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People, Platform
Practices,
Performatives

Focus and scope

Plaridel Journal of Communication, Media and Society was first published in 2004 as a national journal of communication and has been released on a regular bi-annual basis since. It has since evolved to a more inclusive regional focus and has recently begun publishing papers from other Asian countries. Papers published in *Plaridel Journal* include original research in different areas of media and communication studies in the Philippines and Asia. These can be qualitative or quantitative work in media effects, industry, political economy, subcultural practices, and journalism studies, among others.

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People, Platform Practices, Performatives

Issue Editor: Jonalou S. Labor, PhD

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Jonalou S. Labor, PhD

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Cover Design

The cover art shows a tapestry of visual elements, such as patterns of lines representing the journal's current theme, focusing on interpersonal and cross-cultural relationships in technological spaces. For example, the curve lines represent various cultures connected by technological spaces represented by straight lines that form images of microfibers and microchips, an essential part of technologies that are becoming embedded in our society.

About the Artist

Dr. Jualim "Alim" D. Vela majored in visual arts as a special education scholar at the Philippine High School for the Arts in Mt. Makiling. He graduated from UP Diliman College of Fine Arts and obtained his first Master's degree in Education majoring in Educational Technology also at UP Diliman. He studied at Hiroshima City University between 2006 and 2008 majoring in sculpture. He obtained his second Master's degree in 2010, and earned his Ph.D. in 2015 majoring in Educational Development at the Hiroshima University under the Japanese Ministry of Education Scholarship (Monbukagakusho).

Alim has participated in exhibitions in Japan, Malaysia, and Vietnam. In the Philippines, Alim showcased his works in various creative spaces and private galleries such as GSIS gallery, Altro Mondo Arte Contemporanea gallery, Art Anton Gallery, Nova Gallery Manila, etc. He was one of the Semifinalists in the 2004 Metrobank MADE Sculpture competition, and a finalist and one of the Philippine Representatives in the 2001 OITA Biennale International Sculpture Competition in Japan.

Currently, Alim is a faculty member of the Visual and Performing Arts Division in the Department of Humanities at the College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines Los Baños.

Indonesian millennials: Building metrosexual capitalist industry through Instagram #cowokmilenial

Teguh Dwi Putranto, Daniel Susilo,
Bagong Suyanto, and Septi Ariadi

Abstract

The digital era has changed the human lifestyle of social media use. Social media has become a platform not only to show “who one is” in cyberspace but also a platform for the capitalist industry to promote consumerism. As one of the most popular social media platforms, Instagram is utilized by the capitalist industry to achieve its goals of sales and growth. This study aims to determine how posts from Instagram with the hashtag, #cowokmilenial used by the capitalist industry build a metrosexual side. The researchers employed the qualitative approach with the semiotic method on Instagram through the hashtag #cowokmilenial during 2019. The findings in this study indicate that the capitalist industry constructs the meaning of metrosexual men among Indonesian millennials through skincare products (especially facial care/Rodeos soap) which promise to help them look handsome with a clean, bright, and acne-free face.

Keywords: Indonesian; Millennials; Metrosexual; Capitalist Industry; Instagram

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Introduction

Each country of the world has a specific concept of “handsome.” For example, in Sweden, a handsome man is considered to have eyes that look dejected; in Italy, fashionable; South Korea, cute impressions and smooth skin; India, muscular; England, clean and neat look; the United States, bearded; Brazil, curly hair; Turkey, trendy hairstyles, Greece, sharp look and dark skin; and Australia, perfect muscles (Amida, 2018). Therefore, it can be inferred that “handsome” is often linked to “what is seen” or, in other words, physical appearance.

For example, South Korean beauty standards are no exception to this phenomenon. Tiara Shelavie (2017) studied the Korean men want to look feminine, more than other cultures, making the beauty standard of Korean men distinctive. A “beautiful” or “pretty” Korean men has a smooth face, V-shaped chin, as well as an ideal and flawless figure. In the past, Korea men underwent plastic surgery to look more masculine. In contrast, today, many of them willingly participate in beauty and body care. Korean men also try to make their faces appear younger. Botox and fillers are the most common treatments for people because they are affordable and fast (Shelavie, 2017). The instant process of changing physical appearance is one of the efforts taken due to the presence of exposure to cyberspace which contributes to the perspective of every individual. Cyber exposure also make men who really care about physical appearance to continuously influence their minds by creating fantasies about physical appearance, one of which is South Korean beauty. One of these fantasies is built on Instagram through Instagram posts which also create an impression so that men who want an attractive physical appearance with soft white skin like South Koreans can be satisfied.

As early as the 1980s, researchers started to research cyberculture (Sullivan, 2014). The analysis of cyberculture abroad can be loosely split into three phases. Namely, the first stage of “common cyberculture research,” which focuses on the growth of the network; the second stage of “cyberculture research,” which focuses on the creation of the virtual community; the third stage of “important cyberculture research,” which focuses on network engagement and online creation (Nasrullah, 2016).

While the definition of cyberculture is commonly used, researchers in the area of cyberculture share their own views either by seeing culture from a network perspective or by seeing the network from a culture perspective (Goi, 2009). In brief, culture is all collective activity linked to our social behaviors (Bell, 2006). From this point of view, cyberculture reflects the manner in which people function, the beliefs, the mindset and the perception

that they develop in the course of learning, employment, connectivity, entertainment, and everyday existence in the sense of the network age.

In today's cyberspace, IoT devices such as net-printers, webcams, and routers are becoming more common. It would be possible to discover potentially vulnerable gadgets on the Internet if the nature of online devices could be revealed. However, because of the enormous number of device models, there is a lack of device discovery on a big scale (i.e., types, vendors, and products) (Yang et al., 2019).

Furthermore, technologies that provide conveniences and benefits are highly in demand by millennials (Kim, 2013). The millennial generation is a whole new generation and has never existed before. The millennials have unique and very different characteristics of living life. One of the reasons for this difference, based on Brightside's research, is the prospect of seeing success, especially for men. This point of view is then reflected in daily behavior (Nurmanto, 2016). Millennials who are attached to all electronic equipment and the Internet have changed the different dimensions of people's lives. Many cultures, considered to be ancient, are beginning to be eroded and replaced by more contemporary cultures, one of which is appearance. It cannot be denied that appearance will add value to the character as a millennial man. The appearance referred to here is a clean, neat appearance. You don't have to wear expensive things; just wearing clothes that match the place and the event is more than enough to make you a modern man (Eta, 2018). Appropriate appearance is a sign that we respect the people we meet, in addition to making the wearer look beautiful or handsome. One of the ways to achieve this is through online shopping.

Online shopping is gradually becoming the current trend where practices have started to depart from conventional practices, albeit not entirely. Online shopping has more benefits and advantages than offline shopping, which attracts a lot of metrosexual buyers (Best Present, 2020). Social shopping communities are a platform where customers connect, share, discover, rate, recommend, and buy items (Ramadan & Farah, 2020). Online shopping today is not only intended for women but also for men. Therefore, online shopping is also starting to be consumed by men (Kinapti, 2019). Finally, enjoyment and e-trust have a positive impact on the attitudes of e-commerce (Akroush et al., 2020). Men shopper's behavioral patterns studies indicated that the utilitarian shopping attitude is typical of men; the factor driving their shopping conduct is the need to buy certain products (Pamugarwati, 2020). The important criteria are product selection, ease of access, and fast shopping process. Typology of shoppers has shown that men shoppers can be typically defined in terms of demographic, psychological, and behavioral characteristics (Pan & Jamnia, 2015). Plus,

men also take part in online shopping as an effort to care about improving physical appearance.

Men who care about their identity and appearance are called metrosexuals (Mitchell & Lodhia, 2017). A metrosexual is an urban man who conducts special self-care and sartorial behaviors (Mattos Feijó et al., 2018). Society increasingly shifts the definitions of ideal men, thus, the accepted notions of masculinity also change. The concept of masculinity is, at the same time, the position of gender relationships and the methods by what women and men communicate their role of gender relations and effect on the culture of these practices, body experiences, and personality (Susilo et al., 2021). The prevailing portrayal of hegemonic masculinity disseminated by contemporary visual culture is one of fitness, virility, and superiority (Khoo & Karan, 2007). In other words, masculinities are characterized primarily in nonphysical terms (Smith et al., 2017). Metrosexual men also act or play a part in creating a sense of lifestyle because such a lifestyle does not occur in certain age groups. Repeatedly occurring action ultimately produce habits, or “habitus.” Habitus is, to put it another way, often described as a habit associated with popular activity seen from the self-appearance as a method of self-compliant management with the typical body conditions.

When following a certain lifestyle, researchers assume that men would try to show that they were able to keep up with the life created by the community through social media. Social media is considered to be greatly influential in disseminating information as widely as possible without any space and time limitations. Nevertheless, social media cannot function optimally without internet interference. Social media has predisposed our discursive social structures, interpersonal engagement, and etiquette expectations (Aljuboori et al., 2020; Müller et al., 2016; Tiggemann et al., 2018), one of them is a man’s metrosexuality level.

Metrosexuality has played a critical rhetorical role in reconciling consumer masculinity with masculinity norms by strategically coordinating homosociality (Ahadzadeh et al., 2017). Metrosexual men of the upper-middle class who are considered wealthy imitate the latest trend from the Indonesian or Western world men’s global magazine. Signs of progress of modern masculinity, look in men’s magazine, reveal a very strong influence from Western values (Daulay, 2018). The metrosexual appearance is portrayed with care. Manly macho men always look trendy, neatly dressed, wear a leather jacket, and sport a big motorbike. Still, he appears clean, particularly in the face, by caring for his body (Pranata, 2020). Men’s ideal body that becomes the nation’s representation is typically, at least, a muscular and fit body (Wickman & Langeland, 2013).

Self-presentation provides a background to the intentions of users of mobile applications (Labor, 2020). For example, metrosexual men characteristics found in Vaseline Man Face Moisturizer advertisements describe the men who have an athletic body, smooth facial skin, and no dark spots. Men who use their products, indeed, are the metrosexual men who become idols (Arnie et al., 2017), and go to fitness centers routinely so that their bodies are always taut and fit. They come to the fitness center and visit the salon on a regular basis for treatments such as cream bath, haircut, hair coloring, and manicure (Ayuningtyas, 2010). In previous studies, research on metrosexual men put a heavier emphasis on the masculinity building of metrosexual men through advertisements in conventional media. This statement ignores the shift in the image of men who are always identified with masculine impressions to become metrosexual due to the need for men to get an attractive physical appearance. This situation makes men care more about their own appearance, even though the high concern for their self-appearance is generally shown by women.

Semiotics is used in this research to determine how posts from Instagram with the hashtag #cowokmilenial used by the capitalist industry build a metrosexual side. The hashtag #cowokmilenial was popular throughout 2019 on Instagram Indonesian men social media influencers and popular with young Indonesians. The results obtained through this investigation can be a reference for the capitalist industry in targeting millennials, especially men, in building a metrosexual impression in the digital era.

Metrosexual Perspective

The “metrosexual” characteristic became more common in the twenty-first century due to several factors such as lifestyle changes, education, xenophobia, and LGBT movements. Gay men can now use media to describe their various actions and interactions in physical space as tools of capitalism and hegemony, as well as virtual spaces (Solis, 2020). Metrosexuality was associated with lower levels of masculinity, but not increased femininity. Sometimes, it is closely related to homosexuality (Mitchell & Lodhia, 2017), especially in terms of physical appearance. Indeed, physical appearance is a way of showing modern life’s individuality, independence, values, and self-confidence. Each culture provides a picture of how to represent gender. For most people, the typical image of a men is one who is macho, heavy, rough, strong, powerful, and violent, drinking beer or vodka; happy to exercise, rebel, and be adventurous. However, preferences change, and so do people’s attitudes (Pan & Jamnia, 2015). Physical appearance is believed to increase the level of self-confidence in front of others, reflect the personality, and make other people feel comfortable around us. However, the presence of

a lovingly self-identified metrosexual is sometimes seen as stripping away masculinity. The body is seen not only as a body but a commodity that has become a target of exploitation, especially by the capitalist industry. The creation of an ideal body by capitalism is a demand in adjusting what discourse is built.

Masculine self-concept refers to the psychological sense that a man has of being a man. The implicit masculine concept of oneself was not linked to social desirability but was positively linked to several gender-relevant outcomes like compliance with masculine standards, acceptance of conventional masculinity ideology, aggressive sexism, and benevolent sexism (Mattos Feijó et al., 2018). Specific characteristics of a person who are considered masculine include avoiding femininity, controlling emotions, self-confidence, independence, strength, and violence (Bowman, 1996). Masculinity can be described as a configuration of gender practices that maintain the superiority of men over women. Besides representing a masculine personality that is strong and cruel, men characters are also represented through various activities (Laurie & Hickey-Moody, 2017). Men say they are not interested in the content of men's lifestyle magazines. However, when they were asked to create a mood board during the interview process, they actively sought inspiration for how to look like a men in a men's lifestyle magazine, even though these men admitted that they did not know anything about the men's images as idealized in these magazines. Men may not completely internalize the media's ideals of men, but they still do see magazines as examples of how they are supposed to look (Put, 2018).

R. W. Connell and James Messerschmidt (2005) claimed that hegemonic masculinity is developed in contrast to two particular non-hegemonic masculinities: first, complicity masculinities do not necessarily reflect hegemonic masculinity but, by practice, they understand some of the advantages of hierarchical gender interactions and, thus, as they are exercised, help sustain hegemonic masculinity; second, subordinate masculinity is conceived as less than it is.

In Connell & Messerschmidt (2005) opinion, these definitions were abstract rather than concrete, described in terms of the theory of unequal gender relations. They believed that gender interactions were traditional, thus gender hierarchies were open to. Connell & Messerschmidt (2005) claimed that hegemonic masculinities had come into being situations and were subject to historical reform. More specifically, there may be a fight for power, whereby older modes of hegemonic masculinity may potentially be replaced by younger ones. That was the factor of hope in the otherwise very grim hypothesis. Perhaps a more egalitarian, less patriarchal way of

becoming men may become popular as part of a movement contributing to the elimination of gender hierarchies.

Contemporary academic study also shows the value of discriminating between “hegemonic” and “dominant” masculinities, and would, of course, make for further robust studies into where and how all forms of masculinities are ultimately formed and not. The research issue is important because of the widespread misunderstanding among academics, particularly as regards slippage, and thus incorrectly mark dominant masculinities as currently current hegemonic masculinities. In addition to this essential differentiation, the identification of discrepancies between hegemonic masculinities is a major part of the diffusion of the definition, notably in terms of local, regional, and global settings, but also in terms of dual, dominant versus defensive, and material versus discursive hegemonic masculinities. And since hegemonic masculinities inherently constitute a partnership, femininities are important for the reproduction of the reformulated paradigm of hegemonic masculinities and must therefore be a crucial part of future study.

After 1998, Indonesia faced the rapid revival of Islamic populism and tended to be homophobic. Indonesia, with the highest Muslim community in the country, is also the biggest archipelago with more than 17,000 islands. The advent of the LGBTIQ “movement” in Indonesia is related to the rise of *waria* (transfeminine individuals) nongovernment agencies in urban areas in the 1960s. This led to the rise of gay and lesbian communities in the 1980s-1990s, which grew into wider networks after the 2010 International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex Alliance (ILGA) Conference in Surabaya. Much before coordinated politics originated in Java, queer people would hang out in “LGBT hotspots” found in public places, such as malls, squares, and riverbanks. Unlike places where colonial penal laws on sodomy exist, such as Malaysia or Singapore, homosexual activities were not against the rule in the Netherlands and are not criminalized by the Indonesian State Penal Code today. Even though Indonesian law tends to be neutral for LGBTQ issue, the practices and local law can be more offensive to LGBTQ issues. Palembang adopted in 2004 an Islamic legislation banning homosexuality as an act of adultery that contradicts the standards of traditional morals and faith (Hildebrandt, 2015). In Aceh, a bill was enacted in 2014 to criminalize homosexual activities, which are now punished by 100 cane lashes or 100 months in detention.

Meanwhile, Islamic populism can also be contradictory to the massive urban metrosexual men growth in the metropolitan cities like Jakarta, Surabaya, and Bandung. These are easily found in metrosexual men associating with LGBTQ community in social media, such as Instagram,

Twitter, or Facebook, either in gay social media such as Blued, Grindr, and Hornet. The compartmentalizing queer and the religious selves have more consequences for the creation of a queer Muslim role. Beyond the context of intrapersonal security, these separations suggest a reconfiguration of what a “queer room” implies, relating not only to that occupied by non-heterosexual individuals but also to its dysfunctional and divisive existence (Rodriguez, 2019).

Instagram as a Media Platform

The rapid growth of the age of technological revolution and the Internet, particularly social media, as well as interest in the daily lives of general society and university students, has created a new reality. The new reality inevitably imposes on the public from social media use that has influenced each region and society. Such a way of networking has become a vast platform for the exchange of ideas, making new friends, plans, information sources, company, and e-shopping (Aljuboori et al., 2020). Social media usage has risen dramatically in recent years. The number of users of global online social networking sites (SNSs) was around 2.46 billion in 2017, and there are expected to be about 3.09 billion social media users worldwide by the end of 2021 (Müller et al., 2016). Social media use could be related to behavioral addiction, in extreme cases, which demonstrate the general symptoms and effects similar to drug addiction (Carbonell & Panova, 2017).

Social media as tools to express the millennial self-disclosure offer a wide range as discussed by recent communication scholars. There are reasons that lead an individual to allow public self-disclosure on different social networking platforms that can be predictors of privacy concerns in the online world. These considerations consist of assumed power, knowledge of privacy, privacy issues, privacy-invasive behavior, and privacy threats, which are known to be considering the threats to be incurred. While the interaction factor and bonding strength are considered as benefits to be gained, along with advances in communication and information technology, self-disclosure is not only done face-to-face, but through conventional media and new media such as social networking sites. According to Bazaroya and Choi, “public self-disclosure on SNS is not compatible with the classical definition of self-disclosure, since its conduct is confined to a closed contact structure, and most of its communications are dyadic (two-way communication)” (2014).

The increase in the degree of narcissism among millennials, in addition to the creation of a variety of SNSs, needs further scholarly studies on the connection between narcissism and the use of SNS. Empirically, people with narcissism are very involved in SNSs and are more likely than their peers to view self-promotional material on their static profiles (Moon et al., 2016).

Meanwhile, the importance of social media is increasing rapidly in the business world. Current social media behavior helps practitioners increase engagement through new platforms (Kusumasondjaja & Tjiptono, 2019; Susilo et al., 2019). Social media is often used interchangeably, and social networking is a subcategory of social media (Sheldon & Bryant, 2016; Sugihartati & Susilo, 2019). Though “media” refers to information sharing, “networking” is about the audience and so-called user relationships. The terms “social media” and “social networking” are often used interchangeably due to their conceptual similarity (Nations, 2021). Media exposure is more complex than access because it deals not only with when a person is currently a target of mass media, but also when a person is actually exposed to the message. Exposure is listening, watching, reading, or more commonly, having at least a small amount of media attention (McAnany, 1979). Media exposure is carried out in a medium that is capable of promoting symbolic awareness, then this awareness gives rise to consumer awareness, and consumer awareness leads consumers to real awareness (behavior) (Widyatama, 2007). Media usage can be operationalized by the type of media used, the level of use, or the length of use (Hidayat, Susilo, Garcia, 2021). Therefore, media penetration can be measured by frequency, length, and intensity.

Instagram is also linked to more presence comparisons and facial dissatisfaction. Thus, social aspects of social media (e.g., likes) may affect body image (Tiggemann et al., 2018). Instagram is a platform that can be used to convey self-presentation online by uploading content (Prasetya, 2020) for self-disclosure (Setiadi, 2019). Instagram has visual field capabilities. The benefit of Instagram as a marketing tool is that Instagram can express messages from a brand through photos / images or 60-second video. Instagram is no longer merely a selfie site or online socializing in cyberspace alone, but it has become a modern solution to launching action marketing (Rizki & Pangestuti, 2017). Instagram provides deep visual and verbal skills to share more detail to persuade and shape a clear picture in the user’s mind. Instagram is a tool to inspire society to build patterns that people will unknowingly drive others to do the same. Instagram is also a platform for millennials, especially to show their identity as *cowok milenial* (millennial men). The term “cowok” is colloquial Indonesian slang to refer to young men. Millennials consider culture to be more contemporary, so that exposure to digitalization also changes lifestyle, one of which is physical appearance that will add to the character of a millennial man. This appearance in question is clean and tidy, so that this correlates with the impression of a metrosexual who requires special attention to appearance to further reinforce their identity as a millennial.

Method

This research used a qualitative approach and focused more on qualitative research using methods to analyze and understand the meaning of social or human problems for certain individuals or organizations (Creswell & Poth, 2017). The researchers used the semiotics method. Semiotics is a science or system of research for the identification of signals. Signs are tools that we use in our efforts to find a way in this world (Rosenthal, 1979). Charles Sanders Peirce (in Rosenthal, 1979) paid more attention to the language signals. These signs are linked to objects that resemble them, their presence has a cause-and-effect relationship with the signs, or because of common links to the signs. Meanwhile, the data analysis technique in this study used a semiotic analysis, more specifically, Peirce about semiotics approach. Such an approach suggests a triangle of meaning theory consisting of three main elements, namely signs, objects, and interpretants, where these three elements have a complementary and strengthening relationship.

Icons are symbols that can describe the main characteristics of something even when the object of reference, as it is commonly known, is not present. Icons and indexes can also represent the relationship between signs and objects, but they do not require agreement. An index is a sign that exists associatively as a result of the existence of a fixed reference feature relationship. Lastly, symbols are referred to as words, names, and labels.

Data was collected in an Instagram account (a total of seven posts selected) that used the hashtag #cowokmilenal during 2019. Researchers took photo posts about Rodeos soap in 2019. The photos were selected using a purposive sampling technique by determining certain criteria. Products related to skin care were selected by the researcher, and researchers chose skin care products that were hashtagged #cowokmilenial as products that describe the efforts of millennial men in reaching the metrosexual side of themselves.

Results and Discussion

Millennials relate to a more contemporary culture, one of which is the culture of appearance. This culture is one built on Instagram through posts that give the impression that men want an attractive physical appearance, for example, the soft white skin of South Koreans, can be satisfied.


Instagram Posts and Body Discipline

Instagram has become a vehicle for advertising promotion because of media convergence. One of the most promoted products is skincare products. In data collection, we found several skincare products for Indonesian millennial men tagged with #cowokmilenial. Rodeos soap is

claimed to be able to treat acne and dark spots, delay aging, and cleanse the face (table 1). Rodeos soap is also affordable, only sixty-five thousand rupiah (see tables 2, 3, and 4). In addition, Rodeos soap also treats, moisturizes, and brightens men's faces to make them look fresher and less dull. This product also helps delay facial skin aging. Furthermore, skin is also made healthy because Rodeos soap is made from charcoal powder, which functions as a skin detoxifier, cleanses the dirt in the pores on the face, absorbs excess oil on facial skin, and reduces blackheads (see table 6).

In table 7, Rodeos soap reminds millennial men to prepare themselves for today's challenges by utilizing Rodeos soap with complementary ingredients that can make faces brighter and help avoid facial skin problems. Skincare products, especially facial skin, have built a capitalist industry through the creation of a consumption culture by disciplining the body (face) displayed on Instagram, a social media platform beloved by millennials. This capitalist industry utilizes Instagram users, especially millennials, by developing metrosexual concepts. The backgrounds of these millennial men are obscured by creating the ideal body reality, especially the face, which is the main attraction.


Table 1. Data analysis of Rodeos Instagram posted on January 7, 2019.

Sign	Information
Icon	 <p>Rodeos facial soap specifically for men deals with acne, dark spots, delay aging, and can make your face clean, bro (RodeosMenOfficial, 2019).</p>
Index	The figure of a man holding soap while smiling at the soap.
Symbol	Happiness obtained after using soap.

The appearance of Indonesian millennial (metrosexual) men assisted by Rodeos' facial soap as a capitalist industry builds the interest of millennial metrosexual men to get used to a sense of concern for appearance, especially facial features, as part of massive exploitation. Indonesian millennial (metrosexual) men are required to be diligent in caring for their faces

because facial care products require discipline and sustainability (not just once or twice).

Table 2. Data analysis of Rodeos Instagram posted on April 27, 2019.

Sign	Information
Icon	 <p>Rodeos facial soap for boys only Rp. 65,000 overcome acne, dark spots, delay aging, and can make your face clean, bro (RodeosSabunJerawat, 2019a).</p>
Index	A man in a suit and wearing glasses held Rodeos soap in his right hand while smiling.
Symbol	Rodeos soap makes your face clean.

The face is the main entity in the body that is preferred in beautifying one's appearance. However, facial skin that is more prone to skin problems can reduce the appearance and level of self-confidence. However, if the skin (especially the face) gets more care, then indirectly, the body (especially the face) will not experience premature aging or wrinkles.

The impression created is of millennial (metrosexual) men who are concerned with their bodily appearance but can still maintain a masculine impression. It can be seen from physical activities such as sports and other physical activities that are identical to millennials who tend to be active.

Rodeos created the definition that good looks do not have to be paid dearly. However, that does not mean that a more affordable cost cannot ensure the appearance. Rodeos soap thus targets consumers of all social classes, not only the upper and middle social classes, but also the lower middle social class.

Table 3. Data analysis of Rodeos Instagram posted on June 17, 2019.

Sign	Information
Icon	 <p>Rodeos facial soap for boys only Rp. 65,000 overcomes acne, dark spots, delay aging, and can make your face clean, bro (RodeoSabunJerawat, 2019b).</p>
Index	The figure of a man in a basketball shirt cleaning his face with Rodeos soap in front of a mirror.
Symbol	Rodeos products are suitable for active men.

Table 4. Data analysis of Rodeos Instagram posted on July 24, 2019.



Sign	Information
Icon	 <p>Rodeos facial soap for boys only Rp. 65,000 can overcome acne and dark spots, delay aging, and can make your face clean, bro (RodeoSabunJerawat, 2019c).</p>
Index	The figure of a man holding Rodeos soap in his left hand with a smile.
Symbol	Rodeos soap at an affordable price can make a man's facial skin clean, prevent acne, and make dark spots disappear.

Table 5. Data analysis of Rodeos Instagram posted on August 9, 2019.

Sign	Information
Icon	 <p data-bbox="307 517 1038 703">RODEOS MEN ORIGINAL. Rodeos profits/performance. It can maintain and moisturize facial skin to look fresher and not dull. It helps delay the signs of premature aging of facial skin (wrinkles). Facial skin stays healthy and maintained throughout the day. The advantages of Rodeos include charcoal powder/charcoal functions as skin detoxification cleansing the pores of the face, helping absorb excess oil on the facial skin, and reducing blackheads (RodeosCharcoalSoap, 2019a)</p>
Index	The figure of a man holding two boxes of Rodeos soap in his right hand and one Rodeos soap that has been opened in his left hand. There are pillows, so the background of the place is in the bed.
Symbol	Rodeos soap can make facial skin healthier and fresher, and can be used when you wake up or just before going to sleep.

Keeping facial skin healthy and well-groomed is a routine that is expected to become a habit for millennial men. This is specially true for millennials who are easily perceived by capitalist products as their main target, which makes it easy for Rodeos soap to achieve its goals.

Attracting millennial men who tend to be ignorant in using facial care products can be done by giving consumer confidence by quoting clinical trials and product safety tests so that they do not have a bad impact on the skin.

Millennial men are described as having bright facial skin appearance and avoiding various skin problems. The image of a figure full of challenges becomes a picture for Rodeos soap users. Breaking the image of men with a masculine image that does not pay much attention to their appearance is juxtaposed with efforts to increase the level of physical appearance through facial skin care products.



Figure 1. Happy facial expressions in the #cowokmilenial Instagram post (RodeosMenOfficial, 2019b; RodeosSabunJerawat, 2019c; RodeosCharcoalSoap, 2019a; RodeosSabunJerawat, 2019a).

Based on the data that has been presented and judging from Peirce's semiotic concept, the icon that appears in figure 1 shows men holding a round black soap.

The index of Figure 1 is a happy facial expression; it can be seen from the smiles that the four men radiate. The face has been a manifestation of the physical appearance of millennial men. The definition of a handsome millennial man is built by creating a well-maintained facial representation through facial skincare products. This is because more attention to appearance will lead them to the side of metrosexuality.

The symbol obtained in figure 1 shows that facial soap for men like Rodeos soap is able to make the faces of millennial men brighter, cleaner, and acne-free. It is this facial condition that finally gives the definition of being handsome for men (millennial) who use facial soap which is also a feeling of satisfaction shown by signs of "smile" and "selfie" on the glass who feel satisfied, happy, and confident in their after-appearance using facial care products. Men's facial skin care products, one of which is Rodeos soap, is a capitalist industry in utilizing millennial men bodies to be disciplined through well-groomed faces. The capitalist industry then uses Instagram as a social media played by millennial men in spreading discipline on the body of millennial men through faces, especially to millennial men who care about appearance. It is hoped that millennial men who are active on social

media, especially Instagram, will contribute to the consumption culture created by facial skin care products as a capitalist industry.

The Use of Instagram for the Capitalist Industry

The link between skincare as a capitalist product and the handsome meaning of millennial men on Instagram that appears with the hashtag #cowokmilennial can be seen from the results of the posts that have been collected. The expressions shown are evidence that handsome are those who use skincare for the face (Rodeos soap). The face is a part of the body that is the spotlight of capitalist products, especially skincare (face). Thus, dissatisfaction with the face becomes a fear that must be immediately overcome by consuming skincare products (face). After using skincare, it can be said that Indonesian millennial men on Instagram hashtag #cowokmilennial use Rodeo products (Table 2). An optimal appearance is, of course, also obtained from increased self-confidence, as seen in the figure (Table 2). Self-confidence is the meaning of being handsome. Thus, disciplining the millennial men body with skincare products has achieved its goal, namely, to shape the reality in the minds of millennial men in strengthening their metrosexual side.

Besides, the appearance of “handsome” millennial men also requires personal appearance care, especially the face, so facial care products are a necessity for millennial men who would like to feel handsome. Table 3 also shows that “handsome” is constructed with the use of Rodeos soap, which makes a face clean, coupled with the smile that expands the men figure in the picture. Table 4 further shows that “handsome” is seen from a brighter face, “handsome” millennial men should use facial skincare products. Table 5 confirms that “handsome” millennial men who enjoy sports and often do outdoor activities must maintain their appearance.

Table 6 shows that “handsome” millennials are those who have clean faces, face free of acne, are free from dark spots, fresher, healthier faces, and of course, obtained by using Rodeos soap (facial care). Table 7 shows that “handsome” millennial men are showed with brighter faces and avoid various facial skin problems. Through Instagram, the definition of a millennial men who tends to be indifferent to his appearance is slowly being changed by the capitalist industry to a figure who cares about appearance in attracting the opposite sex.

Metrosexual people also use Instagram to describe the definition of “good-looking,” because Instagram has different features compared to other social media. Instagram focuses more on photos and videos, making it attractive to Instagram users who need media that is not always filled with writing. Thus, Instagram becomes attractive for users to show who

they are through their physical appearance. A person's physical appearance will be easier for others to believe than long, boring words on other social media platforms. Because Instagram is audiovisual-based, this is an added value for its users, especially in this context, metrosexual men who want to show off their good looks. This is the reason why metrosexual men use Instagram as their medium of choice. Instagram is also used for the same by manufacturers of various products; in this case, especially skincare products aimed at metrosexual men. So Instagram is not only used as a media for socialization for millennials. However, behind that, it turns out that millennial men are the figures used by the capitalist industry in disciplining their bodies.

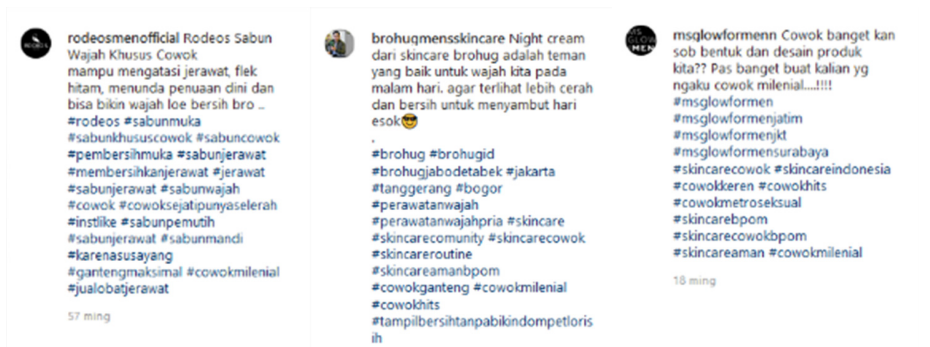


Figure 2. Captions and hashtags in the #cowokmilenial Instagram post (RodeosMenOfficial, 2019; Mens_Brohug, 2019; PusatMsGlowForMen, 2019).

Judging from Peirce's semiotic concept, the icon that appears in Figure 2 shows captions and hashtags contains about the benefits of facial skin care products that are felt after using the product.

The index of figure 2 highlights hashtags that further strengthen the caption containing the benefits of facial care products. The hashtags that appear like #sabunkhususcowok (boy soap) so that using facial skin care products does not have to be with facial skin care products for women. The hashtags #cowokganteng (handsome guy) and #cowokkeren (cool guy) evoke the impression that men who use facial skin care products are more handsome and cool.

The symbol obtained in figure 2 shows that Instagram is seen not only as a medium for self-existence. However, with the features provided by Instagram in attracting followers, it has been seen as an opportunity in building discipline by the capitalist industry. Instagram is shifting into a new marketing medium for the capitalist industry in building discipline on the body of its potential consumers, especially Instagram users

who are dominated by millennials. However, in the context of rising of Islamic populism, the #cowokmilenial representing the contra-flow single interpretation of youth expression among the Indonesian society. The hashtag is also a soft sign to the cyber community about defining of sexual orientation and masculinity itself.

Because logic investigates how humans reason, semiotics is founded on logic, whereas Peirce's reasoning is done through signs. According to Peirce (as cited by Rosenthal, 1979), these indicators enable humans to think, relate to others, and give meaning to what is close to them. Humans have a range of signals in various facets of their lives in this scenario. It functions and is used from a sign that is the center of attention, according to semiotic theory. Signs are very significant as a means of communication in a variety of situations and can be utilized in a variety of ways. The semiotic approach of Peirce indicates a triangle of meaning theory, which consists of three basic elements: signs, objects, and interpretants, all of which are complementary and strengthening.

Signs on Instagram posts with #cowokmilenial are dominated by men with bright, white, and clean facial skin. These posts also appear with men holding facial care products. Objects on Instagram posts with #cowokmilenial depict happy facial expressions that can be seen from the smiles of men. Interpretants on Instagram posts with #cowokmilenial highlight an attractive physical appearance, especially focused on the face, is something that is very happy. This effort is certainly not obtained in a simple way; it takes maximum effort in getting a clean, white, and bright face, namely by using facial care products that are tailored to the needs of men, not only through photos or videos that appear in Instagram posts related to the physical appearance of millennial men. Captions and hashtags also attract millennial men through the creation of selected texts such as #cowokkeren (hot guy), #cowokhits (guy hits), and other hashtags that further support efforts to create men's physical appearance by utilizing texts through the selection of specific hashtags. The hashtag function, which has become increasingly popular on Instagram, not only makes it easier for users to search for content, but is also used to create fantasies about the appearance and discipline of millennial men bodies.

Conclusion

The researchers found that the meaning of metrosexual among Indonesian millennial men on Instagram is shown through the activity of consuming facial care products, one of which is Rodeos soap to make them more handsome. Rodeos soap, as a product of the capitalist industry in facial skin care products, builds an image by utilizing Instagram in building

metrosexual constructs among millennial men who expect an attractive appearance from a clean, bright, and acne-free face. Now, the brand thus succeeds in attracting millennial men who care about their appearance, especially those who want to appear metrosexual. Rodeos also disciplines millennial men bodies with facial care products. Because the metrosexual impression can be seen from the striking physical appearance, the face is a part of the body that must be put in order first. Therefore, Instagram as a new medium takes advantage of hashtags that can make posts seen by more people, especially if done in the right way. With the increasing number of audiences who see the content of the products offered, the greater the chance for facial care products to be sold automatically. Instagram posts with #cowokmilennial are made by selecting photos and videos that show signs that show physical appearance, especially the well-groomed men faces. In addition, the addition of other interesting hashtags is also featured in each post. So that the texts that appear in the captions and selected hashtags in each of their posts related to appearance also attract men who have a high concern for appearance.

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