THE POLITICS OF INNOVATIVE SELF PRESENTATION: THE CASE STUDY OF DRAMATURGICAL POLITICAL MARKETING IN EAST JAVA, INDONESIA.

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Abstract

The strength of innovative political marketing dramaturgy is on the self, not the role of an actor. There is an actor who plays the role enchantingly, however when the role is played by another actor, suddenly the enchantment is lost. Therefore, the real strength of dramaturgy belongs to the actors, not the roles. Roles may be replaceable, because the most important one is not the role, but the actors' performance, innovative self-presentation by the actors to play the role. This research finds that the positioning of front stage and back stage has an opposite relation, indeed, the back stage of actors might turns into the front stage, this turning or changing process is not continually done by internal actors or team mates, however the changing or turning process is done by external actors or audiences, out of the team work. The existence of new stage called quasi stage, stage belongs to the actors and audiences who have no roles on dramaturgical event, however in a certain time this stage creates its own role which is able to turn over the prepared "plot". This quasi stage is different from the outer stage, which is viewed on dramaturgical theory.

Displacement of impression management objectives is also found, formerly aimed to create a good impression to the audiences, but eventually a bad impression comes, therefore an un-clarity happens between innovative self-presentation of real and imitation actors. The presentation of self becomes a tool for actors to bring political objectives into reality, intensively, the presentation of self is done symbolically to mobilize the support from society. Self reinforcement of an actor is done by creating self impression. The presentation of self begins from identity-based and interest-based.

The existence of political marketing brings out serious implications to the growth of democracy. There are two assumptions about it. Firstly, the assumption comes from people who are scornful to the political marketing practice. Secondly, the assumption comes from people who practice and implement political marketing; their argument is to fulfil what society wants, so that they contribute to increase the quality of general election.

Introduction:

This research begins with empirical and theoretical problems. Empirically, the development of political marketing practice is done by actors and his team during election. The impulsion to conduct a serious research about political marketing practice and political consultant signed as the interest of a certain actors without considering public interest.

Political marketing consultants are able to design sophisticated opinions and guidance of public opinion for hidden purposes. This condition lasted neatly and occurs in the community who are enjoying an era of democracy, and the
future in the era of popular sovereignty. People who want to channel their sovereignty through a mechanism called social democracy, became the object of engineering actor, then when it comes time to lead it to act became ruler of the people. Politically, it generated a lot of political marketing pros and cons\(^1\), although theoretically have a strong back rest as described Bruce L Newman in his book Hand Book of Political Marketing\(^2\).

The actors show political marketing himself impressively in front of an audience. People were treated to sovereign self-image has been processed (if not manipulated) by the creative minds and hands. Self-image, according to researchers, is the product of marketing creativity, the management of which for man impression (impression management), actor performance, as well as a variety of modifications to the actor's role in carrying out the role of dramaturgy.

**Challenges to dramaturgical theory:**
Empirically it is interesting, while also challenging theoretically. Each marketer political actors compete to modify look and feel of them less age delivery lead actor. While theoretically challenging, because the dive is political marketing studies based on the theory of marketing is commonly used in the management science, but the study of political marketing that utilizes social theory and methodology, as well as test instruments developed by social theorists.

The theory of political marketing should be developed as long as it is deemed not to be a well – established theory and relatively new. Political marketing as a branch or scientific disciplines can indeed say "not yet settled"\(^3\), although it has regularly held international scientific forum on political marketing and has published journal of political marketing.\(^4\)

This research discusses about innovative self-presentation of political marketing dramaturgy. Theoretically, this dissertation strengthens the dramaturgical theory of Erving Goff man. This dissertation also recovers the symbolic interaction theory which is introduced by Herbert Mead and Blumer, though it is still assumed to be deceitful in understanding the interactional symbols, apparently, those symbols are just a dramatic role which is not figuring out the real innovative self-presentation. Practically, this dissertation can be a consideration to understand the complexity of innovative self-presentation management and role modification, which is done by political actors. Presentation and analysis of this qualitative dissertation follows the paradigm of qualitative social definition.

Political marketing is one of the four sub - studies in the election, namely sub-study of voting behaviour (voting behaviour), sub-study of "marketing" (marketing) made a political candidate or party, sub - study method in the form of election procedures and mechanisms to convert people's voice chairs, and a sub study the process of election (electoral management or management for electoral processes).\(^5\)

Political marketing studies develop their own theories about how to construct an individual or a number of figures, with reference to theories of marketing management theory developed Bruce L Newman and Philip Kotler of using tools and methods, marketing techniques in the political processes by utilizing economics.\(^6\) However, this study does

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\(^1\) The pro argue, political marketing can improve the quality of the process of democratization in developing countries. Contrary opinion came from among the accused merely political marketing practices to sell the impression of political imagery. This debate is presented in Chapter I, Sub Research Study on Marketing Political Older.

\(^2\) *Hand Book of Political Marketing* Ed. Bruce L Newman a collection of writings from various political marketing journals written 40 economists and political scientists, published SAGE Publications, 1999, and became the subject and book of Political Marketing Political Science Program at the University of Airlangga.

\(^3\) "Not yet settled" is that political marketing has not got the "opportunity" into the ranks of the discipline of political science, management or communications. Even some college "does not recognize" as a science.

\(^4\) International Political Marketing Conference-led Political Studies Association (PSA) Political Marketing Specialist Groups. This conference has been held five in various leading universities in the world. In addition, there is also a Political Marketing Annual Conference which has been held seven times. (last in 2009).

\(^5\) Ramlan Surbakti, 2008, *Perekayasaan Sistem Pemilihan Umum untuk Pembangunan Tata Politik Demokratis*, Kemitraan, Jakarta.

\(^6\) SundhaVenuMenon, 2008, *Political Marketing : A Conceptual Framework*, ICFAI Business School, Ahmedabad.
The meeting to political marketing dramaturgical elements mentioned in the Journal of Political Marketing vol.7(3/4) 2008 The Howarth Press the article Political Impression Management: How Metaphors, Sound Bites, appearance effectiveness, and Personality Traits Can Win Election written by Chrit'tde Landshere, Philippe de Vriesand Dieter Vertessen. They are expert in communications from the University of Antwerp, Belgium. They drew three important aspects in the management of impressions, namely style persuasion, presentation of physical appearance and personality of the candidate's personality and charismatic, extroverted, expressive and suave. Three things are important aspects to managing an acceptable impression audience.

Despite bringing in elements of dramaturgy, but the two experts are not based on a dramaturgy that is the domain of social theory. The study in the journal did not give detailed explanations and concrete examples of the workings of the elements of dramaturgy in a case. To elaborate on the study, the researchers attempted to develop political marketing study in social theory dramaturgical perspective. The dissertation is based on the theory of dramaturgy for reading and researching political marketing studies.

Social theory, particularly the theory of symbolic interaction with a number of variants can be used to view the presentation itself is marketed by political marketers. The complexity of problem construction themselves formulated in social theories. Social theory and it has a variety of theoretical variants, variability believed to be closely read more adequate social life. For the purposes of this study, which is used as a theory major (primary) is the dramaturgical theory Erving Goffman, while supporting the theory of Jean Baudrillardisyeor simulation. These two important theories will be associated with political marketing theory has been used students of political marketing.

The problem of dramaturgical political marketing:-

Dramaturgy is essentially finding out about the "how" something is done, rather than "why" something is done. Therefore, every politician will basically show the self that ideally suits his role. They will bend over backwards to hide the facts and patterns that do not fit her image, either through appearance or style (manner). Those who look physically complete with membership attributes and communicating honestly, confident, considered middle stage two. All of it seemed to happen in the front stage.

Theoretical dimension that needs to be questioned is the workings of dramaturgical theory Erving Goffman and some conceptual problems surrounding the theory of political marketing Bruce L. Newman. Both of these theories have a variety of strengths and weaknesses that seems hard to ignore. Therefore, the available theoretical knife is very relevant for developed through efforts to dissect and explain the socio-political reality today. Thus, behavioural marketing dramaturgy of political actors in influencing the audience can be explained through an understanding of the complexity of managing an on-going role.

Erving Goffman's dramaturgical theory is used to analyze the practice of political marketing. This is necessary because the dramaturgy of Goffman does not necessarily used as a guide the direction of analysis in the study of political marketing. As a Goffmanian, the author also seeks to "build" (reconstruction - deconstruction) dramaturgical theory to be more perfect and still authoritative for the sake of the development of political marketing study.

Important dramaturgical theory was developed as the main analysis and practice blades Removable theories about the construction of self because of considerations: first, the theory of dramaturgy Goffman criticized for several weaknesses, but also has an undeniable power. The authors wanted to test whether the dramaturgy Goffman is only applicable to the total institution. There are also doubts over the definition and operation of two different stage, the stage front and back of the stage, because the stage is basically two positions will be blend into each other, so it is difficult to distinguish between the front stage and back stage. Even allowing stage presence other than the front stage, back stage and outdoor stage.7

7Mean total institution is an institution that has a character subordinated by some life or whole life of the individual in an institution in which the individual serves as a sub-ordinate highly dependent on the organization and the person
Second, the theory of dramaturgy has sufficient means to read political marketing practices, such as impression management (impression management), performance of front and back stage actor and an important part of political marketing. The authors would also like to see how the pattern of modifications undertaken actor role identity in an effort to win the election.

Theoretical questions addressed to Goffman is carelessness equates each life is like a stage play. It is considered to reduce the human self which is only meant merely show, regarded human beings as organism obsessed appearance. Similarly, that individual human beings only as a role player, did not have a world view, and only as a commodity show.

Third, the study of the process and the dynamics of political marketing has gotten a fair amount of servings among academics and researchers, but studies specifically describe political marketing from the perspective of the theory of dramaturgy relatively not common. The political process often only be assessed based on campaign procedures, voter behaviour, which provides an explanation of the use of marketing principles in politics, the way the actors campaigning, the methods used, and assess competing strategies and tactics that are more technical. However, the study of interaction on stage back in the political process is still not as much as the assessment of political processes in the front of the stage. This study offers a course of political marketing interactions that made the actor with dramaturgical theory analysis, as well as trying to find a weakness in dramaturgical instruments.

Fourth, there is doubt on the proposition that gave dramaturgy Goffman argued the importance of team performer’s actors preparing for the role. It could be a team of performers who are used to being behind the scenes actually defected and moved to other contestant teams, so the presence of a team of performers would damage the next stage actor.

Understanding the political process from the dramaturgical point of view made to explain how the stage outward appearance (outward appearance) also presents the actor with appearances in stage dimension (inward appearance) is perhaps not widely known. For example, the role of the team behind the stage is often the driving force, mens kenario appearance of actor, audience construct, manage impressions, and so on.

Such studies are important to discuss that what political actors played worth exploring more deeply, so as not to get caught artistic displays, language and riveting fashion. Vision and mission presented to attract an audience, but it should be able to capture and understand the message that is ongoing dramaturgy and stages how that could have been two very contrasts between back and front.

As a social theory, dramaturgy has its own uniqueness. The uniqueness can be seen from different theoretical models with other micro social theory. Among the application of the concepts of front stage and backstage, which had been separated from the scrutiny of social theorists. Max Weberis considered the originator of the social definition paradigm only see human action is influenced by internal or in order to motive. This conception would not be able to answer different in a social interaction had built himself. If they have a different appearance or performance if it was just enough in order to be determined by the motive or even something complex that cannot be explained by a single cause.

On the other hand, the theory of symbolic interaction is mas stated by Herbert Mead, nor can it explain the social phenomena on that shows the performance with the other reality is often not the same. The theory of symbolic interactions often fooled dramaturgy is to explain phenomena in social life.

Dramaturgy to provide further understanding how to live with what's in front and what is behind the appearance of human action as a social being. For this, Erving Goffman was inspired theatre that turned out to be a man of action descriptors in its interactions with the world so sialnya. Dramaturgy of innovative self-presentation (the presentation of self) is another variant of the theory of symbolic interactions. Goffman different from its predecessor in seeing the self.

who authorized it. Goffman considered dramaturgy into objective perspective because this theory tends to see human beings as passive (surrender).
In dramaturgical theory, there is the concept of front stage and back stage. If the front area of the stage like the front, watched the audience; area behind (back stage), is where the players prepare themselves, relax, or practice play a role in then extstage.

In addition there is the concept of "role distance", a condition in which the actors are not able to play the role to the fullest as a result of the many roles that must be played. In the play action, an actor must also play a stigma, which is what should be done, not what was actually done.

Dramaturgical theory and methodology has been criticized for being relax, relying on whatever resources are available, derived from science, journalism, or every day experience. Dramaturgy is often criticized for not having specific and systematic method to test propositions about human beings. The criticism comes from people who want objective uniform method in studying human behaviour. As Brissett and Edgley stated that it does not require special methods for doing dramaturgy.8

Dramaturgy considered in adequate to explain human behaviour, and does not have the characteristics of formal theory, and propositional not related to other theories. Critics Goffman analyzes are considered micro, overemphasizing the situation face to face, by ignoring many things outface-to-face situation, including historical and structural factors that provide opportunities restrictions in terms of their economic, institutional affiliation and commitment.9

Critics of the theory of dramaturgy also delivered Sheldon Stryker (1980). The symbolic interaction theorists that included Erving Goffman considered having erroneous, inaccurate and dismissive providing a strong basis for building theories and research. As the levels of consciousness that qualitative disclosure cannot be measured, calculated and subjectivism very high, it is difficult operational zing. The result is that it can generate propositions that can be tested, and not all individual front stage action resulting from the text or the previous design, there are even some people who are spontaneous actions without a script before. He considered ignoring the emotional and unconscious individual. They ignored the psychological factors such as needs, motives, goals and aspirations that may restrict and suppress actor. Concentration on micro individual serves to minimize or deny the fact of social structures that affect picture in controlling the behaviour of the individual in society.10

The other critics said that the mainstream of symbolic interactions only relies on qualitative reality, this does not mean that it is un-clarified and uncountable. Knowledge and subjectivism should not be eliminated. Qualitative concept of dramaturgical symbolic interaction is so confusing and not accurate, so that it could not be a strong basic to the theory and research. For the concepts are not accurate, complicated, and even impossible, therefore the result of dramaturgical concept is the concept that is unable to create contestable propositions.

Related to Ritzer statement, half critic said, Goffman’s view reduced humanity to a drama, assumed human as the organism who obsessed by performance, has no world view, dissolute and opportunist. People are only assumed as commodity, actors who have no heart and feeling, also cloth manipulator, symbols and words which are able to be shown, pursue their own goals, and never appreciate others. However, view that assumed as hypocrisy is assumed as pleonastic by the critic.

Keen critical comes from Numberg which stated that within dramaturgy there are many kinds of trick, he could not show the authentic character from many concerns showed by actors. Actors concerned to the tricks and pretending within the daily social life, he sees those things nowhere as stated by the critics.

Goffman stated that we are honest actors and dishonest at once, and try to give self performance which is beneficial to us but it is fake. A man often makes a self impression to get profit. In fact, real or fake performance still have similar criterion. We can analyze a fake performance to see the real performance. On the contrary, we are also able to analyze the real performance to see the fake one. The matter is about morality within daily dramaturgical performance itself (a deeply moral matter).11

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8Dalam Deddy Mulyana, 2010,.
9Dedy Mulyana, 2010, ibid page 132-134.
10Goerge Ritzer, (2007) Teori Sosiologi Modern, Ed.6, page. 309-310, Kencana Media Group, Jakarta.
11Brissett and Edgley on Deddy Mulyana, 2010, ibid page 133.
Goffman’s dramaturgical approach to social interaction as stated by Burn offers a way to observe human through the actions, a man tries to be a person instead of doing something. Self forecast viewed as a part of socialization. Social identity used as the basic of others action to facilitate communication to others related to a certain situation. There is a dialectic relation between individual and society.

Dramaturgy gives a more actual explanation by understanding what is behind and front of human performance as social beings. Goffman inspired from a theatrical performance which becomes clarity to human actions as the interaction with the social world. Goffman differs from his predecessors in seeing self. Goffman is more focused on the implementation of social audience with self which is called dramaturgy or a view about social life as a dramaturgical performance showed on the stage.

He corrected and completed the theory of symbolic interaction of Mead and Blumer. According to Goffman, symbolic interaction is still splitted by the performance of “self”, self which is not his own self but the self with is performed is only a part of a play based on the dramaturgical script of Goffman.

Theory of dramaturgy was still splitted by a rebuttal stated that basically there is none who is not playing a role. A role that is done basically was a will and pursuit of society. Therefore, each individu is a dramaturgical actor within a society, it means reducing the meaning of individual as a social being who has independency, worthy, humanist, and not only an actor within the society.

However, Goffman’s dramaturgical theory still have any weakness when an actor performs without playing dramatrical role which he has prepared instead of playing a role which has been prepared of constructed by another person. Therefore, an actor plays a role that does not come from his own willing, but the will of situation or structure copes with him. Similar to Peter Berger who proposed the theory of social construction, when an actor plays his role, it is not his own play, but the construction from a structure cope with him.

The four propositions inside this dissertation are: First, political marketing dramaturgy is positioning the actors’ innovative self-presentation more prominently than the role itself. An actor might play the role enchantingly, but when the role is replaced by another actor, the actor suddenly lost the enchantment. Therefore, the strength is actually shown by the actor, not the by role. The roles might be replaceable, because the main strength is not on the role but on the self presentation to play the role.

Second, this dissertation finds the opposite relation between front stage and back stage. The back stage of actors might turns into the front stage. This turning process is not always done by actors or internal team mates; however the changing of back stage into front stage is apparently done by actors or audiences from outside the team. This is shown by the black campaigns which try to change the political opponent’s back stage into front stage. This finding corrects the comprehension about front stage which is always prepared by the back stage team works, as it is perceived on the dramaturgical theory of Erving Goffman.

Third, this dissertation also finds the quasi stage, the stage of actors and audiences who have no roles yet in dramaturgical performance, but in the certain time this quasi stage creates a certain role which is able to turn around the prepared plot. This quasi stage is different from the outer stage viewed on dramaturgy theory, which is indeed apart from the plot. However, on the quasi stage, the actors inside it are able to control the plot and role play, the role of state institutions or other strengths which affect dramaturgical presentation. This dissertation adds a stage concept which has never been reckoned by dramaturgical theory of Erving Goffman.

Forth, this dissertation finds the meaning displacement of an impression management, formerly to create a good impression to the audiences, contrary it produces and reproduces a bad impression in order to create haters from the audiences. Therefore, there will be an in distinction of imitation impression; it becomes hard to define a

\[12\] RB Burns, 1979, The Self Concept : Theory, Measurement, Development and Behaviour. New York : Longman, page 16.

\[13\] “Labelling Theory” on Deddy Mulyana, 1999, Nuansa-nuansa Komunikasi : Meneropong Politik dan Budaya Komunikasi Masyarakat Kontemporer. Rosda Bandung, page. 69-72.

\[14\] George Ritzer dan Douglass J Goodman, Teori Sosiologi Modern Jakarta, Pranda Media, 2004. page.297
representation and a presentation. It is shown by the rapidity of black campaign, which delivers stigmas to create a bad impression into a certain actor. In the process of impression management through mass media, there might be simulacras apparent. Simulacras are symbols or signs which are not related to the reality. This concept was formed by Jean Baudrillard as the component of theory about neo-capitalism which clears away the world by producing consumption goods in the form of fantastic symbols. Baudrillard’s philosophy is focused on two concepts: “Hyper reality” and “Simulation”.

Conclusion:
This dissertation gives several principals of summary: First, innovative self-presentation becomes the way of actors to bring the political objectives into reality, innovative self-presentation is performed intensively and symbolically to mobilize the supports from society. Self-reinforcement of an actor is performed by creating self-impression. The presentation of self which is based on identity and interest becomes an instrument to capture sympathy from the society.

Second, the implementation of general elections is a dramatic event which performs the figures of actors with certain roles and characters related to the selected social situation. Dramaturgy of political marketing creates campaign celebration, where the substance of election displaces into the event of celebrity performance, such as dangdut singers, comedian, also the banners and slogans which aimed to create a glistening impression of the actors. Therefore, campaign celebration makes people fool because it does not create an educational and democratic substance.

Third, the ways of each actor to influence the audiences was implemented by the support of mass media and influential actors. The way of influencing the audiences involves several back stage team who roled like the “director and script-writer” and point out how to perform before audiences, such as how to walk, how to dress up, and how to meet the audiences, prepare the campaign logistics, arrange the campaign schedule, create the networks, deliver the vision and mission, advertisement, brochure, slogans, design the impression, etc.

Forth, to increase or decrease the popularity and electability of the team and actors, sometimes they stigmatize people by giving a figure which directed to the character assassination of the opponent. To create the relations to the audiences, the actors manage their impression through two ways: (1) create an image by direct interaction (face to face) with society through milangkori, village visits, silaturahim, etc., which in the process, the actors perform some themes which is related to the needs and expectations of audiences. The core is, the actors take note of aspirations from the audiences. (2) image-building by intermediaries, such as mass media, advertisement on the public space, testimonial, and people power and supports. The two ways above implemented to manage impression that the actor is really wanted by the audience.

Fifth, political marketing is an important tool on general election, most of actors had implemented the principles of political marketing, though political marketing is sometimes still causing pros and cons because it tends to create political imago-logy, and there is no guarantee that democracy will be implemented more effective and efficient. Campaign celebration often occurs. The existence of political marketing brings a serious implication to the growth of democracy. There are two assumptions, firstly comes from people who are scornful to political marketing practice. They perceive that only actors who do figure management, manipulation, and threaten substantive democracy. They are only superficial political actors who apparently manipulative. Secondly, the assumption comes from the group of people who practice and implement political marketing, they do by arguing to fulfil people’s wants and needs, and therefore they contribute to increase the quality of general election.

Sixth, an actor tries to look for a position as the response of political opportunity structure. It means how a person changes nascent ambition into expressive ambition; therefore eventually he decides to run on the political competition. Pressing point of this aspect is how the candidates actually express their wants, courage, or contemplation to run on general election. This framework conceptualizes a political ambition as a strategic response to the structure of political opportunity.

The efforts done by actors basically not only related to the strategic consideration on individual level, but also to the attitude disposition such as self-confidence, the social and political modal to create networks, a personal experience, and the local political strength. Ambition is the heart of politic, politic is about how to get and maintain the authority. Every candidate who eventually decided to look for a position, he is a contestant, a person who tried to
get and maintain the authority. When a person catches a prestigious position, and tries to get the top position of his profession, actually he is more probably thinking about political authority achievement. The personal ambition becomes an encouragement and motivation of a person to be a candidate of political elections.

This dissertation finds several restriction. Hence, researcher suggests conducting the next research with some topics: (1). Perception of the voters to political marketing dramaturgy which is managed by the actors, (2). Perception of the bureaucrat to political marketing dramaturgy. If a deep research is conducted with those topics, a complete construction of knowledge is expected to be formed.

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