cartoons have a unique capacity to frame social issues through deliberate distortion so as to produce a strong critical effect (Guta & Eissa, 2025). Thus, criticism of law does not appear as an explicit opinion, but is constructed through the orchestration of visual and linguistic signs that systematically frame the law as an arena of unequal power relations (Tunde Asiru & Bello, 2023), a pattern that resonates with recent comparative evidence that wartime and crisis-related cartoons similarly encode power asymmetries through coordinated visual-verbal framing (Elhosary & Elkashif, 2026; Zrekat et al., 2023).

Within the framework of social semiotics, discourse is understood as a social construct of reality that is produced and reproduced through semiotic practices Kress & Van Leeuwen in Whitworth, (2024) Based on this perspective, the

law in the analyzed caricature is not represented as a neutral normative system, but rather as an institution contaminated by economic and political interests (Infante Yupanqui, 2024). The representation of the opposition "blunt upwards, sharp downwards", the figure of judges associated with money, and the visualization of the small people as the disadvantaged build the social knowledge that legal practice tends to side with the ruling group. These findings show that caricatures serve as an ideological articulation space that not only reflects reality, but also frames inequality as a systemic structure (Gantús, 2024). A similar pattern was also found in the study of Lulu et al., (2022) who showed that political cartoons in the context of the European crisis build a narrative of responsibility and power inequality between social actors, rather than simply reporting economic events, and resonating with recent evidence that multimodal cartoons elsewhere similarly stage resistance to structural inequality and injustice (Mansouri & Parina, 2023).

Addressing the second research question, on how multimodal design builds power relations and forms cohesion of meaning, the power relations in the caricature can be further understood through visual metafunctions. At the level of representational meaning (ideational meaning), social actors, such as judges or legal officials, are constructed through distortions of bodies, official attributes, and central positions that indicate structural dominance. This visual hyperbole is not just an aesthetic strategy, but a semiotic device to intensify criticism of the character and the system it represents (Helal, 2024). The spatially dominant legal apparatus is morally weakened through symbols of materialism or ambiguous expressions, resulting in a tension between formal authority and ethical legitimacy. In the perspective of systemic-functional visual semiotics, representational metafunctions play a role in framing who has control, who is submissive, and how those acts of power are carried out (Pooja & Sneha, 2024).

At the interpersonal level, power relations are negotiated through facial expressions, gestures, gaze direction, and social distance built between visual participants and readers. In multimodal analysis, expressions and body language have a significant role in shaping the attitudes and ideological affiliations of audiences (Kantharaju et al., 2020; Lindenberg, 2023). Thus, power is not only presented as an external structure, but is negotiated through affective mechanisms that interpellate the reader to take a specific evaluative position. Meanwhile, the textual metafunction of

organizing the visual elements in the caricature through the visualization of the law apparatus in a central or dominant position in size signifies structural control, but ironically visual details reduce its symbolic authority. Ali & Bardaie, (2023) asserts that in visual texts such as comics or cartoons, spatial arrangement and salience serve as a cohesion mechanism that ties semiotic elements into an intact narrative.

The findings of this study show that multimodal ensemble functions as a mechanism of ideological cohesion. The language of irony in the text is reinforced by hyperbolic visuals that accentuate body distortion and extreme symbolism. This practice of cross-modal amplification is in line with the findings of Cabrejas-Peñuelas, (2025) and Schubert, (2021) who show that multimodal cohesion in political persuasive discourse is built through cross-reinforcement between verbal and visual elements. Legal symbols, such as the hammer of the court and the scales of justice, which conventionally represent institutional legitimacy, are actually weakened through expressions and gestures that hint at moral deviations. The integration between text and images forms an *intersemiotic cohesion* that limits the ambiguity of interpretation (Ruiz-Madrid, 2021). This alignment creates *cross-modal reinforcement* that makes the message of social criticism appear consistent and difficult to negotiate neutrally, as also emphasized in the study by Pan, (2023) Pan (2023) and Qin & Wang, (2021) on the stability of meaning in public multimodal texts.

CONCLUSION

This research shows that political caricatures published by @harianKompas Instagram accounts are a very effective visual communication instrument in articulating social criticism in the digital age. Based on a review of the multimodal analysis of the model by Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen, it was revealed that the message in caricature does not stand alone through text alone, but is the result of a complex synergy between linguistic elements and visual representations that reinforce each other's meaning.

There are three main points that have been successfully revealed in this study. First, the caricature honestly depicts the legal condition in Indonesia which is often felt to be unfair, where small communities are more easily entangled in the law than those who have power. Second, there is a strong insinuation of the issue of honesty or integrity in the court world, including the issue of

bribery. Third, this caricature also reminds us that technologies such as online gambling and illegal lending can be a real threat to society.

This study is subject to several limitations. First, the corpus comprises only four caricatures drawn from a single Instagram account over a two-year period; although purposive selection ensured thematic and modal richness, the small corpus limits the generalizability of the findings to Indonesian political caricature more broadly. Second, the analysis is confined to the caricature-caption unit as posted and does not systematically incorporate audience reception data, such as comment threads, beyond the likes and comments used for sampling; such data could reveal how readers actually interpret the multimodal cues identified here. Third, the study is confined to a single platform and a single media account; comparative analysis across accounts, platforms, or national contexts falls outside its scope. Future research could extend this analysis to a larger, longitudinal corpus spanning multiple media accounts, incorporate audience reception or engagement analysis to test how designed power relations are actually received, and apply the same discourse-design-ensemble framework comparatively across platforms (e.g., Instagram, X, TikTok) or national contexts to assess whether the multimodal strategies identified here are specific to Indonesian legal criticism or reflect broader patterns in digital political caricature.

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Ita Khairani, Isni Khairina

Multimodal construction of legal criticism in political caricatures on instagram @hariankompas: analysis by Kress and Van Leeuwen

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