

Power Representation Of Cirebon Sultanate (Kasepuhan And Kanoman Palace) On Social Media Instagram

Nina Sofiyawati¹, Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra², Sugeng Bayu Wahyono³

¹ Students of the Doctoral Program of Cultural and Media Studies,
The Graduate School Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta.

² Lecturer of the Doctoral Program of Cultural and Media Studies,
The Graduate School Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta.

³ Lecturer of the Doctoral Program of Cultural and Media Studies,
The Graduate School Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta.

¹ninasofiyawati@mail.ugm.ac.id

ABSTRACT

The development of media technology affected the way power relations are used, such as in the political practices of Palace institutions. Through mainstream online media, the Palace's internal dynamics are increasingly open to the public. On the other hand, the Palace institution is also increasingly aware that the presence of new media, in this case social media, can be used for the potential benefit of individuals or groups. This study aims to understand and examine how the texts on Instagram represent the power practices of the Kasepuhan and Kanoman Palaces, and what the differences are. This research is a qualitative study with a political representation theory approach, which is used to analyze and dismantle the practices of power 'text' production in Instagram Kasepuhan and Kanoman Palace. The method of data collection includes a literature review, documentation study, and observation of Instagram content from the official accounts Kasepuhan and Kanoman Palace. The main theory used is the theory of representation by Stuart Hall, elaborated with the theory of power by Foucault. Stuart Hall defines representation as the production of the meaning of concepts in our minds through language. The results of the study show that the Kasepuhan and Kanoman Palaces display their forms of power in different ways, including the style of packaging their content, the use of symbols of their power, heirlooms, traditional rituals, events that involve the Palace with indigenous peoples, communities, state apparatus, and so on, featured on Instagram. Their power practices on social media aim to reinforce their political views while also making efforts to show their dominance and authority.

Keywords: *Representation; Kasepuhan and Kanoman Cirebon Palace; Instagram; Power; Political Practices*

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of its emergence in the late 1990s or early 2000s, new media was seen as a form of media that was separate from the old (traditional) media. However, now the new media is no longer singular but rather a collection of new technologies that allow it to converge with other media, `blend` and interact with each other in increasingly complex ways (Jenkins, 2006: 6-15). New media also plays on its algorithms, having certain ways that it can be played, manipulated, duplicated, and transferred between different sources, objects, and means of delivery of technology (Miller, 2011: 15). The presence of this new media is a space that is utilized by society for various purposes, both as an intermediary in socio-cultural life, entertainment, education, economics and business, and even politics. In the political space, digital new media facilitates political practices, and this condition is growing with social media. Social media or social networks are part of new media; the characteristics of new media are not only fast and open but also offer digitalization, convergence, interactivity, and network development related to message creation and message appeal (Flew, 2002: 11-22). Political actors often utilize social media as a medium for campaigns, propaganda, personal branding, medium legitimacy, and various other forms of conveying information related to political interests. Significantly, social media has changed the capacity of digital platforms to connect individuals and groups, facilitate broad interactions and collaborations, and provide opportunities to expand their voice, support, and influence to a wider audience. In other words, social media plays a central role in disseminating information and political claims from certain groups (Chadwick, 2013 in Calderaro, 2018: 783).

The existence of social media facilitates the opening of spaces for interaction, content production, distribution, and consumption of political content. Political elites as well as the general public can share information about activities, agendas/events, disclose positions on certain topics, share information from various sources, and report relevant issues. Without incurring costs, individuals, groups or institutions can manage their own social media sites. Examples, the use of social media by each political party can be found ahead of general election contests in political years. One of them was carried out by political parties that are members of the Joko Widodo – Ma'ruf Amin and Prabowo Subianto – Sandiaga Uno campaign teams in the 2019 Presidential Election. The CNN Indonesia article (2019) with the headline “Adu Kasak-Kusuk Citra Jokowi and Prabowo on Social Media” gives an illustration of the use of

social media and buzzers as weapons for political parties. Each campaign team carried out its strategy by using social media, distributing issues and content, using symbols, and overcoming hoaxes (Patrick and Savithri, 2019). In the social media space, the practice of political communication is also increasingly dynamic in various cultural contexts, one of which is through various symbols and codes to convey political messages. This practice of political communication requires the accumulation of codes that can translate the meaning of messages according to their interests. Studies on symbols in social anthropology emphasize the analysis of their involvement in power relations. According to Cohen, it is important to know the difference between symbolic forms and symbolic functions. In certain political contexts, the same symbolic function can be achieved with various symbolic forms. The use of symbols in various social groups for certain symbolic interests or functions can also vary in ways depending on differences in historical, cultural, and ecological periods (Cohen, 1969). Symbols of leadership, for example, that are represented through social media by political actors often use symbols of religion and the underprivileged or '*wong cilik*' in their political movements. In a more modern format, political actors and their supporters even use virtual symbols such as hashtags (#) (P. Fitriana, et al., 2020: 30-52).

The utilization of social media in political practice is not limited to foreign and national politics. In local politics, the Palace as a political institution has its own dynamics. The Palace, which has been known as a center for the preservation of traditional culture with a hierarchy of power that is still preserved, is often tarnished in the public eye due to negative coverage from the media regarding internal and external issues. Discourse on leadership succession and power struggles at the Yogyakarta Sultanate Palace, the Surakarta Sultanate Palace, and the Cirebon Kasepuhan Sultanate are examples of how the media influences public attention towards events in the Palace. On the other hand, the Palace Institution also realizes the benefits of social media that can be used by individuals and groups. Claims that the use of social media is a form of palace adaptation to developments in the digital era need to be questioned and linked to other contexts.

This research will discuss the Kasepuhan and Kanoman Palaces in the Cirebon Sultanate. The Cirebon Sultanate was founded in the 14th century by Prince Cakrabuana. Prior to the split of the Cirebon Sultanate, the center of government was based in the Pakungwati Palace. In 1479 Masehi, Prince Cakrabuana appointed Syekh Syarif Hidayatullah or Sunan Gunung Jati as his successor ruler. The Pakungwati Palace achieved glory but then declined after the death

of Sunan Gunung Jati. Conflicts continued to occur and made the position of the government of the Cirebon Sultanate increasingly weak until it was first divided at the end of 1677 Masehi. After the breakup of the Cirebon Sultanate, conflicts continued due to the issue of the highest status among the Cirebon Sultans which led to power struggles between the respective royal families. As for now Cirebon is known to have three Palaces and one Peguron: the Kasepuhan Palace, the Kanoman Palace, the Kacirebonan Palace, and Peguron Kaprabonan (Sunardjo, 1983: 153-154, 157).

It is undeniable that various internal issues of the Cirebon Palaces in the past continue to affect the present, the momentum started in 2020 when news of the Cirebon Sultanate conflict emerged, which caught the attention of the print, electronic and online media. The conflict stems from a power struggle that occurred in the Kasepuhan Palace of the Cirebon Sultanate after the passing of Sultan Sepuh XIV PRA Arief Natadiningrat. Parties outside the Keraton family of the Kasepuhan Sultanate of Cirebon rejected the process of appointing Sultan Sepuh XV by PRA Lukman Zulkaedin because they considered it a violation of tradition. The extended family of the Cirebon Sultanate stated that the sultans who had previously reigned in the Kasepuhan Palace, including the current Sultan Sepuh XV, were not direct descendants of Sunan Gunung Jati¹. Similarly, Patih of the Kanoman Palace expressed the view that the Kasepuhan lineage was a "branch" rather than a direct line from the "trunk"².

An indicator of polemics and 'contestation' between the Kasepuhan and Kanoman Cirebon Palaces was also not only how the extended family of the Cirebon Sultanate attempted to 'attack' the Kasepuhan Sultanate Palace with issues of *trah* or non-*trah*. Patih Kanoman Cirebon sees that pepakem and traditions at the Kasepuhan Palace in Cirebon have also been eroded in various ways, including during the Jumenengan procession, when there were several pepakem that were considered not to be carried out properly. Based on observations, researchers often see that the Kanoman Sultanate Palace implicitly considers it to be 'older' than Kasepuhan. The reason for this is that it is stated that the antecedent to the establishment of Cirebon, namely the Witana building, was in the Kanoman Palace building area. Apart from

¹ Sources: Youtube CNN Indonesia <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HD64J8bwFME>; Youtube KompasTV <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P7--M0cWNUU>

² Sources: <https://www.liputan6.com/regional/read/4650445/menjaga-kemuliaan-sunan-gunung-jati-dari-sekretariat-2-kasultanan-kanoman-cirebon>

that, as it happened, now all access to the tomb of Sunan Gunung Jati must first obtain permission from the Kanoman Palace³. The discourses in the conflict imply that there is contestation among the Cirebon palaces, especially in this case between the Kasepuhan Palaces and the Kanoman Palaces, in asserting their positions of power.

This power contestation is not only empirical but also manifested in the social media arena, especially on Instagram, which is the focus of this research. Until July 2023, Kasepuhan Palace has 2,198 followers on their Instagram account @keraton_kasepuhancirebon, while Kanoman Palace has 2,779 followers on their instagram @official_kesultanankanoman. The number of followers will increase along with the activeness of the Palace in managing their Instagram. In the midst of the polemic, based on observations on the social media accounts of the official Kasepuhan Palace and the Kanoman Palace, an interesting thing was found: when the Kasepuhan Palace polemic heated up, the Kanoman Palace itself was seen making changes in the management and packaging of content on its Instagram media. Meanwhile, the Kasepuhan Palace is also increasingly active in producing content on Instagram.



Figures 1. Instagram Post of Kanoman Palace in 2018 – early 2020 (left). Recent post style (right)
(Sources: Screenshot from IG official_kesultanankanoman, date March 4, 2023, at 09:40)

With the presence of social media, Palace elites can make various efforts and strategies to gain political legitimacy from the public. So in this case, this research aims to examine how texts on Instagram represent the power practices between the Kasepuhan and Kanoman Palace for gaining political legitimacy on social media. Analyze the various forms of power that are

³ Interview with Farihin as pustaka team Wangsakerta Kesultanan Kanoman Cirebon, May 9, 2022, 09:15.

to be raised and discoursed by each Palace. Therefore, to understand the concept of reading the 'text' on social media like Instagram and see the practice of power within it, one cannot be separated from the concept of representation. In cultural and media studies, representation is understood as a practice that connects meaning, language, and culture. Hall (1997/2014) defines representation as "the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language" (Hall, 1997/2014: xviii, 3). Representation not only captures or displays the meanings that already exist (fixed), but there is a practice of giving meaning to them (Hall in Jhally, 2005: 6). Hall (1997) describes two stages of the representation process as the production of meaning. The first stage is mental representation, which refers to abstract concepts existing in the minds of individuals that are connected to objects, people, or events in their surroundings (related to conceptual maps). The second stage is the practice of signification, where the abstract concepts previously present in the mind are translated into signs such as words, sounds or audio, images, and others, thus connecting the concepts and ideas about something with specific signs and symbols (Hall, 1997: 17-19). According to Hall (1997/2014), there are two approaches to understanding representation: the semiotic approach and the discursive approach.

Research Question

In the era of all-media, representation is intertwined in texts on social media, including the representation of the power of the Cirebon Palace (in this context, the Kasepuhan Palace and the Kanoman Palace) on Instagram media, where traditional forms of power are presented and reinterpreted as well as contested in the Instagram media arena. The research question is: how do the texts on Instagram represent the practices of power at the Kasepuhan Palace and Kanoman Palace? And what the differences are.

Based on the research question, the aims of this research are:

To understand and examine the representation of power practices of the Cirebon palace (Keraton Kasepuhan and Keraton Kanoman) in the text on the social media they manage while at the same time seeing the differences between the two in their efforts to obtain political legitimacy.

METHOD

This study aims to analyze the representation of the power and contestation practices of Cirebon Palace (Kasepuhan and Kanoman) in the 'text' of their Instagram posts, including photos, videos, text/captions, and comments, within the time limit of the feeds studied, namely from 2020 to 2023. The reason is that year competition began to be seen which was quite tight in displaying a positive image of each palace to the public through their respective Instagram media after the jumenengan conflict at the Kasepuhan Palace. Operationally, the method of data collection in this research used several methods:

Literature review by conducting a search for data in local libraries, university libraries, books, journals, articles, academic papers, dissertations, theses, and other relevant sources, both offline and online. The literature review is conducted to find information about previous studies, theories, methods, and concepts that are relevant to the research problem. The next method of data collection is the study of documentation by examining the textual representations directly produced by the subjects. Data collection involves downloading or capturing screenshots of specific posts related to power practices. Meanwhile, secondary data obtained by observing online news regarding the inter-elite power practices of the Kasepuhan Palace and Kanoman Palace can be supporting data for researchers to interpret.

This research is a qualitative study with a political representation theory approach by Stuart Hall and an elaborated theory of power by Foucault, which is used to analyze and dismantle the practices of power 'text' production in Instagram Kasepuhan and Kanoman Palace. It provides another perspective on how the power in the Palace institutions can manifest in seemingly neutral textual production practices. The utilization of new media, such as social media, by Palace institutions blends the image in each post, including photos/pictures, audio videos and the text/discourse itself. Theory Representation from Stuart Hall serves as a tool for analyzing how texts are integrated into an event or 'artifact', and how modes are used in a particular social context. Discourse that is constructed through photos/pictures, audio videos and text is not an act that is neutral or free of interest, but rather that there is a power relation in the practice.

By using representation theory, it can be understood that the representation of power between the Kasepuhan and the Kanoman Cirebon Palace on Instagram media is not a static or

singular representation. Instagram viewers and users have an active role in giving their own meaning and interpretation, as well as social, cultural, and political context.

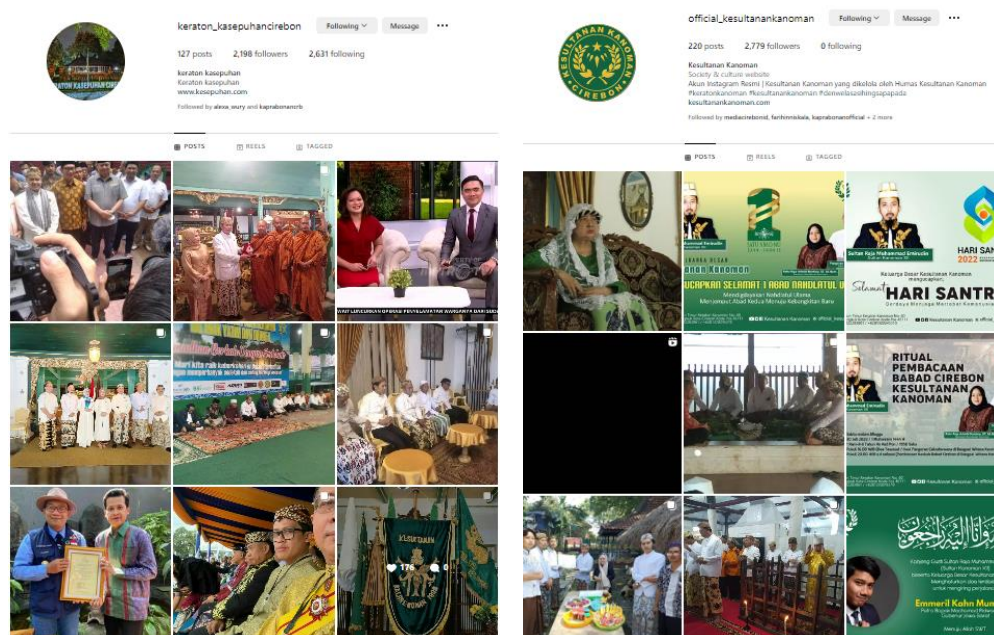
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The discussion on Instagram's text, which represents the power practices of the Kasepuhan and Kanoman Palace, utilizing visual and non-visual elements in the production of their texts to operate ideological power with all the interest motives behind it, begins with a discussion of the contents on the Instagram accounts of the Kasepuhan and Kanoman Palace.

In the current digital era, social media platforms like Instagram play a significant role in creating and disseminating representations of power. In this case, the theory of representation from Stuart Hall provides an interesting understanding of how power dynamics between Kasepuhan and Kanoman Palace in Cirebon are represented on Instagram. The representation of power on Instagram cannot be separated from the influence of broader social, cultural, and political contexts. The historical narratives, cultural values, and political dynamics related to Cirebon traditions shape the representation of power between Kasepuhan and Kanoman Palace. These factors influence the creators/admin and the audience's interpretations of such representations. In the context of the representation of power between Kasepuhan and Kanoman Palace on Instagram, there are several important elements that can be analyzed using the theory of representation.

Firstly, it can be seen how the use of visuals and aesthetics in the representation of power. As a 'public figure', packaging displays must understand the psychological condition of the audience's age group in the media to attract sympathy. The media actually mediates and acts as a communication medium. The content on Instagram is actually not direct. It means that news reports are mediated. Like human communication, news reports need to be conveyed through various material forms, such as words, gestures (body language), audio-video, visual images, texts, and more. The purpose of mediation is to communicate something through space and time that reaches as many people as possible. In understanding the discourse (text), cannot be separated from the context. To find the reality behind the text, it is necessary to explore the context of text production, text consumption, and socio-cultural aspects that influence text creation. This is because text is always subjective. Instagram heavily relies on visual content

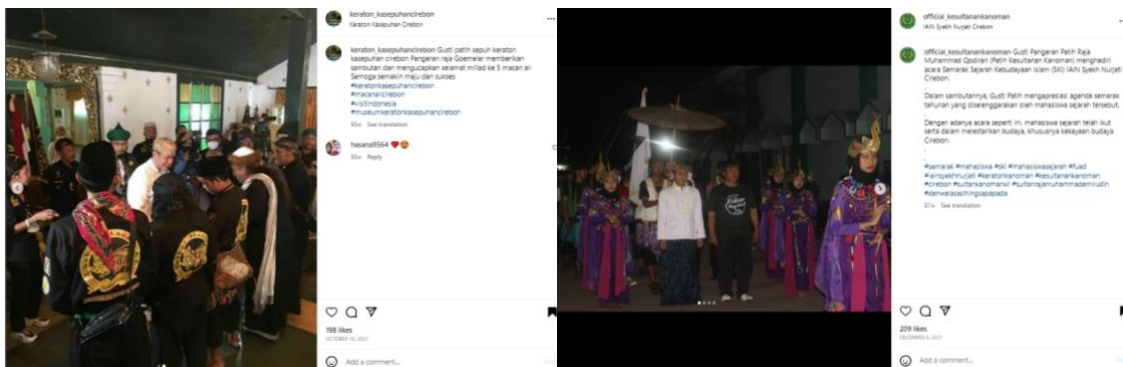
even though it can be accompanied by the addition of captions, text, audio, hashtags, etc., and the visual strategy used in the representation of power can have a significant effect on the way people understand the power of the Kasepuhan and Kanoman Palace. Factors such as color schemes, aesthetics, visual symbols used, filter selection, composition, and visual style in posts can shape the image and perception of power between the two Palaces. For example, the choice of colors and styles that are luxurious or traditional can depict strong and historic power, as can traditional ceremonies that can visually convey the impression of grandeur and authority.



Figures 2. Instagram account of Kasepuhan (left) and Kanoman Palace (right)
(Sources: Screenshot from account IG Kasepuhan and Kanoman, date June 27, 2023, at 09:29)

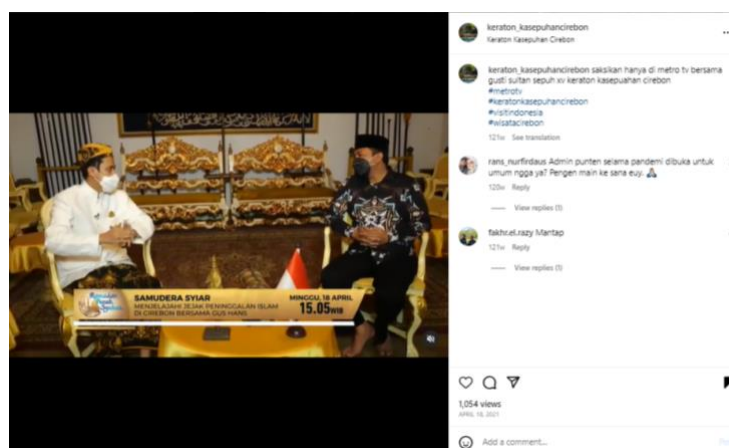
Secondly, captions and text descriptions, as well as the use of hashtags included in Instagram posts, are also important in representing power. Account owners and administrators can use words that reinforce the narrative of the power of Kasepuhan and Kanoman Palace. Through their contents, Palace institutions can use certain keywords or phrases that display historical significance, cultural heritage, achievements, the influence of the two palaces, or the contemporary relevance of Kasepuhan and Kanoman Cirebon Palace, which can influence how Instagram users interpret their respective representations of the power of each palace. Furthermore, interactions such as comments, likes, and shares that occur on Instagram are also important aspects of power representation. Instagram users can provide responses or comments that reflect their decoding position as Instagram users. These interactions reflect the various

ways in which the audience decodes and interprets the representations. Collaborations between supporting communities such as Macan Ali and other communities with the palaces can also affect the representation of power and how public perception is formed. That collaboration can create a sense of exclusivity, privilege, or allure associated with the power of the Palaces.



Figures 3. Relationship between the Kasepuhan Palace and the Macan Ali community (left)
Relationship between the Kanoman Palace and students of the history major from IAIN Syekh Nurjati
Cirebon (right)
(Sources: Screenshot from account IG Kasepuhan and Kanoman, date Agust 13, 2023, at 21:11)

Next, aspects of equality or inequality in power representation can be observed through the use of Instagram. The power of Kasepuhan Palace may be more dominant in the representation, given its perceived older and more historical position. This can be seen in the popularity and exposure of content related to the Kasepuhan Palace compared to the Kanoman Palace. On its Instagram, the Kasepuhan Palace more frequently shows moments with the state apparatus and shows broadcasts from the mainstream media that build a good or positive image of the Kasepuhan Palace as the guardian of cultural heritage.

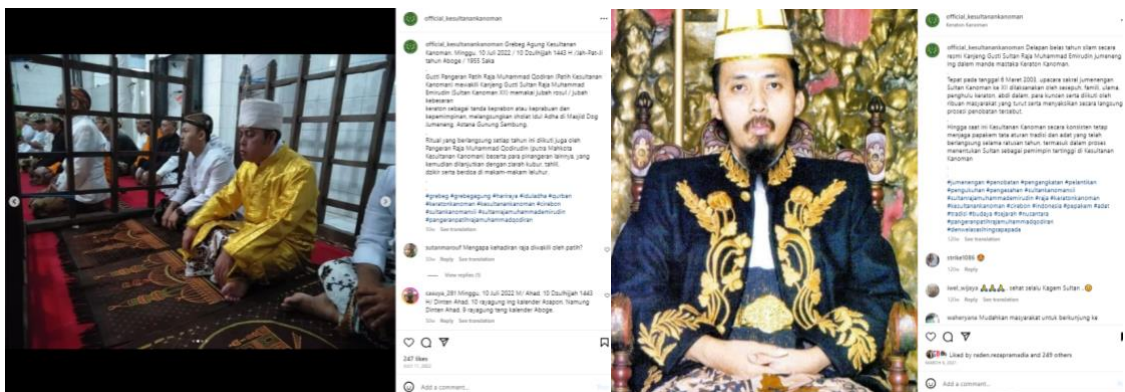


Figures 4. One of the moments when Sultan Kasepuhan Palace was interviewed by MetroTV for a program that showed their cultural heritage
(Sources: Screenshot from IG keraton_kasepuhancirebon, date Agust 13, 2023, at 21:51)

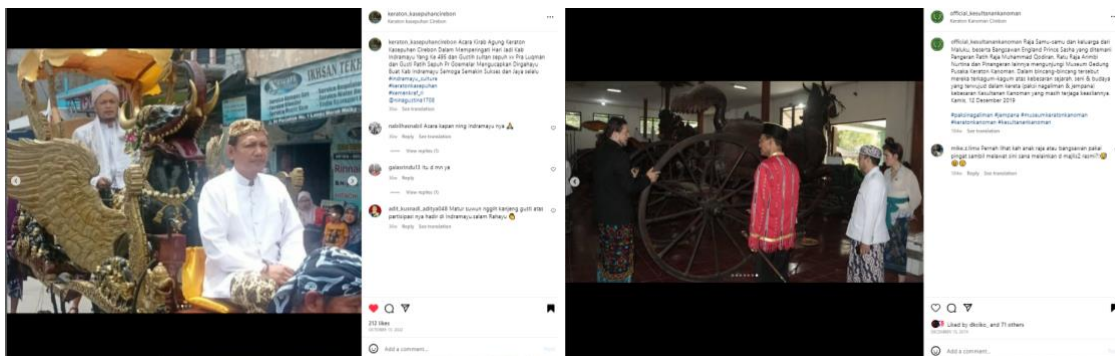
This representation can influence the public's perception of the power of the Kasepuhan Palace, while the Kanoman Palace also strives to build a more dominant representation of power through its Instagram account, which is reflected in the number of followers it has more and its efforts in building narratives as better guardians of tradition and 'pepakem'. One of them is the use of displayed symbols of power, such as heirlooms, symbols displayed during traditional rituals, or grand costumes of the palace.



Figures 5. One of the contents on official account IG Kasepuhan showing the symbols-symbols
(Sources: Screenshot from IG keraton_kasepuhancirebon, date June 30, 2023, at 11:11)



Figures 6. One of the contents on official account IG Kanoman showing symbols of the royal costume
(Sources: Screenshot from IG official_kesultanankanoman, date June 30, 2023, at 11:29)



Figures 7. Singa Barong Chariot from Kasepuhan Palace (left).
Paksi Naga Liman Chariot from Kanoman Palace (right).

(Sources: Screenshot from account IG Kasepuhan and Kanoman, date June 30, 2023, at 11:35)

These symbols cannot be separated from certain power relations. A symbol is not only understood as an instrument of knowledge, communication, and social integration but can also act as an instrument of domination where certain parties use symbols for their own interests. The practice of utilizing symbols by Kasepuhan and Kanoman Cirebon Palace in their discursive productions is evident. Symbols not only operate within various social contexts but also serve as expressions of existing differences. Here, symbols work as an index of power for those who dominate and are dominated. In the process, symbols are mobilized in such a way that they even become justifications for certain parties to practice their control. This implies that the practice of power dominance does not solely rely on physical violence but can also manifest through the subtle use of symbols, seemingly detached from elements of violence, and vice versa, blurring the relationship between power and violence.

Last, it is important to consider the role of external influences, such as sponsors or marketers, in the representation of power on Instagram. In some cases, the content that is uploaded can be influenced by specific commercial or political interests. This can affect how the representation of power in both Kasepuhan and Kanoman Palaces is conveyed and received by Instagram users. Overall, using Stuart Hall's representation theory (Hall, 1997/2014:24-26) can analyze how the power dynamics between the Kasepuhan Palace and the Kanoman Palace are represented on Instagram media. This involves the interpretation, negotiation, and influence of social, cultural, and political contexts in shaping the meaning and perception of power of the two Palaces on the social media platform. Using Hall's theory, can observe that the media tends to be sensitive to the aristocratic lifestyle of the majority society, which tends to be organized, while the general public is depicted as the "outside group," "outside consensus," or "relatively unorganized." Furthermore, the media increasingly glorifies social institutions, in

which the "lower" people have problems in this sensitive area of power. These issues of representation lead the audience to several important questions: Does the image in the media help the public understand how the palace institution works? What kind of picture of the palace's life is represented in the media?

Representation is understood as a picture of something that is accurate or distorted by reality. Representation does not only mean "to present", "to image", or "to depict". Political images exist to represent the audience. These two ideas coexist to explain the concept of representation. Representation is a way of interpreting what is given to the depicted object. The traditional concept of representation is based on the premise that there is a representational gap, which explains the difference between the meaning given by the representation and the actual meaning of the depicted object. This occurs between representation and the object depicted, contrary to that standard understanding, Stuart Hall argues that representation must be understood through the active and creative role of individuals in interpreting the world. Hall pointed out that an image will have a different meaning, and there is no guarantee that the image will function or work as intended when it is created. Hall mentions "representation as constitutive". Representation does not exist until after it has been represented, representation does not occur after an event. Representation is constitutive of an event (Hall, 1997/2014). Representation is part of the object itself, it is constitutive of it. Imaji that use cultural symbols to show something that is accurate or a distorted reality become the focus of this discussion.

The form of interpretation of each media managed by Kasepuhan Palace and Cirebon Kanoman Palace can be different and even contradict one another, it may have positive or negative connotations. In this case, the media has the role of being a system of representation that not only allows the production of meaning to take place but also facilitates the process of circulating meaning quickly, broadly, and powerfully. However, we need to realize that all forms of messages communicated by and through the media work in a complex way. The role of social media Instagram as the holder of control over the meaning of the phenomena that have occurred is to ensure that Instagram has full power in shaping reality for the wider community based on their own thoughts, ideologies and interests. Hall understands that communication is always connected to power. Groups that own and wield power in society influence what is represented in the media. These messages work in complex ways where knowledge and power intersect. The issue of power cannot be separated from the question of representation. Representation is open to producing new knowledge in the world, exploring

various subjectivities, and introducing new dimensions of meaning that never close off the operating power systems (Hall, 1997/2014:1-43). This also shows what Foucault conveyed about power, namely that power is productive and invisible because it is present in every social relationship, is widely practiced, spreads, and infiltrates every aspect of human life (Foucault, 1980: 39, 52). According to Foucault (1980), power is not understood as an ownership relationship but rather as a strategy. Power tactics and strategies spread through cultivation, distribution, limitation, control, and organization. This power strategy does not operate through repressive, coercive, or suppressive measures but through the normalization of disciplinary practices. Power also does not reside in a centralized, controlling power at one point but exists and is spread at all levels of social formation. Furthermore, power is not seen as something negative but instead is positive and productive, namely through the knowledge and practice of discourse (Foucault, 1980: 59-77, 204).

Visual modes (both still visuals and moving visuals for each uploaded photo, video, or both in the available features) as well as non-visual modes (text/caption, audio, hashtags, emoji, etc.) on Instagram can communicate meaning and build a certain discourse, where discourse is used to produce knowledge, and knowledge is a tool used for power. The analysis of message reception refers to the study of meaning, production, and the experiences of the general audiences/ public in their interaction with the media. The most important concepts that form the foundation of this theory are the encoding of meaning by the media, and the decoding of meaning by the public. However, as a result of this two-way process, the messages conveyed by the media may be received with different connotations by the public. The representation on Instagram, which is the object of this research is a linguistic event. How a figure from each palace is portrayed, whether positively or negatively, primarily occurs through the use of language. Through language, various acts of misrepresentation are presented by the media and manifested in news content. Therefore, what needs to be criticized is the use of language displayed on the social media platform. This process is related to the use of language in describing reality to be read by the audience (Hall, 1997/2014:19-20).

CONCLUSION

Instagram serves as a social media platform used by the palace to socialize and provide information to their followers (the public). Instagram provides facilities for the elite of the Kasepuhan and Kanoman Cirebon Palaces to share news through photos or videos. Seeing the contents of an idealistic narrative then becomes antagonism. The narratives from each palace serve as currency in the ongoing discourse arena. These narratives, whether they involve polemics or public support for the individuals or policies of each palace, are interpreted as political in the political space.

The visual and non-visual modes activated by the palace institution as a producer of text on its Instagram social media communicate meaning and build certain discourses, in this case discourses about power, who is the most legitimate, who is superior, and so on. Discourse, power, and knowledge are basically interrelated; discourse is used to produce knowledge, whereas knowledge is a tool for power. There is no power practice that does not give rise to knowledge, and there is no knowledge that does not contain relations of power. Knowledge can be both a tool and a 'product' of power.

Knowledge and discourse are produced and defined as the basis of power. This power operates with a productive network through all its social institutions, spreading and infiltrating widely in every aspect of life. Produce objects, encourage or stimulate things that are fun and constructive, and produce knowledge and discourse so that power tends to be invisible and makes those under control receive it unconsciously.

Both the Kasepuhan Palace and the Kanoman Palace carry out their strategy of utilizing Instagram media in such a way, be it displaying or displaying symbols of their power, traditional ceremonial rituals, cultural arts and tourism events and activities, other important events involving the palace, or the palace's involvement with the public/community, to the palace's efforts to control messages and narratives circulating regarding the palace as a form of power practice on Instagram.

The posts of pictures and videos from the Instagram accounts of Kasepuhan and Kanoman Cirebon Palace are a form of accountability from the Sultanate, although implicitly the element of imagery cannot be denied. Kasepuhan Palace and Kanoman Palace are known as the holders of power in the Cirebon Sultanate (empty signifier). From the comparison of the two Palaces

from the perspective of domination, it can be seen that Kasepuhan has been less successful in reducing its power in virtual space (social media). The reason is that the use of past symbols as a tool of legitimacy will become polemic and controversial, whether it involves the content of the Sultan's activities or other content that informs about their performance or events. On the other hand, the Kanoman Keraton itself appears to be more dominant in traditional ritual processions as the guardian of traditions and pepakem' of Sunan Gunung Jati. Each palace seems to strive to exert hegemony over their followers unconsciously. Their influence is quite significant based on what is posted and has a maximal effect on society. Narratives of power that utilize symbols from the past are forms of ongoing discursive contestation. This signifies the existence of a chain of equality. The followers of each Keraton on Instagram are an audience that becomes their followers, whether as obedient followers or critical ones.

Symbolic violence is a typical symptom of media administration/admin, in the form of unequal and hegemonic communication relations between two parties: the admin media (as message senders) and the viewers/audiences (as message receivers). In the concept of symbolic violence, social interaction and communication relations are related to images that are biased, monopolize, represent, and impose specific symbols on other parties: whether visual, textual, verbal or non-verbal. One important aspect of understanding the reality of social life (including the phenomenon of symbolic violence) is symbolic capital, such as self-esteem, dignity and attention. Symbolic capital refers to various forms of capital that are socially attributed to individuals through classification schemes. Symbolic violence is inherent in every action and cognitive structure of individuals, imposing legitimacy on social orders. Symbolic violence encompasses meanings, logics, and beliefs that contain bias but are subtly and ambiguously imposed on others as something true. Symbolic violence is a practice of dominance through social relations and communicative practices, manifested by dominating meanings, logics, and values that were initially considered insignificant, negative, and untrustworthy, but through social construction processes (and media framing), they are perceived as meanings, logics, and values that are good, true, and can be trusted.

REFERENCES

- Calderaro, Andrea. (2018). *Social media and politics*. Outhwaite, William and Turner, Stephen, eds. The SAGE Handbook of Political Sociology, Sage, pp. 781-796.
- Cohen, Abner. (1969). *The Analysis of the Symbolism of Power Relations*. Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, New Series, Vol.4, No.2
- Flew, Terry. (2002). *New Media: An Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp.11-22
- Foucault, Michel. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. Colin Gordon (Ed.). New York: Pantheon Books,
- Hall, Stuart. (1997/2014). *The Work of Representation*. in Stuart Hall, Jessica Evans, dan Sean Nixon (ed.). *Representation*, pp.1-47. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: SAGE
- _____. (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: SAGE publication/ The Open University
- Jhally, Sut. (2005). *Stuart Hall: Representation and the Media (transkrip)*. Northhampton: Media Education Foundation.
- Jenkins, Henry. (2006). *Convergence Culture Where Old and New Media Collide*. New York: New York University Press, pp.6-15
- Miller, Vincent. (2011). *Understanding Digital Culture*. London: SAGE Publication, pp.15
- P., Ana Fitriana, dkk. (2020). *Perang Tagar Di Ruang Virtual Diskursus Politik Capres Pasca Debat Putaran Kedua*. UNTAR: Jurnal Komunikasi, Vol. 12, No. 1, Juli, pp. 30 – 52.
<https://journal.untar.ac.id/index.php/komunikasi/>
- Sunardjo, R.H. Unang. (1983). *Meninjau Sepintas Panggung Sejarah Pemerintahan Kerajaan Cerbon 1479-1809*. Bandung: TARSITO, pp.153-154, 157

Online Website:

- Patrick, Jonathan dan Agnes Savithri. (2019). *Adu kasak-kusuk citra Jokowi dan Prabowo di media sosial*. Accessed Oct 11 2022, 15:26
https://www.cnnindonesia.com/teknologi/20190109175018-185-359665/adu_kasak-kusuk-citra-jokowi-dan-prabowo-di-media-sosial
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P7--M0cWNUU>, official account Youtube KompasTV, accessed May 20, 2022 at 22:35

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HD64J8bwFME>, official account Youtube CNN
Indonesia, accessed May 20, 2022 at 22:29

<https://www.liputan6.com/regional/read/4650445/menjaga-kemuliaan-sunan-gunung-jati-dari-sekretariat-2-kasultanan-kanoman-cirebon>, accessed June 9, 2023 at 22:29

https://www.instagram.com/keraton_kasepuhancirebon, accessed June 4, 2023 at 22:10

https://www.instagram.com/official_kesultanankanoman, accessed June 5, 2023 at 09:00