Political Communication of Indonesian Presidential Candidates on Social Media

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ABSTRACT
Social media has become a very important tool in political communication, especially in the face of presidential election contestation. This study aims to analyze Anies Baswedan's political communication on social media ahead of the 2024 presidential election. Using a qualitative approach and content analysis method, this study examines Anies Baswedan's political communication content on social media platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and YouTube. The results showed that Anies Baswedan raised various themes and main issues in his political communication on social media, such as the economy, education, health, infrastructure, corruption, and environment. He uses a critical and vocal communication style in voicing opinions and criticizing government policies. His communication strategy also includes efforts to image himself as a leader who is vocal, critical, close to the people, experienced, competent, and concerned about environmental issues and sustainable development. Anies Baswedan's political communication on social media received diverse responses from audiences, ranging from support to intense criticism and debate. However, political communication on social media also faces a number of challenges and implications, such as political polarization, the spread of false information, black campaigns, and issues of digital campaign ethics. Keywords: political communication, social media, presidential election, self-image, digital campaign

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INTRODUCTION
In today's digital era, social media has become a major platform for political communication, especially ahead of major political contestations such as the Presidential Election. The existence of social media allows candidates and political elites to reach a wide audience, deliver their messages and narratives directly, and build engagement and support from the public. This ability is crucial in garnering support and influencing public opinion.

Social media allows politicians to communicate and facilitates two-way interactions that allow the public to voice opinions, ask questions, and provide feedback directly to their prospective leaders. This creates a more dynamic and inclusive space for dialogue, where voices from different walks of life can be heard and valued.

In addition, social media campaign strategies enable the utilization of data analytics to measure message effectiveness and adjust strategies in real-time. As such, campaign teams can identify the issues that resonate most among voters and target more personalized
messages to different segments of society. This includes using targeted advertising, viral content, and hashtag campaigns to increase reach and influence.

The impact of social media on politics also poses challenges, including the spread of misinformation and the polarisation of opinions. Therefore, candidates and their teams must maintain the integrity of the information they disseminate and actively counter hoaxes and fake news. Social media use for news and political engagement is both a consequence and a key antecedent of sharing misinformation. (Valenzuela et al., 2019)

Given social media's immense potential to shape the political landscape, it is important for political actors to ethically and effectively manage their presence on these platforms. By utilizing the power of social media responsibly, they can not only strengthen democracy but also advance healthier and more productive public discussions.

One political figure who is quite active on social media and often gets the spotlight is Anies Baswedan, who has a background as a former Minister of Education and Culture and has served as Governor of DKI Jakarta for the 2017-2022 period. Although Anies has not officially announced his readiness to run in the 2024 Presidential Election, speculation about his potential candidacy has been widely discussed on various platforms and among the public. His popularity and influence fuelled this, especially among urban voters and people active on social media. Many political observers and supporters believe that Anies has the leadership vision needed to take Indonesia in a better direction, although, of course, this also raises various discussions and debates about his track record and policies that have been implemented during his career in government.

Anies Baswedan is known as a professional with high academic achievements and a good track record in government bureaucracy. During his tenure as Governor of DKI Jakarta, Anies Baswedan was also known to actively communicate through social media, convey work programs, communicate policies, and respond to issues that developed in the community.

Ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election, Anies Baswedan's political communication on social media will be analyzed. It is interesting to study how political communication strategies are used, the messages conveyed, and the community's response and involvement in his political communication activities.

Previous researchers have widely studied the use of social media in political communication. A study revealed that social media provides opportunities for politicians to engage in two-way communication with voters and increase transparency (Tambouris et al., 2011). Other research found that politicians' use of social media can increase citizens' political participation. Following politicians on social media increases campaign engagement and exposure to campaign news, with friends and followers acting as the main nodes of their political online networks (Astuti & Toni, 2020; Kruikemeier, 2014; Marquart et al., 2020).

In Indonesia itself, several studies have examined the role of social media in political communication, such as the study (Syarwi, 2022), which analyzed campaign strategies on social media in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election. Similar research was also conducted (Towner & Dulio, 2012), which examined the use of social media in the 2014 Presidential Election campaign in the United States.

This research is relevant to understanding how candidates and political elites use social media to communicate and how the public responds and engages in the process. This study can also provide an overview of the dynamics of political communication in Indonesia in the digital era and ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election.
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Political Communication

Political communication is a form of communication carried out by politicians to achieve certain goals. According to McNair, political communication involves communication between political actors and voters, between politicians, newspaper columnists, and discussions about political actors and their activities (McNair, 2017).

Political communication is a process that aims to influence public knowledge, beliefs, and actions related to political issues. Media influences political attitudes and behaviors, with moderating and mediating variables affecting the strength of these relationships (Hoewe & Peacock, 2020; Nimmo, 1978). Miriam Budiardjo sees political communication as a function of socialization and political culture, stating that effective communication is an important prerequisite for successful political socialization (Budiarjo, 2008).

Harold Lasswell emphasized that political communication is always value- or goal-oriented and highlighted that audiences in political communication often have only a temporary role as recipients (Jones & Holmes, 2011). Political communication is an inherent function in every political system and is used to influence public knowledge, beliefs, and actions related to political issues (Bene, 2017).

Political communication includes key elements such as communicator source, message, media, audience, and impact. Each aspect has a specific role, but they are directly and indirectly interconnected in their application. The process aims to influence public knowledge, beliefs, and actions on political issues. Political communication is a process of delivering politically charged messages from a source to a recipient to influence the audience to form attitudes and behaviors in accordance with the wishes of the source (Nimmo, 1978). Political communication plays an important role in the process of delivering information, socializing political values, and forming public opinion.

According to Nimmo (1978), there are four main functions of political communication, namely: (1) Provide information to the community about what is happening in their neighborhood; (2) Educate people on the meaning and intent of the facts; (3) Provide a platform to learn about public policies and monitor government behavior; (4) Integrate the activities of various groups within the political system.

In the digital era, social media has become an important tool for political actors, including presidential candidates, to communicate with the public directly. It allows for two-way communication, builds engagement, and spreads messages quickly and widely (Kruikemeier, 2014; Tambouris et al., 2011).

The relevant theory for analyzing political communication on social media is the network theory proposed by Castells and Elgar (Castells, 2004). This theory emphasizes the importance of communication networks in the information society. Communication networks formed through social media can facilitate the dissemination of information and mobilize support quickly and widely.

Self-Image on Social Media

In this connected age, social media is not only a communication tool but also an important tool for self-image. These digital platforms allow individuals to image themselves how they want, sometimes creating an idealized version of their reality (Goffman, 1956). With social media's power, users can choose how they want to be perceived by the outside world.

Impression management is an important aspect of online self-branding, where individuals often put their best foot forward to influence how others see them. According to
(Schlenker, 2012), individuals tend to filter and choose to display only the positive aspects of their lives, such as achievements or moments of happiness, while less pleasant or glamorous moments are kept away from the public eye.

In cyberspace, there are two types of self-image: idealized and authentic. Idealized branding tends to present a perfect version, often processed so that it may only be a partial reflection of reality. (Michikyan et al., 2014) elaborate that this approach may not always reflect the true state of affairs. On the other hand, authentic branding is when individuals choose to show themselves as they are, including their flaws, which offers a more honest and transparent view.

In an era when privacy is becoming scarce, managing privacy and boundaries on social media is critical (Trepte & Reinecke, 2011). They point out that individuals should take care to control who can see the content they share and how much personal information they make public. This includes privacy settings to control access to personal information and choosing what to share online.

Interaction with the audience is important in building and maintaining an online image. Responses to comments, conversation participation, and other interactions can reinforce the image desired by the individual. As explained by (Michikyan et al., 2014), this helps build a positive image and strengthen relationships with their followers.

Self-branding on social media is becoming increasingly critical in a professional context. Research (Freberg et al., 2011) shows that professionals and leaders strive to appear competent, credible, and authoritative. They use social media to publicize their career successes and thought leadership, which is important for building and maintaining a professional reputation.

Self-branding on social media is a complex and strategic practice that combines impression management, authenticity expression, privacy management, and social interaction. While it offers opportunities for beneficial self-projection, its challenges include the potential for polarisation and constant identity management, which requires balance and ethical considerations. In another study (Bast, 2021), social media platforms are popular tools for political image-building among prominent politicians in various countries who present themselves on social media. They create a professional appearance and show the politicians' closeness to the citizens (Fardiah et al., 2023).

**Digital Campaign Strategy**

Digital campaign strategy refers to a set of tactics and approaches used in a political, marketing, or advocacy campaign to achieve specific goals through digital and online media (Towner & Dulio, 2012). In today's digital age, digital campaign strategies are becoming increasingly important to reach a wider audience and mobilize support effectively.

Some of the key elements in a digital campaign strategy include: Interesting and relevant content is key in digital campaign strategies. This can include short videos, infographics, memes, or other multimedia content designed to grab attention and trigger audience engagement (Bene, 2017).

Digital campaign strategies also involve targeting and personalizing messages to specific audience segments. Through data analysis and targeting technologies, campaigns can deliver more relevant and effective messages to specific target groups (Towner & Dulio, 2012).

Social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube are becoming key platforms in digital campaign strategies. Through social media, campaigns can spread
messages, build audience interactions, and promote content widely (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013).

In digital campaign strategies, utilizing influencers and opinion leaders can be an effective tactic to extend the reach and credibility of messages. Influencers and opinion leaders with a strong follower base can be leveraged to spread campaign messages and mobilize support.

Digital campaign strategy also involves rigorous data analysis and measurement to evaluate the effectiveness of campaign efforts. Through data analysis, campaigns can gain insight into audience engagement, behavioral patterns, and the tactics' impact (Towner & Dulio, 2012).

Despite their digital focus, digital campaign strategies are often integrated with offline campaigns such as in-person events, debates, and public meetings. This integration allows the campaign to reach a wider audience and optimize the impact of the overall campaign effort (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013).

Digital campaign strategies are constantly evolving as technology advances and audience behavior changes. Therefore, campaigns must be adaptive and innovative in designing and implementing effective digital strategies to achieve their goals.

The Role of Social Media in Elections

Social media has become a very important communication channel in the electoral process in today's digital era. It plays a significant role in supporting the democratic process by facilitating information dissemination, the interaction between voters and candidates, and the mobilization of support (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013).

Social media has become the main platform for political parties, candidates, and voters to disseminate information about campaigns, work programs, and political agendas. Information can be disseminated quickly and widely through social media, reaching a larger and more diverse audience (Bene, 2017). This allows voters to access information openly and make more informed decisions.

Social media also facilitates direct interaction between candidates or political parties and voters. Voters can comment, ask questions, and engage in real-time discussions. This creates opportunities to build closer and more personalized relationships between candidates and voters (Enli & Skogerbø, 2013).

Social media is an effective tool for mobilizing support and political activism. Through these platforms, candidates or political parties can organize and mobilize their supporters to participate in campaign activities, attend events, or take specific actions (Towner & Dulio, 2012).

Social media also has the potential to increase transparency and accountability in the electoral process. Voters can keep tabs on campaign promises, monitor the performance of elected candidates, and voice their aspirations more openly through social media (Dania & Nisa, 2023).

Despite its positive role, the use of social media in elections also faces challenges and risks, such as the spread of false information (hoaxes), black campaigns, political polarisation, and data privacy. Therefore, adequate regulation and digital literacy are needed to overcome these challenges (Syarwi, 2022).
METHODOLOGY

This research was designed with a qualitative approach to explore a deeper understanding of the dynamics of Anies Baswedan’s political communication on social media platforms ahead of the 2024 presidential election. Through the content analysis method, which has been described by (Krippendorff, 2004), the research objective is to comprehensively dissect the content that Anies Baswedan uploaded on various social media such as Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and YouTube from January 2023 to May 2024.

The object of focus was all forms of political communication content uploaded by Anies, including text, images, and videos. Data collection techniques involved extensive content documentation and interactive observation of audience responses, including the number of likes, comments, and shares, based on methods established (Creswell and Creswell, 2018).

In determining the sample, this study adopted a purposive sampling technique (Etikan et al., 2015) to select the most relevant and representative content on crucial issues in Anies’ political communication. Data analysis was conducted through three main stages: data reduction, where data was filtered and summarised; data presentation, which utilized narratives, diagrams, and tables; and in-depth content analysis of thematic aspects, messages, language styles, and communication strategies used, with the ultimate goal of drawing informative and valid conclusions.

Table 1 follows with data on Anies Baswedan’s social media accounts and volunteers ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election contestation.

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Based on Table 1, it can be concluded that Anies has many followers, which means that his branding process as an academic and politician is sufficient to campaign on social media. Meanwhile, Table 2 shows that Anies Baswedan has a support team in his campaign called Anies Volunteers. This team is seen on the TikTok account with the username @relawanannies, which posts every activity in Anies Baswedan’s image.

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<th>Table 2. The number of followers of Anies Baswedan’s social media accounts was recorded until the political contestation activities took place</th>
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To ensure the validity of the data, this study implements triangulation strategies, both sources and methods. Source triangulation was achieved by accumulating data from the various platforms used by Anies Baswedan. In contrast, method triangulation included a combination of documentation and observation, strengthening the integrity of the research findings.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Anies Baswedan's profile on social media

Anies Baswedan, a prominent Indonesian political figure and former Governor of DKI Jakarta, has a strong presence in the digital world through his social media accounts on Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and YouTube. This article will explore how Anies uses these platforms to shape his public image and communicate with his followers, analyzing his self-image strategies that are patterned through his social media activities.

On Twitter, through the @aniesbaswedan account, followed by over half a million followers, Anies actively shares updates on government initiatives and discussions on political and social issues. His tweets are often supplemented with images or videos that provide deeper insights into his professional and personal life, including his participation in formal events and policy announcements.

Moving on to Instagram, Anies utilizes this visual platform to provide a more personalized and detailed picture of his daily activities and government projects. With the uploaded photos and videos, he shows the working aspect of being a leader and as an individual who is relatable to the general public.

Anies' Facebook is used for similar purposes but with a wider scope. The "Anies Baswedan" page reaches over half a million followers, allowing him to directly engage in dialogue with citizens. Here, he often posts long videos and in-depth discussions on important public policy and social change themes.

YouTube, on the other hand, is used by Anies to broadcast longer video recordings of his activities and programs (Fig.1). The "Anies Baswedan" channel allows him to convey messages comprehensively through live broadcasts that often attract thousands of viewers who want to hear his views directly.

Figure 1. Anies Baswedan Channel on Youtube
(https://www.youtube.com/@aniesbaswedan/shorts, retrieved on 20 April 2024)

Implications and Challenges of Political Communication in Social Media

In a political world increasingly integrated with digital technology, Anies Baswedan, like many other politicians, has utilized social media as a key channel for political communication. However, this powerful tool also comes with a series of significant challenges and implications.
One of the most obvious effects of political communication on social media is the intensification of political polarisation. These platforms tend to compartmentalize users into homogeneous bubbles, where they are often only exposed to views that reinforce their personal beliefs. As observed in various studies (Tasrif, 2023), this can result in deeper social divisions. Anies should be careful not to exacerbate this polarization and seek to embrace a more inclusive and constructive dialogue in executing his communication strategy.

The digital era has also given rise to a wave of false information and black campaigns that can spread with extraordinary speed and reach, as revealed (Juditha, 2019). Social media’s openness allows information to move freely. However, it also allows fake news and negative narratives to circulate without adequate filters, creating a big challenge in maintaining the integrity of the information conveyed. Anies needs to ensure that his team is responsible for producing and disseminating content that is not only ethical but also accurate.

Communication on social media also raises ethical questions about the propriety of the content shared. Practices such as hacking, account hijacking, and hate speech, as described by (Hayat et al., 2021), are serious concerns in digital campaigns. Anies needs to organize his team with high ethical standards and ensure that all content produced is aligned with the values of integrity and transparency.

One of the biggest drawbacks to using social media for political communication is the lack of adequate regulation, which can expose democratic processes to the risk of manipulation and abuse. As highlighted by (Dania and Nisa, 2023), Anies can advocate for establishing stricter policies and more effective supervision over the use of social media in politics.

Low digital literacy among the public, as shown by (Baroroh, 2016), also adds to the complexity of digital political communication. People who are not digitally literate tend to be more easily influenced by misleading information. Therefore, it is important for Anies to not only deliver his message but also contribute to improving digital awareness and understanding among the public, thus enabling them to assess information critically and independently.

While social media offers a potent platform for disseminating political messages, its challenges require careful and ethical navigation. Anies Baswedan and his team need to be mindful of these implications and proactive in addressing emerging issues by using social media as a communication tool and an enabler of a healthy and productive democracy.

Anies Baswedan's Social Media Imaging Strategy

Anies’ social media branding strategy focuses heavily on transparency and activeness in communication. He smartly uses a combination of text, images, and videos to communicate his activities and thoughts, increasing public awareness of government activities and strengthening his image as an open and relatable politician.

Anies Baswedan’s presence on social media reflects his ongoing efforts to inform and build emotional connectivity with his followers, reinforcing his position as a respected public figure and a politician who understands the power of digital communication in the modern era.

Main themes and issues brought by Anies Baswedan

In Indonesia's political communication landscape, Anies Baswedan has emerged as a central figure who utilizes social media to voice important issues that resonate with the public interest. As a politician who was once the Governor of DKI Jakarta and former Minister of Education and Culture, Anies shares a unique perspective through various digital platforms. In
his narrative, several main themes consistently become the focus of his attention, showing his priorities and political vision for the future of Indonesia.

Firstly, the themes of economy and people's welfare often dominate the discussions initiated by Anies. He is vocal in criticizing current economic policies that are considered not fully supportive of improving people's welfare, especially related to the price of basic needs and the unemployment rate. Through posts on social media, Anies has put forward in-depth arguments about the importance of economic policy reforms that are more inclusive and oriented toward economic growth that directly impacts many people.

Second, education and human resource development. As an educator and former minister, Anies never tires of emphasizing the importance of education in building a strong foundation for the nation's future. He often criticizes the low education budget and the expansion of access to quality education, hoping to spark discussion and change in national education policy-making.

Third, Anies also highlighted the issue of health and public services. He has often spoken about the importance of strengthening an affordable and high-quality public health system. Public service issues, including infrastructure and transport, also figure in his political discourse, showing his commitment to improving citizens' quality of life.

Fourth, Anies did not hesitate to raise the issue of corruption and law enforcement. This is a sensitive yet important theme, where he openly demands transparency and justice in law enforcement. His criticism of the slow handling of corruption cases shows his dedication to legal system reform and corruption eradication.

Fifth, although not as frequently as other themes, Anies discusses the environment and sustainable development. Through his political communication, he promotes policies that support environmental sustainability and sustainable development, emphasizing the importance of maintaining a balance between economic progress and nature conservation.

His communication style tends to be critical yet constructive when dealing with these issues. He uses social media as a platform for disseminating information and as a forum for dialogue, educating the public, and encouraging active participation in the democratic process. Thus, Anies Baswedan positions himself as a political figure who cares and is responsive to society's challenges while continuing to encourage positive change through effective and empathetic political communication.

**Anies Baswedan's Communication Strategy**

As an active politician and strong social influencer, Anies Baswedan has developed a meticulous communication strategy for navigating the complex social media landscape. By adopting a structured yet nuanced approach, Anies uses every aspect of social media to strengthen his political influence and communicate directly with his constituents.

**Critical and Vocal Sharpening of Language Style**

One key element in Anies' communication strategy is his critical and direct choice of language. In many of his posts, Anies does not hesitate to use straightforward and assertive language to criticize government policies that are unfavorable to the community. This style of speaking not only reflects his bold character but also aims to arouse and mobilize public support, making his message not only heard but also felt.
Emotions and Provocations as Discussion Starters

In addition to boldness in words, Anies also tends to choose emotional and provocative diction. This choice of words is often designed to trigger discussion and reflection among his supporters. Although sometimes controversial, this strategy effectively keeps the audience engaged with the topic, encouraging a broader dialogue on important issues.

Optimising Multimedia to Increase Engagement

With a good understanding of the power of visuals, Anies integrates images, videos, and infographics in his posts. This use of multimedia increases engagement by making it easier for audiences to understand and interact with the content presented. Multimedia is visually appealing and reinforces the message, ensuring that the communication is effective and engaging.

Interactivity with Audience as Key to Relationship Building

Direct interaction with followers is another important aspect of his strategy. Through comments and direct responses to feedback, Anies shows an open and responsive attitude. This approach shows that he is a politician who speaks and listens, making him relatable and strengthening personal relationships with his supporters.

Focus on Populist Issues for Maximum Resonance

Its strategy also strongly emphasizes populist issues, choosing topics that resonate with people's real needs and problems, such as the economy, education, and health. This approach ensures that its messages are relevant and emphasizes its concern for improving the quality of life of ordinary people.

By utilizing every aspect of his communication strategy, Anies Baswedan has built an image as a critical, vocal, and deeply connected politician to his support base. Although at times controversial, this strategy has proven effective in expanding his reach and strengthening his position in the Indonesian political scene.

Audience Response to Anies Baswedan's Political Communication

Anies Baswedan's political communication on social media has attracted different types of reactions from his followers, creating a dynamic and sometimes sharply polarised interaction environment. Analyses of these audience responses reveal interesting aspects of how Anies' communications are received and debated in society.

From Instagram to Twitter, each of Anies Baswedan's posts attracts the attention of thousands, even millions, of his followers, as evidenced by the high number of likes and shares. This activeness indicates that the messages are not only delivered but also trigger the audience to interact. Whether through support or curiosity, this high level of engagement is an important indicator of Anies' influence on social media.

With a controversial public figure background, it is unsurprising that reactions to Anies' social media communications were divided between strong support and sharp criticism. Some audiences responded very positively, praising his courage and decisiveness, while others expressed their disagreement, often with opposing arguments. This sentiment reflects the broader polarisation in Indonesian politics, where issues are often viewed differently.

The comment section under his posts often becomes an arena for heated debates, where supporters and opponents argue with each other. This exchange of opinions shows how polarised views are on the issues discussed and the vitality of digital public space as a forum
for democratic discussion. This is important in a political context, where open discussion can influence public opinion and perhaps even policy.

Despite the criticism, Anies remains supported by a strong and vocal base of social media supporters who actively voice support, defend his messages, and spread them. This base often takes an active role in extending the reach of Anies' messages by sharing them further, helping to strengthen his presence on social media as an effective political tool.

This diverse response confirms that Anies Baswedan is a figure who can utilize social media not only as a tool to disseminate information but also as a platform to explore and understand public tendencies and reactions to various political issues. Although the challenge of polarising sentiments is inevitable, the high level of engagement shows that his communication strategy effectively drives public discussion.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the findings and discussion that have been presented, it can be concluded that Anies Baswedan utilizes social media as the main means to convey his political messages and build his self-image in the eyes of the public.

In his political communication on social media, Anies Baswedan raises various themes and key issues, such as the economy, education, health, infrastructure, corruption, and the environment. He uses critical and vocal communication to voice opinions and criticize inappropriate government policies. In addition, Anies Baswedan also utilizes multimedia, such as images, videos, and infographics, to reinforce his messages.

Anies Baswedan’s political communication strategy on social media also includes strategic self-imaging efforts. He tries to build an image as a leader who is vocal, critical, close to the people, experienced, competent, and concerned about environmental issues and sustainable development. Interaction with the audience through responding to comments and questions is also part of his communication strategy.

Anies Baswedan’s political communication on social media received mixed responses from the audience. On the one hand, he has a solid base of supporters who respond positively and voice their support. However, his communication also drew criticism and negative responses from audiences who opposed his views. Intense debates and discussions often occur on social media as a reaction to his political communication.

However, political communication on social media also faces challenges and implications, such as political polarisation, spreading false information, black campaigns, and issues of digital campaign ethics. This calls for better regulation, strict supervision, and an increase in the public's digital literacy in social media consumption.

This research shows that social media plays a very important role in political communication, especially in the face of the 2024 Presidential Election contestation. However, its utilization must be done wisely and responsibly by upholding the principles of democracy and the ethics of healthy political communication.

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