

The Political Aesthetics of Jokowi and Prabowo on Instagram

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Abstract: Towards the Presidential Election of the Republic of Indonesia in April 2019, social media has become one of the most important campaign media. In addition to Facebook and Twitter, Instagram is one of social media that quite popular in Indonesia political practice—especially for the millennial. Both candidate have an Instagram account. This occurs because Instagram has a significant influence in constructing Jokowi and Prabowo images. Instagram which is popular among millennials is an interesting political discourse to be explored because both Jokowi and Prabowo tend to narrate their political image into kind of images that is more familiar with the ‘tastes’ of millennials. Through Pierre Bourdieu’s habitus and Jacques Rancière’s the distribution of the sensible theories, this study examines how Jokowi’s and Prabowo’s Instagram uploads narrate their political image which constructs the ‘feelings’ of millennials in political practice in Indonesia.

1 INTRODUCTION

The development of technology in recent years has given birth to a new culture known as digital culture. Digital culture according to Ross (1991) is, the circuit of cultural practices touched by advanced technology. Referring to this understanding, digital culture can be interpreted as a culture that born from the womb of the technological development. Therefore, digital culture is not only a transformation of technology but also a cultural transformation because it changes human habits in general. Digital cultures were not without problems. The practice of digital culture that was built through unlimited interaction between humans has caused the disruption of certain social classes. This is because the pre- requirements and requirements for becoming ‘a member of the social class’ in digital culture are ignored.

In Indonesia, the impact of digital culture creates various social problems. For example, the problem between online and conventional transportation. The problem arises because the ‘establishment’ of conventional transportation is disrupted due to the practice of digital culture that ignores the pre- requirements and requirements of ‘social class members’ in conventional transportation that was built through the system of ‘territorial and kinship’. They’re also a huge problem in the political practice of Indonesia. The pre- requirements and requirements for becoming a well-known politician was having a

strong ‘cultural capital’ such as family background. But in digital culture, ‘cultural capital’ we’re not enough because mass movements has distorted the ‘establishment cultural capital’. Thus, a politician who doesn’t have any ‘cultural capital’ but have ideas that are accord with the mass movements can become more popular than politicians with abundant cultural capital.

Social media plays an important role in the of the global politics trends from the 2011 Egyptian revolution to the mass movement of the ‘Islamic Defendation 212’ (Aksi Bela Islam 212) in 2016. Social media has disrupted the political practices that we have known so far and this has creating the unprecedented emancipation. Through social media, everyone has equal access to various kinds of political issues that are occurring—including the millennial generation (17-32 years) whose daily activities cannot be separated from social media.

Towards the Presidential Election of the Republic of Indonesia in April, the millennial is an important factor for Jokowi and Prabowo, given their large number of around 40% or 80 million of the total 196.5 million eligible (Irawanto, 2019). However, millennial typically characterized as a generation that is politically apathetic. Therefore, the two presidential candidates must work extra hard in gaining millennial votes. Social media is one of the right ways to do it. Through social media, Instagram that are popularly among millennials, Jokowi and

Prabowo strive to make their image accordant with millennial aspirations. These efforts can be seen from various visual uploads in the Instagram feed of Jokowi and Prabowo.

But from the research that we did on Jokowi and Prabowo's Instagram accounts, both of them did not explicitly do kind of campaign. This is because, Jokowi and Prabowo have an official campaigning account but the reachability level is very weak because @jokowi has 16.9 million followers while @jokowi.amin only has 378 thousand followers. @prabowo followed by 2.9 million people while @indonesiaadilmakmur only followed by 340 thousand people. Jokowi and Prabowo have loyal and even fanatical supporters who in recent months have often been involved in various contention on every social level including Instagram. The Executive Director of the Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem), Titi Anggraini said that this was triggered by the attitude of elites and politicians supporting the candidate pair. Because, they show attitude towards aggression and attacking narratives on their political opponents (Tirto.id, 2019)

Jokowi and Prabowo seemed to dampen the turmoil of fanaticism and aggressiveness from the supporters. Thus, both of them posted the same picture of them hugging each other in Asian Games 2018. But on the Instagram, Jokowi and Prabowo seem to continue the campaign implicitly implicitly. Yuval Noah Harari (2018) stated that elections are always about human 'feeling', not about human rationality. Cynically Harari continued, If democracy was a matter of rational decision-making, there would be absolutely no reason for all people equal voting right—or perhaps any voting right at all. In democracy, 'free will' becomes the basis for humans to make their choices and that choice is an expression of 'feelings' for what they choose; because all humans have 'free will' so that rational-irrational choices become unimportant. When speaking 'feelings' in a political context, this is where aesthetics has a very significant role and therefore Jokowi and Prabowo continue to campaign implistfully on their Instagram.

Aesthetics does not only examine beauty. According to Pierre Bourdieu, aesthetics is a mechanism of social reproduction where knowledge and tastes are distributed through regenerative systems that take place hierarchically and simultaneously structure agencies (active actors) involved in the reproductive field of that culture. In this context, Bourdieu emphasized that 'cultural capital' plays a role in the cultural field where 'the sense of norms' becomes a social classification

mechanism (Setyaningrum, 2009). From Jokowi and Prabowo's uploads on Instagram, we see the efforts to 'normalize the tastes' as a form of campaign mechanism that is aligned with millennial aspirations—especially in visual uploads.

Jokowi and Prabowo's visual uploads have the same pattern, narrating something that is 'biographical' such as self-image and family. This study aim, first examines how Jokowi and Prabowo narrated their self-image through a variety of visual uploads on Instagram. As an Incumbent Jokowi has several significant advantages compared to Prabowo—this one of the reason Jokowi did not campaign explicitly on his Instagram account because it could be easily 'attacked' by his political opponents. Therefore, we choose the pattern that belongs to the both candidates: self-image, which includes various meetings with important people and families. Secondly, we examine how the aesthetic mechanism in Jokowi and Prabowo's Instagram visual uploads constructs the political aspirations of the millennial so that it creates 'feelings' that are accordant with their aspirations. This research was conducted 4 months ago until after the 2nd Presidential Candidate Debate was completed.

2 RESEARCH METHODS

Researching on Instagram is relatively a new phenomenon, especially the mechanism of aesthetics that normalizes images in a political context. In this study we use a virtual ethnographic approach, which is a new approach to seeing cultural, artifact in the virtual world (Nasrullah, 2018). Virtual ethnography reveals how cyber culture is produced, meanings, relationships and patterns, to how they function through the medium of the internet (Nasrullah, 2018). According to Nasrullah, there are several levels of analysis such as 'media space' which relates to the technical aspects of digital culture, 'media document' which deals with 'texts' in digital culture as cultural artifacts, 'media objects' that are related to interactions between organisms in digital culture, and 'experiential stories' are connectedness of organisms offline and online.

This research is at the 'media document' level because examined a variety of Jokowi and Prabowo's Instagram visual uploads. Müller and Geise (2015) define images as a mental construct of object or a person, which is generated on a basis consciously or unconsciously perceived (media) images, facts, associations, experience or judgments. Grittmann (2012) further explains that the visual presentation of

politics is condensed to repertory of visual imagery, which is constructed by selection, and, thus attribution of meaning. Jokowi and Prabowo's visual uploads are cultural artifacts that are constructed through complex mechanisms that are worthy of further investigation.

The research began 4 months ago until the 2nd Presidential Candidate Debate. In that time we examine the visual upload of Jokowi and Prabowo one by one. Then we classify it considering the similar patterns between the two, and from this classification we decided on 3 units of analysis, (1) Meeting Type with politicians, religious leaders, public figures; (2) Family Type, about his family, and (3) Personal Type, the current or past relevant self-image. As incumbent, Jokowi has several types of uploads that are eminent to Prabowo. Therefore, we will examine the visual uploads that owned by the two candidates: Meeting Type (in this type we limit both meetings with religious leaders because they have significance for both political images), Family Type, and Personal Type. These three types have very strong relations in the political practice of Indonesia.

3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Instagram is an effective social media for campaign implicitly and explicitly. Ridwan Kamil, Governor of West Java is a politician who effectively uses Instagram as a medium to portray himself 'as the nowadays leader' and Alexander Van der Bellen who was elected President of Austria in 2016 that effective and explicitly using Instagram as a media campaign (Leibhart & Bernhardt, 2017) –and as we speaking of images, aesthetics has a very significant role in it.

Jacques Ranciere all art is politics because it establishing what is valuable to people because there a distribution of the sensible therefore establishes at one and the same time something common that is shared and exclusive parts (Ranciere, 2011). For him, art has a political essence that distributes human experience and hope. Photo uploads on Instagram are not art in a sense. However, every photo that posted on Instagram distributes our experiences and hopes. Instagram, which was released in 2010, is well known as a social media that provides more aesthetic experience than other social media—many features help us to do kind of 'beautification' before uploading it. So it is not excessive if Instagram can be categorized as an aesthetic regime because of a major form of aesthetics distribution.

Digital Revolution: National Launching of 4G on January 4, 2016 was Jokowi's first Instagram upload. As of February 20, 2019, Jokowi has 16.7 Million Followers, 0 Followings, and 1,049 thousand posts. While Prabowo for the first time posted a photo of skydiver group exposing, "BERSATULAH BANGSAKU" on September 20, 2015. Until February 20, 2019, Prabowo had 2.8 million Followers, 1 Following, and 346 posts. Jokowi's Profile Picture is himself sitting at his desk with a white shirt and set in a carved 'gunungan wayang' and Indonesia national flag. Jokowi's home describing, "The official Instagram account of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo (Indonesia Flag), Hastag (#) MenujuIndonesiaMaju, and managed by the President's Digital Communication Team." While Prabowo's profile picture depicts himself in vector form with a formal suit. Prabowo's home only contains a link to his Facebook account: "facebook.com/PrabowoSubianto."

In the Meeting Type, Jokowi was more eminent to Prabowo because of his status as incumbent. Jokowi uploaded various meetings with politicians with 20 uploads, 25 religious leaders, and with public figures 16 uploads. While Prabowo uploaded his meeting with politicians as many as 14 upload, meeting with public figures as many as 3 uploads—but there was no upload of Prabowo's meeting with religious leaders.



Figure 1: Meeting Islamic Cleric Syekh Haji Hasyim Al-Syarwani Tuan Guru Babusalam, @jokowi Instagram, 2019



Figure 2: Meeting with Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono the 6th Indonesia President, @Prabowo Instagram, 2019.

Meeting Type is an important ‘cultural capital’ because it legitimizes leadership images at many social levels. In Indonesia, the legitimacy of religious leaders is very important. Historically, the coalition between the two is very obvious. A ruler always needs the legitimacy of religious leader. In Indonesia meeting a Kyai (Islamic Clerics) is the most ultimate legitimacy because it portrays a leader who is close to Muslims. Some of Jokowi's visual upload with Kyai are a form of construction because Jokowi has always been accused of being an anti-Islami. With the increasingly religious people of Indonesia, including the millennial generation, these visual uploads are Jokowi's efforts to affirm his image and position as a leader who is close to Muslims.

Through photos with Kyai, Jokowi distributed what Renciere called the distribution of sensible and further emphasized the importance of Islam for him. In Prabowo's Instagram we did not find any uploads with prominent Kyai. However, in the Personal Type, Prabowo uploaded 9 photos of himself with religious appearance such as praying and being in the Holy Land as well as the “Aksi Bela Islam 212”. There were several uploads of Prabowo with politicians who were influential in Indonesia. One of them was his photo with the former Indonesian 6th President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). This photo was very important because it constructs the image of Prabowo as a potential leader who gained legitimacy from the previous leaders.

In the Family Type, Jokowi uploaded 13 photos while Prabowo 28 photos. Prabowo uploaded many photos of his family in the past while Jokowi only uploaded once while performing Hajj in 2003. Prabowo uploaded 3 old photos of his mother (Dora Marie Sigar) while Jokowi only uploaded a relatively new photo with his mother. From 28 Family Types uploaded by Prabowo, only 8 photos were relatively new. The rest of the photos was bunch of old photos. There were no photos of a young Prabowo with his whole family. Whereas 13 photos of Family Type

uploaded by Jokowi have nothing from the past. All the photos are relatively new and show Jokowi's wife, children, and grandchildren. Prabowo never uploaded his own complete family photo considering his status as widower. There were only 2 photos uploaded together with his only son, Didit Hediprasetyo and a photo with his ex-wife with other relatives.



Figure 3: Family picture of Jokowi's Family minus Kaesang (Jokowi second son), @jokowi Instagram, 2019



Figure 4: Old Family picture of Prabowo with his mother, sister, and brother, @prabowo Instagram, 2019

The family in the political practice of Indonesia were an important cultural capital. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital is a cultural resource that can place the position of an individual. Cultural capital consists of three forms, (1) incorporées which include general knowledge, skills, cultural values, religion, norms, derivative talents, (2) objectivées which include ownership of high value cultural objects, (3) institutionalisé which includes titles, level of education, certain skills acquired through education (Krisdianto, 2014). In Indonesia we know the term The Politic Dynasty, where important positions in the government are filled with people who have family relations with those who have or are in power—this practice in the New Order era gave birth to nepotism.

Muhammad Heychael in Politik Kekeluargaan dan Kekuasaan Yang Berpusat Pada Tubuh argues that family politics as a mode of power is also

reproduced in various units of power to the lowest (Indoprogress.com, 2014). The New Order which came to power for 32 years long (1966-1998) has created a family culture that is embedded in political practice in Indonesia. The practice of family politics mythologically departs from Javanese culture and it is not surprising that in practice it gave birth to the concept of 'The Chosen Family'. This practice is deeply rooted in Indonesian culture so that a leader is always cultured as a figure who comes from the chosen family/noble family and has the authority of 'the chosen one—In fact many Indonesian political figures come from noble classes.

Jokowi uploaded photos of his family: wife, children, and grandchildren. These photos are relatively new, also the one with his mother. Jokowi through these photos tried to portray and represent something new that different from of his rival. Jokowi tried to assert that he was a leader who came from ordinary people—born from the womb of the people. Jokowi came from a family that did not have a good cultural capital as Prabowo. But in practice, Jokowi was able to compete and even beat Prabowo in certain way. Thus, Prabowo represented the old family values of the New Order style while Jokowi came up with newer values that were different because they tried to represent the people in general.

In the Personal Type, Jokowi uploaded 21 photos and Prabowo 45 photos. From the 45 photos of the Personal Type, Prabowo 14 of the photos he uploaded always exposed his past when he was a teenager and a High Officer with the position of Special Forces Command Commander (Kopassus) and Commander of the Army Strategic Command (Pangkostrad). Jokowi, from the 21 Personal Type photos he uploaded, only 1 photo that came from the past when the young Jokowi was cooking some noodle while mountaineering with some of his friends.



Figure 5: Old photos of Jokowi with his friends, @jokowi Instagram, 2019.



Figure 6: Old photos of Prabowo in his early military karir, @prabowo Instagram, 2019.

The Political Dynasty that conducted by the New Order's also gave birth to the concept of 'fatherhood'. This concept of 'bapakisme' or 'fatherism' departs from Suharto's leadership style when in power. Mulder in Muhammad Heychael said that by analogizing the state as a family, students were invited to see Suharto as a father figure rather than a president, and the people were children who needed guidance. The relationship between the two, as well as the relationship between father and son in the family, is bound by morals and based on spirituality. Obviously, in such a worldview, people's (children's) protests or criticisms of the government (parents) are moral, ethical, and spiritual violations (Indoprogress.com, 2014).

Prabowo in the Personal Type portrays the concept of 'fatherism'. Prabowo portrays himself as a nurturing charismatic leader and is ready to face and fight various threats. And visually represented through fashion, speech styles, and pets. In terms of fashion, Prabowo had a fashion style that combined the clothing of the Indonesia founding father from Sukarno to General Sudirman. So that Prabowo seemed very patriotic and nationalist especially his military background which further strengthened his leadership image. Prabowo's style during a speech mimicked Sukarno's style and even Bung Tomo's. What's the most interesting upload were the beautiful horses that cost billions of rupiah. Horses are one of Prabowo's social capital which confirms that economically he is well-established with a hobby of maintaining horses that not just anyone can do.

Jokowi only uploaded a single photo from the past. The photo shows the young Jokowi cooking noodles while doing his hobby: mountaineering a very common hobbies not like the expensive hobbies of Prabowo. Jokowi's fashion is so simple: white folded shirt. The simplicity of Jokowi's clothing implies his readiness to work and to serve the people.

Jokowi is also known as the concept of 'blusukan'/coming to the people directly and the image is constructed through the simplicity of the clothes he wears. Jokowi's speech style seems flexible but with pressure that implies his courage in facing anything for the sake of the nation and country. Jokowi does not have pet but once he upload the releasing birds in the Bogor botanical garden. It seems that Jokowi portrays himself as a leader who 'frees' his people. Jokowi's efforts to aspire his openness to the millennials are by uploading many kind of images that are close to them, such as the narration that Jokowi is a metalhead and this has been implemented several times by attending music events. On several occasions Jokowi was seen riding a custume motorbike with locally made clothing. It portrays Jokowi as a leader who is close to and strongly supports the creativity of the millennial generation.

4 CONCLUSIONS

In the practice of contemporary politics in Indonesia, The role of Instagram cannot be ignored because it is able to distribute the image that accordant to the politician. Instagram has disrupted the establishment of political practices so that cultural capital and social capital also change. Therefore, Instagram is very important in the practice of digital politics in Indonesia.

This was well realized by politicians and towards the Presidential Election, the two presidential candidates were aware of the importance social media role in a political practice. Although the two candidates for President of the Republic of Indonesia, Jokowi and Prabowo did not make their personal Instagram account the main campaign media but implicitly still narrated their political image.

In this study we found the same pattern between the two candidates, which is 'biographical' with the following classifications: (1) Meeting Type which is the meeting with important people—especially religious leaders and political figures, (2) Family Type, the uploads about family, and (3) Personal Type, the uploads of the relevant self-image. In the three types of uplads, Jokowi is more eminent considering his status as incumbent.

Jokowi and Prabowo narrate the image which were constructed through the aesthetic mechanism quoting Ranciere 'the distribution of the sensible' because it tries to distribute the aspirations of its audience—especially millennials. Indonesian Millennial are divided into two political

consciousnesses, the New Order and the Reformation. And from the results of the research that we did, the two Presidential candidates had significant differences in narrating their political image.

The results of our analysis of the three types of uploads, Jokowi represents a new political values while Prabowo represents old political values and tends to be 'New Order-Ish'. Although Jokowi, in the Meeting Type uploaded many meetings with the Kyai—a construction of political culture in Indonesia that had existed throughout the history. In the Family and Personal Type uploads, there is a clear dichotomy between Jokowi and Prabowo because both have and represent two very opposite; Jokowi with his new values and Prabowo with his old values. Jokowi was coming from nothing; Prabowo was coming from something great—the family. Jokowi construct his images as a leader who born from the people while Prabowo portrays himself as 'heir to the Indonesia political and leadership throne'. Jokowi and Prabowo portrays themselves as a different leader even though in some uploads it continues to portray leadership with Indonesian (Javanese) political culture.

This research has many shortcomings and there are many things that can be explored more deeply. Through this research we hope to be able to provide a kind of picture of contemporary Indonesian political practice through social media, especially Instagram through cultural capital, social capital, and how aesthetic mechanisms construct and distribute the sensibility of the aspirations of its audience—millennial.

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