The Propaganda of Intolerance Act on Instagram: Multimodal Discourse Analysis on #patungbundamaria

¹Jamalullail, ²Khairul Syafuddin, ³Mohammad Nuruzzaman ^{1,2}Sahid University, Jakarta, Indonesia ³Communication Science Study Program, FISIP UGJ, Cirebon, Indonesia E-mail: ¹jamalullail@usahid.ac.id, ²khairul.syafuddin@usahid.ac.id, ³noeruzzaman@gmail.ac.id

Abstract. The case of covering the Virgin Mary statue using a tarpaulin is one of the viral cases related to religious issues on March 22, 2023. The case involved an Islamic mass organization in Kulon Progo Yogyakarta and the owner of the Sasana Adhi Rasa prayer house, ST Yacobus. Some of the posts about the case use the hashtag #patungbundamaria. Hashtags, intended initially to promote sculpture products, were suddenly used to increase the reach of spreading issues. This study aims to determine the form of multimodal discourse from the case of the closing of the Bunda Maria statue in Kulon Progo and the propaganda formed. This research method uses a qualitative approach with a constructivist paradigm. The analysis technique is through multimodal discourse analysis. The results of this study indicate that the emergence of the issue of the Virgin Mary statue by using hashtags begins in the form of grey propaganda. The data to raise this issue still needs to be validated due to pursuing posting speed. However, from problems developing on social media, the message shifted to white propaganda. In addition, netizens on Instagram have concern about rejecting intolerance. They seek to suppress the emergence of intolerant discourse by providing comments encouraging tolerance between religious communities.

Keywords: the virgin mary, multimodal, statues, propaganda, discourse

Article Info:

Received 11 June 2023, Revised 03 July 2023, Accepted 14 July 2023, Available online 18 July 2023

INTRODUCTION

Social phenomena that relate to religious issues often appear in the life of society. One of them is associated with the covering of the statue of the Virgin Mary in Yogyakarta. Precisely at the Sasana Adhi Rasa Prayer House, ST Yacobus, Kulon Progo, Yogyakarta. Various narratives have emerged about this phenomenon, ranging from the issue of mass organizations' pressure to cover the figure with a tarpaulin to the statements that the closure was due to the owner's initiative (news.detik.com, March 25, 2023). Apart from the issue of closure, which the national media have widely reported, this phenomenon has also attracted public attention until it finally became viral information on social media. It went wildly viral on Instagram.

A piece of viral information has

considerable power in influencing the public's understanding of an issue. Tellis, Macinnis, Tirunillai, and Zhang (2019) define virality as achieving numerous published views quickly. Virality can maximize the reach of content distributed for consumption by consumers. For Berger (2011; Borges-Tiago, Tiago, & Cosme, 2019), content that tends to go viral can evoke positive and negative emotions. When the content that is accepted by the public triggers emotions, they will feel the passion to produce a variety of attitudes. Attitudes can be related to their responses and behavior to the information they receive.

When observed from a cultural phenomenon, virality does not only occur at the individual level but also at the online subculture level. The dissemination of content targeted at the subcultural level online can be packaged as jokes (such as memes) and provocations to produce a viral effect (Venturini, 2019). As in the phenomenon of closing the statue of the Virgin Mary, the viral impact occurred because the content produced attracted public emotion. Be it positive emotions (tolerance) or negative emotions (intolerance). These emotions encourage interest from the public to actively participate in this information, both in the form of re-uploading, comments, and even just liking. Furthermore, viral effects can arise due to attempts of provocation. This effort often appears in Indonesia when the issues that arise are sensitive, as is currently the case regarding religion.

One of the effects that arise due to the virality of information is the amount of data that is disseminated by the public privately. This can be observed from the large amount of information spread from one case, but various sources of messages can be found. The news comes from more than online media as a source of credible statements. However, it also comes from the personal account of each social media user. This phenomenon ultimately makes a message that was initially a piece of ordinary information into a new media propaganda form. This can happen when information that initially only provides knowledge to society, in the end, has political interests that can discredit one group.

Propaganda is a form of unlimited communication to spread certain beliefs and expectations (Baran & Davis, 2015). Also, Bernays (1928; Wijayanti, 2020) illustrates propaganda as a consistent effort made by message producers in creating and shaping an event so that it can damage relations in society through specific ideas. This can be done effectively through a mass communication strategy using mass media. However, with the internet and social media, propaganda efforts are carried out through more than just the mass media. Social media has also become an effective tool for propaganda.

Propaganda practices hv propagandists can be divided into three categories. Baran and Davis (2015) mention that the three categories are white propaganda, grey propaganda, and black propaganda. White propaganda is concerned with seeking information combined with positive ideas. In this case, tracking information is done intentionally to divert public attention from an event. Grey propaganda is seen as a transmission of ideas that may be true or false. In this case, no attempt is made to determine the validity of the information. Meanwhile, black propaganda is seen as a form of transmission of evil and strategy. This is usually done to build hatred towards a group through knowledge that cannot be justified.

These three propaganda practices aim to build a reality in people's lives. This makes propaganda always differently, producing constructed diverse and varied facts according to the frame used (Kusumalestari, 2020). Propagandists can exploit the constructed reality to build a conflict, especially on social media. All conflicts can be formed through manipulating public opinion and propaganda, so with the internet, these manipulation techniques have become more modern (Gregor & Mlejnkova, 2021).

As has happened, information about the closure of the Statue of the Virgin Mary is not only known to the public through the mass media or online media. However, people also know about it through disseminating information on social media. Of the many dissemination of data, some accounts thought of a strategy for sharing it. One of them is by using the hashtag (#). In this information, one of the hashtags used is #patungbundamaria.

Hashtags were initially used for social media Twitter to group topic groups on Twitter (Bernard, 2019). From this, hashtags search for topics on social networks with a common theme (Ta'amneh & Al-Ghazo, 2021). In the end, the development of the use of hashtags is not only utilized through Twitter but mainly to build trending topics. Other social media, including Instagram, also use hashtags. Not only to group discussion topics or issues in one group but also to identify common themes discussed.

The use of hashtags has a long history, especially in the use of symbols in online communication. Hashtags are more often used to build a classification system in microblogging-based media such as Twitter since 2007 (Bernard, 2019). Research related to using new media using hashtags tends to focus on Twitter. As in research conducted by Little (2011) regarding the use of hashtags in political content in Canada, Sedhai and Sun (2014) regarding recommendations for using hashtags to hyperlink messages on Twitter, Clarke (2016) related the use of hashtags to strengthen the issue of gender equality, and Sinpeng (2021) related to the protests carried out in Thailand which resulted in the emergence of anti-government problems. The use of hashtags on Twitter tends to be used for building issues so that they become trending topics in conversation on social media, especially in the political sphere. However hashtags can be utilized on various social media, but this is rarely considered because the function and purpose are different when used on Twitter.

The hashtag #jagabundamaria was initially used to group content related to statues or photos of the figure of the Virgin Mary. Of course, without any political and religious issues in society. However, because of the issue of closing the statue of the Virgin Mary in Kulon Progo, the content grouping shifted. It is not only limited to group sculpture content without developing problems. However, politically charged content began to appear using the hashtag.

Hashtags tend to be used to publicize products, as was the case with the previous #patungbundamaria. However, it also invites discussion, label opinions, and mobilize action. Even Bruns and Burgeess argue that hashtags allow communities to emerge and form quickly in response to certain social events or topical issues (Kostygina et al., 2021). This is like what happened to the hashtag #jagabundamaria. Hashtags are not only used to invite discussion or mobilize action. Instead, it was formed to bring up a particular community or group as a response to a lively issue in social life. Especially those that are produced in visual form through the Instagram feed.

Grouping discussion topics can strengthen the dissemination of information carried out by users. This ultimately leads to big issues related to radicalism. The roots of the emergence of the issue of radicalism today are not only found in the real world. The virtual world is also a place to spread this issue (Bastian, Rahmat, Basri, Rajab, & Nurjannah, 2021). The point of radicalism in Indonesia is also related to radical Islam, which emphasizes the understanding and experience of Islam that is unique and different from others (Askar Nur, 2021). One thing that can be identified regarding the emergence of this issue on social media is the extreme attitude of certain groups that seems to be carried out harshly (Widodo & Karnawati, 2019). The issue of closing the statue seems to have led public opinion to have negative thoughts about mass organizations in Kulon Progo. This has become a separate problem for the people there. It even triggers hate speech on social media. This phenomenon cannot be separated from efforts to convey messages massively using the hashtag #patungbundamaria. As

a result, propaganda messages appear at the expense of minority religious groups in Indonesia.

The propaganda on Instagram regarding the issue of closing the statue of the Virgin Mary can be seen as a form of gray propaganda. Such propaganda views the emergence of the transmission of information or ideas that can be true or false, and no attempt is made to determine the validity of the information (Baran & Davis, 2015). When the issue of closing this statue appeared on Instagram, netizens simultaneously commented on the distributed information. They are not only commenting on posts from one account but also commenting on posts from many accounts that uploaded this information. This has helped to make the information being disseminated not only wider but also viral.

The spread of this issue is also inseparable from the current momentum, namely, the Muslims entering the month of Ramadan. This strengthens the spread of religious issues, especially on social media. Propaganda messages built on Instagram play visual forms as published material. Visual propaganda can play an important role in disseminating extremist ideology online, as well as in visualizing the core elements of the ideology that appeal to the recipient in the symbolic world (Frischlich, 2021). The usage of Instagram to conduct that action cannot be separated from its ability to develop interactive communication. two-way Instagram allows users to comment on content while using hashtags to expand the spread of their messages (Pineda, Bellido-Pérez, & Barragán-Romero, 2020).

The strengths and facilities of this online media have ultimately made Instagram a new medium that is considered effective for provoking the public, especially for building hatred towards minority groups. This is done because of the sense of intolerance among religious communities. This study aims to determine the form of multimodal discourse from the case of the closing of the statue of the Virgin Mary in Kulon Progo, as well as the propaganda that was formed. The discourse is formed by social media users, either through feed posts on their accounts or through the comments section.

METHODS

This study uses a qualitative approach with a constructivist paradigm. This paradigm sees reality in social life being formed and constructed. This reality is considered a symbolic formation through social interaction, so the existence of language and symbols becomes important (Butsi, 2019).

Data retrieval was carried out bv researchers using the hashtag #patungbundamaria on Instagram. As of April 1st, 2023, 36 posts about this issue used the hashtag #patungbundamaria. Researchers then screened related posts that led to the issue of closing the statue of the Virgin Mary in Kulon Progo. Thus, the researcher only focuses on Instagram content that utilizes these hashtags to build propaganda messages. The instruments used in this study are posted on the Instagram feed. Researchers conducted a multimodal analysis using the three categorizations offered by Reiss (Kress, 2003); therefore, in multimodal text, information can be conveyed using one method and combining other modes (Kress, 2003). Multimodality observes freely by combining in many different ways, such as typography, design, document, text, color, and more (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006).

The instruments used in this study are posted on the Instagram feed. Researchers conducted a multimodal analysis using the three categorizations offered by Reiss (1977/1898; Dicerto, 2018). The three categorizations include expressive, informative, and operative means. All three are seen as an attempt to deliver a message in which the content has been arranged artistically. It is to the characteristics of Instagram, which emphasizes the visual aspect of a post.

In addition to looking at Reiss's categorization, the researcher also carried out the analysis stage through analysis of the semantic representation of the individual mode of multimodal text, the dimensions of the semantic model of multimodal text, and the inferential meaning of the text (Dicerto, 2018; Hoon, Syihabuddin, Sudana, & Gunawan, 2023: 307). In this case, all the modes used in posts related to the Statue of the Virgin Mary become material for analysis to understand the propaganda happening, especially regarding the message of radicalism.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The issue of the closure of the statue of the Virgin Mary that occurred in Kulon Progo is known locally. Instead, it spread so widely that it became a national issue. This happens because of the use of the internet to disseminate information that is happening in Kulon Progo. The spread of this issue must be balanced with efforts to use hashtags to expand audience reach. Based on the researchers' findings, until April 1, 2023, a graph of the development of the number of issues with the hashtag #patungatbundamaria in the context of closing the statue can be seen in Figure 1.

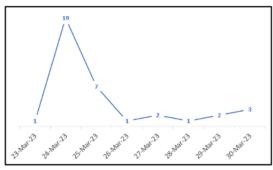


Figure 1. Graph of #bundamaria statue

The image represents that the highest issue increase occurred on March 24, 2023. Where that date is still at the beginning of the month of Ramadan. The initial appearance of this issue was associated with Muslim fasting. There is an initial narrative where the statue's existence is considered to disturb the fasting of Muslims. This can be seen in Figure 2. What was built was not only in the form of news. Nevertheless, it is also packaged in visual form through posts on Instagram. The initial issue raises the impression that a radical group was trying to corner minority groups, especially at the statue's location. The aftermath of this issue continues to grow to build various public opinions and provoke their emotions.

The of dissemination this information on Instagram eventually became a form of spreading propaganda messages, which started from gray propaganda to transform into white propaganda. This is inseparable from the initial process of the emergence of a discourse on the issue to the validation efforts carried out by various parties straighten out previously viral to information. On the other hand, the content production carried out by each Instagram account by including the hashtag #patungbundamaria is not a neutral effort



Figure 2. The post of the statue closing

and has no purpose. Although basically, this content dissemination activity is to provide information to the public. However, without accurate validation and efforts to prioritize speed, this becomes an activity to plunge public thinking. Finally, it provokes the appearance of several discourses, such as radical groups which try to intimidate minorities into intolerant acts in Kulon Progo.

Efforts to Break Tolerances

Information about the closure of the Statue of the Virgin Mary is a sensitive issue in Indonesia. This is not only because this issue appears in Ramadan 2023. However, issues regarding religion are often the root of the emergence of intolerance, especially on social media. The emergence of this issue creates a negative perception of the existence of Islamic organizations in Kulon Progo.

The research findings from using the hashtag #patungbundamaria on Instagram to raise this issue were initiated by posts from the account @independen.ekspos. The account informs about the emergence of various condemnations for the action there. In his post, the report also wrote down the results of an interview with the Chairperson of *Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia* (YLBHI) or the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation. The content of the discussion was more directed towards messages criticizing that the police should guarantee and protect citizens' rights, not become perpetrators of discrimination that deprive non-Muslims of their rights and freedoms. The post can be seen in Figure 3.

Judging from the definitive text, the visual represents the existence of a statue of the Virgin Mary against a dark tarpaulin background. In the circulating video and closing photos, the tarpaulin used is blue. However, in this post, it is illustrated with a dark canvas. As if describing the state of the statue in the tarp. The star symbol surrounding the statue's head also conveys that one seeks enlightenment (Habibie & Saksono, 2022). The star symbol is also seen as a form of eternity and Christ, the universe for Catholics (Laksmi Kusuma Wardani, 2006).

The multimodal text found on Instagram does not only show expressive text forms. Instead, there are informative and operative texts. This informative text is seen as an effort to simplify words so that it can provide information about



Figure 3. @independen.ekspos posts

the topics published. At the same time, the operative text seeks to encourage a behavioral response from the public (Dicerto, 2018). The three texts form a single unit in the multimodal discourse built by @independen.ekspos, especially using the hashtag #patungbundamaria.

If seen from the informative text attached to the visual design, the text producer of the post in Figure 3 wants to show that the closing of the statue started from a protest by an Islamic organization. The message is shown in the written caption "Sebuah video penutupan patung Bunda Maria di Kulon Progo menuai banyak kecaman." At the beginning of the closing Statue of the Virgin Mary issue, there was no clear validation effort to understand the reason for the closure. This raises the message built into gray propaganda (Baran & Davis, 2015: 44) because there is no valid information on the occurring phenomena. Information disseminated through Instagram content is a form of gray propaganda. Because in the narrative built in Figure 3, especially in the visuals, immediately emphasizes a message where Islamic organizations are protesting. Whereas in the written caption, there is no description of information that explicitly shows the protests that took place. However, the caption description is more indicative of an assessment of the performance of Lendah Polsek. This gray propaganda becomes dangerous because when the public builds a negative interpretation, it can trigger chaos, especially on social media. There may even be a public split because what is raised is the issue of religion.

Combining expressive text with visual and informative text simultaneously builds an operative text. The post provoked the public to respond to the closure of the statue that occurred. This is clarified by the narrative built through the post's caption. One of them in direct speech: "The police, who are supposed to protect and guarantee citizens" rights to religion and belief, instead become perpetrators of discrimination that deprive Catholics in Jogja of their rights and freedom to express their beliefs."

Direct speech in journalistic writing is done to rewrite the words spoken by the source. It can trigger an action to induce a behavioral response (operative text). The behavior that emerges from this statement is like increasing hatred toward the police. However, suppose you look at the words Diprotes Ormas Islam or "Protested by Islamic Mass Organizations" in Figure 3. In that case, this creates a stimulus in the form of hatred towards an Islamic mass organization, especially for the non-Muslim public with a spirit of tolerance between religious communities.

The emergence of various modes of this multimodal text gave rise to a discourse about efforts to break a sense of tolerance. The statue, considered sacred by Catholics, is very visible even though it is covered with a tarpaulin with a dark background. This shows the sanctity of the Catholic religion, as one of the recognized religions in Indonesia, is discriminated against by other religious groups. The message that emerges from the interpretation of this multimodal text has the potential to raise the view that there are radical mass organization groups in Kulon Progo.

This view arises when it is narrated that Islamic mass organizations protest against people who adhere to other religions. Especially when this information does not yet have valid data due to the speed of information dissemination. The speed of information is known to provide benefits in increasing public knowledge. On the other hand, the speed of information also has the potential to generate disinformation quickly and massively (González-Padilla & Tortolero-Blanco, 2020). This disinformation poses a threat to the speed that the internet offers, especially through multimodal messages that are spread using hashtags.

The perspectives about the existence of radicalism at the scene of the incident are inseparable from conditions in Indonesia itself. The understanding and actions of radicalism in Indonesia have developed greatly (Menungsa, 2021). Characteristics to recognize radicalism can be intolerant, fanatical, exclusive, and revolutionary attitudes (Hafid, 2020). From the four characteristics to recognize those attitudes in this post, it could be from the messages that lead to intolerant actions carried out by Islamic organizations there. When this is raised without any valid data on the cases that occurred, the mass organization group also becomes the party that is cornered. This creates divisions, not only by looking at minority groups who are victims of discrimination. However, without valid data, mass organizations also become victims of negative sentiment in posts.

This situation also shows that the intensification of radical discourse

can mobilize society to strengthen the emergence of certain identity issues (Kitanics & Hegedus, 2021). This condition is also inseparable from the community's efforts to publish their opinions to build various perspectives through public spaces on social media (Pang, Liu, & Lu, 2022). However, with this freedom of opinion, some propaganda practices show the negative impact of social media because it can be used to influence public opinion (Aminulloh et al., 2022). Especially when radicalism has been narrated as a threat to individuals and the integrity of the nation (Bafadhal, Meilinda, Murti, & Santoso, 2020: 188), this means when the issue of religious identity arises, it has the potential to be associated with the issue of radicalism.

Hashtag on the Issue of the Statue of the Virgin Mary

From the findings obtained by the researchers, the hashtag #patungbundamaria was initially not used to raise religious issues. However, it tends to be used to group content related to the statue product for the needs of collections or houses of worship. The emergence of the issue of closing the statue in the

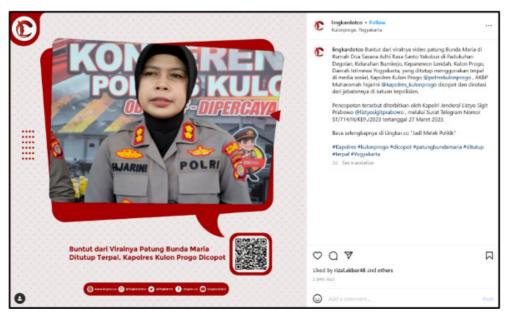


Figure 4. Kulon Progo Police Chief Removed

Kulon Progo House of Worship prompted the hashtag to be used to increase the dissemination of information on the closure of the statue. However, from the findings obtained, the hashtag is not only used to create the impression of intolerance. However, it is also used for clarification from the police because the police are considered unable to protect and guarantee residents' rights there.

One of them can be seen in Figure 4 regarding the dismissal of the Kulon Progo Police Chief. This post is a sample of the researchers' findings on posts uploaded using the hashtag #patungbudamaria. Several other posts also inform about the removal and clarification of the case of closing the statue of the Virgin Mary.

As in the previous analysis and explanation related to Figure 3, the hashtag #patungbundamaria started with information that the statue was closing due to a protest from a local Islamic organization. However, from the development of information and validation efforts, the information is known to be invalid. It makes messages that were originally gray propaganda seen as black propaganda because the information does not yet contain clear data validity. Developing information that occurs makes valid data available, making the reasons for closing the sculpture increasingly clear. Based on the recent validity of the information obtained, the closure was not due to protests from local Islamic organizations. Instead, there was an incomplete administrative process, so the owner of the house of worship decided to cover the statue using a tarpaulin. It was followed by news from the police chief that there was a misinterpretation of the information obtained. Hence, the police made clarifications and removed and transferred the police chief.

The new information obtained was disseminated massively through online and social media, including Instagram.

Using the hashtag #patungbundamaria ultimately leads to efforts to build white propaganda messages. This propaganda uses valid and reliable data to fight evil propaganda (black propaganda) for good purposes (Baran & Davis, 2015). The good aim is to avoid attempts to construct an intolerant attitude due to the case of closing the statute. In addition, white propaganda was carried out massively to counter the interpretation of the emergence of radical groups from Islamic organizations in Kulon Progo.

Efforts to massify white propaganda are utilizing hashtags to build the topics' popularity. In this regard, it is known that the hashtag used is not only #patungbundamaria. However, there are combinations of other hashtags such as #ramadans, #racism, #kristen (picture 3), and #Kapolres, #kulonprogo, #disposable (figure 4). Combining these hashtags builds hashtag popularity, although choosing a hashtag can be tricky because there are also popular hashtags that are growing rapidly (Purba, Asirvatham, & Murugesan, 2021).

Judging from the power of hashtags that can be used to build discussions based on trends and build relationships in conversations (Rauschnabel, Sheldon, & Herzfeldt, 2019), the use of hashtags here also influences the effectiveness of the communication that occurs in a message (Fedushko & Kolos, 2019), thus making the message spread faster and immediately known by the public.

The use of hashtags for white propaganda purposes is inseparable from the role of online media in informing news. The presence of online media integrated with social media also requires a gatekeeper. In this case, hashtags are a form of gatekeeper practice in new media. Technological developments create new opportunities to build public involvement in the gatekeeping process through multi-directional information flows



Figure 5. Account post @wargatalk

(Potnis & Tahamtan, 2021). The public carries out this gatekeeping practice based on their respective preferences. For example, when using the hashtag #patungabudamaria, the users are not only online media. Nevertheless, media from the grassroots to personal accounts amass this information. It becomes a contentfiltering action that the user performs with his awareness.

Public participation through this hashtag helps build contributions to social movements (Sheldon, Herzfeldt, & Rauschnabel, 2020). In this case, a shift in social movements is created. The hashtag #patungbundamaria was originally intended to provide information related to the commodity of the statue itself. Then it shifted briefly to a message in gray propaganda to corner Islamic organizations there. Furthermore, when valid information appears, hashtags are used to carry out social movements to clarify cases that have occurred so that they can be used to fight discourse containing hate speech against one group of people.

Netizens Against New Media Propaganda

The discourse that emerged from

the case of closing the statue did not only appear from two perspectives. Various perspectives emerge because of a phenomenon not accompanied by valid data at the beginning of its appearance, like the post from the @wargabicara account, which linked the closing of the statue to Ramadan fasting.

In the post in Figure 5, there is a narrative that a group of Islamic organizations that visited the house of worship stated that some residents objected to the statue of the Virgin Mary and even asked to be dismantled or moved so as not to disturb Muslims worshiping at the mosque. This narrative seems to position Islamic organizations as local community representatives to represent the circulating opinions.

The many perspectives that emerge and can undermine the sense of tolerance between people are not only passively responded to by netizens. Netizens also actively build public opinion through comments they can write as part of their response to this issue. The response in the form of comments is important because the efforts made simultaneously show the public's concern for issues that can lead to intolerance. This is shown in Figure 6, where most posts try to make



Figure 6. The sample of netizen's comments

each religious group respect each other to avoid divisions between people.

The involvement of netizens through the comments section shows the concern for everyone to maintain a sense of tolerance in the form of participation. Their participation shows a typology in social media related to user involvement in social communication processes, including consuming, contributing, and creating (Men, O'Neil, & Ewing, 2020). Social media users who actively comment continue beyond the first typology, namely consumption. They also contributed to expressing their ideas and thoughts until they wrote comments that can be seen as a text product of their creation.

When they have reached the third limit of typology, namely creating, netizens are seen as active subjects participating in a topic (Frischlich, Boberg, & Quandt, 2019). In this case, they actively respond to the issue of closing the statue by building a discourse of tolerance. It is essential to counter the potential for dark participation in intolerant messages.

With the participation of users collectively responding to these issues, efforts emerge in the digital environment to create shared value. This shared value creation is a significant trend in the media industry (Khajeheian & Ebrahimi, 2021). In spreading this issue, the way to suppress provocative messages with radicalism is to strengthen messages that build a discourse of tolerance among people. Public activeness in building this discourse suppressed the popularity of posts uploaded by the account in question. It is a form of resistance that Instagram users can carry out collectively so that messages with intolerant content do not dominate the world of discourse.

CONCLUSION

Instagram is an effective medium for building discourse with multimodal text. It is inseparable from the visual and written facilities that complement each other in the uploaded posts. The combination of these various text modes mutually reinforces the value of the message spread in one post. Even by utilizing the hashtag mode, posts about the closing of the statue of the Virgin Mary can be spread more widely by focusing on discussion groups related to that topic.

The initial discourse on this issue departed from efforts to construct gray propaganda messages. It is due to the speed of social media, which can cause disinformation. This condition can occur due to the absence of valid data regarding this issue, so it has the potential to be used as a tool to build intolerance. However, when the required data began to be valid, white propaganda emerged as an effort to suppress black propaganda. Efforts to suppress the massive messages that contain radicals and have the potential to divide the public, especially on social media, are not only carried out through posts. However, the participation of netizens in building public opinion in the comments section has also strengthened the discourse of inter-religious tolerance.

REFERENCES

- Aminulloh, A., Artaria, M. D., Wahyu, Y., Surya, I., Qorib, F., & Hakim, L. (2022). Firehose of Falsehood Propaganda Model in the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. *Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi*, 15(2), 249–263. https://doi.org/10.29313/ mediator.v15i2.10573
- Askar Nur. (2021). Fundamentalisme, Radikalisme dan Gerakan Islam di Indonesia: Kajian Kritis Pemikiran Islam. *Al-Ubudiyah: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Studi Islam, 2*(1), 1–9.
- Bafadhal, O. M., Meilinda, N., Murti, K., & Santoso, A. D. (2020). What They Do Not Talk about When They Talk about Radicalism: (A Corpus-assisted Discourse Analysis on Islamic News Portals in Indonesia). *Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi, 13*(2), 178–190. https:// doi.org/10.29313/mediator.v13i2.5859
- Baran, S. J., & Davis, D. K. (2015). *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment, and Future.* Stamford: Cengage Learning.
- Bastian, O., Rahmat, H., Basri, A., Rajab, D., & Nurjannah, N. (2021). Urgensi Literasi Digital dalam Menangkal Radikalisme pada Generasi Millenial di Era Revolusi Industri 4.0. *Dinamika Sosial Budaya*, 23(1), 126–133.
- Bernard, A. (2019). *Theory of the Hashtag*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Borges-Tiago, M. T., Tiago, F., & Cosme, C. (2019). Exploring Users' Motivations to Participate in Viral Communication on Social Media. *Journal of Business Research*, 101, 574–582.
- Butsi, F. I. (2019). Memahami Pendekatan Positivis, Konstruktivis, dan Kritis dalam Metode Penelitian Komunikasi. *Communique: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Komunikasi*, 2(1), 48–55.
- Clark, R. (2016). "Hope in a Hashtag": the Discursive Activism of #WhyIStayed. *Feminist Media Studies*, 16(5), 788– 804.
- Dicerto, S. (2018). Multimodal Pragmatics and Translation: A New Model for Source Text Analysis. Multimodal Pragmatics and Translation. London: Palgrave MacMillan. https://doi.

org/10.1007/978-3-319-69344-6

- Fedushko, S., & Kolos, S. (2019). Effective Strategies for Using Hashtags in Online Communication. International Journal of Computing and Related Technologies, 2(2), 82–90.
- Frischlich, L. (2021). #Dark inspiration: Eudaimonic entertainment in extremist Instagram posts. *New Media and Society*, 23(3), 554–577.
- Frischlich, L., Boberg, S., & Quandt, T. (2019). Comment Sections as Targets of Dark Participation? Journalists' Evaluation and Moderation of Deviant User Comments Please. *Journalism Studies*, 20(4), 2014–2033.
- González-Padilla, D. A., & Tortolero-Blanco, L. (2020). Social Media Influence in the COVID-19 Pandemic. *International Braz J Urol*, 46(1), 120–124.
- Gregor, M., & Mlejnkova, P. (2021). Facing Disinformation: Narratives and Manipulative Techniques Deployed in the Czech Republic. POLITICS IN CENTRAL EUROPE The Journal of the Central European Political Science Association, 17(3), 541–564. https:// doi.org/10.2478/pce-2021-0023
- Habibie, A. R., & Saksono, L. (2022). Makna Konotasi Bulan, Bintang dan Matahari dalam Puisi-puisi Karya Hermann Hesse. *Identitaet*, 11(2), 277–288.
- Hafid, W. (2020). Geneologi Radikalisme Di Indonesia (Melacak Akar Sejarah Gerakan Radikal). *Al-Tafaqquh: Journal of Islamic Law*, 1(1), 31–46.
- Hoon, L. S., Syihabuddin, Sudana, D., & Gunawan, W. (2023). Analisis Multimodal pada Teks Iklan untuk Mengidentifikasi Aspek Ketulusan Iklan. *DIGLOSIA: Jurnal Kajian Bahasa, Sastra, Dan Pengajarannya*, 6(2), 303–318.
- Khajeheian, D., & Ebrahimi, P. (2021). Media Branding and Value co-Creation: Effect of User Participation in Social Media of Newsmedia on Attitudinal and Behavioural Loyalty. *European Journal of International Management*, *16*(3), 499–528.
- Kitanics, M., & Hegedus, N. (2021). The Latest 'Southern Protection System' and the Revived 'Fortress of Europe'

Topos in Hungary. *POLITICS IN CENTRAL EUROPE The Journal of the Central European Political Science Association*, *17*(1S), 729–760.

- Kostygina, G., Feng, M., Czaplicki, L., Tran, H., Tulsiani, S., Perks, S. N., ... Schillo, B. (2021). Exploring the Discursive Function of Hashtags: A Semantic Network Analysis of JUUL-Related Instagram Messages. *Social Media and Society*, 7(4), 1–11.
- Kress, G. (2003). *Literacy in the New Media Age*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Kress, G., & Leeuwen, T. van. (2006). *Reading Images The Grammar of Visual Design*. New York & Oxon: Routledge.
- Kusumalestari, R. R. (2020). Hijrahtainment: Composing Piety and Profane As Commodification of Religion by Media. *Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi*, *13*(2), 290–306. https://doi. org/10.29313/mediator.v13i2.6610
- Laksmi Kusuma Wardani. (2006). Simbolisme Liturgi Ekaristi dalam Gereja Katolik Sebuah Konsepsi dan Aplikasi Simbol. *Dimensi Interior*, 4(1), 17–24.
- Men, L. R., O'Neil, J., & Ewing, M. (2020). Examining the Effects of Internal Social Media on Employee Engagement. *Public Relations Review*, 46(2), 1–20.
- Menungsa, A. S. (2021). Peran Media Massa Dalam Mencegah Paham Radikalisme Pada Kalangan Remaja Di Sulawesi Tenggara. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi Dan Media Sosial*, 1(2), 74–83.
- news.detik.com. (2023). Penutupan Patung Bunda Maria di Jogja: Awal Mula hingga Penyebab. Retrieved March 29, 2023, from https://news.detik.com/ berita/d-6637464/penutupan-patungbunda-maria-di-jogja-awal-mulahingga-penyebab
- Pang, H., Liu, J., & Lu, J. (2022). Tackling Fake News in Socially Mediated Public Spheres: A Comparison of Weibo and WeChat. *Technology in Society*, 70, 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1016/j. techsoc.2022.102004
- Pineda, A., Bellido-Pérez, E., & Barragán-Romero, A. I. (2020). "Backstage

Moments During the Campaign": The Interactive Use of Instagram by Spanish Political Leaders. *New Media and Society*, 24(5), 1–28.

- Potnis, D., & Tahamtan, I. (2021). Hashtags for Gatekeeping of Information on Social Media. *JASIST*, 72(10), 1234– 1246.
- Purba, K. R., Asirvatham, D., & Murugesan, R. K. (2021). Instagram Post Popularity Trend Analysis and Prediction using Hashtag, Image Assessment, and User History Features. *The International Arab Journal of Information Technology*, 18(1), 85–94.
- Rauschnabel, P. A., Sheldon, P., & Herzfeldt, E. (2019). What Motivates Users to Hashtag on Social Media? *Psychology and Marketing*, *36*(5), 473–488.
- Sedhai, S., & Sun, A. (2014). Hashtag recommendation for hyperlinked tweets. In Proceedings of the 37th international ACM SIGIR conference on Research & development in information retrieval (pp. 831–834).
- Sheldon, P., Herzfeldt, E., & Rauschnabel, P. A. (2020). Culture and Social Media: the Relationship Between Cultural Values and Hashtagging Styles. *Behaviour and Information Technology*, 39(7), 758–770.
- Sinpeng, A. (2021). Hashtag Activism: Social Media and the #FreeYouth Protests in Thailand. *Critical Asian Studies*, *53*(2), 192–205. https://doi.org/10.1080/1467 2715.2021.1882866
- Small, T. A. (2011). What the Hashtag?: A Content Analysis of Canadian Politics on Twitter. *Information Communication and Society*, 14(6), 872–895. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369 118X.2011.554572
- Ta'amneh, I. M., & Al-Ghazo, A. (2021). The Importance of Using Hashtags on Raising Awareness about Social Issues. *International Journal of Learning and Development*, 11(4), 10–24.
- Tellis, G. J., Macinnis, D. J., Tirunillai, S., & Zhang, Y. (2019). What Drives Virality (Sharing) of Online Digital Content? The Critical Role of Information, Emotion, and Brand Prominence. Journal of

Marketing, *83*(4), 1–20. https://doi. org/10.1177/0022242919841034

- Venturini, T. (2019). From Fake to Junk News: the Data Politics of Online Virality. In D. Bigo, E. Isin, & E. Ruppert (Eds.), *Data Politics: Worlds, Subjects, Rights* (pp. 123–144). London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.
- Widodo, P., & Karnawati. (2019). Moderasi

Agama dan Pemahaman Radikalisme di Indonesia. *PASCA: Jurnal Teologi Dan Pendidikan Agama Kristen*, *15*(2), 9–14. https://doi.org/10.46494/ psc.v15i2.61

Wijayanti, Y. T. (2020). Radicalism Prevention through Propaganda Awareness on Social Media. Jurnal ASPIKOM, 5(1), 142–155.