

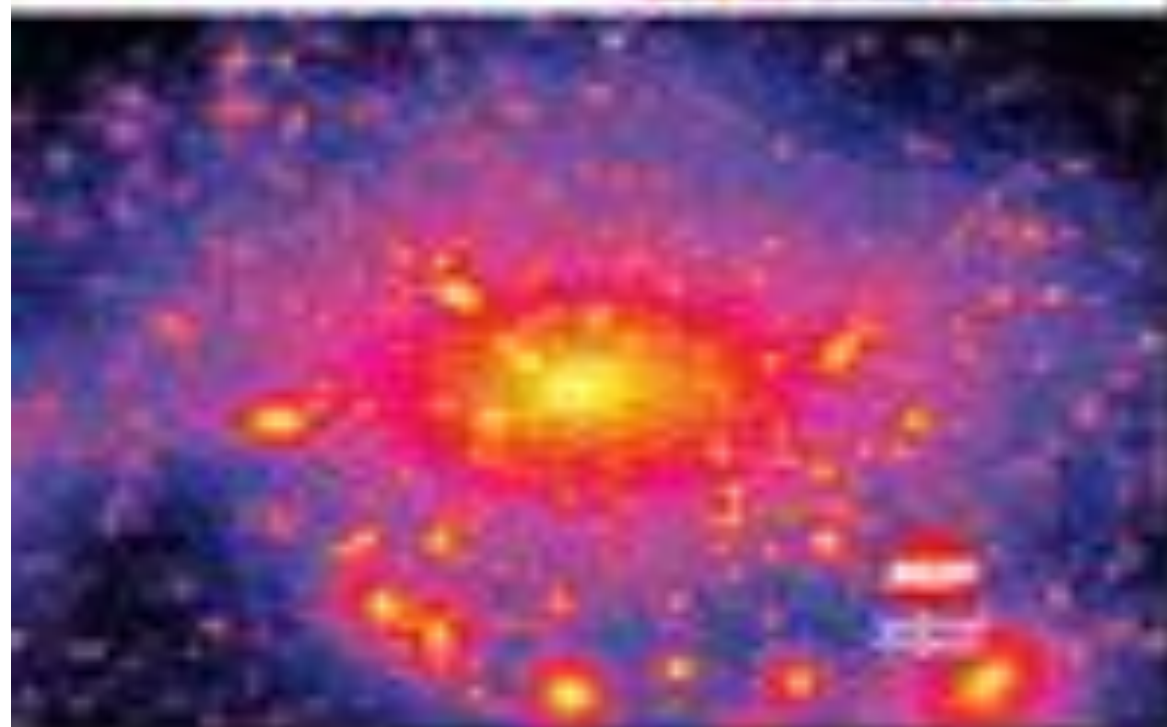
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MEDIA AND COMMODIFICATION OF ISLAMIC SYMBOLS IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN TOWARDS GENERAL ELECTION OF GOVERNOR / VICE GOVERNOR OF DKI JAKARTA 2017

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ABSTRACT

DKI Jakarta general election in 2017 has been passed almost a year and has gained great public attention, Media has a central role in the election of DKI in various forms of campaigning. In a society where the majority embraced Islam, the campaign cannot be separated from the values of Islam which is often used by politicians as a 'political instrument.' Utilization of Islamic symbols merely served as form of commodification in the market for the benefit to obtain a positive opinion of the people who are expected to get votes. This research uses a critical paradigm with qualitative approach, case study method and critical analysis of the political economy. The theory used is the political economy of the media, especially the concept of Vincent Mosco commodification, particularly political communication and political campaign communication symbols in political campaigns that they practise. The symbol is one of the strengths in the political communication activities such as campaigns, advertising and political speeches harness the power of symbols and attributes attached to the communicator and political audiences. As in the DKI Jakarta elections both in the socialization and campaigns, political communicator harness the power of symbols and attributes of Islam which is considered to be powerful to bring the communicators (candidates) together with the electorate.

Key words: *Media, commodification, Islamic symbols, political campaign-Jakarta-Election of Governor*

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country which has the largest Moslem population in the world. From 237 millions of total population of Indonesia citizen, 207 millions of them are Moslem. [1] It is fact influences various sectors of Indonesian society with the values and symbols of Islam. The similar condition occurred in Jakarta whose population is mostly moslem from 10.177.924 citizen. [2] In everyday life, Islam adheres to the traditions of Indonesian society in general and in this context, Jakarta and politicians use symbols and attributes which are related to Islam in various sectors of life including community politics.

The use of symbols and Islamic attributes in politics is actually commonplace and applied extensively by the state or government, political parties and various other components of society. On the other hand, publics generally feel 'close' to the use of the symbol.. As Geertz [3] noted, the idea proved that religion cannot be separated from human life. Hence, religion is often brought by politicians to legitimize their power so that it seems that they politicize religion. Geertz (1973: 90) defined religion as (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men [and women] by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic. [4] Religious symbols that became the focus of this research is the symbol of Islam which is used by candidate pair of governor / vice governor Jakarta in election 2017.

The symbols and attributes of Islam are used in various political activities; especially political campaigns. In addition, society can easily access and even share that information routinely through online media and social media. For instance, while the Presidential Election in 2017, the wife of presidential candidate Joko Widodo wore *hijab* during the campaign [5] Utilization of such symbols is able to create a perception and proximity of the politicians or candidates with their constituents. People feel that the candidate is an integral part of the 'belief' or religion. The candidates reflect that they are individuals who are close to the values of religion, trustworthy, kind, and honest.

In the process of political campaigns, commodification proceeded without meaning, it means the politicians manipulate the symbols of religion for their political interests, although in fact they have lack of understanding of religion. Based on the backgrounds that were outlined, the focuses of the problems in this paper are: (1) Why are the commodification of Islamic religious symbols and attributes used by politicians in their political campaign? (2) How do media and the commodification of Islamic symbols create the manipulation of reality for politicians or candidates in the process of a political campaign?

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

This Research used Vincent Mosco's political economy of media theory. The study of political economy questions as well as explains the relationship of social, economic and politic, particularly power relations that are mutually formed for the production, distribution, and consumption of resources. According to Mosco, a political economy approach is understood in the narrow and broad sense. In a narrow sense, a political economy approach means the study of social relations, particularly power relations, which together form the production, distribution and consumption of resources, especially communication resources. The process is widely political control because the process involves a social organization in a community. [6] Last process is fundamentally an economic character because it deals with issues of production and reproduction. Political economy approach is a study on the identification of a group of critical approaches [7]

Vincent Mosco [8] in his book "The Political Economy of Communication: Rethinking and Renewal") mentioned that commodification is "the process of transforming use values into exchange values". Commodification is an attempt to change anything into a commodity or merchandise as a benefit. Commodification is related to how the process of transformation of the goods or

services with the commodity value that has high economic value. According to Vincent Mosco, there are three basic concepts related to the political economy of media, namely the commodification, spatialization and structuration. The commodification according to Mosco [9] is the way capitalism carries out his aim to accumulate capital or realize value through the transformation of use value into exchange value. Spatialization is the way capitalism brings aim to accumulate capital or realize value through the transformation of use value into exchange value Mosco [9] Structuring is the process of merging with a human agency to the process of social change in the structural analysis. An important characteristic of structuration theory is essentially the power given to the social changes that describe how the structure is produce and reproduced by human agents that act through the medium of those structures. [10]

Commodification of Islam, according to Fealey, is an attempt to commercialize Islamic values where Islam and symbols become transactable to gain interest. [12] While Baker states, that the commodification of religion makes a gap to define religion market commodities to be empowered.[13] Religion commodification is an effort made commodicator to persuade audiences with values inherent in the lives of voters profitable for communicators in this context are political candidates .

Politicians use media to introduce themselves, to socialize the program and also influence the perception and public opinion. Brian McNair [14] stated that the mass media serves as transformitter for political communication originating from outside the media organization itself, and the send political messages constructed by media workers/journalists. The process implies politicians need the media to delivering messages where is the commodification of media content, audiences and commodification commoditization of media workers takes place

The campaign is the transformation of information in various forms of political message to the audience with a specific communication channels and media to influence and create public's opinion. [15] Political campaign process takes place in such a way to involve communicators, messaging, media and audiences, as well as certain effects planned by the candidates. "Political campaign is an organized effort by a group (agents of change) aimed at persuading the others (target) to accept, modify or reject certain ideas, attitudes, actions and practices." [16] Roger dan Storey (1987 explained that political campaign is a set of planned communication actions with the aim of creating a certain effect on a large number of audiences that are conducted sustainably over a period of time [17]

All components are involved and become an important part of the process of political campaigns. In a political campaign, symbols and attributes which are used by politicians are forms of non-verbal communication that shape public perception. An understanding of non-verbal meaning 'equal or nearly equal' was able to create a common understanding among the political audience. [18] The symbol is a sign that has a meaning that is used in a community or collection, in which the community has to know the meaning of the symbols that are used. Symbols and attributes have become very important in political utilization because it can create meanings in line with the interests of politicians and political candidates. [19] The symbol is not just a form of words, pictures and artifacts, in fact, the symbols serve more than that. The symbol serves as a messenger, the information in the group. [20]

Brian McNair [21] states that the model suits, hairstyles, the angle of the camera or the color arrangement of the stage are examples of aspects of messages that can affect public perception of the political communicator and message. The symbol is a sign that has a meaning that is used in a community or collection, in which the community has to know the meaning of the symbols that are used. Symbols and attributes have become very important in political utilization because it can create meanings in line with the interests of politicians and political candidates. [20] The symbol is not just a form of words, pictures and artifacts, in fact, the symbols serve more than that. The symbol serves as a messenger, the information in thegroup. [21]

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a critical paradigm, that is concerned with attempting to dismantle aspects that are hidden behind the reality that seemed to do a critique and change of social structures. [22] Focus research is symbols and attributes commodification of religion (Islam) that is used by a candidate or politician in a political campaign. This paper attempts to understand, explain and criticize the social reality in the form of the use of symbols and attributes that tend to be inherent in the Muslim society in political campaigns. [24] This study used case study by using interview and observation as data collection technique. Interviews were conducted to resource persons as follows: 1) Politicians and Management of Political Parties, 2) Public voters, 3) Media tempo.com, media Indonesia.com and inilah.com. The data is supplemented by observation on the media text that is the pictures of Jakarta governor candidates during the Jakarta Governor Candidate Campaign.

ANALYSIS

Commodification in Political Campaigns

Islamic symbols and attributes were commoditized in such a way to get closer, an image and a positive perception of politicians in the campaign. On the other hand, the use of Islamic symbols and attributes are creating new problems in society; the emergence of judgment or perception in the public that the views of politicians and candidates in the campaigns is a real thing, is integrated inside of politicians and candidates.

Commodification is defined as a process of transformation using the life-value that humans use to be a value that can be exchanged. [24] Therefore, through the use of media as a medium in the symbol commodification industry was still successful. The success of politicians and the media do commodification has created a 'false' system of political communication and tends to eliminate audiences consciousness on the substance of value in the political process in social and cultural life of society. Media constructs the meaning of the symbols and attributes in order to have economic value in the political market. In this context Vincent Mosco [25] calls it a form of commodification that there has been a process of transformation of goods and services from the point

value into a commodity-oriented exchange rate in the market. The transformation process of use value into exchange value, the mass media always involve the media crew, audience of readers, markets and countries where each of them has an interest.

Successful commodity value appears in the political campaign process is a politician or candidate who is close to religion, kind, honest and trustworthy. The three pairs candidates governor of Jakarta, the pair number 1 is Agus Yudhoyono and Silviana Murni, the pair number 2 is Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Ahok) and Djarot Hidayat, and the pair number 3 is Anie Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno who use symbols and attributes of Islam in political campaigns, although in a different portion.

In that context, the politician is a commodity that is designed in such a way as products that have economic value. That is the reality that appears not in reality without consideration or naturally present, but the reality is planned with all aspects of communication such as communicators, messaging, media, public, and even the effects of feedback on what they were designed in the political campaign process.

“Candidates use religious symbols in the process of political campaigns to attract the sympathy of Moslem voters. By utilizing or "selling" Islamic symbols such as the use of brimless cap (*peci*), sarong, or expressions in Islam while the use of sacred verses is more directed to followers of Islam who are considered obedient or follow the invitation of *ulema*, community leaders in a region. (informan 3, Juli, 24, 2017).

Muhammad Fakhruroji explains that the commodification of religion is the transformation of religious values which originally is the key to life and the source of normative values based on divine beliefs into exchange rates, using their functions adapted to the needs of men for religion. [26] In general, the use of Islamic symbols by certain candidates in DKI Jakarta governor election is clearly seen in advertisements on newspaper, television, brochures, and social media. This way of publication proves effective. The use of brimless cap (*peci*), Islamic shirts, and sarongs placed on the shoulders by the candidate shows as if candidate is a true Muslim. Even in the second round of elections in DKI Jakarta 2017, there is a candidate for deputy governor who, in his picture, using the cap, in fact, in previous round, he did not use the cap. This is a modified form by the candidate to appeal to the voting audience. At the same time, the use of symbols and attributes of Islam is expected to increase 'acceptance' of the audience towards the candidate, and also to avoid the 'negative issue' that has been experienced by certain candidate.

Informan 1, as the central executive deputy secretary of Golkar party and acts as campaign spokeswoman and Golkar Party spokeswoman in campaign process prospective governor Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Ahok) stated :

“that modifying religion symbols should not conducted for any purpose except for worship, but In DKI Jakarta’s governor election in 2017, commodification occurs and tends to get political interest. Jakarta governor election is the only governor election in Indonesia that commodifies religion symbols and religious issues to bring down other candidates and fact it works great.

The purpose of commodification of religious symbols is carried out by candidates; First, to reinforce voters' belief that they make the right choice because it is based on Islam and supported by ulema/religious leaders. Voters believe what the ulama / ustaz say is true because the degree of knowledge in their religious field is considered higher so they do not want to take risks by having different view from the ulema especially when the symbols of Islam are often discussed/delivered in religious forum, and religious celebration. Secondly, the candidate very well understands that the use of Islamic symbols will be powerful to attract sympathy even certain level it can make the community to have a spirit of *jihad* whose intention is “enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong” (*amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*). Their targets are primarily the first-time voters (voters) and swing voters, as well as the newly learned groups applying to Islam.

Media and Commodification of Islamic Symbol

The reality can be explained and criticized by Mosco commodification category namely the commodification of media content, commodification audiences as consumers, and the commodification of labor. **First, the commodification of content**, which explains how the media content that is produced is an offered commodity. This commodification process begins by transforming the data into a system of meaning by media players into a product to be sold to consumers, public and corporate advertisers. [27]

Politicians create reality using symbols and attributes to Islam and became content that they are transformed through a variety of media. The goal is to create or reinforce the meaning of the existing and still attached to the reality of the public or voters. The construction of reality and building a positive perception by candidates through media is in order to spread the certain purposes related to the election. Media becomes the most effective way to reinforce the integral socio-cultural understanding and is favored by a large part of society. Therefore, the media does not only stop with the mere process of forming culture through media content or content that is distributed, but also makes the culture as a commodity that can be sold. This commodification process which then creates a special political culture of political campaigns.

Second, the commodification of the audience is communication addressed to the public as consumers. Commodification is an attempt to manage public perceptions and public opinion regarding the content or media content. The audience in this case is the target of politicians or candidates to choose them in the election which is an easy commodity for the media or communicator. Without the audience then a media impressions will not mean much because it is not desirable. In other words, politicians or political candidates should be able to create the audiences as their voters. Managing the public in the political communication process is very important, because the target audience in general election and will vote and give their votes to politicians. Success or failure of a political candidate reaches a certain position relies on the hands of the public, or voters chest.

Third, the labor commodification, who drives production and distribution activities. Workers or members of the media are resources that create content or media content from the internal processes of media to an external process. In this context the mindset

of employees, relationships and the interests of media workers are the reason how the content or media content is produced. The commoditization of workers according to Mosco is also called extensive form of commodification. Media Company in fact is no different from the factory. The workers do not only produce content and gain an appreciation from audiences with the content, but also create audiences as workers involved in the production process. Media workers, tend to have difficulties to escape the construction of media reality in which they work.

Informan 2, political communications expert states :

“that communication occurs on content and audiences, it is related to the value that can be exchanged or sold to audiences. Lots of media content uses phrases that cite the name of religious groups. Commodification is associated with media, massively social media is used by candidates and the reality is also used by mainstream media as the main topic in news. The voters who do not have a deep understanding in religion become the target of the campaign using religious symbols so that sometimes the understanding of religious obligations is sometimes ignored, such as the emergence of a ban to pray for or attend the funeral of the Moslems who died for supporting different or other candidates”. (Interview, July 23, 2017)

Commodification in political campaigns is a form of political communication between politicians and public-mediated or transformed media content, the content of political to the audience by using media as a tool that has a great power in constructing perceptions and public opinion. While Baker stated that religious commodification creates a gap to redefine religion as a market commodity to be exchanged. [28] Therefore, it is reasonable that the use of Islamic symbols and attributes are none other than to maximize the aggression interest's functions and articulation interest achievement it. Through political communication, all political objectives are likely to be achieved and for that purpose, it required a serious effort in political campaigns. One of them is doing the content or the content of media messages commodification relating to politicians or candidates who are campaigning.

As the opinion of informan 2, journalist online media said about the media in commodification process :

“Media sees opportunities from the commodification of Islamic symbols as their selling materials to raise the rating that culminates in the economic aspect. In the era of industrialization, the media justified all means to keep them 'alive' including exploiting elements of religion. Commodifying the symbols of Islam in television is considered to be form of creativity, which is the 'life' of a media industry including television, online or printed media, and radio. They see that political campaign have a high economic value to support their industry.”

Informan 3 (journalist online media) also has the same opinion about media based on the result of interview,

“In the recent political contestation, especially in the election of DKI Jakarta, the use of Islamic symbols is 'more visible' than the symbols or attributes of political parties that fight in it. The use of Islamic symbols in political events is no longer only seen as it seems, it is more than that. The majority of religious symbol, in this case Islam, is often used by political subject, governor candidates and even corruption suspects to cover their true identity. They try to imitate themselves as religious individuals by wrapping their bodies with symbols that are considered close to the religion of Islam such as Islamic shirts, skullcap, sarong, hijab, and saying the Islamic or righteous statements” (July 27, 2017)

It was explained that the political process requires a political campaign. Political campaigns should be carried out to the fullest to bring perception in line with the interests of political communicator. The ongoing commodification is impossible to deny, for the audience as voters also want the politicians 'closeness' with the social, cultural, ideological value, and even religion voters. Construction of meaning lies in the public mind. Indeed, it is the perception power of the mind that creates a common understanding of reality. The voter common understanding towards the candidate or politician is implicated in the candidates election in which has revealed that public determines the meaning and not reality itself.

The understanding which was created from meaning in the mind of the audience [29] is also called intentional meaning, the meaning of which is perceived by the emblem wearer. Meaning cannot be validated empirically. Meaning lies in people's minds. *"Words do not mean, people means"*, public determines a candidate or elected politicians or the political process. Effort to obtain a positive opinion and perception is what drives them indivisibly to conduct a campaign which Vincent Mosco has claimed as commodification. Meanings are the property of audience that is created from the communication process; the process of transforming the message content created by media workers and communicated to the public as a target. Message content is expected to have high economic value so that politician market rises and won the political process. In the process, an attempt to get closer to understand values that are close to the audience is a necessity even if that reality is 'false' or simply false.

In elections to 2017, candidates are making modifications with the use of symbols, attributes and Islamic statements. This is also stated by informan 4 (Journalist of Media Indonesia group, which stated that,

"Media Group (Media Indonesia and Metro TV) who plays the commodification of Islamic symbols on Ahok-Djarot, the pair of candidate of governor with black caps. This symbol of black caps was carried by Djarot at various meetings with the Moslem community. Djarot who previously did not wear black songkok / peci, but recently he is often seen using black caps. For example, while attending an Islamic discussion with Muslims at Masjid AtTiin, Taman Mini Indonesia Indah. This is done so that the Media Group which indirectly supports Ahok-Djarot because affiliated with the Nasdem Party. Commodification of other Islamic symbols in Media Indonesia, is when Media Indonesia presents the news of the inauguration of the Great Mosque of Jakarta on the section page one, gives implicit message that actually Ahok- Djarot is not a partner who is not in favor of the interests of Moslems in Jakarta." (July 25, 2017)

In the political process, communicator modifies the symbols and attributes that are close to the Islamic community hoping that campaign targets have a positive collective meanings of religion as institution that plays a role in building a culture. Kimbal [30] states that religion for most people in the world, becomes their identity. The values that are close to audiences' religion are chosen, for its force have directly or indirectly very strong influence compared to other values. Religion is a belief that is believed to be in the audiences' longterm and even lifelong, choose the religious symbols and attributes as the commodification of the message by the

politicians. In other words, religion and human behavior are something that cannot be separated.

The symbols and religious values power are proven to be capable of creating a positive meaning amid the electorate. A problem when individuals use the symbols and attributes only for 'commodification', resulted in apparent understanding where politicians are depicted attached to the religious symbols and attributes. Such conditions are often encountered in some cases of corruption. Politicians still commit corruption, manipulation and collusion which is incoherent with the symbols they use in the campaign process.

CONCLUSION

Campaigns are required in order to introduce themselves, to socialize and to persuade even doing political propaganda. Political activity is almost impossible without a political campaign. In political campaigns, commodification becomes an integral part of creating content of messages timely and appropriate so that it is believed to influence the public's perception. Politicians make every effort to construct a message in such a way in accordance with the 'audiences' understanding toward reality". Therefore, commodification is initially determined unilaterally by the dominant group standardization or capital owner in the political culture industry. In this context, the media is not only a social function, but also the economics, politics, and ideology function. The religious symbol commodification reviewed in the perspective of political economy is part of the system and structure of the market. Islamic symbols and attributes commodification are used by politicians as a form of public perception manipulation. The campaign process is then able to create chances of a candidate to achieve political objectives.

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