

Rahman Asri:  
Hiperreality Political Communication, Pop Culture and First Time Voters: Content Analysis Tiktok  
@erick.thohir  
Hiperealitas Komunikasi Politik, Budaya Pop dan Pemilih Pemula: Analisis Isi Akun Tiktok  
@erick.thohir

## **Hiperreality Political Communication, Pop Culture and First Time Voters: Content Analysis Tiktok @erick.thohir**

### **Hiperealitas Komunikasi Politik, Budaya Pop dan Pemilih Pemula: Analisis Isi Akun Tiktok @erick.thohir**

Rahman Asri<sup>1,2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Pascasarjana Ilmu Komunikasi, Universitas Indonesia, Jln. Salemba Raya 4, Jakarta  
Email: rahman.asri11@ui.ac.id

<sup>2</sup>Program Studi Ilmu Komunikasi, Universitas Al Azhar Indonesia, Jln. Sisingamangaraja, Jakarta\*  
Email: rahman.asri@uai.ac.id

Masuk tanggal : 29-01-2023, revisi tanggal : 14-07-2023, diterima untuk diterbitkan tanggal : 16-07-2023

---

#### **Abstract**

*The purpose of this study is to describe a strategy of pop culture that is used to shape the self-image of a political actor who is depicted through electronic media, especially the use of social media TikTok which is part of a political communication channel. The author wants to examine the hyperreality of political communication constructed by the official TikTok account @erickthohir as a presidential-vice presidential candidate in the upcoming 2024 General Election. Using a constructivist paradigm with content analysis methods and a qualitative approach, this study relates to Jean Baudrillard's (1994) thinking about the hyperreality of post content by Erick Thohir's campaign team with its themes or topics that are currently viral, trending topics on social media, expressions, choreography/dance by involving public figures, influencers, celebgrams, Youtubers, with direct, informal, and popular gimmick delivery to strengthen personal branding especially for beginner voters who are potential targets in the upcoming 2024 results of this study indicate that the campaign team for the presidential and vice-presidential candidates optimally by using popular culture idioms and gimmicks and forming (hyperreality) in the image of a figure that is presented as if in the 'real' world depicted in post content count. Official TikTok @erick.thohir. The research shows that studies related to self-im personal branding and other media effects in political communication continue to be used by optimizing the use of social media as an alternative medium for campaigning.*

**Keywords:** first time voters, hiperreality, political communication, pop culture, social media

#### **Abstrak**

Tujuan penelitian ini ingin mendeskripsikan strategi penggunaan aspek budaya pop (*pop-culture*) yang digunakan untuk membentuk citra diri (*self image*) sosok aktor politik yang tergambarkan melalui media elektronik, khususnya penggunaan media sosial TikTok yang merupakan bagian dari saluran komunikasi politik. Penulis ingin mengkaji hiperealitas (*hyperreality*) dari komunikasi politik yang dikonstruksikan akun official TikTok @erick.thohir sebagai seorang kandidat calon presiden-calon wakil presiden pada Pemilihan Umum, Pemilu 2024 mendatang. Menggunakan paradigma konstruktivis dengan metode analisis isi (*content analysis*) dengan pendekatan kualitatif, studi ini

mengkaitkan dengan pemikiran Jean Baudrillard (1994) tentang hiperealitas (*hyperreality*) dari konten postingan yang dilakukan tim kampanye Erick Thohir dengan beragam tema atau topik yang sedang viral, trending topic di media sosial, menggunakan ungkapan populer, koreografi/dance dengan melibatkan *public figure*, *influencer*, *selebgram*, *youtuber*, *K-Pop* dengan penyampaian lugas, informal dan *gimmick* yang populer untuk memperkuat personal branding serta meningkatkan perhatian khususnya bagi kalangan pemilih pemula yang menjadi target potensial pada Pemilu 2024 mendatang. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan tim kampanye calon presiden-calon wakil presiden berupaya optimal dengan menggunakan *idiom* dan *gimmick* budaya populer dan membentuk hiperealitas (*hyperreality*) pada citra sosok yang dihadirkan seolah-olah dalam dunia ‘nyata’ yang digambarkan dalam konten-konten postingan pada akun *official* TikTok @erick.thohir. Dari penelitian ini menunjukkan studi yang berkaitan dengan pencitraan diri (*self image*), *personal branding*, dan efek media lainnya dalam komunikasi politik terus digunakan dengan mengoptimalkan penggunaan media sosial sebagai media alternatif sebagai media berkampanye.

**Kata Kunci:** budaya pop, hiperealitas, komunikasi politik, media sosial, pemilih pemula

## Introduction

The impact of the digital revolution has brought about significant changes such as economically, socially and politically and also changed the perspective of social scientists in viewing developments in which new structures and patterns of relations are formed, while on the other hand there has been social vulnerability due to disparities in access and mastery of digital technology (Isbah & Wibawanto, 2021). The development of digital media today makes individual freedom in obtaining and disseminating information more open. In this era of information technology, it is easy for individuals to obtain information from anywhere. Various open sources of information are easily accessible from individual, communities and other sources of information. Digitization of information allows merging or integrate various existing media platforms through Internet technology (media convergence).

Technological changes in the electronic era have become one of the driving elements for changing society towards modernity. The development of new media along with advances in electronic technology has directed media transformation, including its impact on the use of digital media in the political sphere. McLuhan (1964) explained media transformation, that the media is not only an intermediary for messages, but also an extension of the human hand for all ideas that are mediated (McLuhan, 1964). Technological developments that occur will affect social life both individually and in society. McLuhan's view (1964), that the media is the core of human civilization where the dominant media determines the basis of human social organization and their collective life. Technology will have its own meaning, not just as a tool. The message conveyed is not more important than the media used. The media as a communication tool or channel has strong power and influence on the target audience (Prasetyo & Irwansyah, 2020).

Even though in discussing his book McLuhan (1964) highlighted the presence of television as a form of new technological media at that time, his views regarding the influence of this technological determination are still relevant to highlight the impact of digital media which is quite significant in influencing people's social life. A study shows that social media users with social networking media connect people from various cultures, religions almost without boundaries and let them enjoy the experience of being members of one community. Social media platforms not only turn the world into a 'small village' that allows people to be connected, but also shape every facet of human social life (Jan et al., 2021).

The rapid, simultaneous and massive dissemination of online digital technology-based information has provided opportunities as well as challenges with multiple impacts. The transformation of media use, which was originally from traditional (analog) media and is now entering the new media era with digital technology, has become an alternative that cannot be avoided. The impact is not only changing the pattern of consumption and production of news, but also reducing the sources of information from mainstream media with the emergence of alternative media such as through various social media (Syah, 2014). The increasing digital literacy that occurs in society also has a direct effect on the field of political communication. Advances in communication technology have opened up new media for political activity, as well as making old political tools less relevant. Political campaigns can be more effective through social media, setting agendas now by making an issue go viral or creating an online petition (Gloria, 2017).

The use of digital media in the political process in Indonesia, one of which is by Indonesia Solidarity Party (PSI), which identifies as a "party for young people" and moves more into cyberspace for political communication. The results of the vote acquisition in the 2019 elections, PSI won 2.6 million votes (1.89%) even though it did not pass the parliamentary threshold meaning it did not get seats in the Senayan RI DPR, for the regional level a total of 67 PSI cadres entered parliament at the regional level area (DPRD). PSI continues to use a political communication strategy that leans more towards digital with every content they upload optimally. In 2020, PSI released the Solidarity Application, a mobile app that is expected to bring PSI cadre board members closer to the public. Within this digital platform, PSI provides information on the activities of PSI legislative members, there is a reporting feature that presents this digital medium to the public (Alvin, 2022).

Clay Shirky in *The Political Power of Social Media* (2011) argues that social media can help the democratic process by allowing anyone to share information and create what is known as shared awareness. This shared awareness is important to make the community and general public aware of their problems. With shared understanding and awareness, an issue can become a public agenda to be brought up and discussed in public space (Shirky, 2011). There has been a process of democratization that allows the public to be aware of a problem. So, a public agenda or public discourse will emerge to be discussed together in the public space through the media and in face-to-face discussions. The emergence of various virtual open spaces via the internet has made a forum for conveying ideas, openly, expressing individual attitudes towards an issue in the new public sphere where values are

exchanged among its members, '*digital democracy*' has taken place in cyberspace (Nasrullah, 2017).

In discussing the political landscape of Indonesia, the intensity of political communication ahead of the 2024 national election is starting. Billboards of various sizes adorned the streets in several areas featuring the leaders of the political parties participating in the 2024 election to mark the start of the contestation to win voters' votes. Several other candidates have also started deploying cyber armies by deploying their creativity in mobilizing volunteer networks and optimizing communication channels through social media. Strengthening personal branding, forming self image of a supported figure continues to be carried out as volunteer groups are formed or formed so that they continue to grow and are expected to increase the gain of support in the 2024 elections. The names that often appear, such as Ganjar Pranowo, Erik Tohir, Sandiaga Uno, Anies Baswedan, and several other national figures are increasingly appearing on various digital media platforms, including social media (Koran Tempo, 2021).

The depiction of a politician who is supported is depicted in slogans or jargons that are echoed, with all of them hoping to attract sympathy as well as support in the upcoming 2024 elections. What politicians and political parties convey through electronic media, the distribution of billboards in various regions, and the use of social media are part of normal political communication ahead of the national political contestation, the 2024 Election. The implementation of the presidential election (Pilpres) and legislative election (Pileg) which have been agreed upon by the Commission II of the DPR RI and the KPU and which have been officially approved by the government are scheduled for. Various political maneuver have begun to be carried out by participants in the election, starting from political parties, prospective legislative members, presidential and vice-presidential candidates, who have started to actively 'campaign' to win the attention of audiences who are potential voters in the upcoming 2024 election.

This research wants to examine the hyperreality of political communication constructed by the official TikTok account *@erick.thohir* as a president or vice president candidate. Using the concept of Political Communication and Hyperreality from Baudrillard (1994) by conducting content analysis studies and its relation to pop culture to reach first time voters who are considered potential as voters in the upcoming 2024 election. It is hoped that the results of this study will be able to provide descriptions of strategies for using pop culture in political communication practices carried out by president or vice president candidate Erick Thohir through the social media TikTok to get the attention and support of young people as first-time voters in the upcoming 2024 election.

### **Political Communication And Baudrillard's Hiperreality**

Political communication according to Rush and Althoff in 1997 as quoted by Asep Saipul Muhtadi (2008), is the transmission of politically relevant information from one part of the political system which is a dynamic element of a political system; and processes of socialization, participation and political recruitment depend. Political Communication (Political Communication) is "*the process by which relevant information is passed from one part of the political*

*system to another, and between social systems and political systems"* (Muhtadi, 2008).

In general, political communication can be understood as a *'message delivery process'* that is linked to the political aspects and problems that exist within the current political system. Almond & Colemand (1960) argues that political communication is a function that always exists in every political system. Political communication is one of the functions of political parties, namely channeling the various opinions and aspirations of the people and managing them in such a way as to *'aggregate interests'* and formulate interests' to be fought for into political policy (Wahid, 2012). Meanwhile, Miriam Budiardjo (2008) argues that political communication is one of the functions of political parties, namely channeling the various opinions and aspirations of the people and arranging them in such a way as *'merging interests'* and *'formulating interests'* to be fought for into political policy (Budiardjo, 2008).

McNair (1999) there are three elements in the study of political communication; (1) political organizations, public organizations, pressure groups, terrorist groups, and governments, (2) media, (3) society. All elements of political communication will be used by politicians in carrying out their political activities. In his view McNair (1999) defines *political communication, all forms of communication used by politicians and other political actors or actors to achieve stated goals. Communication delivered by political actors or non-politicians such as voters and columnists. Communication about political actors or actors and their activities, in news, editorials and other forms of political media* (McNair, 1999). There are several forms of publicity in political communication; (1) *pure publicity*; popularize themselves through community activities, congratulations at certain moments, (2) *free ride publicity*; being a guest star or resource person in a social activity, talk show in the media, (3) *tie-in publicity*; taking advantage of special moments or events such as providing compensation to victims of natural disasters, floods, and so on, (4) *paid publicity*; by using various forms of commercial advertising in print, radio, television and online media (Wahid, 2012).

Manuel Castells in *The Rise of The Network Society* (2010) explains, the emergence of a new society in the post-industrial era, *'network society'*. Network society is a society that has structures and activities that are organized by relying on electronic information technology. In a *'network society'*, social, economic, political, cultural, and technological changes are produced and reproduced through individual digital interactions. Castells (2010) put forward his hypothesis, that a new culture has formed the culture of real virtuality, where digital networks of multimodal communication have become inclusive of all cultural expressions and personal experiences so that they have made something virtual a fundamental dimension of our reality (Castells, 2010).

In discussing virtual reality in cyberspace, Jean Baudrillard (1981) introduces the concepts of simulacra-simulacrum and hyperreality. Where simulacrum is a condition that has nothing to do with reality (*"Never what hides the truth"*). Reality no longer has any reference except the simulacrum or simulacra itself. Baudrillard argues that the simulacrum is never something that hides the truth. Today's simulation is no longer a mirror or a concept but the generation of a

reality through a real model called hyperreality. Hyperreality is a condition of mixing imagination and real reality without taking into account the value of truth. Hyperreality is a condition resulting from the simulacrum process that occurs. Hyperreality shows that there is a conflict between simulation and representation (Haryatmoko, 2016).

The concepts of '*hyperreality*' and '*simulation*' refer to an unreal and imaginary realm. Simulation about the creation of reality through a conceptual model or something related to '*myths*' whose truth cannot be seen in reality. This model will be the determining factor in our view of reality. The boundaries between simulation and reality get mixed up, creating hyperreality where what is real and what is not is not clear. according to Baudrillard (1994), the world is dominated by "*simulacrum*", a concept that represents the absence of boundaries between the real and the imaginary (Baudrillard, 1994).

In politic circumstances, a survey or opinion poll is a simulation created to sway public opinion. From the results of a survey we want to obtain an objective scientific legitimacy. According to J. Kristiadi (2014), the phenomenon of falsehood by obscuring reality through signs, symbols, or behavior that is inversely proportional to reality or truth is called simulacra. If this phenomenon is left without counter-arguments based on sound logic and empirical reality, people will be deceived and believe false signs, symbols and behaviors as reality (Kristiadi, 2014). The hyperreality that continues to be practiced by the media has obscured facts through the massive construction of pseudo-reality. Industrial culture disguises the distance between facts and information, between information and entertainment, between entertainment and political interests (Badrun, 2016).

Discussions on industrial culture campaigned by the mass media are in fact mostly found in the form of advertising both for products and services. The perception that an advertisement will form will eventually give a 'message' with a meaning according to the objective of the advertising material which targets the target audience it wants to achieve. Likewise in terms of political communication, whether in the form of political advertisements or news that builds personal branding which is built as if it were the true reality of a politician or political party with a certain jargon to attract the sympathy of potential voters.

### **First Time Voters And Pop Culture**

According to data from the General Election Commission (KPU), number of voters aged 30 years is 60.3 million, approximately 31.7% of the total number of eligible voters in the 2024 election (Tim Kompas, 2021). This group of young voters or first time voters) wants political parties to take into account their political role rather than just being a target for voters. These young voters also want the existing political parties to take real action in the midst of society and not just for momentary electoral interests when support is needed. Through political parties, young people hope to produce policies that take into account the aspirations of young people and provide opportunities for them to appear in public (Basyari & Kustiasih, 2021). Political parties participating in the upcoming 2024 Election need to strategize in order to get attention, especially first time voters from generation Y,

a group of young people born in 1981-1996 and generation Z, a group of young people born between 1997-2012 (Rizal, 2021).

Discussing the group of young voters referred to in this study, first time voters are very closely related to what is known as '*pop culture*' which is a culture that exists today that is embraced by many people or a society. Anything can become pop culture if people do it a lot, including hobbies, lifestyle, music, how to dress, how to socialize and many more. According to Mukerji in *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction* (Storey, 2012), *popular culture or pop culture refers to beliefs, practices and objects that unite in a living unit in society*. This includes customary beliefs, practices, and objects produced from commercial or political centers.

*“Popular culture refers to the beliefs and practices and objects through which they are organized, that are widely shared among a population. This includes folk beliefs, practices and object generated and political and commercial centers”*

(Storey, 2012)

Popular culture (pop culture) refers to beliefs, practices, and objects that unite in a living unity in society. This includes customary beliefs, practices, and objects produced by commercial and political centers (Adi, 2011). According to Raymond Williams (2014), pop culture has four characteristics, namely: 'liked by many people', 'a culture made by the people for the people', 'always wins the hearts of the people', and 'no better or worse than other cultures. Popular culture or Pop Culture is a culture that is most in demand by society today. Through various mediums, 'pop culture' is spread such as newspapers, tabloids, magazines, radio, television, and even now through online media, and social media such as TikTok. Many observers criticize and think that pop culture is a culture that is deliberately created for commercial interests so that capitalists can benefit a lot from the construction of 'pop culture' (Williams, 2014).

Entering the current digital era, it is interesting to conduct studies, especially in the study of political communication or political marketing, on how to use new media 'pop culture' TikTok in conducting political communication associated with first time voters as 'digital natives' who intensively use Digital media including social media.

## **Methods**

This study used content analysis with a qualitative approach. Content analysis is a research technique for creating valid replicas and translations of texts into contexts that need to be researched. As a technique, content analysis requires several procedures, content analysis can be learned and not used depending on the authority of the researcher. Content analysis methods provide new insights, enhance the researcher's understanding of certain phenomena or inform practical activities (Krippendorff, 2004). The content analysis method focuses on the characteristics of language as communication with attention to the content or contextual meaning

of the text. Qualitative content analysis is defined as a research method for subjective interpretation of data content

There are 3 approaches to qualitative content analysis methods: conventional, directed and summative (Sandra, 2013).

**Tabel 1.** Key Coding Differences 3 Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis

Type Of Content Analysis	Study Start With	Timing of Defining Codes or Keyword	Sources of Codes & Keywords
Conventional Content Analysis	Observation	Code are defined during data analysis	Codes are derived from data
Directed content Analysis	Theory	Codes are defined before and during data analysis	Codes are derived from theory/relevant research findings
Summative content Analysis	Keywords	Keywords are identified before and during data analysis	Keywords are derived from interest of researcher/review of literature

Source: (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005)

This research will use the Conventional Content Analysis approach which starts from observation by finding the contents of the message from the content of the TikTok account @erick.thohir, then conducting an analysis in relation to pop culture and hyperreality models. proposed by Jean Baudrillard. Observations with the content analysis unit for the TikTok account @erick.thohir focused on posting material that is currently viral, trending on social media, starting from popular expressions, gimmicks, choreography or dance, involving public figures, influencers, celebrities, YouTubers, K-Pop and various moments that are 'hits' or popular among young people, especially first time voters.

## Result And Discussion

Based on the various releases of electability survey results, the names of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the upcoming 2024 election, such as *Ganjar Pranowo*, *Erick Thohir*, *Sandiaga Uno*, *Anies Baswedan*, *Puan Maharani*, *Muhaimin Iskandar* and other figures have appeared in various mainstream and digital media, including social media. Various depictions of politicians who are supported are depicted in slogans carried in political communication such as Puan Maharani (PDIP) with "*Kepak Sayap Kebhinekaan*", Airlangga Hartarto (PG) with "*Kerja Untuk Indonesia*", Muhaimin Iskandar (PKB) with "*Padamu Negeri Kami Berbakti*", and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono who is popularly called AHY (PD) with "*SIAP Berkoalisi Dengan Rakyat*", as well as several other political party figures who are expected to attract sympathy as well as support for the 2024 election (Khatami, 2021).

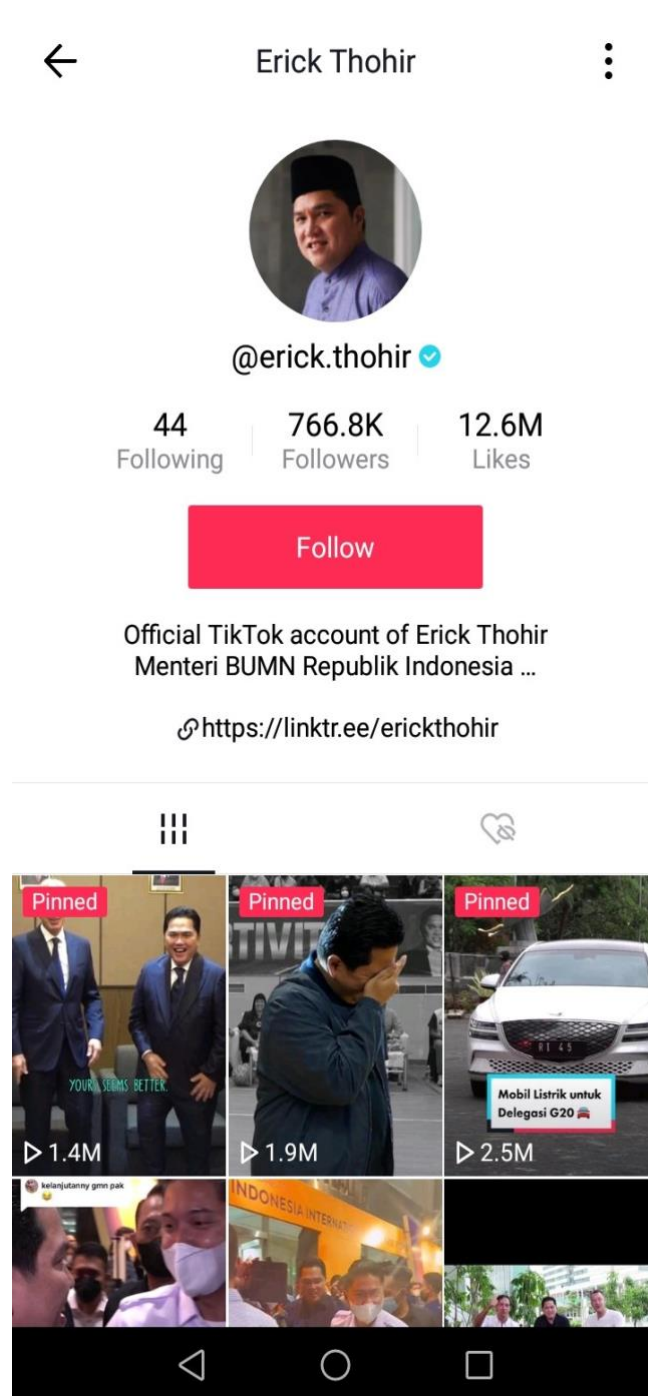




**Picture 1:** Politician billboards (Source: Kompas (Hakim, 2021))

The figure of Erick Thohir (born on May 30, 1970) served as Minister of SOEs for the 2019-2024 period who started a political career from the economic aspect as a businessman (Mahaka Group), sports (PERBASI, FIBA, Chair of INASGOC implementing the 2018 Asian Games) and media manager (Republika, JakFM, TVOne, ANTV) and later became Chair of the 2019 Jokowi-Ma'aruf Amin National Campaign Team (Syahban & Hutasoit, 2020). The name Erick Thohir, an alumnus of Glendale University (S1) and University of California (S2) in the field of Business Administration, has begun to be paired with Prabowo Subianto for the presidential-cawapres pair in the 2024 elections (Hidayat, 2022). The press release of the survey results of the Charta Politika Survey Institute in September 2022 placed Erick Thohir in the top three potential cawapres figures with a percentage of 9.5% which increased his electability rate for the opportunity to advance in the 2024 election (Nursyamsi, 2022).

According to some political observers, the figure of Erick Thohir as a candidate for vice president has a very high chance of winning votes on a millennial basis, netizens and young voters. His leadership style is considered a millennial reference, and coupled with his track record in the business world, sports are increasingly showing representation for first-time voters who represent young people (Irwanto, 2022). Political communication using various media, including digital platforms such as TikTok which is so popular recently, has been seen quite intensively carried out through official accounts with more than 700,000 followers with a total of 337 videos and 12.6 million viewers who have liked it (data update, as of November 14 2022, 12:58). Apart from the official account, there are also several other accounts including; @erickthohir.real, @erickthohirofficial, @sobaterickthohir who helped disseminate information regarding the political communication activities of Erick Thohir's figure with followers spread across several unofficial accounts.



**Picture 2:** Official TikTok @erick.thohir (Source:TikTok)

From the search results for posts uploaded via the official TikTok account @erick.thohir, it can be seen that the 'campaign' that was carried out attempted to communicate not only the activities of the figure of Erick Thohir as the acting Minister of the Ministry of SOEs, which conventionally usually takes the form of formal reports, but information is presented in a straightforward, informal manner.

prioritizing the facts of the activity taking place. Several #hashtag campaigns were also distributed on various campaign themes including: #erickthohir, #erickthohirsolusirakyat, #erickthohirpresiden2024, #yayasanerickthohir, #mesjiderickthohir, #relawanerickthohir, #erickthohirvisioner with nearly 600 million views as shown in Table 2. #Account Campaign Hastags TikTok @erick.thohir.

**Tabel 2.** #Hastag Campaign TikTok Account @erick.thohir

No.	#hashtag	Jumlah views
1	#erickthohir	597,900,000
2	#erickthohirsolusirakyat	3,100.000
3	#erickthohirpresiden2024	514, 300
4	#yayasanerickthohir	23,100
5	#mesjiderickthohir	12,100
6	#relawanerickthohir	1,500
7	#erickthohirvisioner	306

Source: TikTok @erick.thohir

The interesting thing about some of the downloaded posts is that apart from introducing the closest environment to the Minister, such as family, relatives, and the closest environment, gimmicks are also shown what are currently viral or trending on social media. This is of course the design of the creativity of Erick Thohir's digital campaign team which uses '*pop culture*' in order to attract the attention of millennials, especially first time voters in the upcoming 2024 election.

These are some short clips from account content official TikTok @erick.thohir which uses content gimmick, idioms, public figure, intuitive. celebgram, youtuber, K-Pop, and various special moments to be choice in political communication to get special attention and support from young voters (first-time voters).



**Picture 3:** flashmobs 'lighting' (Source: TikTok)

In picture 3. The 'lighting' flashmobs involved the figure of Erik Thohir among the employees or young workers get together to do 'lighting' flashmobs, an activity using flashlight from a smartphone camera held in hand accompanied by a song or music, the 'lighting' flashmobs phenomenon has become popular among young people in general by the audience when watching a live performance.



**Picture 4:** choreography with staffs (Source:TikTok)

In picture 4. You can see Erik Thohir surrounded by millennials doing choreography with the background music of a song or music that is a quite popular being performed simultaneously to show togetherness and as if depicting a part of young people who are compact and cheerful.



**Picture 5:** Erick Thohir and Farel 'Ojo Dibanding-Banding Ke' (Source:TikTok)

In picture 5. Erik Thohir stood by the child singer who once appeared confident in front of the State Palace entertaining President Jokowi, the First Lady, and high-ranking state officials after the ceremony on 17 August 2022. Farel performed the pop song in Javanese "ojo dibanding-banding ke", which was quite popular.



**Picture 6:** #Dikasihinfomaseh (Source:TikTok)

In picture 6. Erik Thohir revealed the expression #dikasihinfomaseh as a popular expression to start a piece of information conveyed. This phrase is a gimmick that is quite popular among millennials, especially on social media.

## Conclusion

The form of political communication carried out by the digital campaign team for the official TikTok account @erick.thohir for the president-vice president candidate for the 2024 election uses the aspect of 'pop culture'.

By presenting straightforward, informal and various gimmicks what is currently viral, trending on social media, ranging from gimmicks to popular expressions, choreography/dance involving public figures, influencers, celebgrams, YouTubers, K-Pop and various special moments has the potential to strengthen personal branding as well as increasing attention and support, especially for first time voters who are the target of voters in the upcoming 2024 election.

The results of this study show that the campaign team for the presidential and vice-presidential candidates is trying optimally by using gimmicks, popular culture idioms and forming hyperreality in the image of a figure that is presented as if in the 'real' world depicted in post content on the account. official TikTok @erick.thohir. This research shows that studies related to self-image, personal

branding, and other media effects in political communication continue to be used by optimizing the use of social media as an alternative medium for campaigning.

Recommendation from this study, the study of political communication related to digital media, especially the use of social media, is strategic because of the intensity of its impact, especially on young voters as digital natives who are very high in using social media. For this reason, the development of studies or studies on digital media in the communication process needs to be further explored, so that it can become the basis for making policies or regulations in a healthy democratic process in Indonesia.

## References

- Adi, I. R. (2011). *Fiksi Populer: Teori dan Metode Kajian*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Almond, Gabriel and James Smoot Colemand. (1960). *The Politics of the Development Areas*. Princen: Princeton University Press.
- Alvin, Silvanus. (2022). The Evolution of Political Party in Indonesia: PSI Towards a Digital Party. *Jurnal Komunikasi*, Vol. 14, No. 2, Desember 2022, 423-445.
- Badrun, U. (2016, November 18). Politik Simulacra dan Krisis di Depan Mata. *Republika*. <https://news.republika.co.id/berita/ogslby396/politik-simulacra-dan-krisis-di-depan-mata>
- Basyari, I., & Kustiasih, R. (2021, October 22). Kaum Muda Hendaki Aksi Nyata Parpol. *Harian Kompas*, 1–15. <https://www.kompas.id/baca/english/2021/10/22/young-people-want-concrete-action-from-political-parties>
- Baudrillard, J. (1981). *Simulacra and Simulation*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Budiarjo, M. (2008). *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Castells, M. (2010). *The Rise of The Network Society, Vol 1: The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture (2nd)*. Wiley-Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444319514>
- Gloria. (2017, November 23). *Mensesneg: Teknologi Membawa Perubahan pada Demokrasi dan Politik*. <https://ugm.ac.id/id/berita/15237-mensesneg-teknologi-membawa-perubahan-pada-demokrasi-dan-politik/>
- Hakim, R. N. (2021, August 9). *Baliho Politisi, Minimnya Empati di Tengah Pandemi Demi Pilpres 2024*. Kompas.Com. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2021/08/09/16292451/baliho-politisi-minimnya-empati-di-tengah-pandemi-demi-pilpres-2024>
- Haryatmoko. (2016). *Membongkar Rezim Kepastian: Pemikiran Kritis Post Strukturalis*. Penerbit Kanisius.
- Hidayat, E. (Ed. . (2022, November 8). Gaet Pemilih Muda, Erick Thohir Jadi Modal Andalan Prabowo. *Indozone News*. <https://m.rctiplus.com/news/detail/ekonomi/3089530/gaet-pemilih-muda-erick-thohir-jadi-modal-andalan-prabowo>

Rahman Asri:  
Hiperreality Political Communication, Pop Culture and First Time Voters: Content Analysis Tiktok  
@erick.thohir  
Hiperealitas Komunikasi Politik, Budaya Pop dan Pemilih Pemula: Analisis Isi Akun Tiktok  
@erick.thohir

- Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9).  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732305276687>
- Irwanto, D. (2022, November 9). Erick Thohir Dinilai Mampu Dominasi Suara Pemilih Muda. *Medcom*.  
<https://www.medcom.id/nasional/politik/Rb1p6j1N-erick-thohir-dinilai-mampu-dominasi-suara-pemilih-muda>
- Isbah, M. F., & Wibawanto, G. R. (Eds.). (2021). *Perspektif Ilmu Sosial di Era Digital: Disrupsi, Emansipasi, Rekognisi*. Gadjah Mada University Press.  
<https://ugmpress.ugm.ac.id/id/product/sosial-politik/perspektif-ilmu-ilmu-sosial-di-era-digital-disrupsi-emansipasi-dan-rekognisi>
- Jan, A., Khan, S. A., Naz, S., Khan, O., & Khan, A. Q. (2021). Marshal McLuhan's Technological Determinism Theory in the Arena of Social Media. *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, 18(2), 30–34.  
<https://doi.org/https://medwelljournals.com/abstract/?doi=pjssci.2021.30.34>
- Khatami, M. I. (2021). Eksistensi “Baliho 2024” Dalam Pertarungan Elektabilitas: Analisis Pencitraan Tokoh Politik. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Jambi (JISIP-UNJA)*, 5(2), 14–24.  
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22437/jisipunja.v5i2.14624>
- Koran Tempo. (2021, August 9). Cover Story: Tebar Pesona di Pinggir Jalan. *Tempo*.  
<https://koran.tempo.co/read/cover-story/466988/ketika-tokoh-politik-bersolek-lewat-papan-reklame-demi-popularitas-pemilihan-presiden-2024>
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Sage Publications. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781071878781>
- Kristiadi, J. (2014, February 25). Mewaspada Menguatnya Politik Simulacra. *Kompas.Com*.  
<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/02/25/1023569/Mewaspada.Menkuatnya.Politik.Simulacra>
- McLuhan, M. (1964). *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- McNair, B. (1999). *An Introduction to Political Communication* (2nd ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203006528>
- Muhtadi, A. S. (2008). *Komunikasi Politik Indonesia*. Rosdakarya.
- Nasrullah, R. (2017). *Media Sosial: Perspektif Komunikasi, Budaya, dan Sosioteknologi*. Simbiosis Rekatama Media.
- Nursyamsi, M. (2022, November 3). Erick Thohir Punya Daya Tarik Elektoral pada Milenial. *Republika*.  
<https://news.republika.co.id/berita/rkr1om459/erick-thohir-punya-daya-tarik-elektoral-pada-milenial?>
- Prasetyo, D., & Irwansyah. (2020). Memahami Masyarakat dan Perspektifnya. *Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Dan Ilmu Sosial*, 1(1), 163–175.  
<https://doi.org/10.38035/jmpis.v1i1.253>

- Rizal, J. G. (2021, December 26). Mengenal Apa Itu Generasi Baby Boomers, X, Y, Z, Millenials, dan Alpha. *Kompas*. <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2021/12/26/170000565/mengenal-apa-itu-generasi-baby-boomers-x-y-z-millenials-dan-alpha>
- Sandra, L. J. (2013). Political Branding Jokowi Selama Masa Kampanye Pemilu Gubernur DKI Jakarta 2012 di Media Sosial Twitter. *Jurnal E-Komunikasi*, 1(2). <https://publication.petra.ac.id/index.php/ilmu-komunikasi/article/view/912>
- Shirky, C. (2011). The Political Power of Social Media Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change. *Foreign Affairs*, 90(1), 28–41.
- Storey, J. (2012). *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003011729>
- Syah, S. (2014). *Membincang Pers, Kepala Negara, dan Etika*. Elex Media Komputindo.
- Syahban, G. P., & Hutasoit, M. (2020, March 2). Mengenal Siapa Erick Thohir. *VOI*. <https://voi.id/berita/5472/mengenal-siapa-erick-thohir>
- Tim Kompas. (2021, October 21). *Parpol Perlu Kerja Keras Rangkul Generasi Z dan Y* - *Kompas.id*. 1–2. <https://www.kompas.id/baca/polhuk/2021/10/21/parpol-perlu-kerja-keras-rangkul-generasi-z-dan-y>
- Wahid, U. (2012). *Komunikasi Politik: Perkembangan Teori dan Praktek*. WM Komunika.
- Williams, R. (2014). The Culture of Nations. In J. McGuigan (Ed.), *Raymond Williams on Culture and Society: Essential Writings* (pp. 1–342). SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473914766>