Urban Dramaturgy : Self-Presentation and Stigma in Silver Men Street Performances

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ABSTRAK

Keberadaan manusia silver di jalanan merupakan fenomena baru di Indonesia dan menuai pro dan kontra. Penelitian ini menggunakan teori Dramaturgi Erving Goffman untuk menganalisis bagaimana presentasi diri manusia silver di jalanan. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan metode studi kasus. Teknik pengambilan sampel dilakukan dengan menggunakan teknik purposive sampling dan data dianalisis dengan menggunakan analisis interaktif. Data divalidasi dengan menggunakan teknik triangulasi sumber. Hasil dalam penelitian ini merujuk pada panggung depan informan yang terjadi ketika manusia silver menampilkan dirinya di jalanan untuk mengelola kesan sedemikian rupa untuk meminta sumbangan. Sedangkan panggung belakang dalam penelitian ini adalah panggung yang sangat berbeda, yang ditunjukkan oleh informan melalui pemaknaan diri yang cenderung negatif dan laman instagram mereka yang menyembunyikan karya dan bagaimana mereka berjuang melawan kemiskinan. Hal ini juga berkaitan dengan stigma di masyarakat yang memandang manusia silver sebagai pekerjaan yang merugikan diri sendiri dan harapan informan untuk mendapatkan pekerjaan lain. Penelitian selanjutnya dapat menganalisis dari sisi komunikan yaitu masyarakat, misalnya penerimaan masyarakat terhadap fenomena manusia silver.

Kata Kunci : Dramaturgi; Presentasi Diri; Stigma; Pertunjukkan Jalanan

ABSTRACT

The existence of Silver Men on the streets is a new phenomenon in Indonesia and has drawn pros and cons. This study uses Erving Goffman's Dramaturgy theory to analyse how The Silver Men 's self-presentation on the streets. This research is a qualitative research with case study method. The sampling technique was taken using purposive sampling technique and the data was analysed using interactive analysis. Data were validated using source triangulation techniques. The results in this study refer to the informant's front stage which occurs when The Silver Men presents himself on the streets to manage the impression in such a way as to ask for donations. While the back stage in this study is a very different stage, which is shown by informants through self-interpretation that tends to be negative and their instagram pages that hide their work and how they struggling with poverty. This is also related to the stigma in society that views The Silver Men as a self-harming job and the informant's hope to get another job. Further research can analyze from a communicant perspective, namely society, for example society's acceptance of The Silver Men phenomenon.

Keywords: Dramaturgy; Self Presentation; Stigma; Street Performances

A. PENDAHULUAN

The Silver Men phenomenon refers to the existence of people who deliberately paint themselves and usually circulate at red lights in cities in Indonesia. The Silver Men usually provides a box for money and circulates the boxes to motorists who happen to be stopped at the red light. When the light turns green, they pull over to the side of the road. According to Reuter's report, silver man is a job that is undertaken due the limited employment to opportunities and qualifications of The Silver Men (Lamb, 2021).

The existence of The Silver Men has generated a lot of cons in society. The Indonesian Ulema Council in North Sumatra then issued a fatwa that The Silver Men is a haram occupation in December 2022. This is based on the body paint process which tends to hurt oneself (Aldi, 2022).

Amidst the pros and cons, The Silver Men still exists in various regions. Many studies and articles have linked The Silver Men phenomenon to performance art in

Brazil, England, Germany and other countries. In Sao Paolo, the performances emphasise more on statue performances with various roles such as cowboy, mud man, meditating artist and others (Lavender, 2013).

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The role is shown through clothing and paint that fills all parts of the body including the face. Not only about appearance, they also limit interactions with others so as to create a situation that suits the role played. It is different in Indonesia who do not play diverse roles and slightly limit their body movements.

The results \circ f research observations show that silver men still move and even go around circulating boxes to ask for money from road users silently. This is in line with the results of The Guardian's coverage which explains The Silver Men 's efforts to remain motionless while in the midst of road users. (Cahya, 2021). In line with previous research, previous research also shows that they refuse to be considered as beggars and tend to declare as art workers (Arifin, n.d.).

In relation to the use of paint on the human body, other studies have suggested that paint can cause negative effects such as pain, burning reactions, headaches and nausea in Hulivesha dancers in India (Pai et al., 2019). In other research, many Silver Men complain of ARI, diarrhoea, itching and dizziness because the paint used contains copper, lead and other harmful substances (Marpaung & Aidha, 2023).

Meanwhile, in terms of urban planning, it is stated that the role of local governments in curbing new types of beggars such as people who act as statues needs to be encouraged (Astor, 2019). The rise of begging on the streets will threaten the function of open, lively and attractive public spaces. In Indonesia alone, there were 77,500 vagrants and beggars in 2019 (Yusuf et al., 2022).

Other research shows that beggars who wear certain costumes or body paint usually only use gestures and body movements to ask for money (Andriotis, 2016). This gesture is then captured by road

users and makes a donation. This shows the great role of the community in perpetuating the existence of street art. Usually, people give donations because of sympathy for economic inequality and of а sense responsibility for the lives of others (McIntosh & Erskine, 2000; Yang & Lin, 2019).

The existence of The Silver Men, which is considered problematic, has marginalised the The Silver Men group. In the perspective of communication. The Silver Men group is an interesting study. This is shown through its existence, which from cons various reaps perspectives, but on the other hand, its existence still exists. The Silver Men as a social phenomenon in Indonesia have been researched by several studies. One of them is a study that focuses on how The Silver Men live in Pekanbaru. The research found that the existence of The Silver Men is related to economic reasons. (Manullang & Susanti, 2022). Unlike this research, which focuses on the lives of The Silver Men on Instagram and the real world. In this study,

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Instagram is regarded as another stage where individuals can present themselves differently from other spaces. This is based on previous research stating that Instagram is a place where a person displays their self-image and self-esteem. (Romero Saletti et al., 2022).

In other studies, it is also mentioned that to overcome social problems such as poverty, there is a need for studies to understand the donation behaviour itself (Rosele & Abdullah, 2017). In this study, donation behaviour is seen from the perspective of how silver humans ask for donations in their interactions with road users.

One of the communication studies is self-presentation which focuses on analysing a person as an active subject in managing impressions through the stage he creates. Based on this explanation, the research formulation in this study is: How is the self presentation of The Silver Men in Solo Raya?

B. TINJAUAN PUSTAKA

Dramaturgy Theory

Dramaturgy is a theory developed by Erving Goffman in 1959 through his book A Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Naegele & Goffman, 1956). In his book, Goffman explains that a person always presents himself according to what impression he wants to show to others.

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This research uses dramaturgical theory to analyse the lives of The Silver Men. This is related to Goffman's statement that dramaturgy theory can be used to analyse groups that have a stigma in society so that there needs to be a set up in self-presentation.

Goffman analogises a person's life as a performance stage which he divides into two main areas. The first is the Front Stage which is an area where there is an audience. In the front stage, there are two main elements, the first is setting and selfpresentation. (West & Turner, 2010). Setting refers to the equipment, decorations, scenery and setting in which the actors perform. Meanwhile, personal appearance refers to the identity shown by the which is divided actors appearance and manner.

Appearance is the style shown while manner is related to the way actors communicate. In this study, the front stage refers to the territory of The Silver Men while on the road while performing the role of a silver man.

The second area is the backstage which refers to the area where actors see themselves and do activities more freely. Goffman also explained that the backstage is usually an area where actors prepare themselves before entering the front stage. (Naegele & Goffman, 1956). In this study, the back stage directs the meaning of informants to their background as human. In addition, this research also had the previous research that claimed Instagram can be used as a free self potrayals (Osterholz et al., 2023).

Silver Men: The Intersection of Performance and Urban Solicitation

Since the end of the New Order in Indonesia, performing arts in Indonesia have diversified and emerged (Palmer, 2010). A variety of arts from closed to open art adorn the Indonesian art scene, one of which is street art. Street art is a

means of communicating individual rights, urban aesthetics and citizenship practices (Lee, 2013).

Street art is often associated with poverty or homelessness. This is due to the condition of street art which always leads to requests for donations during or after the art is held. Poverty, marginalisation and necessity shape how street culture expresses itself in an area (Ross, 2021).

Living statues are a method of expressing art and drama therapy (Berger, 2023). In the performance, there are various meanings that can be transformed to the wider community, especially tourists.

In Indonesia, living statues are one of the most similar types of art to The Silver Men. Silver man refers to the existence of people who paint their bodies and move in a limited way. However, The Silver Men is often associated with beggars and social problems. In another study, it was mentioned that The Silver Men has always been targeted by the civil service police because he is considered a nuisance (Arifin, n.d.). Unlike living statues in other regions,

The Silver Men also does not target tourists as a target audience. Observations show that The Silver Men only targets local people as their audience.

Basically, the behavior of walking around the streets and asking for donations is not new in social science studies. This phenomenon is a dilemma in society because it is related to the morality of society and the economic condition of the country itself. Previous journals explain that the phenomenon is usually related to other criminal behavior such as violence and drug abuse (Muñoz & Potter, 2014). However, it is inevitable that the existence of beggars on the streets is also related to the existence of people who continue to give donations to people who ask for donations on the streets such as beggars, vagrants and others.

Defining the Silver Men as a beggar would be unfair. In terms of the art played, The Silver Men has his own color as an artistic performance. In another journal, it is explained that in a fast-paced world and the pressure to be productive, the artistic

side of street performance is something to be appreciated (Yang & Lin, 2019). This is because watching artistic performances on the streets is one way for people to relax without going to places like museums or art galleries.

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Silver man as art performed on the streets and open spaces is a subcultural practice that is often considered deviant. However, its existence also fosters other cultures and identities in the Indonesian street art scene. In another study, when people go to the streets, they do not easily return to more of mainstream iobs because alienation, inability to find other jobs and lack of other opportunities (Beazley, 2003). This has led to the complexity of street culture issues.

Street culture can essentially be turned into a street art tourism industry. In another study in London, street culture was supported as a creative practice that was used as a strategy to brand Creative London (Andron, 2018). This requires the full involvement of the government.

The existence of The Silver Men cannot be separated from the social

and economic conditions in Indonesia. In a previous study, urban poverty in Indonesia was recorded as a result of the depression in the 1930s in Java, which caused the poverty rate to skyrocket (Ingleson, 2015).

C. METODE

This research is a qualitative study with a case study method. The case study was chosen based on the uniqueness of The Silver Men case in Solo Raya which allows for differences with The Silver Men phenomenon in other locations. Case study is a method used to explain social phenomena in depth (Yin, 2018).

The population in this study were all silver humans in the Surakarta. Sragen, Karanganyar, Klaten, Wonogiri and Sukoharjo areas, totalling around 200 people based on pre-research interview data. From this population, the research sampling was determined through purposive sampling technique with the criteria of the duration of being a silver man, operating hours and operating locations. The duration referred to is the duration of being a silver human, which is the longest and the shortest. Operating hours refer to the time when informants work, namely morning and afternoon, each of which is taken by one informant.

Data collection was carried out through in-depth interview techniques non-participant and where observation researchers observed the daily lives of silver men in several different locations. The data obtained was then analysed through data analysis techniques proposed by Miles and Huberman. Initially the data is presented based on the category of communication identity theory as a reference, then the data is reduced and then the red thread is drawn (Miles et al., 2014).

Data were validated using data triangulation techniques by comparing interview data with observations, other informants' answers as well as journals and other relevant research. Validity is done to ensure the accuracy of the data (Creswell, 2009).

D. TEMUAN

This research was conducted over self-meaning and Instagram as a

This research was conducted over four months in the field with five informants. Interviews were conducted in a semi-structured and step-by-step manner due to the exclusivity of The Silver Men group. In this research, confidentiality of identity such as name and region of origin was requested by the informants.

Table 1. Informant Details

Informants	Detail		
	Duration	Origin Area	Ag e
Informant 1	1 year	West Java	27
Informant 2	2 year	West Java	25
Informant 3	4 months	West Java	20
Informant 4	5 months	West Java	18
Informant 5	1 year	Centr al	18

The results of the study are arranged based on categories in accordance with dramaturgical theory, namely front stage and back stage. The front stage in this study relates to the informant's front stage when he becomes a silver man on the highway who tries to manage impressions to earn money. While the back stage in this study relates to The Silver Men 's back stage, namely

self-meaning and Instagram as a stage where informants are free to express themselves.

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Back Stage

Back Stage is an area that focuses on how a person's personal life. In this study, it relates to the informant's background. The informants in this study have diverse backgrounds but the decision to become a silver men is equally motivated by the economy. They say that they took this job because they had no other choice.

"Initially, I was laid off during the pandemic, working at a restaurant in West Java. At that time I was offered to join this (becoming a silver man)". (Informant 2)

"There was no work, it was very difficult to find work during the pandemic. I used to do temporary jobs, receiving calls from labourers, cleaning the garden'. (Informant 4)

All informants also stated that the decision to become a silver man was the result of an invitation from someone who was referred to as a coordinator and taught how to become a silver men. This person is a silver man who previously operated in West Java but for one reason or another made him move to Central Java, especially Solo Raya and Yogyakarta. The interview results

show that the income of being a silver man varies.

"During the pandemic, the most he said, if now the range is 100-200 thousand per person" (Informant 1)

"It varies, sometimes below a hundred because the road is quiet" (Informant 4).

Various obstacles experienced by The Silver Men, one of which is itching on the body. This is caused by the paint used is not paint for the skin, but printing paint.

"It should be for banners, fabrics. But if it's for the body, it's expensive, while it's for the body and every day" (Informant 1).

"If it's long and not clean, it's hot, red, red. Clean if you use oil, actually it should be olive oil but it is expensive" (Informant 2).

The pros and cons that exist in society also realised are by informants. Based on the interview data, all informants stated that The Silver Men is a job that is forced to do and is only temporary because it is considered dangerous even though it is profitable. In another study, it was also mentioned that street culture is often a dangerous area for children due to the reason that there are many cases of violence on the streets. (Bajari & Kuswarno, 2020).

"It's not that I don't want to look for something else. But the conditions are difficult to find new ones, especially nowadays" (Informant 2). "We often help road users, so it's not always negative even though there are negative assumptions too" (Informant 4).

Research observations show that in certain conditions, for example when the traffic control lights are off, silver humans help road users to regulate traffic. This is considered by informants as a sign that they are not just asking for money from road users. However, all informants also added that being a silver man also sometimes makes them sad and want to find another job.

In describing themselves, almost all informants said they were victims of a difficult economy so they were forced to work as silver men. The urgency of economic needs, the lack of jobs and the habit of getting money from silver men are the reasons why they are still in The Silver Men as their main occupation.

Despite having activities that are always together, this research also found that there are boundaries between the relationship between one informant and another. This can be seen from how they limit closeness through Instagram for example. Regarding Instagram, in this research all of informants use

Instagram. In addition, none of the informants shared information related to work on their Instagram pages. This is done on the grounds that many family and old friends are followers on their Instagram.

"No, because Instagram is just for fun. It's embarrassing to be seen with friends. Besides, this is a temporary job to collect capital". (Informant 3)

"Why yes, maybe I'm afraid it will just be what people say. No one knows how to be a silver man" (Informant 1). In this study, all informants used private accounts in their Instagram settings. This is mentioned by informants only to limit who will follow them. In the Silver Men circle, not all silver humans follow each other because they are not too close. This is because the informants stated that they did not know each other closely with all The Silver Men groups in Solo Raya area. In other research, it was stated that the editable features and friend settings on Instagram are related to a person's self-esteem (Tang, 2023).

"Only those who know me closely. The thing is, Instagram has had content for a long time, yes, those of you who have known me for a long time. "There are people here who have only known each other for a few months" (informant 1).

"Actually, sometimes there are friends who also use Instagram, but only those who are close, but not when they are The Silver Men. It's just time to eat together or hang out together" (Informant 2).

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Apart from life that is not related to work as a silver man, Instagram is also used by informants to look for other jobs. This statement shows that there is hope for the informant to get another job that is considered better than being a silver man.

Front Stage

Front stage in this research refers to the main road as the informant's main stage. This is because The Silver Men manages the impression of being a person who asks for donations from the public with his stage actions. In arranging his appearance, the informant said that he had been taught how to become a silver human before becoming a silver human. However, the informant did not know the origin of why he used silver paint.

"Someone taught me their appearance, they taught me how to choose screen printing paint for the body and how to clean it too" (Informant 2)

"This paint is actually to attract people's attention and entertain them too" (Informant 4).

"I don't know the true origin, just see it from those who have experience. "But this is also so that it doesn't look like the real face" (Informant 3).

The use of paint as the main attribute in the appearance of The Silver Men is something taught by The Silver Men coordinator as a senior. From this experience, the informant then learned and used screen printing paint as part of becoming 'other people'.

Like in the performing arts, this research also found the existence of a team role among The Silver Men. This team is used to share locations, hours and other coordination.

"There is a group to manage operation hours. Usually, we chat first" (Informant 2).

"There are those who carry boxes, there are those who just walk in front, there are also those who walk" (Informant 1).

In appearance, there are several rules for becoming a silver human. Based on research findings, these rules differ from place to place. This difference is related to the agreement between each team. For example, in several locations, The Silver Men combines silver paint and a clown's face as his appearance.

"There are rules here that you are not allowed to push each other, you

have to be alert, you don't talk to road users" (Informant 3)

"We are told first what is permissible and what is not. "The seniors are usually the ones who carry out the actions, the juniors will go around carrying donation boxes" (Informant 2).

The research results showed that several informants carried out actions, for example posing like Superman, or clasping their hands together before asking for money. When asking for money, The Silver Men also didn't say a word and just asked by holding out a box prepared beforehand.

"After the hour is over, we usually gather to calculate each day's earnings and share them. "But there are also those who use it to buy necessities, for example dish cleaner to clean paint, cooking oil too" (Informant 3)

The results of interviews and research observations show that after finishing work hours, The Silver Men carry out cleaning activities on the side of the highway or behind stalls close to the highway. In each operation, each team gets equal time, namely 09.00 to 13.00 and 13.00 to 20.00. This difference is regulated by group with the team being determined by seniors.

"The distribution of locations is also regulated. So, it doesn't pile up and

everyone has to accept whatever is shared" (Informant 1)

"I moved around. Sometimes in the west, but I've been here for a month now. There are directions that are the same as the distribution of hours" (Informant 2)

The highway as the setting in this research is one of the location choices determined by the team. In other research, it was stated that the absence of public space is one of the spaces that must be present in street music performances (Bywater, 2007). In this research, informants also experienced interference. often Conflicts with buskers and local regional authorities are the conflicts faced by informants. This is related to the intervention on the informant's front stage. In other research, it is stated that street artists are in a position that is vulnerable to conflict in their daily lives (Simpson, 2008).

"Conflicts definitely exist. Living on the street means there are lots of risks, such as fighting over land. Moreover, we are new here, but over time we get along and understand each other" (Informant 1).

E. BAHASAN

Erving Goffman divided a person's social life into two terms Front and Back Stage. In this research, the back stage is a digital area, especially Instagram, where the informant feels

free to express himself according to what he does and is directed only at his family and friends. Meanwhile, the front stage refers to the area when the informant acts as a silver man on the highway.

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Backstage

In the back stage, the informant relates to the informant's selfdescription and activities on social media. In this study, self-description is related to how informants view work as a silver man which is considered temporary or the only way to earn money. However, the existence of The Silver Men is also said to be related lame to government regulations where less strict prohibitions apply to donors (Rusydi, 2023).

This causes informants to not open up to family, friends and other relatives. The research results showed that the informants' Instagram did not mention the informant's job as a silver man.

In this research, Instagram was used as a means for informants to describe their ideal self and freely express themselves and look for other work. Similar things were found

in other research which stated that Instagram usage patterns were related to digital persona and promotion of a person's career (Márquez et al., 2023). So people are often more selective in uploading content and other personal information.

Low self-confidence as a silver person is also related to the stigma that exists in society in general. Goffman explained that problematic self-presentation is a natural thing that occurs if someone feels labeled or degraded socially (Naegele & Goffman, 1956). This refers to the phenomenon of haram fatwas and the labeling of silver men as beggars.

Instagram as a media that relies on visuals can cause emotions as a reaction from its users starting from self-views, self-esteem and the life values of teenagers (Romero Saletti et al., 2022). In this research, Instagram was actually used by informants to maintain their self-esteem while freely displaying their desires.

In previous research, silver men could refer to performing arts. However, in this research, informants

who had limited knowledge did not mention art and interpreted The Silver Men as merely entertainment. Furthermore, regarding stigma, Goffman said that someone will organize information in such a way as to form the impression they want (Griffin, 2012). In this case, the informant regulates his Instagram page by not sharing about his work. Instagram as a social network functions as a personal stage that only shows sides that are considered positive by the informant, for example the activity of playing online games, confiding in matters related to romance and other activities with friends and family. This shows that the informant felt embarrassed by his working conditions as a silver man. Stigma in a group will be related to how it presents itself (Goffman, 1974). Other research shows that stigma in society and how one feels about oneself can be an obstacle in one's self-disclosure process on Instagram (Budenz et al., 2022).

Friends and family as a person's interpersonal circle become a private area where the informant is not allowed to know about the

informant's daily life as a silver person. Friendship is a relationship that always requires mutual openness, trust and acceptance (Wood, 2016). However, in this research the informant hid his status as a silver man to save the impression he wanted to create.

However, the informant stated that he was actually the person he presented on Instagram. This is also related to the separation of the informant from the environment where he comes from. Almost all silver humans are not local residents who live in Solo Raya to become silver humans. This condition is precisely the reason for the informant not to be ashamed of being a silver man because there is a small possibility that the informant will meet a friend or acquaintance on the street by accident.

On the other hand, the informant's meaning of silver man's work is that it is considered temporary work. The research results show that the informants hope not to continue this work for a long time. This is due to the desire to return to his hometown

and open another, more positive business.

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Street Art as Front Stage

The informant's front stage area is divided into setting and personal appearance. This research shows that the informant's setting is a highway filled with road users. The highway was chosen because there are lots of people passing by. In Indonesia itself, highways are one of the favorite spots for asking for donations from beggars, buskers and others. Street corners as a social space become a space where silver humans can survive (Purnomo et al., 2023).

In terms of personal appearance, the informant's silver paint is an important part of the performance. Other research states that the characters played by living institutions will influence and be influenced by the streets (Aslan, 2017). In this research, the informant did not realize the reason why it had to be silver, the informant stated that the silver paint was intended to provide a different color and entertain road users.

This is different from other research which explains that the use of paint is associated with statues which are usually silver or gold in color (Preda, 2023). The living statue performance itself is one of the efforts of memory events to remind road users of heroes or other figures related to the location where the art is displayed.

In this research, the imitation process of one informant with another informant is important. This is because the way to become a silver human is done by imitation. Mead explained that humans have a tendency to carry out an imitation process that is a reaction to the stimulants they see or hear (Mead et al., 2015).

Apart from that, this research also found that informants used more non-verbal language when asking for donations. The use of non-verbal language is related to its function which conveys more meaning than verbal communication (DeVito, 2018). In previous research, it was stated that interactions that occur on the street between beggars and donors are a strategy for getting

money for beggars (Muñoz & Potter, 2014).

In this research, it was also found that there were attempts to disguise the true identity of the informants. This is related to the back stage informant who stated that the informant felt embarrassed about the work he was doing. This shame shows that there is a discrepancy in the informant's interpretation of his attitude in continuing his work as a silver man while hiding what he did previous friends his and to acquaintances.

In the front stage, this research also found team work as a unity between silver man. Goffman stated that in the performance element there needs to be teamwork that supports each other to get a good performance (Naegele & Goffman, 1956).

Like a stage team in a performance, there are clear rules and division of tasks in each group. The existence of this group is also a bridge for the transformation of knowledge from silver man who are considered seniors to their juniors. For example, how to choose paint

and how to clean the paint so that it fades easily. Goffman stated that the front stage contains structural elements where the actors represent the group (Naegele & Goffman, 1956).

F. KESIMPULAN

this research it can concluded that the impression management carried out informants is divided into two, Front and Back Stage. In the front stage, the informant emphasized how designed his appearance through paint and the limitations of using intended language. This is entertain road users and ask for donations. This is different from the concept of living statues as a form of street art in other countries. Apart from that, team work is important in running Silver Man.

In the back stage, this research found inequality. The research results showed that the informant felt embarrassed and hid his job as a silver man on Instagram. However, on the other hand, the informant felt that he had no other choice but to become a silver man to fulfill his

needs and continue his work to this day.

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The limitations of this research relate to the research focus on silver humans as research subjects. Further analyze from research can communicant perspective, namely for example society, society's The Silver acceptance of Men phenomenon.

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