

Populism in the Self Presentation of Politician on Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram Account

Kirana Ayudifa^{1*}, Rona Rizkhy Bunga Chasana²

^{1,2}Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta

^{1,2}Jl. A. Yani, Mendungan, Pabelan, Kec. Kartasura, Kabupaten Sukoharjo, Jawa Tengah 57162, Indonesia

*e-mail: ¹kiranaayudifa@gmail.com

Populisme dalam Presentasi Diri Politisi di Akun Instagram Ganjar Pranowo

ABSTRACT

As one of the most popular social media in Indonesia, Instagram is widely used by political actors to present themselves to attract the potential voters. Ganjar Pranowo, who's often referred as a populist politician, has been widely discussed as a candidate for the 2024 presidential election. This research wants to analyze the self-presentation form of Ganjar Pranowo's populism communication on Instagram. A qualitative content analysis methods are used to analyze the visual content in the form of videos from Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram posts. With purposive sampling, 5 samples were obtained which would be analyzed. The results of the analysis show that on Instagram, Ganjar Pranowo plays himself as a political actor who's close to the citizens, friendly, firm, empathetic, and loves his family. Based on the self-presentation shown, it's known that Ganjar Pranowo displayed two of the three most common characteristics of populism according to Jager and Walgrave through his Instagram account during the research period, which is referring to the people and exclusion of outside groups. These findings indicate that there is a tendency for political bias and identity politics in Ganjar Pranowo's self-presentation of populism on Instagram that shown through the behavior of referring to certain groups of people. Populism behavior shown by politicians on social media is known to be able to influence the climate of Indonesian political communication in the modern era.

Keywords: *Self presentation; Populism; Ganjar Pranowo; Instagram.*

ABSTRAK

Sebagai salah satu media sosial paling populer di Indonesia, Instagram banyak dimanfaatkan para aktor politik untuk mempresentasikan diri mereka sebagai cara menarik perhatian calon pemilih. Ganjar Pranowo yang sering disebut sebagai politisi populis yang dekat dengan rakyat saat ini banyak dikaitkan dengan kabar pencalonannya di Pemilihan Presiden 2024 mendatang. Penelitian ini ingin menganalisis bentuk presentasi diri komunikasi populisme Ganjar Pranowo di Instagram. Metode analisis isi kualitatif digunakan untuk menganalisis konten visual berupa video dari postingan Instagram Ganjar Pranowo. Dengan purposive sampling, didapat 5 sampel yang akan dianalisis. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa di Instagram, Ganjar Pranowo memerankan dirinya sebagai aktor politik yang merakyat, supel, tegas, empatis, dan sayang keluarga. Berdasarkan presentasi diri yang ditunjukkan, didapatkan bahwa Ganjar Pranowo menampilkan dua dari tiga ciri populisme paling umum menurut Jager dan Walgrave melalui akun Instagramnya selama kurun waktu penelitian, yaitu merujuk kepada rakyat dan pengecualian terhadap kelompok luar. Temuan ini mengindikasikan adanya kecenderungan bias politik dan politik identitas pada presentasi diri populisme Ganjar Pranowo di Instagram yang ditunjukkan melalui perilaku perujukan kepada kelompok masyarakat tertentu. Perilaku populisme yang ditunjukkan politisi di media sosial diketahui mampu mempengaruhi iklim komunikasi politik Indonesia di era modern.

Kata kunci: Presentasi diri; Populisme; Ganjar Pranowo; Instagram

LATAR BELAKANG

One of the most popular social media platforms in Indonesia is Instagram. Social media is widely used in the world of politics because it is considered proportional for politicians to interact, convey information, build images, spread ideology, and present themselves through visual features (Mendonça & Caetano, 2021). The use of Instagram as a medium for political communication is considered effective because currently, symbols and visual content are a central component of digital political communication activities that can help appeal emotionally to political actors (Schill, 2012).

Political communication is the process of disseminating actions, meanings, or messages related to the functioning of the political system and includes elements of communication, such as communicators, messages, etc. (Plano et al., 1985) Political communication began to experience a shift following the development of information and communication technology circulating in society. Advances in the technological era make it easy for political communicators to interact with their supporters. As a platform with visual, audio and text elements, Instagram can be an effective communication medium for these political actors (Pandu & Candraningrum, 2020)

One of the political communication style that has been known for a long time is populism. In recent years, many Indonesian political actors have indicated that they are populists from the self-image they have formed on their respective social media. The basic definition of populism is a modified form of political approach intended to gain public support from certain groups who feel that their aspirations are not being considered by the government in power (Koerniadi, 2019) Populism in Indonesia is often described as a political communication strategy in which a politician or party candidate presents himself as a representative of the common people or certain groups of people, not part of the government elite (Nur Budiman et al., 2022).

Jager and Walgrave identify populism as a communication framework used by political actors to identify themselves to the general public and act as if they are speaking or rhetoric on their behalf, by associating two essential elements, namely anti-establishment and homogeneity/exclusion (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007). Many researchers visualize populism as a style of communication from several perspectives, such as emotional appeal, emphasis on leaders, aspects of political life, antagonistic discourse, solutions to political problems through popular wisdom, and the use of informal languages, tends to be vulgar, and humble (Bracciale et al., 2021; de Vreese et al., 2018; Engesser et al., 2017; Siles et al., 2021) whether verbal, written, verbal, or non-verbal. That is why communication has an important role in researching populism heuristically (Putra, 2018).

The majority of studies agree that the characteristics of populism include: refers to the people, anti-elitism or attacking the elite, and exclusion of out-groups/ostracism or neglect of groups outside the "the people" referred to by politicians (Bracciale et al., 2021; de Vreese et al., 2018; Engesser et al., 2017 (Bracciale et al., 2021; de Vreese et al., 2018; Engesser et al., 2017; Jagers & Walgrave, 2007) Other studies add characteristics that are not so essential but can still be used to identify populism, namely charismatic leaders, massive people's mobilization, and the use of everyday communication styles ((Mendonça & Caetano, 2021; Putra, 2018).

One way to study and understand populism is to look at the content of messages or content that includes references to the masses, anti-elitist, and other anti-groups as a key component of populist communication ((Putra, 2018) Currently, content and social media are the main media for populist leaders to spread populist messages. Social media is a place for political actors to show their political personalization. Personalization here means how social media helps them to share personal moments to be considered authentic and 'ordinary', as well as build charismatic leadership rhetoric through language and other symbols (Bracciale et al., 2021) The theory of self-presentation has been used as a basis for examining the way a person presents himself in front of the public. Currently, the visual element is indeed one of the important elements in political communication. Before voting, voters often consider the personal qualities of the candidates presented, including honesty, intelligence, friendliness, trust, sincerity, and leadership which are conveyed visually in different ways (Lobinger & Brantner, 2015 (Lobinger & Brantner, 2015)

In Indonesia, one of the politicians who is known to be the most active in presenting himself on social media is Ganjar Pranowo. He is the Governor of Central Java who has served since August 2013. Ganjar is also one of the politicians who has received a lot of support to run as a presidential candidate in the upcoming 2024 elections. As a leader who actively uses social media to communicate with the people, he has become associated with the term contemporary leader (Rohmah, 2022) According to self presentation theory, Ganjar Pranowo is an actor who 'plays a role' on the theater stage in the form of Instagram social media uploads. He will try to present his image according to the role he wants to show to the public. With this theory, the self presentation shown by Ganjar Pranowo on Instagram is not only seen as reality as it is, but can also be broken down into two forms of self presentation, front stage and back stage.

The theory of self presentation was originally introduced by Erving Goffman. According to him, self presentation is a science that examines how individuals act in a way as if they were in a play or theater performance and present themselves in such a way that others see them as they expect (Goffman, 1959) He views individuals and their behavior in certain social situations as actors who perform their roles on stage to the public. In Goffman's original theory, individual performances always take place on a stage which consists of two main areas, the front stage and the back stage. The front stage is the place where the performance takes place, and actors play their roles to the audience with certain attributes, such as appearance, stage, and manner of performance to provoke a certain impression (Merunková & Šlerka, 2019) Meanwhile, backstage is a self-show that is carried out when there are no audiences or only seen by those closest to them, so that individuals tend to act more honestly and candidly (Goffman, 1959)

Goffman originally connected this theory of self presentation or dramaturgy with situations where people meet face to face. Even so, Goffman's basic theory of self presentation has been used as a basis for many other researchers in studying the forms of front and back stage presentations on social media (Bowman, 2010; Hogan, 2010; Merunková & Šlerka, 2019; Picone, 2015) This is because all the elements that exist in face-to-face interactions also appear in the online environment (Merunková & Šlerka, 2019) According to this research, the virtual front stage area is defined as the environment in certain situations related to the audience or other social media users. While the back area is the process of controlling content before it is published to the public by a social media user. Every social media user always controls the impression they will show in a certain role in order to influence the opinion in the minds of the audience. It has the same principles as Erving Goffman's self presentation theory.

According to studies that adapt Goffman's self presentation theory to online networking, the characteristics of the front stage on social media are emphasized as a description of the behavior shown in front of an audience, which in social media terms are the user's followers and friends, including uploads, user profile descriptions, profile photos, appearance attributes, and how users interact with their followers (Holmberg et al., 2018; Marichal, 2013; Merunková & Šlerka, 2019) Meanwhile, backstage on social media can be represented by natural individual activities, such as sending private messages, group chats, sharing uploads that are limited to certain audiences, presenting themselves in a non-professional or different from their usual professional role, using the language of a specific community that followed, and everything related to performance preparation (Bowman, 2010; Krisnawati, 2020; Marichal, 2013; Merunková & Šlerka, 2019)

Previous research that was conducted by Ester Krisnawati in 2020 tried to construct the front and backstage forms of content on the YouTube platform. The results of the study show that the form of the front stage is impression management carried out by Kunit Project actors, Madkucil and Cimit, who play roles to create a certain impression on the audience. The front stage also includes filming locations, clothing attributes in the content, props, and the forms of verbal and nonverbal self presentation shown. The form of the backstage is the actor's personal life that is not exposed to social media, content preparation settings, and scripts. The research concluded that in the end, social media is used as a dramaturgical stage by account owners to show impressions and play a role on stage to the audience (Krisnawati, 2020)

Meanwhile, another study by Timothy D Bowman in 2018 attempted to answer whether there is a blurry boundary between the front and back stages on social media Youtube. The research began by collecting 10 YouTube videos obtained by searching for the keywords "drinking and puking". To analyze the video, the study uses Goffman's definition of backstage, which is then used as the basis for video coding. The results of the analysis show that backstage behavior is widely used in the sample videos. This suggests the possibility that front and back stage behavior boundaries have shifted or shifted, allowing behavior originally defined as backstage to be accepted in the front stage area (Bowman, 2010)

There is a lot of research on Ganjar Pranowo and the use of social media, but not many of them has raised the topic of Ganjar's self presentation on social media, especially Instagram. The majority of research raises the topic of using Instagram for political campaigns by Ganjar Pranowo (Hidayati, 2021; Novanto, 2022; Taqwa & Retno, 2022) Other research discusses Ganjar Pranowo's personal branding on social media (Rahmah, 2021; Rohmah, 2022; Suryawati, 2021) Not many studies have examined the populism of Ganjar Pranowo as depicted on his social media. Several studies have raised the topic of the characteristics of politician populism on social media, but none have focused on Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram (Pandu & Candraningrum, 2020; Ritonga, 2020).

Based on the research, the position of this research is a form of development from existing research, both related to politicians' self presentation on social media and analysis of politicians' populism. Here, researcher wants to develop the relationship between topics about politicians in social media and populism political communication. Self presentation theory is meaningful for this research because it can be used as a basis for

further analysis regarding actor behavior in a condition of social interaction. With this theory, the self presentation shown by Ganjar Pranowo on Instagram is not only seen as reality as it is, but can also be broken down into two forms of self-presentation, front stage and back stage. This will make it easier to analyze the characteristics of populism communication in politicians' Instagram posts.

Based on this background, the research entitled "Populism in the Politician Self Presentation on Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram Account" aims to look at the form of Ganjar Pranowo's front and backstage self presentation on Instagram and its relation to the formation of populism communication. As a politician with high electability and receiving a lot of support to run for the 2024 presidential election, Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram account will receive more public attention. Electability surveys and presidential election simulations held by several institutions since the beginning of 2022 have proven that Ganjar Pranowo occupies the first position as the owner of the highest electability, followed by Prabowo and Anies Baswedan (Kompas.com, 2022)

In determining the sample, the researcher used purposive sampling by coding the content using a modification of the politician's virtual self presentation concept from several previous studies. The sample was reduced by selecting image content that best represents the visual narrative of Ganjar Pranowo's self presentation on Instagram, and 5 (five) final sample videos were collected. The data is then analyzed to see the type of self presentation that Ganjar Pranowo forms on Instagram and what categorization of populism is depicted on the account. Based on the background, the formulation of the problem to be examined is "How is populism described through Ganjar Pranowo's self presentation on his Instagram posts?"

METODE

This study uses qualitative methods with data analysis techniques in the form of content analysis. Qualitative research is more focused on gaining an in-depth understanding of social issues, not on describing the effect of meaning (Fadli, 2021). The presentation of qualitative content analysis is a comprehensive summary presented in everyday terms from certain events (Lambert & Lambert, 2013). Content analysis techniques are in accordance with the objectives of this research, namely to look at the phenomenon of the use of social media for political actors' self-presentation in order to facilitate the implementation of populism as a political communication. Qualitative content analysis research is carried out by collecting and analyzing data source documents to understand the meaning, position, and relationship between various events and the impact of these things (Ahyar, 2020).

The type of content analysis used in this study is discourse analysis, which is an analytical method that is suitable for studying the discourse contained in textual and contextual communication messages (Ahmad, 2018). This analysis focuses more on the meaning of the text, which in this study takes the form of visual media. In contrast to quantitative content analysis, qualitative discourse content analysis emphasizes hidden or latent messages. In addition, this type of analysis is also not intended to make generalizations. This is consistent with the research objective which only focuses on the self-presentation of certain political actors in certain media, not generalizing on the self-presentation of politicians as a whole.

In this study, researchers entered as partisans of the phenomenon under study, namely as part of Ganjar Pranowo's followers on Instagram. The unit of analysis studied is the populism self presentation form of Ganjar Pranowo on the Instagram account @ganjar_pranowo. The unit of observation is in the form of photo content on the account. The choice of Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram uploads as the unit of analysis is because Ganjar's Instagram account has the most followers compared to other social media he uses, such as Twitter and Tiktok. Ganjar's posts on Instagram accounts are also more productive and interactive than other social media accounts.

The use of Erving Goffman's self-presentation theory which was modified into a form of modern communication based on Mendonça & Caetano's research is used as a basis for examining the way a political actor presents himself in public and further analyzes actor behavior. With this theory, Ganjar Pranowo's self-presentation displayed on Instagram is not only seen as reality alone, but can also be broken down into front and back stage self-presentations.

Data collection was obtained using a purposive sampling technique, which refers to certain criteria according to the research objectives (Ahyar, 2020). The data was obtained after observations made by researchers on the Instagram account @ganjarpranowo. The population numbered 528 contents, including Instagram uploads of @ganjar_pranowo in the form of videos in the period March 1 – August 31 2022, this includes the period when Ganjar Pranowo took first place as the politician with the highest electability based on electability surveys and the 2024 presidential election simulation held by various agencies. A purposive sampling instrument was used to select a sample that refers to the politicians' visual self presentation indicators from

several previous studies. Based on this concept, the purposive sampling units used to select samples were: 1) Showing figures and bodies of politicians, 2) Showing interactions with other people, 3) Emphasizing differences from ordinary people (Brands et al., 2021; Casullo, 2018; Mattan & Small, 2021; Mendonça & Caetano, 2021)

In encoding the content, several recurring content themes were found on Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram account. Data reduction was carried out by selecting the sample that best represents Ganjar Pranowo's visual narrative and is a repetition of Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram video content concept during the research period. Next, five video contents were obtained as samples to be analyzed. The collected data produces coding or content categories as follows:

Table 1 Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram content categories

Content theme	Short description
Discussion with residents	Shows Ganjar discussing with Central Java residents about an issue
'Blusukan' or hands-on operations	Ganjar carried out an inspection by going down directly to a certain location
Helping the residents	Ganjar delivered assistance in the form of house renovations for Central Java residents
Interaction with children	Ganjar was surrounded by children and interacted casually with them
Family harmony	Shows the moment of Ganjar and his wife doing things outside of work

Source: Authors (2023)

Of the five sample categorizations found, one video was selected for each category that was most related to the populism characteristics of Ganjar Pranowo's self-presentation. Furthermore, the samples obtained will be analyzed using qualitative content analysis methods to construct Ganjar Pranowo's form of self-presentation into the front stage and back stage areas, then linked with the criteria of populism formed from this self-presentation.

HASIL DAN DISKUSI

Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram

Instagram @ganjar_pranowo is one of the social media used by Ganjar Pranowo to improve his political image through self presentation to the public. To play a role, each individual needs a place setting and attributes to play a role (Goffman, 1959) So, the Instagram account @ganjar_pranowo is used as a place to display the front stage which has been organized on the back stage by Ganjar and his team. An approach to the front stage of politicians can provide a useful orientation to understand why they make certain political presentations (Marichal, 2013).

The use of social media such as Instagram is considered effective for spreading populist messages because it allows political actors to create content that relates directly to the public without the intervention of journalistic ethics, increases the intimacy of direct interaction with 'the people', develops the potential for personalized forms of communication, and creates a feeling of belonging and recognition between dispersed groups (de Vreese et al., 2018; Engesser et al., 2017; Mendonça & Caetano, 2021). On social media, a populist is able to upload content that is free from the values of mass media news in general, so that they are more free to show whatever self-presentation they want to show.

Based on the observations, Ganjar Pranowo and his team often upload daily content with recurring themes. The hallmark of Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram content uploads is the presentation wrapped in elements of simplicity and humor. The majority of the content uses the Javanese language, adapting Ganjar Pranowo's role as a Governor of Central Java. However, when speaking in public from other regions or attending official events, Ganjar uses Indonesian. The majority of content also uses backgrounds in the form of songs that are currently viral on social media. Popular cultural references to Ganjar content are a strategy that politicians usually use to show their human face and create a more informal atmosphere (Farkas & Bene, 2021)

In connection with the large number of politician electability surveys and the 2024 presidential election simulations that were held at the beginning of the year to the middle of the year, researchers conducted observations of posts in the Instagram content @ganjar_pranowo from March 1 to August 31 2022. Researchers found that video content was uploaded on Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram account on this period can be divided

into 5 categories based on indicators of populism criteria, including closeness to residents (conducting discussions), blusukan in certain locations, providing assistance, Ganjar's interactions with children, and family harmony. Researchers divided these five categories based on the findings obtained when observing Instagram content uploads @ganjar_pranowo in the period March 1 - August 31, 2022.

Apart from that, video posts on Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram account also often takes advantage of certain moments, one example is when there is an issue regarding Wadas Village. Not only related to moments, posts to this account often highlight a matters related to his interests as a politician who is predicted to be nominated in the 2024 elections. In this case, Ganjar does not hesitate to show his loyalty to his current political party in several video uploads. He also often includes testimonials or other people's comments about the strengths of a Ganjar Pranowo as Governor of Central Java.

The five categories of video uploads on Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram account are divided by researchers based on Ganjar's moments and interests as Governor of Central Java, which many predict will run as a presidential candidate. In the first category, it shows the moment when Ganjar made a visit to Wadas Village after the outbreak of an issue in the area and had a discussion with local residents. In the second category, content that shows Ganjar's seriousness as a regional head is willing to 'go down' directly and 'blusukan' to certain areas to review problems directly. Third, content regarding the provision of assistance from the Central Java Government, represented by Ganjar, for the Central Java residents who have economic difficulties. The majority of the content shown in this category is in the form of home renovation or surgery help. Fourth, content featuring interaction and communication between Ganjar and children. Finally, the fifth category is content outside of work that displays the harmony of Ganjar Pranowo's family, especially with his wife, Siti Atiqoh Supriyanti.

Based on these findings, researchers will then be able to see how Ganjar Pranowo presented himself through uploading videos on his Instagram account as the Governor of Central Java and a politician who is strongly predicted to advance in the 2024 Presidential Election. Furthermore, it can also be seen how the form of populism communication formed by Ganjar through self presentation. Through his Instagram account, Ganjar tries to take advantage of certain momentums to help improve his image in front of the public, whether in the form of front stage content that shows how he wants to be seen by the public, as well as intentional backstage elements or not.

Referring to the People and Exclusion of Other Groups: Discussion with Residents



Figure 1 Ganjar Pranowo having a discussion with residents of Wadas Village, Central Java
Source: Instagram @ganjar_pranowo

According to Goffman, the front stage consists of the setting and physical elements or items that can be identified with the actor himself, such as clothing attributes, gender, age, and facial expressions (Goffman, 1959)The video background in this category shows a simple impression with Ganjar Pranowo sitting in a discussion with Wadas residents at the village mosque. Even though the atmosphere regarding Wadas Village at that time was still heated, Ganjar uploaded content on social media showing that he and his team were trying to approach the people of Wadas Village. In a democratic system, citizens usually prefer politicians who keep in touch with the people, appear in public, and on social media over those who get things done secretly (Aichholzer & Willmann, 2020)Because of that, this content was uploaded as a form of Ganjar Pranowo's **front stage** while addressing the problems of Wadas Village.

This video seems to cover an implied aspect of Ganjar Pranowo's political **backstage self presentation**. In uploaded videos, actors do not have the ability to change behavior, so viewers may gain insight into certain behaviors that were not originally intended for them (Bowman, 2010)The difference in the use of language when

Ganjar discusses with residents who agree to mining with residents who refuse mining shows how he presents himself differently according to the person he is talking to.

Two important aspects for defining the backstage area in the online world are language and pseudonyms (Bowman, 2010) The use of the Javanese language is accompanied by a cheerful background sound when Ganjar discusses with residents who agree to mining, as if to illustrate that flexibility, familiarity, and eliminating distance with the other person. Meanwhile, the use of Indonesian with Wadas residents who refuse mining is accompanied by the use of tense backgrounds that seem to create an impression of being stiff, awkward, and creating distance with the other person.

The difference in interaction between Ganjar and residents who accept and reject mining illustrates the characteristics of **populism** in the form of referring to the people and exclusion of other groups. In the conception of populism, reference to the people or groups is marked by how political actors show their image in public as their advocates (Putra, 2018) The people referred here are Wadas residents who agree to mining in the village. This was marked by the presentation of Ganjar's self-image which was more flexible and full of laughter in front of the first group of residents.

Meanwhile, Ganjar's rigid interaction with residents who refuse to mine shows an indicator of exclusion from outside groups or the others. Implicitly, Ganjar seems to be 'creating boundaries' with residents who reject mining, as shown by Ganjar's self presentation that seems to put distance with this group of residents.

However, the difference in Ganjar's attitude when discussing with residents who oppose mining can also be interpreted as a form of **front stage** in the form of the seriousness of politicians in dealing with problems. Someone with a higher status usually has the flexibility to choose the front stage to perceive the situation as he wishes (Goffman, 1959) In front of the tense Wadas residents, Ganjar seemed to want to show that he was serious about dealing with this problem. For society, politicians are endowed with certain traits and skills and are expected to be able to complete tasks that ordinary citizens cannot (Aichholzer & Willmann, 2020) From this self presentation, Ganjar has characterized the concept of 'the people' which is one of the indicators of **populism communication** (Hidayati, 2021) Here, Ganjar shows that he wants to mingle with ordinary people by having discussions together.

Humble and Empathic: Helping the residents



Figure 2 Ganjar Pranowo visited residents who received house renovation assistance
Source: Instagram @ganjar_pranowo

In this video, how Ganjar Pranowo interacts with the residents who need help is a part of **the front stage**. On the front stage, actors will appear in such a way as to meet social and normative expectations of behavior, which is called "dramatic interaction" (Holmberg et al., 2018) Ganjar familiarizes himself with hugging the owner of the house who will be given help and joking with him. Research shows that prospective voters like politicians who are outgoing, sociable, and talkative (Aichholzer & Willmann, 2020) This is a consideration of how political actors present or image themselves on social media.

The backstage of Ganjar Pranowo's self presentation shown in the video in this category is when the large camera used for shooting is seen entering the frame at the 11th second. Backstage or backstage can be interpreted as all the preparations made to cover the front stage (Goffman, 1959) Here, the visible camera is a form of backstage preparation for Ganjar Pranowo's self-performance. This 'leaked' behind-the-scenes situation is a form of backstage appearance of one's self presentation process on social media (Merunková & Šlerka, 2019)

From the **populism** side, Ganjar Pranowo is again showing a populist image in videos in this category. As is well known, Ganjar often forms a political image as a politician who is close to the people. Instagram social media helps strengthen this self-branding through uploads that emphasize Ganjar's populist self presentation. In addition, the distribution of assistance carried out directly by Ganjar shows the image that he is a leader who

is able to provide solutions to people's problems or also called referrals to the people. The term referring to the people is used by populist actors to create the impression that as leaders, they understand what their people want (Jagers & Walgrave, 2007)The video conveys emotional appeal and emphasizes Ganjar's charismatic and humble character as governor. Through this content, Ganjar emphasizes the image that he is an empathetic politician. Empathy is referred to as one of the important elements of political communication which is carried out by showing sentiment or understanding of the feelings of other people, especially the people (Muna et al., 2019)All of this, plus the use of everyday language shown by Ganjar in the video, is an indicator of populist politicians (Bracciale et al., 2021; de Vreese et al., 2018; Engesser et al., 2017)

Referral of People with Ethnic Identity: Blusukan

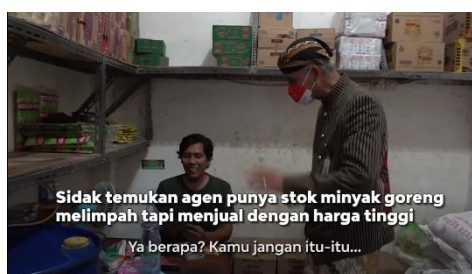


Figure 3 Ganjar Pranowo makes visits or 'blusukan' to traditional market
Source: Instagram @ganjar_pranowo

In this content, Ganjar Pranowo completes his presentation by emphasizing the attribute aspect in the form of Javanese traditional clothing. This shows that Ganjar Pranowo still wants to identify himself as a part of the community, which in this case is Javanese. On the **front stage**, we seek to be recognized by others because of our uniqueness, and at the same time try to be identified as part of a group (Marichal, 2013)This form of identity politics is often used by political teams to influence the people and strengthen a sense of solidarity with certain ethnicities.

In the video, Ganjar looks enthusiastic and passionate in responding to the problem of bulk oil prices which have gaps for small and large sellers. One of the characteristics of politicians that voters like is that they have great leadership traits, can be relied upon in solving problems, and are firm in their stance (Aichholzer & Willmann, 2020)Through this content, Ganjar does not hesitate to show firmness even though he has to make expressions that other politicians usually don't do in front of social media. This proves that Ganjar deliberately formed a **front stage** self presentation as a politician who remained steadfast in his firmness in order to be able to solve the problem of bulk oil. Therefore, assertive expressions in the form of angry emotions which could be the backstage area for other politicians, here actually become the front stage area because it is related to Ganjar Pranowo's own identity. A higher level of extraversion assertiveness is thought to be able to make potential voters more confident about the manifestos and pre-election promises of political actors (Aichholzer & Willmann, 2020)

According to research, **populist politicians** tend to be much more prone to using state symbols or national symbols or ethnic symbols than non-populist politicians (Mendonça & Caetano, 2021)In terms of the front stage in the form of attributes, Javanese traditional clothing defines 'the people' through 'ethnic and cultural markers' as representatives of the group referred to. Political leaders who use ethnic identities try to show that those with the same ethnicity can better understand and understand each other (Parangu, 2018)This is said to be able to increase a sense of similarity and trust with fellow ethnic leaders.

The difference in behavior and interaction between Ganjar with small and larger sellers in the traditional market shows that Ganjar is partial to one party. Here, Ganjar again presents aspects of **populism** in the form of referring to the people, especially the common people. Ganjar seemed to side with them and more 'heartless' to the larger group of people. In Indonesia, populism is often described as a political communication strategy in which a politician or party candidate presents himself as a representative of the common people or certain groups of people (Nur Budiman et al., 2022)In this way, politicians can increase feelings of being threatened by the 'elite' or 'other group' outside the group referred to (Farkas et al., 2022)In this content, the 'other group'

highlighted is the middle class bulk sellers who charge high prices for small sellers. The existence of these other groups then refers to populist behavior in the form of exclusion of out-groups or other groups.

In addition, this reference is also coupled with other **populism communication** criteria, namely offering solutions for the people with popular policies that are easily accepted (Bracciale et al., 2021; de Vreese et al., 2018) Here, Ganjar also displays his competence as a regional leader who has the power to change conditions for the better for the people. According to research, Indonesian populist political actors will usually see the majority of problems, then spread narratives that they are able to provide solutions to these problems and show their alignment with certain groups of people, which are marked by narratives as 'representatives of the voice of the people' (Nur (Nur Budiman et al., 2022)

Populist Politicians and Children: Interaction with Children



Figure 4 Ganjar Pranowo and PDIP cadres interacting with children in front of the mosque
Source: Instagram @ganjar_pranowo

The content of Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram video posts during the research period showed many of his interactions with children. In this category of content, Ganjar's **front stage** not only features direct interaction with the audience in the form of children, but also emphasizes his identity attributes represented by the red uniforms of the PDIP party. This is Ganjar's way of presenting his political identity as part of a party. Party symbols such as colors and logos refer to the importance of the party to political actors and represent formality. This also characterizes the style of social media political communication in the form of individualization, namely content related to the more formal political work of candidates (Farkas & Bene, 2021)

Through the **front stage** appearance, Ganjar tries to convey an impression of loyalty to the party as well as a child-friendly impression. Attitudes toward children can be an important characteristic of populism and a subject to be reckoned with. Past research has shown that children play a special role in **populism**. By involving children in political communication strategies, populists want to play the role of caring parents and guardians of a nation that fights violence (Rakusa-Suszczewski, 2021)

While interacting with the children, the cameraman asked Ganjar whether he preferred his country or his party. Before Ganjar could answer, a child interrupt the conversation and said, "Choose me,". Ganjar then cheered and agreed with the child. Here, Ganjar tries to control his presentation as carefully as possible to avoid misinterpretation regarding the questions asked. According to Goffman, this behavior is called maintenance of expressive control, which is one of the backstage concepts (Goffman, 1959) Individuals will control the potential for audience misinterpretation of the signs conveyed. Political actors often display this expression in front of the media in anticipation of audience skepticism and to maintain the public image they have formed (Ahsan Ridhoi et al., 2022) With this statement, Ganjar wants to maintain the image that he is a politician who will side with the people under any circumstances.

In this content, Ganjar also conveys **populism** in the form of references to ordinary people through his interactions with children. In this case, Ganjar represents a reflection of ordinary people. Populists represent coding reflecting the people through self-image features that show their interactions with children, as politician Jair Bolsonaro did in Brazil (Mendonça & Caetano, 2021) The words "Choose me" from a child which was greeted by Ganjar's approval represented the impression of referring to the people. This seems to indicate that whatever party he belongs to, Ganjar will prefer and prioritize the people.

A Reflection of the Common People: Family Harmony



Figure 5 Familiarity Ganjar Pranowo and his wife after running a marathon
Source: Instagram @ganjar_pranowo

By showing physical and emotional intimacy on the **front stage**, Ganjar seemed to want to present himself as a family man who loves his family, especially his wife. Ganjar Pranowo's flexibility in displaying family harmony on social media has made him labeled a political actor who is a family man and has received a lot of support from the women's community (DetikNews, 2022). The personalization of Instagram social media has made many political actors dare to release their professional elements by showing family members on the front stage. Indeed, regular and excessive exposure to the personal life of a political leader has become an important element of political communication (Mendonça & Caetano, 2021). In this content, Ganjar emphasizes the "humane" side of a politician, in contrast to the previous content which focused on his role as a governor.

From the self presentation shown, Ganjar represents one of the **populism** characteristics in the form of a reflection of ordinary people. Through this content, Ganjar displays one of the characteristics of an ideal politician, namely homophily or having personality similarities with ordinary people (Aichholzer & Willmann, 2020). Homophily is able to facilitate feelings of attachment to a political leader. This social media-mediated homophily allows populists and their supporters (i.e. "the people") to strengthen their bonds while protecting themselves from dissenting opinions (Engesser et al., 2017). Ganjar shows that he is 'same' as ordinary people and dares to show his romantic side to his wife. He did not hesitate to show the side of his personal life. Even though politicians have done a lot to show the private side of life on social media, populist politicians are more encouraged to share personal aspects and moments so that they are perceived as 'ordinary' and authentic people (Bracciale et al., 2021). Visuals on social media are used by populist politicians to share their private moments. Populists tend to be more interested in and more often share personal life content than non-populist politicians (Farkas et al., 2022). The research found that non-populist politicians place more emphasis on policy issues and show the results of conventional political work on their social media.

Ganjar also displays an informal impression in the form of clothing attributes in the content. Ganjar wears sports clothes without any distinction from ordinary people. The habits of populist politicians are also illustrated through the way they dress in the form of informal clothes or sportswear, interacting with ordinary people, or doing physical activity (Veneti & Ioannidis, 2020). This method is also one of the representations of ordinary people by politicians. The populism style of communication by political actors is often reflected through elements of emotional appeal, personal aspects of politicians' lives, and the use of informal language (Engesser et al., 2017; Mazzoleni & Bracciale, 2018).

SIMPULAN DAN SARAN

This study presents the results of a qualitative content analysis of Ganjar Pranowo's populism self presentation through video content shared on his Instagram profile using the self presentation framework on social media by Merunková & Šlerka which was adapted from Erving Goffman's original theory. Based on the self presentation shown, the answer to the formulation of the research problem was obtained, namely that **Ganjar Pranowo displays two of the three most common characteristics of populism** according to Jager and Walgrave through his Instagram account during the research period. The two criteria are **referring to the people and exclusion of outside groups**. Beyond the general criteria, Ganjar's self presentation on Instagram also shows populist behavior in the form of emphasizing homophile, exposing private life, emphasizing ethnic symbols, and displaying charismatic politicians who provide solutions to people's problems. Previous research conducted by Ricardo F. Mendonca and Renato Duarte Caetano found that former Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro displays three characteristics of populism through uploading photos on his Instagram social media, namely in the form

of behavior that reflects the people, displays an extraordinary figure, and uses an eccentric symbol of power. to distinguish them from ordinary people (Mendonça & Caetano, 2021). Just as Ganjar has shown, Bolsonaro also emphasizes his figure in a simple way, close to the people, but still emphasizing distance. This research uses Casullo's (2018) framework by personifying the representational bond between politicians and the people to characterize populist leaders.

Compared to other studies, this research uses a theoretical framework that is more relevant to the current condition of political communication. Merunková & Šlerka's framework also facilitates research analysis of self presentation via social media contents. The object of this research in the form of video content is also able to describe more details than the content in the form of images. However, this research has limitations in determining the backstage area for social media content. Nowadays, people are moving their backstage self presentations to the front of the web and causing a narrowing of the backstage area. Because it adapts to the climate of modern political communication, Erving Goffman's original theory of self presentation is not fully able to adapt to that climate. Although it can be used as a theoretical basis, adjustments are still needed using advanced theoretical adaptations to explore new communication environments. In addition, the research results cannot be applied in general because they only cover the surface on social media. This research only discusses virtual forms of self-presentation and visible online identities, so it cannot be used as a generalization regarding Ganjar Pranowo's self-presentation in the real world. Therefore, further research can be carried out by deepening the scope of research related to self-presentation, for example by studying the behavior of politicians in the real world with relevant sources. It can also be done by analyzing the form of populism self-presentation of political actors through different types of social media or focusing on the public's response to the self-presentation of political actors which characterizes populism. In political communication, the role of the active audience is no less important than the message conveyed. The use of other research methods is also suggested, for example, a quantitative methods to determine the effectiveness of using social media as a medium of populist politician's self-presentation.

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