

DECONSTRUCTION OF ANIES BASWEDAN'S POLITICAL IMAGE ON TWITTER THROUGH THE HASHTAG #ANIESGABENERPEMBOHONG

Arlan Siddha and Widuri Wulandari

Government Science Study Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Jenderal
Achmad Yani, St. Terusan Jenderal Sudirman, Cimahi,

E-mail: arlan.siddha@lecture.unjani.ac.id; widuri.wulandari@lecture.unjani.ac.id

ABSTRACT. This paper aims to find out the deconstruction of a political image in the social media space with an interesting contemporary phenomenon to observe through #AniesGabenerPembong which was trending on Twitter in October, at the same time as the announcement of Anies Baswedan's candidacy as a presidential candidate in 2024 by the NasDem Party. Social media as a means of two-way communication is used as a communication platform to shape the political image of elites or political parties. Twitter is one of the media that is used as a means to spread political messages quickly to form public opinion. This study uses a qualitative method with data analysis using the NVivo software on the NCapture feature to find the connection between #AniesGabenerPembong and interactions created through Twitter social media accounts. This study shows that social media is used as a means for political elites and other users to spread political messages, in this case, to deconstruct the political image of Anies Baswedan and the NasDem Party and posts related to hashtags revolve around the topic of Anies' failure as governor of DKI. Jakarta and efforts to degrade the NasDem party as the party that carries Anies Baswedan in the presidential election in 2024.

Keywords: Political Image; Deconstruction; Media Social; Twitter

INTRODUCTION

In the current digital era, technology and information are developing more rapidly. It has an impact on the communication process. Communication is done by receiving, sending, and responding to messages from two or more people who interact with each other, to get information (Erlina, 2014). External communication can be done through social media. At this time, social media is used as a forum for delivering information from the government to the public and information received by the government from the public. Communication in the current digital era that can be done through social media creates multi-step communications (Pratiwi et al., 2021). McQuail (in Abraham, 2012) suggested that the development of technology in terms of the mass media had shifted where the previous mass media was only one-way communication, but there was a shift. On October 3, 2022, the NasDem Party officially carried Anies Baswedan as a presidential candidate in the 2024 presidential election at the Nasdem Tower (Hakim, 2022). After the news was released on October 13, 2022, the hashtag #ANIESGABENERPEMBOHONG became one of the trending on Twitter. From a personal branding point of view, social media is one place for forming political images (Rusmulyadi & Hafiar, 2018). Social media is used by political or degrading political images for branding (Rusmulyadi & Hafiar, 2018).

The image of political actors with the people who are the targets of an actor in the perspective of political communication is interrelated. Hence, it has an impact on the personal branding of an actor on the communicant or recipient of the message through

the message delivered (Sayuti, 2014). However, the problem is success in constructing the image and political branding depending on the political maintenance images for a long time (Rusmulyadi & Hafiar, 2018). Political image is not always the same as its empirical reality. The political image attached to an actor is an effort to build a perception and impression of the public related to an object (Firmanzah, 2007).

Political image can be interpreted as a picture and public perception of authority, power, authority, consensus, and conflicts that have their meaning (Rusmulyadi & Hafiar, 2018). The purpose of the existence of the image of politics is to form public opinion related to the image of certain candidates or political parties (Rusmulyadi & Hafiar, 2018). There are three benefits of political image: First, a person's political knowledge is simple and can help understand political events. Second, political image is for providing an assessment of a particular object on the basis that the political image and there is a correlation with its attitudes, feelings, and political choices. Third, a person's self-image about politics is useful in connecting himself with others (Nimmo, 2005). Political image contains an element of subjectivity which is characterized by a person's attitudes, feelings, and mind about a particular political object. However, the political image still has the use and benefit (Nimmo, 2005).

The social media focus in this paper is Twitter which is included in the microblogs of internet applications built using Web 2.0 technology. Kaplan and Haenlein (in Haryanto, 2016) define social media as internet-based applications built using web 2.0 technology.

Social media is divided into six types, namely Collaborative Projects (Wikipedia), blogs

and microblogs (Twitter), content communities (Youtube), social networking sites (Facebook), virtual games (World of Warcraft), and virtual social (Haryanto, 2016). Social media can be used as a medium that can construct information to increase or the opposite condition can also occur, namely deconstruction as part of reducing the power of the ruler (Syafuruddin & Nadila, 2019). Furthermore, as a result of the existence of forms of power that affect people's lives where one of them is politics. Fuchs (in Syafuruddin & Nadila, 2009) explains that politics is a form of involvement in collective decisions that determine aspects of the lives of community members as well as certain social systems in society such as control over government, bureaucracy, parliament, political parties, and community groups.

In contemporary politics, Twitter is used as a medium for channeling political messages with the ease of spreading political messages quickly and can build public opinion (Barniat, 2021) and becomes viral or trending (Rusmulyadi & Hafiar, 2018). Communication ultimately impacts social relations in society because of the emergence of social interaction. In addition, Twitter usage will create a good environment for open and unrestricted communication (Liu & Weber, 2014). Eventually, the environment will create consequences for the interactions generated by communications (Kosasih, 2016).

Social media is a space capable of constructing or deconstructing political images from political actors. One of the things offered by social media is the structural framing of news content or information that is currently being discussed so that it can influence followers who can relate to this information (Syafuruddin & Nadila, 2009).

In this study, Anies Baswedan is one of the actors affected by the deconstruction of the political image. It is related to the news response regarding Anies Baswedan being promoted by the NasDem Party as a presidential candidate in the upcoming 2024 general election. The impact of this decision gave rise to several contents carried out by several accounts which will be discussed in this study as an attempt to degrade Anies Baswedan's political image both in terms of decreasing electability by spreading content or information related to Anies Baswedan's leadership when he served as governor of Jakarta previously.

Ahead of the election for the presidential and vice-presidential candidates in 2024, one of the figures that are of sufficient concern is Anies Baswedan because several survey institutions state that Anies Baswedan's name is included in five figures who have the potential to become a presidential candidate with high electability. It can be seen from several survey

institutions like the Indo research survey stating the electability trend of presidential candidates, including Anies Baswedan, Ganjar Pranowo, and Prabowo Subianto. In the 2022 interval, April, August, and December, Anies Baswedan has the highest electability percentage, namely at 28.2 percent, 27.7 percent, and 30.2 percent. Poltracking Indonesia, as quoted from merdeka.com, released a survey that as of December 2022, there were three names with the highest electability, namely Ganjar Pranowo, Anies Baswedan with 24.9 percent, and Prabowo Subianto. In addition, a survey by the Center for Political Communication Studies (CPCS) in February 2022 found that Anies Baswedan received electability of 14.8 percent.

Based on the survey, Anies Baswedan is experiencing a trend of increasing electability in 2022 from February, April, August, and December 2022. It is related to the topic image regarding the deconstruction of Anies Baswedan's political image. Hence, there are efforts to degrade Anies Baswedan's political image. Anies Baswedan politics by several parties do not want Anies Baswedan as a Presidential Candidate in 2024 with an effort to weaken his political image through the dissemination of information using the issue of Anies' failure while serving as Governor of DKI Jakarta before.

In addition, earlier, as stated by the study by Haris et al (2022), it was revealed that Anies Baswedan's political image in the mass media where the research was conducted used a qualitative methodology using lean analysis on three media, namely detik.com, okezone.com, and tribunews.com shows that the figure of Anies Baswedan is shown as a smart, polite, firm and religious figure. Thus, the direction of the news forms a positive political image of Anies Baswedan. It can be seen that there is an attempt to degrade the depiction of Anies Baswedan's political image, especially when it is associated with the news of Anies Baswedan's candidacy as a presidential candidate in 2024 from parties who do not want Anies Baswedan to become a presidential candidate in the 2024 election.

This research is an interesting topic because the result of the post turned out to have a sufficient impact on Anies Baswedan in terms of political image deconstruction to show the appearance of an actor who is incompetent in leading Indonesia regarding Anies Baswedan's candidacy for the presidential election in 2024 Deconstruction in terms of the political image is used as a strategy in reading texts. The text, according to Derrida (in Syafuruddin & Nadila, 2009), is explained not in the form of writing but also contains statements that contain certain values, prerequisites, ideology, truth, and goals. In several posts that have been collected using

the NVIVO 12 software using the NCapture feature, information distributed through several accounts contains content related to efforts to deconstruct political image in terms of forming a public opinion based on the use of #AniesGabenerPembong.

Several studies related to the political image have been carried out, such as research from Pratiwi et al., 2021, which analyzed the Twitter account of BNPB_RI (National Board for Disaster Management) as a government communication medium during the Covid-19 pandemic and research from Rusmulyadi and Hafiar (2019) regarding the deconstruction of Jokowi's political image in social media with the object taken is Twitter. This article has some similarities with previous research. This paper used a qualitative method assisted by the NVIVO application through the NCapture feature to see how the intensity of the use of the hashtag #AniesGabenerPembong is on Twitter social media.

Researchers used the NCapture feature in NVIVO software to capture content from a social media account. In addition, this feature is used to provide output regarding the completeness of data accounts that will be captured by researchers so that the completeness data regarding content analysis from social media can be more accurate to find.

The deconstruction theory used is the deconstruction proposed by Derrida. Derrida (2002) explains that a deconstruction is a form of criticism based on careful reading. Hence, a meaning reading that only draws the existing meaning of a text cannot be interpreted as a result of a deconstruction. At this point, deconstruction shows a difference from what a text shows and shows a necessary contradiction at the same time.

This paper aims to find how the deconstruction of political images in the social media space with interesting contemporary phenomena to observe through the trending hashtag in October #AniesGabenerPembong along with the announcement by the NasDem Party regarding Anies Baswedan's candidacy as a presidential candidate in 2024. Hashtags can play a role as a shaper or even herding public opinion. In this case, as an attempt to degrade Anies Baswedan's political image regarding the presidential nomination in 2024.

In this case, the significance of this study shows that social media (Twitter) has an important role in political communication activity in forming public opinion terms. Thus, the use of social media as a medium can be used to disseminate information can have an impact on the deconstruction of the political image of a political actor. The topic of discussion regarding the Deconstruction of Political Image becomes a concern for researchers to see about political communication activities displayed

on social media Twitter. In the end, it is not only constructing the political image of an actor but vice versa deconstructing political image by leading public opinion is an effort to degrade the political actor. The process of surfing social media activity through Twitter as part of a political communication medium can ultimately have a broad impact on political activities.

METHODS

This research used a qualitative descriptive approach to describe the existing phenomena both natural and human-made (Masitoh & Widiarti, 2018). This method was used by analyzing communication activities related to #AniesGabenerPembong on social media Twitter.

On October 2022, the data collection was carried out through hashtag activity. Data analysis in this study used the NVIVO 12 software on the NCapture feature. The NVIVO software is one of the qualitative data analysis tools used by researchers all over the country (Nofrima et al., 2020). This feature can carry out a systematic and in-depth collection of data from social media, then analyzed using the NVIVO Software. The use of several tools like cluster analysis are used to determine the relationship of hashtags to interactions created through Twitter social media accounts with a minimum correlation of 0.5. Word similarity is used to see the communication conveyed by Twitter accounts related to the hashtags discussed in this study using the Pearson correlation (Pratiwi et al., 2021).

Researchers used Ncapture to capture and import data (images, sound, and text) into NVivo data management. After the data is captured, data processing is carried out using NVivo (Priyatni et al., 2020). The Ncapture feature is used to analyze data on social media Twitter to capture the Tweets written.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Twitter is a place for many people to share information, stories, comments, activities, and emotions. For some users, Twitter is considered very important as social media because it allows political communication from political actors to run effectively (Alim & Rahmawati, 2021). Even Twitter can be a place for discussion or debate by government officials or politicians. The discussion of politics in Indonesia dominates trending topics on Twitter. Twitter contributes to the communication of political messages. Twitter introduces the # symbol or hashtag. Hashtags are used to liven up a discussion so that it becomes a trending topic on Twitter or used to make it easier to find related topics.

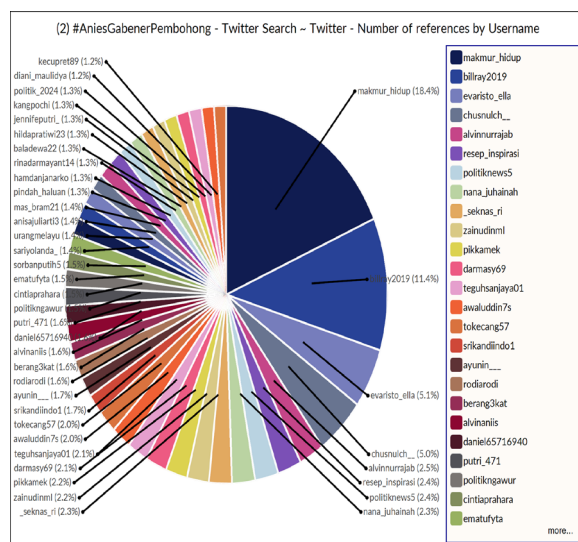
On October 3, 2022, the NasDem Party officially nominated Anies Baswedan as a presidential candidate for 2024. The decision was made by Surya Paloh as general chairman at the NasDem Tower, Jakarta. After the declaration of the decision, in October appeared #AniesGabenerPembohong. Based on data taken from Twitter using the NVivo 12 software with the Ncapture feature, several world clouds were obtained using the world similarity feature associated with the hashtag.



Source: Processed by the author using NVivo 12

Figure 1. World Similarity

In the picture above, the researchers narrowed the search for words related to the hashtag into seven keywords to filter related words so that the researcher made seven search words related to the hashtag. The results obtained are that among the hashtags there are several accompanying hashtags, including #tenggelamkanpartaiNasDem; #tenggelamkananiesNasDem; #failureisreal; #drownNasDem; #goodbyeNasDemanies.



Source: Processed by the author using NVivo 12

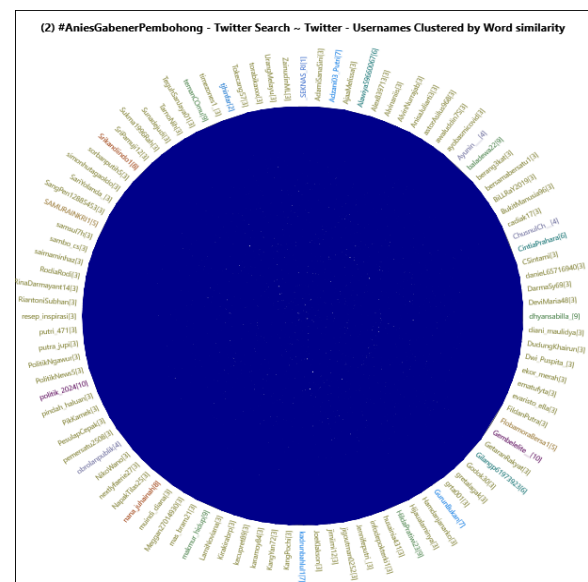
Figure 2. Username Intensity

Besides efforts to deconstruct Anies Baswedan regarding his candidacy to become a presidential candidate in 2024, it can be seen that the hashtag also impacts the party that carries Anies Baswedan, namely the NasDem Party. It can be seen how Anies and the NasDem Party are focused on this hashtag so that efforts to deconstruct the political image of Anies Baswedan and also the NasDem Party are visible from the hashtag.

The image is an account description with hashtag intensity related to Anies Baswedan. The figure displays the percentage of accounts using that hashtag.

The figure above shows that the intensity of usernames related to #AniesGabenerPembohong has quite a large percentage. The account @makmur_hidup (18.4%) and also account from billray2019 (11.4%) have the largest percentage related to the use of the hashtag. The researchers looked at several posts from the two activities regarding hashtag usage. The researchers also looked at several posts that used the hashtag.

From the figure below, it is seen that the hashtag activity is building interactions with several other Twitter accounts such as makmur_hidup, billray2019, evaristo_elia, chusnulch__, alvinmurrajib, and others accounts. This indicates that the interaction generated by the hashtag is created.



Source: Processed by the author using NVivo 12

Figure 3. Username Interaction

Figure 3 is a circle that depicts account users who use #AniesGabenerPembohong. Several accounts intensively use hashtags. It shows that the account users upload a tweet using the hashtag related to the Anies Baswedan issue. The issue is He is not good and is a liar. On October 14, 2022, a post from BillRay @BillRay2019 provided one of the videos that had played as of October 24, 2022, with 4,542 views and 149 retweets. The post was uploaded with the caption "Finally NasDem has resigned from the cabinet and the Jokowi coalition because it already has its president."

It is known that the NasDem Party was previously a coalition party supporting Jokowi in the presidential election in 2019. The post shows a consequence received by the NasDem party for making Anies Baswedan a presidential candidate. The consequence was that the party suffered losses and had to resign from the cabinet.



Source: Twitter @BiLLRaY2019

Figure 4. Several tweets

On the same day and same account, he tweeted a video with the caption *Silly! It's just getting funnier. Magical work.* The video has received 8,515 views as of October 24, 2022.



Source: Twiter @BiLLRaY2019

Figure 5. Several tweets

The post above is a video with the caption “Just Understanding. Means For These 5 Years It Has Been Working in a Ghostly way.” This effort shows that there was an attempt to weaken Anies Baswedan’s image by highlighting the invisible performance while he was the governor of DKI Jakarta. Based on this upload, the efforts made in terms of deconstructing the political image of Anies Baswedan are shown by highlighting Anies Baswedan’s performance while leading DKI Jakarta.

Another post from an account @KangPochi posted “It is a danger, if Anies uses identity politics again during his press release, then this country will be destroyed! Bali”. The post includes the hashtag that has been listed on the word cloud that is related to the hashtag #aniesgabenerpembeli. In the post, KangPochi included a poster depicting Anies Baswedan with the label Father of Identity Politics 2024.

The post shows that Anies Baswedan’s label uses identity politics as a political strategy that will be used when he becomes a presidential candidate. Besides that, Anies Baswedan is labeled as the Father of Identity Politics with the addition of a warning that “We do not get trapped again by Anies Baswedan in 2024”. From the post, it is seen that the information is related to Anies Baswedan’s candidacy in 2024. Then, there are efforts to weaken the political image of Anies Baswedan.

Meanwhile, for account @makmur_living, the researchers did not find any posts discussing Anies Baswedan. The account used hashtags that are trending on Twitter, but the posts are for online commerce on Twitter.



Source: Twitter @KangPochi

Figure 6. Several tweets

In addition, another post from @KangPochi states that there is a recognized certificate of appreciation as the father of religious tolerance for Anies. According to the post, the caption is “Anies’ rotten behavior for imagery, falsifying the charter for the sake of Catholics. Bali”



Source: Twitter @KangPochi

Figure 7. Several tweets

The information trying to display based on the post shows that Anies Baswedan is claimed to have falsified a certificate of appreciation as the father of religious tolerance. In addition, this information was accompanied by a statement “A fake certificate of Anis Baswedan for the sake of political passion to falsify signatures and certificates of appreciation from Catholic community leaders”. Besides that, it was added “He is a liar! Once you lie, you will lie forever! His brain is about lies, so the act of obscenity will be closed with the other bullshit.

The things that the post tries to display show that Anies Baswedan is a figure who deceives policies, political messages, or political communications where the term “ngibul” (lying) is displayed in the post.

On another account that has a fairly high percentage with the use of the hashtag #AniesGabenerPembohong, namely Instagram chchotimah @ChusnulCh_ where on October 13, 2022, there was a post that gave the caption Five years of Anies accompanied by a tag on the @PDI_Perjuangan account with a governor statement of 0 percent. Then the account from @gembong_warsono with the caption “cool, consistent with what has been criticized so far” and criticism of the NasDem party as the party carrying Anies Baswedan as a presidential candidate in 2024 with the caption “different from @NasDem not strict.”



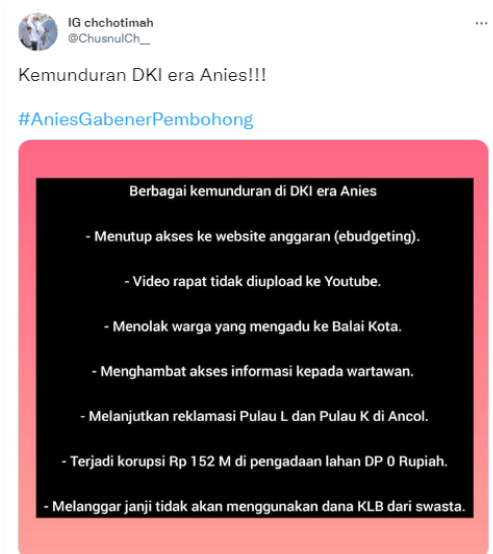
Source: Twitter @ChusnulCh_

Figure 8. Beberapa tweet

In this post, two things are trying to be shown, namely a message from the PDI Perjuangan political party which criticizes Anies Baswedan's leadership by highlighting Anies Baswedan's campaign promise of 0 percent Down Payment where PDI Perjuangan stated based on the post that Anies Baswedan's five years as governor 0 percent. In addition, the NasDem party as the party that carries Anies Baswedan in the 2024 presidential election is declared a “can not be trusted” party.

On October 13, 2022, an account post from @ChusnulCh_ contains a narrative related to the

exposure of Anies Baswedan's failures while serving as governor in DKI Jakarta. The post was accompanied by the caption “DKI setback in the Anies era!!!”.



Source: Twitter @ChusnulCh_

Figure 9. Beberapa tweet

Based on the post, several points were explained that described the decline of DKI Jakarta during the era of Anies Baswedan's leadership, namely with a total of seven points which were the highlights displayed by the account. Thus, in uploads distributed by several accounts that use hashtags related to Anies Baswedan related to Anies Baswedan's candidacy for the 2024 presidential election. Efforts to weaken the political image of Anies Baswedan are described or linked to Anies Baswedan's leadership period so that the opinion that is trying to be displayed is that Anies Baswedan is not the right person to become a presidential candidate in 2024. Not only that, in addition to deconstructing the political image of the actor, namely Anies Baswedan, the NasDem Party as the party that carries Anies Baswedan in the 2024 presidential election, is also experiencing an impact in terms of weakening political image where this can be seen from several hashtags that include the NasDem party as well as several posts showing the unfavorable consequences of the party's decision in the matter of Anies Baswedan's candidacy as a presidential candidate.

From some of the data described above, it can be seen the impact of the nomination of Anies Baswedan by the NasDem party on October 3, 2022, and the emergence of hashtags in response to this nomination. So, one of the impacts that the researchers saw was related to Anies Baswedan's electability before and after the nomination. In September 2022 according to the Political Indicator Survey, Anies' electability was at 17.4%, but with the official announcement that NasDes was carrying Anies as a presidential candidate in 2024 coupled

with the emergence of the hashtag, in the survey as of October 15, 2022, according to a survey from the Suara Circle Anies Baswedan's public survey tends to decrease to 11.7% (Annur, 2022).

In line with this, the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) and also the Development Technology Strategy (DTS), cited from merdeka.com that Anies' electability survey in September 2022 was at 17.4 percent, but in October, after the NasDem Party carried Anies Baswedan as a presidential candidate experienced ups and downs where LSI revealed that Anies Baswedan's electability percentage had been at 10.4 percent. DTS survey also showed the same thing, where in June-July 2022, Anies was at 24.6 percent, but it was at 17.4 percent in September. It indicates a trend of ups and downs in the political electability of an actor, which is also linked to what happened after Anies Baswedan's candidacy in October 2022. Some conditions had shown a decline in Anies Baswedan's electability survey. However, these conditions remain flexible where the dynamics of the ups and downs of electability still occur.

The NasDem Party which stated that it supports Anies Baswedan was also affected by the appearance of the Twitter post. It can be seen from several surveys conducted by survey institutions such as the Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC) survey in the November 2022 and December 2022 periods, which experienced a decline. SMRC noted a decrease in the electability of the NasDem Party from the previous party. It happened even though NasDem had already declared a presidential candidate, namely Anies Baswedan. In November 2022, the electability of the NasDem is at 4.8 percent. However, in the following month, December 2022, the electability of the NasDem fell to 3.2 percent. There was no significant impact on Anies' nomination on the electability of the NasDem because what happened was a decrease in electability.

In addition, another institution that was surveyed as quoted on dw.com, in the period 24 September to 7 October 2022, namely the Kompas Research and Development Survey showed that NasDem was in the middle party and that in terms of electability, it was at 4.3 percent. The survey conducted on 20 September 2022 by LSI showed that NasDem did not pass the 2024 parliamentary threshold with an electability percentage of 3.9 percent. Based on the Indextat survey in October 2022, shows that NasDem gets a percentage of 2.1 percent in terms of electability.

In this case, political messages can impact the political image of the political elite. Political elite competitors provide an effort to degrade the political image of the elite where there is an impression of forming public opinion by instilling

a negative impression of the elite (Rusmulyadi & Hafiar, 2018). In order to deconstruct the political image of Anies Baswedan, a communication emerged on social media Twitter using the hashtag #AniesGabenerPembobong. In some of the posts that the researchers studied, the information given by the username using the hashtag generally narrates Anies Baswedan's failure as governor in DKI Jakarta, as well as posts that try to degrade the political image of the NasDem party as a supporter party.

In attempts to form a public opinion by competitors from a political elite, there is a form of "undermining" the political image. Thus, it can weaken the image of political opponents during the political process. The deconstruction of Anies Baswedan's political image is carried out by users or parties who do not want Anies Baswedan as a presidential candidate in the upcoming 2024 presidential election. It is also related to the electability of Anies Baswedan, who is always in the top five positions in surveys by several political pollsters. Political image deconstruction is carried out by presenting several narratives related to Anies Baswedan's failure to lead and the weakening of the political image of the NasDem Party that carries Anies Baswedan. Data analysis on the NVivo application using the NCapture feature explained that the word cloud from the word similarity feature illustrates two main topics between Anies Baswedan and the NasDem Party.

It appears as an impact in terms of the electability of Anies Baswedan who is included in the three figures who have high electability to become presidential candidates in 2024, as well as the depiction of Anies Baswedan's political image as in a study conducted by Haris et al., (2022) where from the mass media, Anies' figure presented as a smart, polite, firm, and religious figure so that hard effort made by several parties to weaken Anies Baswedan's political image or deconstruct the political image of Anies as a response to some of the things that have been said before.

Existentially, political image is a result of construction. At the same time, because the political image is not in a quiet space of contestation, the construction of the political image is antithetical, namely deconstruction or an attempt to degrade the political image (Rusmulyadi & Hafiar, 2018). So the space available as a means of political communication, namely social media, is one of the accesses for every user trying to build public opinion, both in terms of the construction and deconstruction of the political image of the political elite. Thus, a good strategy and design are needed to shape the political image of the formed public opinion space.

CONCLUSION

Social media is used as a means for political elites to spread political messages, one of which is as an effort to deconstruct political image. The presence of a response from social media users created a space for communication, namely the emergence of #AniesGabenerPembohong. It is a response to the announcement by the NasDem Party that made Anies Baswedan a presidential candidate in the upcoming 2024 presidential election.

Various posts related to this hashtag are about the topic of Anies' failure as governor of DKI Jakarta and efforts to degrade the NasDem party as the party that carries Anies Baswedan in the 2024 presidential election. Thus, these political messages come intending to shape public opinion against efforts to deconstruct the image of Anies Baswedan who emerged from parties that did not want Anies to run for president or various other parties.

To degrade political image is carried out as an effort or strategy used by other political elites who do not want one of the actors in a political competition. In the case, Anies Baswedan who is nominated as a presidential candidate in the upcoming 2024 elections. Anies' electability is included in the top three actors who have the opportunity to become presidential candidates by several parties who disagree with this situation, so efforts have emerged to deconstruct these actors, one of which is through the deconstruction of the political image.

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