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Multimodal meaning-making in the representation of R.A. Kartini on Instagram: A comparative intersemiotic analysis

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ABSTRACT

Contemporary and Islamic discourses often reconstruct R.A. Kartini's ideas on women's rights highlight a gap in current research regarding the systematic understanding of the integration of verbal and visual narratives on social media platforms. This study examines the application of specific types of intersemiotic complementarity by two Instagram accounts, @mubadalah.id and @cerita_parapuan, in their representations of Kartini. It also explores the implications of these multimodal variations to comprehend their respective institutional practices. Applying Royce's (2007) intersemiotic complementarity, this study conducts a systematic analysis of the verbal-visual relationships within a targeted corpus of 37 slides from ten commemorative posts spanning a six-year period. The accounts were chosen for their differing ideological perspectives: @mubadalah.id represents an inclusive Islamic epistemology, whereas @cerita_parapuan operates as secular, corporate-oriented mainstream media outlet. The results suggests that @mubadalah.id primarily employs repetition to minimize ambiguity and explicitly convey meaning. This approach implies that the account utilizes repetition to present emancipating messages as acknowledged religious and social principles, a practice that is in accordance with progressive digital activism that is rooted in religious traditions. In contrast, @cerita_parapuan relies on collocation to allow the account to convey its narrative without intervening in theological or structural debates, which is consistent with its institutional positioning that prioritizes women's self-actualization in the digital culture. This study broadens the scope of intersemiotic complementarity within digital media studies and points out the ways in which social media platforms reinterpret historical legacies that influence contemporary gender discourse.

I. INTRODUCTION

Among Indonesian female national heroes, Raden Ajeng Kartini (1879-1904) is a benchmark of the women's emancipation movement (Ahlstrand & Maniam, 2025), especially in her attention to education for women. Kartini was born to Javanese nobility and received her education at *Europeesche Lagere School* (ELS) (Ritonga, 2021) right before her *pingitan* (seclusion) period. *Pingitan*, during the era, is meant to confine Javanese teenage girls in their house until the girls marry the men their parents choose for them (arranged marriages) (Cahyo et al., 2025). Kartini's years of seclusion catalyzed her intellectual endeavors as she read and corresponded with her friends in the Netherlands. Her contribution to the country is said to have transcended her time since her ideas emphasized her rejection of the inequalities of feudal and colonial structures, as well as the importance of education for women. Gender stereotypes have historically marginalized women in education and decision-making, leading to essential effort (Arifatin, 2019).

In the context of social media, Instagram has transformed into a negotiation room where R.A. Kartini's critical perspectives are continuously interpreted through the combination of symbolic verbal and visual. Theoretically, Royce's intersemiotic complementarity model has demonstrated relevance in explaining relationships in multimodal meaning-making. However, a review of the literature indicates that the application of Royce's framework is predominantly confined to two main categories. The first encompasses static and linear media, where scholars have successfully utilized the model to analyze the structured layouts of educational textbooks (e.g., Li, 2021; Liu & Qu, 2014) , printed comics (Chang & Tsai, 2022), and public posters (e.g., Haris et al., 2023; Marais, 2017). The second category involves interactive media, such as commercial platforms and video conferencing tools (e.g., Camiciottoli, 2019; Khanifa & Khristianto, 2021; Pascu, 2024) . While these studies establish the framework's robust utility in structured environments, they generally treat multimodal texts as final concepts, leaving a gap in addressing how intersemiotic complementarity operates within the specific, bounded format of social media carousel posts. Although Royce's framework was initially designed for the analysis of static and structured layouts, it can be effectively applied to the commemorative Instagram carousel post, which operates as a bounded chronological, and semi-static multimodal text at the stage of consumption. Therefore, rather than attempting to map the broader algorithmic environment of social media, this study delimits its scope to provide a systematic intersemiotic analysis of the verbal-visual composition of commemorative carousel posts. By focusing specifically on how @mubadalah.id and @cerita_parapuan construct these posts, the study seeks to identify the practices these accounts use to utilize intersemiotic complementarity in shaping their representations of R.A. Kartini, and to examine the implications of their varying multimodal approaches.

Theoretically, Instagram holds unique significance as a multimodal platform due to its affordances, which allow for the integration of various semiotic modes to construct complex

meanings. Specific characteristics of Instagram serve in reshaping a representation of R.A. Kartini. Her image evolves from a traditional female heroine into a dynamic figure that is relevant to modern-day issues. Carousel posts facilitate sequential and continuous storytelling, allowing for the systematic articulation of complex arguments related to gender equality or religious interpretations (Burgess & Simon, 2026; Pangestika & Mani, 2026). Captions serve as a textual tool that either anchors or elaborates on visual meaning, thus offering analytical context for the displayed symbols (Zhang et al., 2026). Furthermore, visual branding through the selection of color palettes, typography, and layout not only builds the account's identity but also frames the ideology behind the narratives being conveyed (Chen & Chiu, 2026; Jurišovà, 2020; Peña-Acuña, 2025; Rahmawan, 2026). Audience-oriented communication shifts the reader's position from a passive consumer to an active participant, presenting topics such as empowerment and gender-based violence in a more interactive way aiming to enhance accessibility for the target audience. Thus, Instagram is not only a platform for conveying information; it becomes an active semiotic environment that contributes to the preservation of Kartini's intellectual legacy.

This study focuses on the perspectives of two Instagram accounts, @mubadalah.id and @cerita_parapuan, which utilize these features to discuss women's issues. @mubadalah.id is part of the online media platform Mubadalah.id and is affiliated with the Fahmina Foundation, a leading Islamic organization dedicated to gender justice issues (Daniah & Pribadi, 2023). Through its visual branding, Mubadalah.id primarily advocates qira'ah mubādalah, an intellectual movement aimed at reinterpreting Islamic sacred texts with an emphasis on the principle of reciprocity (Azik & Syukri, 2025; Kodir, 2019; Kodir et al., 2025; Nurjanah & Nur, 2022). This media outlet seeks to provide an alternative narrative to patriarchal religious interpretations and to promote inclusive, egalitarian, and moderate Islamic values (Ilmiati et al., 2022; Mukaromah, 2020; Nurhidayah et al., 2021; Riyanti et al., 2025). Furthermore, @cerita_parapuan is the official account of the online media Parapuan.co (part of KG Media), which focuses on profiles of Indonesian women. This account explicitly prioritizes audience-oriented communication through popular content and live-streaming sessions with experts to discuss current issues, with the goal of empowering women (Nizarisda et al., 2023; Vidya, 2023). These two accounts, each with its own multimodal strategy, exemplify how Kartini's legacy is being revived in the digital age.

The accounts illustrate contrasting institutional and ideological standpoints, yet both significantly shape the discourse on gender equality in Indonesia. @mubadalah.id ideologically challenges patriarchal narratives within religious traditions, offering an inclusive and egalitarian Islamic epistemology (Mukaromah, 2020). On the other hand, @cerita_parapuan demonstrates a secular, corporate-oriented mainstream media outlet. Ideologically, this account adopts a contemporary framework of women's empowerment focused on lifestyle, career, and personal achievement through popular content and

interactions with experts (Nizarisda et al., 2023). These ideological nuances distinguish the two and make them comparable. In the context of this study, @mubadalah.id and @cerita_parapuan utilize Instagram to reconstruct R.A. Kartini as a historical figure through fundamentally different ideological and institutional lenses.

The focus of this study is to examine, compare, and analyze the application of intersemiotic complementarity in verbal and visual elements of @mubadalah.id and @cerita_parapuan's posts to reconstruct the representations of R.A. Kartini. The application of Royce's framework to examine the representation of national heroes in the study will contribute to a more comprehensive scholarly discussion on gender, media, and national memory. Despite R.A. Kartini's significance in the advocacy of gender equality in Indonesia, her ideas remain contested in the digital age (Ahlstrand & Maniam, 2025; Pratidina & Pasaribu, 2023). The study examines the approaches of religious institutions and corporate media in addressing R.A. Kartini's legacy demonstrates that national memory is not a one-dimensional construct but a dynamic space subject to ongoing negotiation and adaptation (Reading, 2016). Conceptually, this research contributes to the literature on digital feminism by demonstrating that gender discourse in digital spaces operates at the intersection of religious traditions and contemporary secular society, while also offering a comprehensive analysis of multimodal strategies for renewing R.A. Kartini's emancipatory values for modern audiences.

II. METHOD

This study implemented Royce's (2007) intersemiotic complementarity as the analytical framework. The corpus for this study comprised ten commemorative posts, consisting of 37 individual slides in total. The primary unit of analysis was strictly defined as the intersemiotic relation between verbal and visual elements in each individual slide. The analysis of these units was then compiled and compared across the two accounts, @mubadalah.id and @cerita_parapuan, to ensure consistent reporting at the level of intersemiotic relations rather than at the level of the post as a whole. The data were content or posts on the two accounts. Inclusion criteria comprised contents that: (1) were published specifically to celebrate Kartini Day; (2) integrated both textual and visual elements; and (3) represented or reinterpreted the ideas of R.A. Kartini. Exclusion criteria were established for posts: (1) that were not related to the theme of the commemoration of R.A. Kartini and (2), which functioned as an external link or promotional material lacking an analytical narrative. Based on these criteria, there were 10 posts from both accounts published over a six-year period (2020–2025), as in Table 1.

Table 1. Topics about Kartini discussed in the accounts

No.	Dates	Topics	
		@mubadalah.id	**@cerita_parapuan**
1.	21 April 2025	Physical health	Women empowerment
2.	21 April 2024	Education for women	Women empowerment
3.	21 April 2023	[no post]	Women empowerment
4.	21 April 2022	Education for women	Mental health
5.	21 April 2021	Education for women	Women empowerment
6.	21 April 2020	Women empowerment	[no post]

The corpus comprised 37 slides in total. Only 30 slides were included in the final coding, resulting in the thirty coded intersemiotic relations outlined in Table 2. Seven slides were omitted from the analysis due to their sole focus on participants, for instance portraits with no evidence of textual processes or text lacking related visual vectors, resulting in an absence of a recognizable process. Focusing the analysis on the existence of a complete transitivity structure serves as a crucial methodological choice. Royce's intersemiotic complementarity depends on the integration of experiential meanings; thus, slides that lack a process cannot be systematically categorized within the proposed framework. Excluding them confirms the theoretical consistency and validity in the semantic analysis. @mubadalah.id did not upload any content on April 21, 2023, due to the celebration of Eid al-Fitr. Likewise, @cerita_parapuan did not have any content on Kartini Day in 2020 since the account officially launched in February 2021. The data is limited to the verbal-visual content available within the slides, as Royce's intersemiotic complementarity framework highlights the significance of meaning-making through the spatial and semantic integration of text and images within a unified image. Furthermore, the limitation seeks to ensure the depth of analysis by avoiding excessive analysis, such as the inclusion of captions, comments, and hashtags.

The data collection process involved downloading all 37 slides, saving each slide separately in cloud storage, and mapping them into tables for verbal and visual data extraction. The data were then analyzed using Royce's (2007) framework. Consistent with recent multimodal studies that integrate visual grammar and clause transitivity to reveal the relations between images and text in digital media (Riyandi, 2022), the analysis focused on the intersemiotic ideational complementarity between verbal and visual features. To code visual transitivity, the based its approach on Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) visual grammar, which serves as the theoretical foundation for Royce's model. Visual processes were determined by analyzing the presence and direction of vectors. A material process was identified when an image illustrated an action vector, while a mental process was identified when the vector indicated a reaction without the presence of physical action. The findings were then classified into six semantic relationships that Royce proposed, such as repetition (identical experiential meaning), synonymy (the same or similar experiential meaning), antonymy (opposite experiential

meaning), hyponymy (the relation between a general class of something and its sub-classes), meronymy (the relation between the part and whole of something), and collocation (an expectancy or high probability to co-occur in a field or subject area). The initial coding of the Instagram data was performed by one researcher (the first author) to ensure a detailed, consistent, and in-depth understanding of the intersemiotic relationships. To ensure analytical reliability, the second author independently coded a 20% subset (six slides), achieving 80% inter-coder agreement. All three authors resolved discrepancies through collaborative debriefing, guided by the operational definitions of Royce's and Kress and van Leeuwen. In terms of research ethics, all data were obtained from openly available Instagram accounts. Finally, the results of this classification were synthesized to address how each account constructs a representation of R.A. Kartini.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The study examined all Kartini Day (21 April) posts from 2020 to 2025 to understand the multimodal strategy used by @mubadalah.id and @cerita_parapuan. The findings indicate similarities in the representations of Kartini in @mubadalah.id and @cerita_parapuan. In both accounts, Kartini is the starting point to discuss issues regarding women, for instance, physical and mental health, empowerment, education, character building, and female reproductive functions (menstruation, pregnancy, or parturition). Additionally, female figures dominantly appear in the posts with @mubadalah.id using Kartini's pictures in the narration and @cerita_parapuan employing public figures and women in general. @mubadalah.id gives greater attention to education that women can benefit from. For example, on 21 April 2024, the account discusses a statement, saying *jangan sekolah tinggi-tinggi, nanti susah dapat jodoh* (Girls do not need college degrees, for the degrees will hinder them from getting good spouses) with a female figure sitting and reading papers at a desk. This stigma has been attributed to young women in Indonesia for decades since the nature of women's roles is in domestic handling, and these roles do not require knowledge of higher education (Tismini & Susilawati, 2022). @mubadalah.id uses the statement as a discussion starter, opposing the meaning between text and figure, and later reflects on Kartini's endeavor for equal educational opportunities that goes in contrast with hindering young women from achieving college degrees. On the other hand, @cerita_parapuan puts more discussions on women's empowerment, for instance, on 21 April 2025, the use of successful female public figures and the accompanying text mentioning *Kartini Kini* (Today's Kartini) and *Juga Kartini Dengan Caramu Sendiri* (Also, being Kartini in your own ways). In this sense, the text producer aims to situate Kartini's legacy within the larger context of women's diverse achievements in numerous fields, particularly those in the public domain.

In terms of multimodal strategies, the analysis categorized the verbal-visual relations into Royce's intersemiotic complementarity classification (repetition, synonym, antonym, meronym, hyponym, and collocation). Prior to classifying the intersemiotic relations, the

researchers assessed the ideational meanings of the verbal and visual elements in each slide. In the context of Systemic Functional Linguistics which bases Royce's approach, ideational meaning is represented in a transitivity system that explains interactions among actors, processes, and circumstances. However, the analysis indicated that some slides had incomplete equivalence. In certain slides, the verbal and visual elements included only participants, lacking a process necessary to form a complete clause. Consequently, out of the initial 37 slides, 7 were excluded, leaving 30 coded relation instances for analysis, 21 for @mubadalah.id and 9 for @cerita_parapuan). Table 2 illustrates the distribution of these coded relations that include a complete transitivity structure.

Table 2. Distribution of semantic relations on the selected posts of @mubadalah.id and @cerita_parapuan

No	Intersemiotic relations	@mubadalah.id	@cerita_parapuan
1	Repetition	12	0
2	Synonym	3	1
3	Antonym	0	0
4	Hyponym	2	0
5	Meronym	2	0
6	Collocation	2	8
	TOTAL	21	9

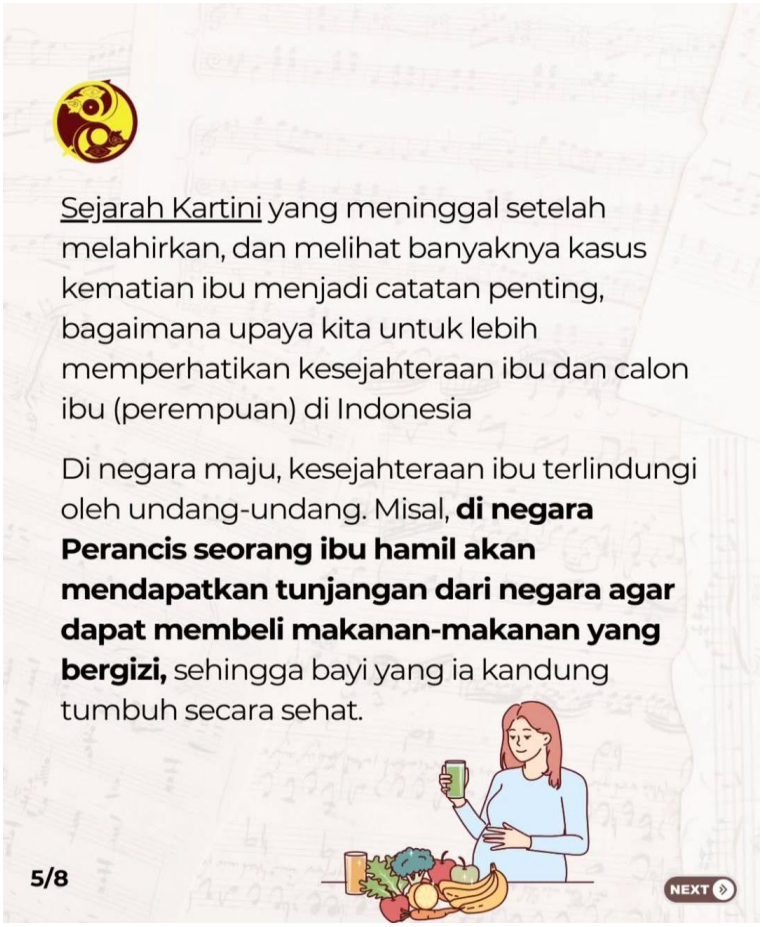
Table 2 illustrates the differences in the application of multimodal strategies. @mubadalah.id highlights a predominance of repetition, with 12 coded relations, followed by the use of synonyms in 3 instances. Additionally, hyponyms, meronyms, and collocations are each represented in 2 instances. In contrast, @cerita_parapuan uses a combination of collocations in 8 instances and synonyms in 1 instance. The findings suggest that @mubadalah.id employs repetition to clearly convey meaning and avoid ambiguity. Whereas @cerita_parapuan mainly relies on collocations to create an aesthetic, easily comprehensible, and non-threatening narrative of women's empowerment.

Repetition is the predominant semantic relation seen in the coded instances regarding Kartini on @mubadalah.id. The account regularly uses Kartini's photographs, both realistic portraits and caricatures, to engage with the topics addressed in its posts.



Picture 1. An example of repetition in @mubadalah.id

Picture 1 is the first of five slides, posted on 21 April 2022, discussing the reasons for making Kartini a national hero and commemorating her contribution to the nation on her birthdate. The slide displays both text and picture with the text taking up more space than the picture. There are four sentences in the verbal text and two features in the visual part (a caricature of Kartini and long green leaves). Repetition occurs twice in this picture, where the same participant, process, or circumstance appears across modes. In terms of participants, the verbal text addresses both *Kartini* (token) and *dia* (token) to the caricatural illustration of Kartini in visual mode. Therefore, both verbal and visual modes support each other to serve an identifying role, confirming "who" is being discussed.



Picture 2. Another example of repetition in @mubadalah.id

The next example is the fifth out of nine slides posted on 21 April 2025. This post highlights the case of maternal mortality. Suarayasa (2020) asserts that maternal mortality, along with infant mortality, is one of the significant indicators of a country's health status. Kartini died four days after giving birth to her baby (Marihandono et al., 2016), and @mubadalah.id claims preeclampsia as the cause of her death. Additionally, preeclampsia is a leading cause of maternal mortality in developing countries (Korkes et al., 2024). The slide consists of a description of maternal welfare by taking examples from the French government's policy, which highlights the allowance given to pregnant women for nutritious food. The same participants *ibu hamil* (actor) and *makanan-makanan* (goal) to the visual *ibu (hamil)* and *makanan*. Repetition takes place to ensure participant tracking across semantic resources since the verbal describes the identity provided by the visual of pregnancy and food. Meanwhile, the process *mendapatkan* (material) is synonymous with the visual *mengkonsumsi* (material) to indicate synonymy. In this sense, synonymy reflects a similar meaning, which is obtaining nutrition.

On the other hand, the semantic relation used in @cerita_parapuan is in the form of collocation. The account utilizes associations between culturally related verbal and visual, as in Picture 3 and 4.



Picture 3. Collocation between verbal and visual in @cerita_parapuan

The post in @cerita_parapuan includes Picture 3 as one of the sections analyzing excerpts from Kartini’s letters. Picture 3 is the second slide of the post on 21 April 2024. The overall quotes in this post address the nature of women’s lives, the spirit of freedom, and the power of women’s dreams. In the picture, the content centers on Kartini’s message to keep on dreaming and its essence in one's life. The semantic relation in the form of collocation is in the participants, especially in the verbal text *hidup* (carrier) and *kehidupan* (carrier), to the visual of vibrant and colorful flowers. Yexin & Pintong (2024) identify those various artists have traditionally utilized flowers as a metaphor for women, both in the West and in the East. In addition, flowers are classified as feminine symbols due to their delicacy and aesthetic appeal within the language of flowers framework (Nossett & Pixner, 2020). In this sense, colorful flowers (white, red, and orange) in the visual represent the essence of *hidup* and *kehidupan* (life or livelihood) that denotes women’s joy and aliveness. Thus, collocation manifests in the life cycle depicted by the flowers, which bloom and wither, reflecting the shifting dynamics of life.



Picture 4. Another example of collocation in @cerita_parapuan

Next, Picture 4, posted on 21 April 2021, highlights both women's strength and flexibility. In the post, @cerita_parapuan, as the text producer, emphasizes women's traits and personalities, depicting them as self-assured individuals who are adaptable to their surroundings. In their study, Sa'ar & Simchai (2023) identify those women, particularly millennials, maintain a strong conviction in gender equality while also being well-aware of existing disparities. These women intend to show their ability to balance the feminine and masculine traits at the same time. From the semantic relation standpoint, collocation is shown in the participants, especially in the verbal text *perempuan independen* (token) and the visual *perempuan.* Here the term *independen* refers to the figure in Picture 4 who gazes confidently at the audience. Moreover, the figure's position overlaps with a frame designed to draw the audience's attention to her close-up expression (or close shot). Ledin & Machin (2020) mention that close shots and horizontal angles, as used in this context, are alternatives to convey intimacy or attachment to the audience. To support the findings, the verbal process *menunjukkan* (show, exhibit) and the visual *berpose* (posing) offer a cross-mode equivalence. This process refers to synonymy, where verbal and visual modes share the same or similar experiential meaning, as posing illustrates the act of showing or exhibiting.

The results indicate different multimodal strategies used by @mubadalah.id and @cerita_parapuan to represent R.A. Kartini. The coded dataset demonstrates asymmetry, presenting 21 intersemiotic relations for @mubadalah.id in contrast to only 9 for @cerita_parapuan. These layout characteristics result in a higher volume of codable relations,

leading to numerical variations that suggest both structural design and ideological emphasis. Due to the fundamental characteristics of the layout design, a higher number of encoded relations is produced, resulting in quantified results that indicate structural differences and ideological emphasis. Even though the subsequent ideological inferences are triangulated with each account's stated objective, they should be interpreted as indicative tendencies rather than absolute representations. Contextualizing these findings, @mubadalah.id, as a part of Mubadalah.id, is an online outlet that advocates for gender equality (Safitri, 2025), using the principles of reciprocity as its core value of activism. The media collaborates with the KUPI (*Kongres Ulama Perempuan* Indonesia/Indonesian Women Ulama Congress) to disseminate the outcomes of the congress (Rochmawati, 2026). Accordingly, repetition appears to function as a multimodal strategy that allows the media outlet to establish robust referential associations both verbally and visually. The analysis reveals that repetition is frequently used to link Kartini's concepts to women's issues, including education (21 April 2024), maternal health (21 April 2024), and women's emancipation (21 April 2022). In the second slide on 21 April 2024 post, the token *perempuan – akses pendidikan bagi perempuan* (women – access to education for women) explicitly links Kartini to the advocacy for education, a fundamental principle of R.A. Kartini's thought. Another example is the fifth slide in the 21 April 2025 post, where the repetition of *ibu hamil – seorang ibu hamil* (pregnant woman – a pregnant woman) and *makanan – makanan-makanan* (food – foods) directly connects Kartini's death to the issue of maternal well-being. This multimodal strategy suggests that @mubadalah.id uses R.A. Kartini both as a symbol and historical figure that supports specific arguments regarding gender justice within the context of progressive Islam.

On the other hand, Parapuan.co provides guidance and support to its female audience to enable them to achieve their full potential in life (Parapuan.co, 2025). The content of Parapuan.co highlights women's empowerment and functions within the framework of commercial media (Utomo, 2024; Vidya, 2023). The application of collocation on @cerita_parapuan's posts creates a dynamic and attractive meaning-making that corresponds with the principles of the media's market and culture. The results also indicate that collocation can visually link Kartini to culturally related concepts, for instance, vibrant flowers which symbolizes life and emancipation (21 April 2024), an ensemble of young women representing strength and mutual support (21 April 2024), and attractive and confident woman embodying independence (21 April 2021). Vidya (2023) asserts that the economic motivations behind the establishment of Parapuan.co have resulted in a compromise in its standard of representation, while preserving an objectivity and fairness in its news coverage. In discussions about R.A. Kartini, @cerita_parapuan employs collocations that reflect a semantic relation specifically related to its audience's cultural background. It is consistent with broader trends in which national media strategically uses collocations to develop and shape public discourses around gender issues (Fatim, Hamid & Mubasyiroh, 2024). As a result, the emancipation the account supports is mainly based on common or established visual representations. The strategy

enables @cerita_parapuan to engage a broader audience using messages that are relatable and relevant to contemporary life. In addition, this Instagram account presents R.A. Kartini not only as a heroine but also as an inspiration and a symbol of personal development that corresponds to modernist ideals.

The depiction of R.A. Kartini in narratives related to education, health, empowerment, and mental health within Indonesia's digital culture carries substantial implications for public perceptions of women's emancipation. First, the segmentation of Kartini's narrative into several topics indicates that she is no longer perceived merely as a well-known historical figure, but as a means to express diverse interests in contemporary society. @mubadalah.id portrays R.A. Kartini as an advocate for maternal health and education via religious perspective. Meanwhile, @cerita_parapuan represents R.A. Kartini as an icon of independence and self-actualization. Ott & Mack (2026) assert that media not only facilitates access to information but also influences the perspectives and beliefs of its audience using representational strategies and narrative selection.

The commodification of emancipation is observable on @cerita_parapuan, where the distinction between visual elements (e.g., flowers, a confident woman) and abstract concepts (e.g., emancipation, strength) constructs a narrative that can be transformed into commercially appealing content. The commodification does not necessarily deem the emancipation messages as inauthentic. It rather proves that feminism in the context of commercial media must negotiate market logic that demands content that is visually pleasing and profitable, yet still aspirational (Vidya, 2023). The commodification of emancipation shown on @cerita_parapuan aligns with the broader theoretical framework of commodity feminism and postfeminist media culture. Banet-Weiser (2018) and McRobbie (2009) reveal that contemporary digital and commercial media often adopt feminist discourse, turning structural political critiques into individualized, marketable esthetics. In this 'post-postfeminist' context, empowerment frequently undergoes depoliticization, being redefined as an issue of individual consumer choice and personal optimization rather than as a focus on collective action (Gill, 2016). In the context of marketing and branded content, this dynamic illustrates that, as observed by Januário (2021), "commodity feminism" arises from a tension between genuine feminist advocacy and the market's attempts to capitalize on it. In contrast, @mubadalah.id adopts a minimalist and informational design, which may limit its exposure to audiences already engaged in progressive religious discourse.

Finally, the limited engagement with the psychological complexities of R.A. Kartini in both account is noteworthy. Although Table 1 indicates that @cerita_parapuan dedicated a post to 'Mental health' in 2022, neither account specifically connects mental health issues to the psychological pressures and inner struggles (e.g., sadness and anxiety) that Kartini frequently expressed in her letters (Marihandono et al., 2016). Instead, the two accounts predominantly prioritize depictions of R.A. Kartini as a heroic or inspirational figure, representing a missed

opportunity to link her historical emotional struggles with the contemporary psychological experiences of Indonesian women.

The differences in the way R.A. Kartini are portrayed on the accounts demonstrate how narratives of emancipation become established on social media. @mubadalah.id adopts repetition to gain influence over progressive religious movements in the digital space. In contrast, @cerita_parapuan employs collocation to create dynamic interpretations that fit the market and popular culture. Although both accounts contribute to the collective memory of R.A. Kartini, the adopted approaches affect audiences' interpretation on women's complex experiences, identities, and health issues.

IV. CONCLUSION

This study examines the multimodal meaning-making of R.A. Kartini's thoughts on women's rights from the perspectives of two Instagram accounts, @mubadalah.id and @cerita_parapuan. It addresses a specific gap regarding the integration of verbal and visual narratives on social media platforms. Beyond the findings, this study offers three conceptual contributions. First, regarding intersemiotic complementarity in social-media representation, the analysis demonstrates that Royce's framework can be productively extended to bounded digital formats such as carousel posts. The comparison reveals that the selection of intersemiotic relations is not merely a stylistic preference but is systematically shaped by institutional ideology and communicative purpose: repetition serves to anchor meaning and reduce ambiguity in advocacy-oriented content, whereas collocation facilitates associative, culturally resonant meaning-making in audience-oriented commercial media. Second, for feminist media studies, the study contributes empirical evidence of how divergent ideological positions produce distinct multimodal strategies for representing women's emancipation, thereby illuminating the tension between theologized feminism and commodified feminism in digital spaces. Third, regarding Kartini as a contested national memory, the findings suggest that her legacy functions not as a monolithic historical construct but as a dynamic site of ideological mobilization, where her figure is selectively deployed to legitimize contemporary agendas ranging from Islamic gender justice to market-driven empowerment narratives. The study highlights several limitations, including a small dataset, a narrow focus on only two Instagram accounts, and the absence of the platforms' metadata in data analysis. These limitations hinder generalization of the findings to a broader discourse on gender equality in social media. Also, the exclusion of captions, comments, and hashtags reduces the platforms' interactive aspect. Thus, this study captures the meaning-making strategies embedded in the verbal-visual composition of commemorative posts, rather than the meaning negotiation that occurs between content creators and their audiences through interactive platform features. Future studies can conduct comparative analyses of other social media platforms, e.g., TikTok or YouTube, to examine how the attributes of interactive and audiovisual-based platforms affect intersemiotic complementarity in conveying emancipation messages. Studies using

virtual ethnography, with the integration of metadata, are essential for documenting interaction and meaning negotiation across different platforms. Additionally, theoretical extension based on a multimodal framework in digital culture can enhance research on national memory, including that of R.A. Kartini.

DECLARATION

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