



RUBIKON

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Movement Against the United
States Invasion in Vietnam in the
1960s”**

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YOUTH POLITICAL AND CULTURAL MOVEMENTS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES INVASION IN VIETNAM IN THE 1960S

Agnes Yudita Larasatiningrum

ABSTRACT

History has shown us that the most successful progressive movements have been intergenerational. Thus, this article will deeply examine about youth movements in the U.S specifically on youth movement against the U.S invasion in Vietnam War around 1960s. Vietnam War was the first modern American conflict that seriously affected the United States not only politically, but also socio-culturally. It will be explored how youth generation has become a breakthrough in American history since it was the most significant movement of its kind in the nation's history. According to Karl Mannheim one generation is not fully continuity of the elder generation, but they could be different and challenging the established form. Youth tend to reject the US involvement in the Vietnam War because there is a gap between the ideals they have learned from older generations and the realities they have experienced.

Keywords: U.S. Youth Movement, Vietnam War, and Generational Cohorts.

INTRODUCTION

Society is never static. It is undergoing change and always in a process. Through this process, values are transmitted from one generation to the next, and the infant grows and learns to adapt to his environment. Around the world, the terms 'youth,' 'adolescent,' 'teenager,' and 'young person' are interchanged, often meaning the same thing, but occasionally differentiated. Youth generally refers to a time of life that is neither childhood nor adulthood, but rather somewhere in-between. Since youth is a very influential moment, it is not only a time of transition from infant to adult, but it is also a moment of change, to find their real 'self' among the society.

History has shown to us that the most successful progressive movements have been inter-generational. The youth generation has become such an important to American history. From the earliest days of the Founding Fathers, America

has represented the story of ordinary people who dare to dream of a better way to win in the future. There is no country in this world, which puts freedom and equality above everything else more than the United States. People may have different opinions, but they have grown up believing in the same promise that America is the place where you can make it if you try.

The, historian James Truslow Adams popularized the phrase "American Dream" in his 1931 work *Epic of America* as follows:

That American dream of a better, richer, and happier life for all our citizens of every rank, which is the greatest contribution we have made to the thought and welfare of the world. That dream of hope has been present from the start. Ever since we became an independent nation, each generation has seen an uprising of ordinary Americans to save that dream from the forces,

which appeared to be overwhelming it
(as cited in Baym, 1989, p.13)

It is obvious from the quotation above that the American Dream is the national ethos of the United States in which freedom includes a promise of the possibility of prosperity and success for each generation. As mentioned in the definition of the American Dream by James Truslow Adams, "life should be better and richer and fuller for everyone, with opportunity for each according to ability or achievement" regardless of social class or circumstances of birth.

The idea of the American Dream is also rooted in the United States Declaration of Independence, which proclaims that "all men are created equal" and that they are "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights" including "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." This so-called American pursuit of happiness can be achieved by acquiring the freedom of thought and equality in rights, and also by achieving the dreams of a better life. However, does the American Dream work properly? Do American Citizens get the equal rights in their everyday life? Many issues arise as a result of US incapability to overcome equality and freedom in their daily life. Racism, materialism, and terrorism have haunted the existence of the American Dream itself.

If the U.S. was so great, so rich, such a strong believer in freedom and prosperity, how come black people were denied basic human rights, how come workers were not sharing enough in this prosperity, how come culture was so shallow and decadent and human relations were still fundamentally based on suppressing human freedom, potential, and energy by channeling our minds towards the task of acquiring material status symbols? And finally, how come the U.S.

supported vicious dictators in other countries such as Cuba and Vietnam, supported them to the extreme of killing thousands of workers and peasants and even drafting U.S. youth against their will to protect those corrupt, fascist regimes?

Thus, it was not simply deprivation and oppression that gave rise to rebellion of the youth; it was hope, the belief that what existed did not have to exist and that change was possible. Youth were raised with an ideal value of America as a country of freedom and equality, but in reality they had to face how America conquered other countries with the justification of stopping the spread of communism around the world. Many people felt that it was immoral for the United States to involve itself in another country's internal matters. Furthermore, the youth antiwar movement against US involvement in Vietnam War was the most significant movement of its kind in the nation's history.

The movement among many college students, intellectuals, and youth, was based on sensing the contradiction between the promises of capitalism in the richest country in the world, and the reality of the stupidity, wastefulness, emptiness, and hypocrisy of even "secure middle class" life in the U.S., where success was measured by clothes and cars. Protests against the Vietnam War did not start when America declared her open involvement in the war in 1964. America had been through nearly twenty years of the Cold War and they were told by the government that what was happening in South Vietnam would happen elsewhere (the Domino Theory) unless America used her military might to stop it. Involvement in the Vietnam War was very much sold as a patriotic venture so few were prepared to protest. If there was to be a political protest, it never became apparent in

Congress where the entire House voted to support Johnson and only two Senators voted against US involvement.

The first protests came in October 1965 when the draft was increased. In February 1965, it had only been 3,000 new troops a month but on October, it was increased to 33,000 a month (Spencer, 1998, p. 56). The escalation of war following the August 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident necessitated the drafting of tens of thousands. Until the lottery system was instituted under President Nixon, the men shipped to Vietnam reflected high numbers of minorities and high-school dropouts.

The youth movement's demonstrations soon merged with the protests of students who opposed the Vietnam War. By the spring of 1968, student protests had reached hundreds of campuses. Both the counterculture and student activism, finally, fueled a backlash that blossomed in the 1970s and 1980s.

Vietnam War has added importance also because it was the spark that provided the culture from which many other campaigns sprang. Many other issues flowed from the radicalization and greater political consciousness developed in the movement against the Vietnam War, such as Women's Liberation, the Environmental movement, and Gay liberation.

Furthermore, it is obvious that from the explanation above the youth movement has become a breakthrough in the history of the US. Since the day the first settlers arrived in the new world, took over the land from England, built the nation of freedom and individuality, and finally became one of the most powerful countries in the world, it cannot be denied that youth participation in some periods of American history was very influential. Their roles and

values brought new spirit, which could influence the established system of state administration. It proved the reality that the existence of the young generation is very important, since they can be an agent of change. However, their existence should not be seen from a negative side only, because their action and ideology could open a new perspective which is sometimes missed by the older generation. As a result, this article will deeply examine about the phenomenon of Youth in political and cultural movement in the US, especially their movement against the U.S invasion in Vietnam. History recorded of the Vietnam War can be considered a breakthrough in the decision regarding the state constitution. There was a myth that the anti-war movement was the most important factor in stopping the war, since U.S. leaders lost the American public's support for the war. Furthermore, the Vietnam War was the first modern American conflict that seriously affected the United States not only politically, but also socio-culturally. So this article will also analyze the situation and condition in The United States around 1960's, the phase post World War II which was affected by the great depression until the baby boom generation era, since the writer believes that the sociological situation in the United States at that time gave a big influence toward the youth movement against the U.S. invasion of Vietnam. From the above background, the writer formulates as follows:

1. Why did the youth in the United States run an antiwar movement against the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War?
2. How did the impact of the movements toward the U.S. cultural and political life indeed?

YOUTH AND OPPOSITION TO THE VIETNAM WAR

It is obvious that the Vietnam War was one of the most controversial and opposed wars the United States had ever fought. It divided the nation and a protest movement began. Furthermore, the reasons behind American opposition to the Vietnam War fall into the following main categories: opposition to the draft; moral, legal, and pragmatic arguments against U.S. intervention; reaction to the media portrayal of the devastation in Southeast Asia.

The Draft, as a system of conscription which threatened lower class registrants and middle class registrants alike, drove much of the protest after 1965. Conscientious objectors did play an active role although their numbers were small. The prevailing sentiment that the draft was unfairly administered inflamed blue-collar American opposition and African-American opposition to the military draft itself.

Opposition to the war arose during a time of unprecedented student activism which followed the free speech movement and the civil rights movement. The military draft mobilized the baby boomers who were most at risk, but grew to include a varied cross-section of Americans. The growing opposition to the Vietnam War was partly attributed to greater access to uncensored information presented by the extensive television coverage on the ground in Vietnam.

Beyond opposition to the Draft, anti-war protestors also made moral arguments against the United States' involvement in Vietnam. This moral imperative argument against the war was especially popular among American college students. For example, in an article entitled, "Two Sources of Antiwar Sentiment in America", Schuman (2000) found students were more likely than the general public to accuse the United States of having imperialistic goals in Vietnam. Students in Schuman's study were also

more likely to criticize the war as "immoral." Civilian deaths, which were either downplayed or omitted entirely by the Western media, became a subject of protest when photographic evidence of casualties emerged. In response to these photos William F. Petter wrote that "A million children have been killed or wounded or burned in the war America is carrying on in Vietnam" (as cited in Guttman, 1969, p. 56). An infamous photo of General Nguyễn Ngọc Loan holding a pistol to the head of an alleged terrorist during the Tet Offensive also provoked a public outcry. Another element of the American opposition to the war was the perception that U.S intervention in Vietnam, which had been argued as acceptable due to the Domino Theory and the threat of Communism, was not legally justifiable. Some Americans believed that the Communist threat was used as a scapegoat or even justification to hide imperialistic intentions, while others argued that the American intervention in South Vietnam interfered with the "self-determination" of the country. In other words, the war in Vietnam was a civil war that ought to have determined the fate of the country and, therefore, America had no right to intervene (as cited in Guttman, 1969, p. 63).

Additionally, media coverage of the war in Vietnam shook the faith of citizens at home. That is, new media technologies, like television, brought images of wartime conflict to the kitchen table. To illustrate this claim, Hallin (1996), in his book *The Uncensored War: The Media and Vietnam* cites Mr. Fran McGee, NBC news figure who stated that the war was all but lost as a conclusion to be drawn inescapably from the facts. For the first time in American history the media was privileged to dispense battlefield footage to the public. Graphic footage of casualties on the nightly news eliminated any myth of the glory of war. With no clear sign of

victory in Vietnam, the media images of American military casualties helped to stimulate the opposition of the war among Americans.

YOUTH REVIVAL AS MANIFESTATION OF GENERATIONAL THEORY

In addition to those listed reasons behind American opposition to the Vietnam War such as opposition to the draft, moral arguments against U.S. intervention, and also reaction to the media portrayal of the devastation in Southeast Asia, the writer also analyzes what lies beneath the refusal of the U.S involvement in the Vietnam War. Obviously, it is all about their disappointment toward themselves. History has shown us that there is no country in this world which put freedom and equality above everything besides America. People may have different opinion, but they grow to believe in the same promise that America is the place where you can make it if you try. The American Dream is a national ethos of the United States in which freedom includes a promise of the possibility of prosperity and success. As mentioned in the definition of the American Dream by James Truslow Adams, “life should be better and richer and fuller for everyone, with opportunity for each according to ability or achievement” (as cited in Baym, 1989, p. 13). For many generations and many decades, the American Dream has promised an egalitarian society and material prosperity. American Dream has become the goal of every generation in America. They unite, fight and struggle for the sake of the American Dream, until the Vietnam War happened and destroyed their dream about the reality of the American Dream. It was like a wake up call to differ between what is a dream and what is reality. The Young generation who received the bad impact of the war, for the first time in US history, made some protest against their government. The main reason of their

protested was the unfair draft system, which existed in the Vietnam War era.

The Draft, as a system of conscription, which threatened lower class registrants and middle class registrants alike, drove much of the protest after 1965. Conscientious objectors played an active role although their numbers were small. The prevailing sentiment that the draft was unfairly administered inflamed blue-collar American opposition and African-American opposition to the military draft itself.

Opposition to the war arose during a time of unprecedented student activism which followed the free speech movement and the civil rights movement. The military draft mobilized the baby boomers who were most at risk, but grew to include a varied cross-section of Americans (Schuman, 2000, p. 88). The growing opposition to the Vietnam War was partly attributed to greater access to uncensored information presented by the extensive television coverage on the ground in Vietnam. Youth movements that opposed the Vietnam War had dominated America in the 1960s. Many of the participants in the anti-war movement were young adults who provided rank-and-file members as well as leadership for the movement. The strong representation of young adults in the anti-war movement is typical of many social movements throughout history.

Furthermore, this situation potentially happened because there is a gap between the American dream which was believed by young Americans since they were born and the situation that had to be faced by them as a result of the U.S involvement in the Vietnam War. It simultaneously broke their trust toward their elders. Karl Mannheim in his essay *The Problem of Generation* introduced the idea that young generations are imperfectly socialized

because of a gap between the ideals they have learned from older generations and the realities they experience (Mannheim, 1928/1972). Through a process called intergenerational continuity, children and young teenagers learn values from their parents, and often share similar core ideals through life.

However, beginning around age 17, members of the younger generation experience society differently, leading to a “visible and striking transformation of the consciousness of the individual ... a change not merely in the content of experience, but in the individual's mental and spiritual adjustment,” called this as a fresh contact, suggesting a mechanism to explain how a person develops meaning based on personal experiences within a social context (Mannheim, 1928/1972, p. 25). Until this time, a person's knowledge of societal traditions is gained through the experiences of others rather than through his/her own direct interpretation of events. Fresh contact allows a person to develop his/her own meaning based on personal experiences within the social structure which is necessarily different from other generations.

Driven by the imperatives of biology and social context, generational consciousness involves forming “collective mentalities that mirror a dominant view of the world, reflecting similar attitudes and values and providing a basis for shared action.” These mentalities lead to “continuing practice,” meaning that the unique values formed collectively by a generation continue to influence individual behavior throughout life (Mannheim, 1928/1972, p. 66).

In addition, Edmunds and Turner (2002), in *Generations, Culture and Society*, explored the implications of Mannheim's pivotal essay. Rather than seeing generations as continuations of societal norms, Mannheim portrayed

generations as “sources of opposition, challenging existing societal norms and values and bringing social change through collective generational organization.” Mannheim (1928/1972) stated that generation is a social location that has the potential to affect an individual's consciousness in much the same way as social class. He described an intersection between biology and society in which that “individuals who belong to the same generation, who share the same year of birth, are endowed, to that extent, with a common location in the historical dimension of the social process” (Mannheim, 1928/1972, p. 105).

This situation happened in the U.S. in the 1960s during the post WW II era. It is obvious that the moment of post World War II was an awakening period for the United States in every sector of life. It was also the baby boom generation era, which represented not only in the greatest demographic group but also a shifting ideology. The American teenager has been a source of fascination since the mid-twentieth century. The population surge after WW II resulted in the explosion of teenagers by the 1960s, and young people could not be ignored. This generation inherited the name “baby boomers” (Gale, 2003), describing the largest group of teens ever to hit the united states up to that time. Since then, America crowns each new generation with a similar buzz term, and social commentators offer formulas to capture the essence of each teen set. Baby boomers were said to be action oriented, skeptical of authority, and experimental. They ushered in a sexual revolution, danced to rock n roll, and led a massive protest movement against the Vietnam War.

The word teenager emerged into common language around the time of WW II to describe the high school experience of a new generation

(Palladino, 1996). Teens took the lead, as the number of teenagers began to soar in the late 1950s. From that point forward, teenagers began to shape their own space and chart their own futures without reference to their parents plan. Rejecting the rigid family roles that had shaped adolescent culture since the start of the nineteenth century, they also refused to follow hypocritical social rules that had forced earlier generations to camouflage their real identities and behavior.

Boomers grew up at a time of dramatic social change. In the United States, that social change marked the generation with a strong cultural cleavage, between the proponents of social change and the more conservative. Some analysts believe this cleavage played out politically since the time of the Vietnam War to the mid-2000s, to some extent defining the political landscape and division in the country.

As the baby boom generation veered toward adulthood, its members began to challenge the status quo. By the mid-1960s nearly three out of four students finished high school, and about half of those students went on to college. College campuses filled with young people who had the freedom to question the moral and spiritual health of the nation.

One facet of the youth movement was a disaffected, apolitical counterculture, made up of people who were known as hippies. These young people decried materialism, mocked convention, spurned authority, joined communes, enjoyed rock music, and experimented with drugs and sex. In August 1969 hippies gathered at the Woodstock Festival, a music festival where young people convened to celebrate love and peace with their motto “make love not war” to fight against the

Vietnam War¹ Since the movement against the War in Vietnam was very much a movement of young people, a new movement, these lessons were often rediscovered within and against the old movement. This movement was not instantaneous, there were several factors distinguished the youth movement of the 1960s from the authority-opposition movements of previous eras.

WHAT IS BEHIND AND BEYOND THE OPPOSITION TO THE VIETNAM WAR CONSCRIPTION AND THE LOTTERIES

A lottery drawing-the first since 1942-was held on December 1, 1969, at Selective Service National Headquarters in Washington, D.C. This event determined the order of call for induction during calendar year 1970; that is, for registrants born between January 1, 1944, and December 31, 1950². Reinstitution of the lottery was a change from the "draft the oldest man first" method, which had been the determining method for deciding order of call. There were 366 blue plastic capsules containing birth dates placed in a large glass container and drawn by hand to assign order-of-call numbers to all men within the 18-26 age range specified in Selective Service law. 18 With radio, film, and TV coverage, the capsules were drawn from the container, opened, and the dates inside posted in order. The first capsule - drawn by Congressman

1 “Wood stock Remembered.” Baby Boomer Headquarters. Retrieved from <http://www.bbhq.com/woodstok.htm> on November 3rd, 2011

2 Source: Selective Service System-June 25, 2001 revision. Retrieved from <http://E:/DRAFTSYSTEM/TheMilitaryDraftand1969DraftLotteryfortheVietnamWar.htm> on January 15th, 2011

Alexander Pirnie (R-NY) of the House Armed Services Committee - contained the date September 14, so all men born on September 14 in any year between 1944 and 1950 were assigned lottery number 1. The drawing continued until all days of the year had been paired with sequence numbers.

REGISTRATION AND THE PENALTY

While a draft is not likely, registration for the draft (for males) is a reality. Almost all male U.S. citizens, and male aliens living in the U.S., who are 18 through 25, are required to register with the Selective Service.

CONSEQUENCES FOR NOT REGISTERING³

The maximum penalty for failing to register with Selective Service is a \$250,000 fine and up to five years in prison. Failure to register will cause ineligibility for a number of federal and state benefits including:

- **Federal Jobs**

A man must be registered to be eligible for jobs in the Executive Branch of the Federal government and the U.S. Postal Service. This applies only to men born after December 31, 1959.

- **Student Financial Aid**

Men who are not registered with Selective Service cannot obtain Federal student loans or grants. This includes Pell Grants, College Work Study, Guaranteed Student/Plus Loans, and National Direct Student Loans.

- **Citizenship**

³ Laws regarding failure to register and report to the draft board from the Selective Service System. Retrieved from http://www.afsc.org/youthmil/html/news/may00/resist_prt.htm on January 15th, 2011

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) makes registration with Selective Service a condition for U.S. citizenship, if the man first arrived in the U.S. before his 26th birthday and was required to register.

- **Federal Job Training**

The Workforce Investment Act (formerly JTPA) offers important job-training opportunities. This program is only open to those men who register with the Selective Service.

- **State Jobs, Loans, and Training**

Most states have added additional penalties for those who fail to register with the Selective Service.

- **State driver's License Legislation**

As of May 16, 2002, 19 states, 2 territories, and the District of Columbia have enacted driver's license laws supporting Selective Service registration. They are Oklahoma, Delaware, Arkansas, Utah, Georgia, Hawaii, Alabama, Florida, Colorado, Texas, Louisiana, Illinois, Ohio, South Dakota, Mississippi, Idaho, Virginia, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, and the Virgin Islands.

THE IMPACT OF THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT TOWARD GOVERNMENT DECISION TO COMMIT WITHDRAWAL

The antiwar movement became both more powerful and, at the same time, less cohesive between 1969 and 1973. Most Americans pragmatically opposed escalating the U.S. role in Vietnam, believing the economic cost too high; in November of 1969 a second march on Washington drew an estimated 500,000 participants (DeBenedetti, 1990). At the same time, most disapproved of the counterculture that had arisen alongside the antiwar movement. The clean-cut, well-dressed SDS members, who

had tied their hopes to McCarthy in 1968, were being subordinated as movement leaders. Their replacements deservedly gained less public respect, and were tagged with the label “hippie,” and faced much mainstream opposition from middle-class Americans uncomfortable with the youth culture of the period—long hair, casual drug use, and promiscuity. Protest music, typified by Joan Baez and Bob Dylan, contributed to the gulf between young and old. Cultural and political protest had become inextricably intertwined within the movement's vanguard⁴. The new leaders became increasingly strident, greeting returning soldiers with jeers and taunts, spitting on troops in airports and on public streets. A unique situation arose in which most Americans supported the cause but opposed the leaders, methods, and culture of protest.

The movement regained solidarity following several disturbing incidents. In February 1970 news of the My Lai massacre 1968, when American soldiers opened fire on several hundred women and children in the tiny hamlet of My Lai, became public and ignited widespread outrage. In April President Nixon, who had previously committed to a planned withdrawal, announced that U.S. forces had entered Cambodia (Hammond, 1986). Within minutes of the televised statement, protesters took to the streets with renewed focus. Then, on May 4th, Ohio National Guardsmen fired on a group of student protesters at Kent State University, killing four and wounding sixteen. Death, previously distant, was now close at hand. New groups—Nobel science laureates, State Department officers, the American Civil

⁴ “Scar That-Binds: American Culture and the Vietnam War”. Retrieved from http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3686/is_200004/ai_n8893232 on June 28th, 2011

Liberties Union—all openly called for withdrawal. Congress began threatening the Nixon administration with challenges to presidential authority. When the New York Times published the first installment of the Pentagon Papers on 13 June 1971, Americans became aware of the true nature of the war. Stories of drug trafficking, political assassinations, and indiscriminate bombings led many to believe that military and intelligence services had lost all accountability⁵. Antiwar sentiment, previously tainted with an air of anti-Americanism, became instead a normal reaction against zealous excess. Dissent dominated America; the antiwar cause had become institutionalized. By January 1973, when Nixon announced the effective end of U.S. involvement, he did so in response to a mandate unequalled in modern times. The United States was finally out of Vietnam. But every single one of its political objectives for the region met with failure. Over 55,000 Americans perished fighting the Vietnam War.

THE IMPACT IN THE U.S. POLITIC AND CULTURE

There is a tendency to view the campus anti-war movement in one-sided ways. Some people mistakenly say that that movement was the main force that ended the war. Others say that that movement was irrelevant to anything. The campus movement was not a main force in ending that war, but it was an important force in helping to build anti-imperialist consciousness in general and the communist movement, in particular.

⁵ McMahan, R. J. (n.d). “Changing Interpretations of the Vietnam War”. Retrieved from <http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/vietnam/interpretations.htm> on October 28th, 2011

The campus movement did help spread the idea that the U.S. government was wrong, and that it was good to use militant action to stop the war. To some extent, some members of the working class were influenced by these ideas, and it is probably true that anti-war activities in the U.S. helped develop the anti-Vietnam War consciousness of some of the troops. This was good, but it should not be overestimated. The youth anti-war movement probably helped create a climate in the U.S. that prevented the U.S. ruling class from militarily intervening in Angola in 1975. President Ford wanted such an intervention, but Congress would not appropriate the money⁶. Again, the anti-war sentiment within the military was a much more potent force in preventing a U.S. military adventure in Angola. Besides, the U.S. continued to fund a fascist-terrorist group there to keep the leftist government there from consolidating power for some years, while at the same time, major imperialist oil companies made deals with the leftist Angola government guaranteeing their profits. It was not crucial for the U.S. to invade Angola. Furthermore, the remnants of the anti-war movement were not strong enough to prevent U.S. military action in Panama, Libya, Grenada, Lebanon, and the deployment of a half million troops for a major war in the Persian Gulf.

CONCLUSION

Finally, the anti-war movement helped create a general anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist climate that still exists in the U.S. People are more skeptical of big corporations, of imperialism, and of capitalism. Tens of thousands of people

⁶ Sitikoff, H. (n.d). "The Postwar Impact of

Vietnam." Retrieved from

<http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/vietnam/postwar.htm> on May 1st, 2011)

were affected by that movement and chose jobs in areas such as teaching, where they wanted to continue to spread anti-imperialist, anti-racist ideas. But again, this should not be overestimated. Much of that anti-imperialist sentiment has been tangled up with pacifism, which only disarms the anti-imperialist movement

In the end, what matters is the growth of communist consciousness, the development of a communist movement, and the building of a revolutionary communist party. Thus, that struggle helped the party to sharpen American understanding about what communism is and how to get it. Their line moved further to the left as a result of actual experience. The more they criticized black nationalism, the more successful they became at winning black workers and students to membership and leadership of the party. The more they attacked the international revisionists, the more their international work has grown. American experience with the liberals taught them that they were not simply cowards and sell-outs, unwilling to go all the way; on the contrary, they are willing to fight very hard against and the rest of the working class.

In addition, the youth antiwar movement also gave impact to American culture in many ways. The 60s were the age of youth, as 70 million children from post-war baby boom became teenagers and young adults. The movement away from the conservative fifties continued and eventually resulted in revolutionary ways of thinking and real change in the cultural fabric of American life. No longer has content to be imaged of the generation ahead of them, young people wanted change. The change affected education, values, lifestyles, laws and entertainment. Many of the revolutionary ideas which began in the sixties are continuing to evolve today. In art, a new artist who appeared

was Andy Warhol with his famous style of painting. Art in America of sixties was influenced by desire to move into modern age or future which the space age seemed so forecast. In music, there was nothing as special as the phenomenon of MTV. Music in America reached its peak level in popularity. Different from their conservative elder which more prefer with folk or gospel, young American tried to explore their music by making such controversial lyrics which showing violence, vulgarity, profanity and also blasphemy. It was the moment of freedom of expression. Nevertheless, being afraid of the bad impact of this phenomenon, government under the approval of the congress published the new regulation named 'parental advisory' which required the musicians to put this label in every lyric which contain harmful effect toward the underage listener.

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THE IDEOLOGY OF MINORITY: A TRANSNATIONAL STUDY OF THE AMERICAN NEW LEFT IN 1960S

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ABSTRACT

Student organizations have been acknowledged as vanguards and agents of social and political change in some parts of the world. In America, the dynamic student organizations cannot be set apart from American history. The upheaval of the 1960s signaled the advent of the New Left movement, comprising the Free Speech Movement (FSM) and Students for A Democratic Society (SDS). While, in the Indonesian experience, there was somewhat of a similarity of thought and spirit related with the role of student movements historically. Therefore, the study is intended to discover the emergence of the New Left in Europe and America, and expose the cultural hybridity-similarities and reasons of occurrence-of the American New Left and Indonesian student movement in the 1970s. This research is written under the American Studies discipline, specifically related to Transnational American Studies by employing cultural hybridity and border discourse. The finding shows that the ideology of the American New Left in the 1960s comprises of a means of globalizing the New Left in Europe and America, involving the universal ideas of inequality, communication, people migration, and social phenomena in the 1960s and the cultural hybridity of the ideology of the American New Left in the 1960s and the Indonesian student movement of the 1970s evidently showing that the New Left is a 'third ideology' by resisting two globalized ideologies during the 1960s, capitalism and communism. In addition, the locality or sustained values, which are democracy and social justice and the universal values shared of the American New Left, FSM and SDS, and the Indonesian student movement in the 1970s are anti-establishment and anti-capitalistic society.

Keywords: New Left, ideology, cultural hybridity, border discourse, minority.

INTRODUCTION

In some parts of the world, the role of youth, specifically of college students, has been acknowledged as the vanguard of social and political change. Historically, in times of crisis, student activism has performed a crucial action in the realm of social change. As Jerkins and Klandermans (1995) have confirmed that, "the student movement was characterized by confrontational behavior and disruptive actions with some episodes of mass violence mixed in. Conflicts were framed in a revolutionary perspective, with an optimistic image of the future and hopes for fundamental political changes" (p. 125). Likewise, Omatsu

(2002) argued that, "student activism has often served as the conscience for nations, reminding people in times of turmoil of the founding ideals of their countries and the aspirations of all people for justice, dignity, and equality" (p. 1). Rootes (2014) has argued as well that, "student movements, hence, have emerged in all manner of modern and modernizing societies, often as agents of change, sometimes in reaction against change, but usually as challengers of regimes perceived to lack legitimacy or moral authority (p. 4864).

In America, the dynamic student organizations cannot be set apart from American history.

Initially, the history of student protest occurred long before the upheaval in the 1960s. It dealt with several social issues during the 19th century. During the 1960s, the student organizations' protests were depicted as the age of revolt committed by American students because they voiced a need for more attention to social justice and sought reform of the American government. The main concerns of the student organizations were racial injustice, suffered by the Black people, and the end of the Vietnam War. The revolt by American college students or youth had also contributed to changing and shaping American culture and influenced the course of America's political policies globally (Spielvogel, 2009). Consequently, the student organizations, viewed from their political and social action, are affiliated with and classified into the New Left, which was one of the significant phenomena in the 1960s.

Etymology, the term of the New Left can be traced back to the journals of the British New Left in the first issue of *Universities & Left Review* in 1957. French contributor, Claude Bourdet's article, "The French Left: Long-run Trends", contained the first use of the term as a reference to third-way socialist movements that sought to occupy the space between Communism and social democracy. The term was then adopted by the intellectuals of the First New Left in Britain and other "New Lefts" in Europe and America (Thurman, 2011). Rossinow (2010) explained that "the New Left in America is as the result of the French Revolution and the 'left' protest on social inequality and labor exploitation during World War II...the New Left emerged as a political force to change American social and political life" (p. 539). From a previous notion, it clearly highlights that the development of the New Left in America in the 1960s is related with some college student movements by its massive and rapid development, and, eventually, it merged and

united with other racial or ethnic movements. This can be said to have correlation with previous years, post World War II, baby boom, and popular culture (invention of the movie, radio and television) and the emergence of the middle class in America.

What occurred in America in the 1960s had much to do with the role of minorities in redirecting and putting the initial values that Americans believed back to the course. The student organizations merged into one ideology called the New Left. Such ideology carrying certain values was believed to be a solution to issues by people faced at the time. However, ideology is not merely arisen from self-faith resulting from wistful thinking of social phenomenon, but also comes from other powerful forces penetrating society, and then society feels and comprehends the truth of such ideology. The debate on ideology itself is started as a critique over capitalism in terms of mode of production. As Karl Marx and Frederick Engels argued in *The German Ideology*,

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class, which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those lack means of mental production are subject to it. (as cited in Eatwell and Wright 1993, p. 9)

In its process, Althusser has defined that ideology works under our consciousness,

In ideology, 'people represent (in imaginary form) their real conditions of existence'...what is reflected in the imaginary representation of the world found in an ideology is people's conditions of existence, hence their real world... 'people' do not

‘represent’ their real conditions of existence in ideology (religious ideology or some other kind), but, above all, their relation to those real conditions of existence. (as cited in Storey, 2009, pp. 233-236)

Similarly, Gramsci (1971) stated that, “ideologies are historically necessary they have a validity, which is ‘psychological’; they ‘organize’ human masses, and create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc.” (p. 707).

However, the New Left flourished in some countries and there are distinct aspects between one and the other. In Western hemisphere, Farred (2000) conveyed that, “the emerging of British New Left is a response of Britain’s imperialism in the Middle East and Asian and the invasion of Soviet Union’s Red Army, whereas the American New Left during 1960s is much to do with students disobedience fueled by racial issues” (p. 628). Similar with the Western New Left rejecting the traditional Marxism and proposing a new approach to the current global issue, Steinhoff (2013) mentioned, “The [Japanese] New Left emerged from the 1960 Ampo protests. By the mid - 1960s the major national New Left organizations began rebuilding their campus base in preparation for protests against the 1970 renewal of the US – Japan Joint Security Treaty (pp. 130-131). In China, the New Left had a result of opposing economic views and, even, the New Left is categorized within the China’s left-wing. Yet, the China New left was more ‘keeping up with current issue’ by adopting postmodernism as their approach and most of them are intellectuals and Western graduated scholars (Freeman III & Yuan, 2012).

Meanwhile, the Indonesia and American experience were somewhat similar in relation to the role of student organizations

historically. Initially, it was described that the student organizations, in both America and other countries, had a crucial stance in reforming and changing the social and political course of society and government. Similarly, in Indonesia, the student organizations had an important role as well in providing and opening the wind of change. Historically, from 1908 up to 1998, Indonesian students were involved in political actions intensively concerning social unrest within Indonesian society. Post-1908, the role of youth and college student was shown by the emergence of the movement generation in 1966. This student movement of 1966 had succeeded in overthrowing Old Order and replacing it with the New Order. As time passed, the student movement of ‘78 emerged as a resisting force of student depolitization.

From above issues, this research is significantly important in attempting to highlight and reveal the correlation between the American New Left, the European New Left, and the Indonesian student movement in the 1970s under Transnational American Studies. As historical fact, the presence of Transnational American Studies itself has admittedly emerged as the consequence of the upheaval decade in America during the 1960s. The anti-War movement, especially against the Vietnam War, as well as civil rights movements have boosted the emergence of new American Studies dealing with the involvement of America in the global situation (Fishkin, 2005). In the Transnational American Studies, the exporting of America myth-values imposed and endorsed globally, such as self-reliance, individualism, masculine potency, technical ingenuity, and perseverance, has been challenged and criticized since post World War II era and the rapid development of globalization in the early twentieth century. The role of literature has provided a powerful tool in ‘internal colonization’ (Rowe, 2000). In same vein, the

article entitled Transnationalism in American Studies has elucidated that,

The 'transnational turn' is a reaffirmation of the reality of American life and identity in a global age, and a rediscovery of the heritage of such connections. A transnational model provides tools to tie together these different strands—historical, ideological, and operational—and shed new light on the relevance of the larger field of American studies. (Robinson, 2014)

The emergence of transnationalism in American Studies is the result of significant roles of America in the global context, analyzed through varied premises of disciplines in line with the wide spread and endless interchanged information as well as mobilization of people. Vertovec (1999) argued that, "Transnational American Studies is to study the role of the United States of America globally or view America from different angles by several discipline theories...Transnationalism describes a condition in which, despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders" (p. 1).

Specifically, Transnational American Studies employs cultural hybridity and border discourse. Nederveen (2006) argued, "hybridization is defined as 'the ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with the new forms in new practices'" (p. 662). He, then, elaborated the concept of globalization and the nature of hybridity as,

...hybridization is the making of global culture as a global *mélange*. As a category, hybridity serves a purpose based on assumption of difference between the categories, forms, beliefs that go into the mixture. Yet the very process of hybridization shows the difference to be relative and, with a

slight shift of perspective, the relationship can also be described in terms of an affirmation of similarity (Nederveen, 2006, p. 672).

In the bottom line, cultural hybridity is a joint combination of two different cultures with their own characteristic in terms of forming a new culture in certain location or area. Furthermore, the existence and role of America across the globe has resulted in the close relation of the public sphere. Regarding the public sphere, Berger (2006) has argued that, "the public sphere, then, is the infrastructure that enables various publics to debate, dialogue, and demand things of the state, should they so choose" (p. 46). As in his concluding remark, similarly, Fishkin (2005) summed up that by searching and building its identity as nation and culture, America has evidently become the crossing point of varied cultures,

The United States is and has always been a transnational crossroads of cultures...Reading Thoreau helped inspire Gandhi to develop his own brand of civil disobedience, which crossed the Pacific to inspire the civil rights movement; the idea of dissent through civil disobedience as particularly American resurfaced in Asia when Tiananmen Square protesters used the Statue of Liberty as a symbol. (p. 43)

Dealing with the discourse, Lam (2004) observed that, "the term discourse refers to the ways in which spoken and written language is used by specific groups of people to construct realities for themselves, based on their shared values, beliefs and historical experiences—their shared culture" (p. 2). In exploring the cultural aspects of transnational connections, Edward Said has long argued that,

The transmutation and hybridization of cultural identity, and the syncretic perspective that arises from it, can

constitute a new space for the study of culture. The colonial subjects, having their precolonial nature unsettled by imperialism, developed a “second nature” in the midst of cultural contact and living under domination. (as cited in Lam, 2004, pp. 4 - 5)

Therefore, based on background previously mentioned, the study of student organizations as social change in several parts of the countries is significant to conduct since in every stage of social change the student organizations have been a driving force to make such changes within a particular society. In detail, this research has dealt with the student organizations in America being part of the American New Left during the 1960s, comprising of the Free Speech Movement (FSM) in Berkeley and Students for A Democratic Society (SDS) in Michigan. Since this research is under Transnational American Studies, it tries to reveal the interconnectedness of the American New Left with European New Left as well as the Indonesian student movement in the 1970s.

METHODOLOGY

This study is under American Studies specifying on Transnational American Studies. It employs interdisciplinary research relying heavily on the constructivist paradigm in which the methodologically qualitative method is used in gathering and analyzing the data. Qualitative research, as Creswell (2009) has pointed out, “is a form of interpretive inquiry in which researchers make an interpretation of what they see, hear, and understand. Their interpretations cannot be separated from their own backgrounds, history, contexts, and prior understandings” (p. 212).

There are three parts of the research process. First, it organizes a proposal design to formulate the theme, theories, and method

used in the research. Second, it is data collection, data processing, and data analyzing. Data is collected from articles, reports, memoirs, government documents, newspapers, and notes concerning the student organizations, the Free Student Movement (FSM) and Students for A Democratic Society (SDS), taking part in the American New Left in the 1960s. The secondary data is concerned with the European New Left and Indonesian student movement in the 1970s by using newspapers, articles, and books related with the initial issue. Most of the data, journals, articles, government reports, and books are downloaded from the internet and some of it is borrowed from the university library.

After the data is collected in the table database, the next step is data analyzing. In analyzing the data, the researcher uses descriptively qualitative approach, which stresses the subjective interpretation. As Creswell (2003) points out, “interpretative research, with the inquirer typically involved in a sustained and intensive experience with participants...inquirers explicitly identify reflexively their biases, values, and personal background, such as gender, history, culture, and socioeconomic status” (p. 214). Thus, the interpretation of data is closely related with the interpretative design, stressing on the writer’s interpretation. In analyzing, the data analysis is endorsed by theory of ideology, minority, and cultural hybridity and border discourse in the Transnational American Studies. Thus, the researcher identifies the analysis result and makes the conclusion based on it. Particularly, the conclusion made is based on answering the objective of the problem, whether or not answers the objective of the problem.

DISCUSSION

In globalization, the firmed and strict border of nations is eroded gradually. Globalization

has brought a borderless relationship with information, migration, capital, and ideas including cultural contact. Specifically, the globalization poses two opposing poles, one is expanding capital markets globally and the other is the new form of cooperation and collaboration stretching across nations (Smith B., 2010). Other important phenomenon in globalization is how student movements also became globalizing phenomena in every stage of 'social and cultural revolution'. This is clearly seen in the case of the New Left.

The ideology of the New Left emerged in line with the uprising of the students' consciousness regarding the dissatisfaction over the values the older generation set up and maintained initially. The spreading ideology of the New Left in the 1960s is evidently a notion of 'border studies' in which there is a reconsideration of national cultural boundaries (Rowe, 2000). In this reconsideration, globalization has grounded a medium of global integration in terms of migration and communication (Kearney, 1995). Consequently, global integration concerns with sociocultural globalization and transnational migration of individuals and groups creating such ideologies, identities, and cultures crossing national boundaries (Smith, 2004).

A MEANS OF GLOBALIZING THE NEW LEFT

The emergence of the New Left has to do with the interconnectedness of what happened during post-World War II and Cold War in Europe and America. In this era, some leftist intellectuals needed to form a 'new ideology' to criticize two determining ideologies, capitalism and communism. They thought the reality built and set within capitalism and communism had brought catastrophe into the human's life lived under. Under the ideology of capitalism and communism, either America

or the Soviet Union expands, imposes, and exports competitively their power around the globe. The possession of tremendous materials, including mode of production, led America and the Soviet Union to exercise its crucial control and role over other nations. In criticizing communism, the advent of the New Left is admittedly a reaction of socialists toward Stalinism and it was marked by a 'thirst of power' of communism under Stalin by invading Hungary to be the Soviet Union's next satellite country.

The inequality the New Left tried to protest and criticize is more deeply rooted in the dehumanized ideology of capitalism and communism in providing equal treatment of the freedom of being humans. The resistance and consciousness of this inequality were an indispensable part of redirecting concepts of the New Left. For example, in the Soviet Union, Khrushchev condemned the Stalin administration on the tank invasion of the Red Army in Hungary. In France, Jean-Paul Sartre walked out from the French Communist party, in England, the establishment of the journals Universities and Left Review and The New Reasoner merged as the New Left Review in its further development. In China, Mao Tsetung made a 'Marxism reformation' caused by the hegemonic Communism made by Soviet Union and European's elite comrades. In addition, in the American continent, Fidel Castro, strongly influenced by his interpretation of Marxism and applied in the Latin America's socio and geo-politic, launched a 'people revolution,' and the civil rights beliefs of Martin Luther King launched a bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama (Lynd, 1969). As a result, the term of New Left taken from *France Observateur* of which Claude Bourdet was the editor who tried to propose an alternative to directing the course of the Left, especially in Europe politics, means as a 'third way.' This 'third way' locates the New Left in two prominent Left

ideologies, Stalinism and social democracy (Hall, 2010).

The spread of the ideology of the New Left is through communication. The communication becomes a significant means of globalizing the New left ideology since it is the medium of interchange regarding ideas, beliefs, and values. The importance of communication in globalizing the New Left, for example, can be seen from the first establishment of the New Left regarding the turmoil of global events during the 1960s. The crucial date of the upheaval of the 1960s in European countries started on Tuesday, October 30th, 1956 occurred in Africa, Egypt, and Europe, specifically Budapest, Hungary (Horn, 2007). Moreover, the 'first' New Left was born in 1956, a conjuncture bounded on one side by the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution by Soviet tanks and on the other by the British and French invasion of the Suez Canal zone (Hall, 2010, p. 177).

Meanwhile, the exchange of communication in political activity, the prior establishment of the New Left in France was signaled by 'a party fusion.' It was conducted by "the *Union de la Gauche Socialiste and the Mouvement de Liberation du Peuple* and *Jeune Republique* with the *Nouvelle Gauche* and a few rebels of the *Socialist Party/Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière* (SFIO) in December 1957" (Micoud, 1958). However, the New Left opposed the significantly tripolar political orientations, liberalism, social democracy, and Marxism based Stalin, and the New Left deeply proposed the tenet of liberalism, social democracy and pseudo-communism in social practices and actions (Levitt, 1979).

Going beyond France's border, the similar vision of party fusion was borrowed by the British Labor Party. Likewise, its France counterpart, the British Labor Party used this

'third way' of political course to differentiate and criticize the commando line of the traditional Marxism in England. Contrastingly, the incoming of the New Left idea in England itself had abundant interpretations among Marxism revisionists. According to Horn (2007), the emergence of the New Left as an alternative for the British Labour Party has been reported by Miliband, arguing

'Labour's campaign came to an end as abruptly as the Government's military operations, and Labour pressure upon the government soon subsided altogether.' The lessons of the Suez Crisis and the opposition movement in Britain became one of two key factors explaining the subsequent emergence of a British new left. (as cited in Horn, 2007, p. 133)

The inequality that the Britain New Left spoke about was influenced by the developing of capitalistic society in the Britain that had entered into the modernity phase, resulting from its rapid and advanced industrial country. It links the connection between the influences of political nuance that Capitalism has built with the cultural values that the capitalistic society has to set forth. One of the values is modernity. According to Raymond Williams in his essay entitled *Long Revolution* (1961), it "requires new ways of thinking and feeling, new conceptions of relationships" (as cited in Rutherford, 2013, p. 11). Raymond Williams, a member of the *New Left Review* and the *New Left* activist, has made several criticism and revisions on the battle over high culture and proposed the new look of more democratic and humanism cultural tendency under the new condition. In his essay *Culture and Society*, Raymond Williams made two major criticisms of Marx and his British admirers. First, Williams detected confusion on the question of 'structure and superstructure'. Second,

Williams charged that Marxist writers tended to use terms like 'art' and 'culture' in the narrow and restrictive sense. The 'revolution' that the New Left attempted is not merely on its political sphere. Regarding the capitalism's impacts on society, the culture itself has been transformed into the new one, and for intellectuals in the New Left it is necessary to put a new outlook in order to scrutinize and analyze the cultural effect of post-industrial society (Sparks, 1996, pp. 73-74).

The language of inequality, communication, and social issues of which the British New Left has set forth, thus, expanded its boundary heading the Atlantic Ocean toward America. Within the border discourse concept, the phenomena of the New Left in Europe during the end of the Fifties evidently crossed its border since there was an migration of several European intellectuals under the flag of the Frankfurt School and some rebellious poets from Europe. It can be revealed that the incoming of Jack Kerouac and the Beat poets, and the existentialism brought by John Paul Sartre directly influenced the discontent during the Sixties in America by giving-birth the movement called New Left (Newfield, 1966). As a consequence, the birth of the New Left itself, globally, provided tremendous effect toward the social movement in other parts of the hemisphere. As Levitt (1979) argued,

The New Left was a phenomenon, which belonged to the decade of the sixties... It was a movement of youth led by students from the universities and colleges. It was a global phenomenon, even though international attention was drawn to the movements in the powerful industrial countries of the West and Far East. (p. 642)

The Frankfurt School provided tremendous role in influencing and providing groundwork for the American New Left. The Frankfurt

School aimed and targeted to criticize the new form of Capitalism in America. It was believed that Capitalism had a catastrophic effect on society's life. It was stated in the New Left May Day Manifesto, stating that, "modernization is, indeed, the 'theology' of the new capitalism. It opens up a perspective of change - but at the same time, it mystifies the process, and sets limits to it" (Hall, Williams, & Thompson, 1967, p. 6). As consequence, a political consensus conducted in political activity is just manipulative and democracy is merely a negotiable and maneuvered. Typically, the New Left is a moral political activity demanding radical democracy and socialism. Nonetheless, the New Left developed in different countries has distinguished features. According to Farred (2000),

The emerging of British New Left is a response of Britain's imperialism in the Middle East and Asian and the invasion of Soviet Union's Red Army, whereas the American New Left during 1960s is much to do with students disobedience fueled by racial issues. (p. 628)

In their departure in a more advanced American society, the Frankfurt School scholars had seen the significant social phenomena during the 1950s. The birth of the New left in America, then, was crucial since the New Left in the Sixties was a rebellion action toward the authoritative politics and culture style in the Fifties (Goose, 2005). The social phenomena endorsing the advent of the American New Left was based on the condition of Americans during the 1950s who enjoyed their economic prosperity after World War II and experienced the baby boom after the withdrawing the US Army from Europe. The economic surplus and rapid industrial development since the end of World War II was reflected in their income and expense in purchasing goods and services which were

abundant in that period. The increasing income and economic surplus meant that the Americans could buy the things they wanted at that period. At the same time, the numerous goods production as well as services had spoiled and pleased the American desires. As consequence, this peace and well-being brought about the emergence of the new class in American society structure, called the affluent middle class. According to Gitlin (1987),

The word 'Affluence' connotes of flow, flux, fullness. The word had already achieved currency by the time John Kenneth Galbraith published the bestselling *The Affluent Society* in 195; it was far more American than 'rich,' harnessed as that brutal syllable is to its natural counterpart, 'poor,' thus bringing inequality to mind. (p. 20)

Social issues the Frankfurt School tried to criticized concerned with the impact of the puritanical values that the 1950s generation had built. In the preface of *The Sense of the Sixties*, Quinn and Dolan (1968) stated, "the Fifties had been a period in which the key word had been security, personal and corporate, internal and external" (p. 1). The security most Americans experienced was well-portrayed in the domestic policies, such as the enactment of the GI Bill allowing the numerous number of war veterans to attend college, and census bureau issuing hundreds of marriage certificate for couples resulting in an increase in pregnancy. In short, in the 1950s, the baby population was more than eight million (Anderson, 2012). This explosion of population consequently had domino effects that, "the federal government helped establishing guaranteed housing loans for veterans and construction companies addressed the crisis by doubling housing starts between 1946-1950" (Anderson, 2012, p. 2). These developments were also followed by

the mass media industries growth as well as the inventions of several handy machines to serve and ease the American necessities. Starting with the invention of radio in the 1930s and '40s and followed by the invention of television in the 1950s, the American curiosity, "grew larger, rates increased, and agencies were pocketing 15 percent of much larger advertising budgets" (Cappo, 2003, p. 30).

In the American experience, the New Left had mentioned their dissatisfaction over inequality, same as their counterpart in Britain. It was regarded with the segregation laws, and reached its climax in 1954. Led by the NAACP's Legal Defense and Education Fund, Blacks fought against the segregated public schools and decision of the Warren Supreme Court. *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* was issued. However, it was only the beginning of beginning of the civil rights movement conducted in the Sixties. Blacks were still struggling to achieve equality in every life sector (Unger & Unger, 1998).

The American New Left, then, widened its criticism over another social issue. It was about women's issues during the Fifties. During the Fifties, there were a large number of women attending college, workplace, and at once the women also had to care for their husbands and children. The survey conducted by Redbook found out that "many young wives were desperately anxious and dissatisfied, mostly because of the crushing commitment to home and community" (Anderson, 2012, p. 9). The Fifties' good time was the tip of the social issues' iceberg. Beneath this iceberg, the 'clicking social distress' soon erupted in the early Sixties. Then, these social distresses initially were the social change of American women, enactment of strict laws in managing American personal life, and ignited by the uneven prosperity distribution that the Black minority

experienced during the peaceful Fifties. For instance, the impact of advertising in reinforcing traditional sex roles and stereotypes, Lucy Komisar argued,

Advertising is an insidious propaganda machine for a male supremacist society...[It] legitimizes the idealized, stereotyped roles of woman as temptress, wife, mother, and sex object, and portrays women as less intelligent and more dependent than men...It creates false, unreal images of women that reflect males' fantasies rather than flesh and blood human beings. (as cited in Parillo, 1985, p. 433)

Mostly advertising and television programs during the Fifties tried to 'mold' an ideal woman. These mass media became hegemony tools in establishing dominant power and at the same time, the dominant power possessed a huge amount of modes of production. The women as a stereotyping object and the wage disparities experienced became an issue Betty Friedman voiced in *The Feminine Mystique* that focused exclusively on the problems of the suburban housewife. Later on, she wrote in *Mademoiselle*, *McCall's* and *Ladies Home Journal* aimed for the middle-class and this received public attention and widely spread as a national issue (Halliwell, 2007).

The American New Left, concerning with political activity in a way to protest and question the American Government, was the social phenomena resulted from various aggregated social issues in several regions in America. It was related mostly with American youth and what they experienced due to the paradox of the Fifties. Newfield (1966) affirmed, "a phenomenon of students rejecting the dominant values of their parents and their country; becoming alienated, ...political,... active, ...radical; protesting against Elite, Mailer's Cancerous Totalitarianism;... irrational anti-Communism, nuclear

weaponry, the lies of statesmen, the hypocrisy of laws against narcotics and abortion" (p. 21). Hence, according to Teoderri (1969), the notion of the New Left was derived from the two combining words, the word 'new' and 'left,'

The adjective 'new' is first, but not principally, used to designate the contrast between the political phenomenon that developed during the 1960s and the political movements of the 1930s...whose forms were communist, socialist of various kinds and, to a lesser extent, anarcho-syndicalist and whose organized expression took place essentially through the labor movement. (p. 34)

From above notions, it can be said that the New Left was a critique of the evolutionarily growing capitalism resulted from the rapid development of industry and was a response to the cultural implication of capitalism toward the Western society post – industrial, particularly in Britain. Hence, as it grew rapidly, the industrial capitalism formed a new class structure within the capitalistic society. Affected by political activity of the New Left, the emerging of the new affluent middle class under capitalism brought a new direction in shaping society's culture in the industrial realm and postwar. To sum up, the New Left was an opposing movement to criticize and 'purify' the traditional Marxism since it was, regarding the '1956' event, out-modeled with the current life and proved unworkable to counter evolved Capitalism in the post-industrial society of the Western hemispheric (Ruether, 1969) or an 'offshoot of Left' (Jha, 1978).

THE HYBRIDITY OF THE NEW LEFT

In America, the 1960s became pivotal and dynamic years in term of social, cultural and

political issues. In the social area, the 1960s was a breeding ground of social unrests. The university students and American youth began to question the world they lived in America. Many students saw the injustice anywhere, the massive and intense advertisement commercials which bombarded their daily lives, the tight competition among American people to gain the so-called American Dream was inherently transmitted from their parents, and the traditional values were dogmatized by the generation of the baby boomers.

Thus, the cultural hybridity concerning the New Left which occurred in the student organizations, Free Speech Movement (FSM) and Students for A Democratic Society (SDS), dealt with several forms. In organizational form, the member of student organizations involved in the New Left were derived mostly of them from the middle class. The rebellion of the middle class student organizations, Free Speech Movement (FSM) and Students for A Democratic Society (SDS), resulted from the social phenomena within the advanced industrial growth resulting in mass production requiring the form of mass consumption which had dramatically transformed the Western society into the post-industrial age. The danger of advertisement was clearly seen by some social movements and they believed the impact of consumerism would erase traditional values and cultures. Many of the social movements conducted in various countries were driven and organized by students. The agent of social change was labeled for years as the students. As Goose (2005) stated, “from the 1950s through the 1970s, a series of social movements surged across America, radically changing the relationship between white people and people of color, how the U.S. government conducts foreign policy and the popular consensus regarding gender and sexuality” (p. 2).

In its organizational form, the FSM is “an ‘organized-disorganized-unorganized’

structure which served the needs of a movement-in-action, representing the interests and desires of its constituents and governed internally by participatory democracy without predetermined leadership” (Teoderri, 1969, p. 26). Officially, the form of the Free Speech Movement based on the President’s Commission on Campus Unrest (1970) was, “unlike traditional campus political organizations, but like the civil rights movement, the FSM emphasized reaching decisions by group consensus and mass meetings and avoided bureaucratic organization...key tactical decisions were made at critical moments by a small group of leaders (p. 27). Further, Draper (1965) mentioned that the Free Speech Movement consisted of,

Representatives of United Front of clubs organized and constituted the Free Speech Movement...as temporary fighting formation, not a permanent organization. Organizationally, the body of club representatives became the Executive Committee, and a smaller Steering Committee was elected as the day-to-day leadership...a meeting was called for ‘Independents,’ attended by several hundreds, who elected representatives. (pp. 71-73)

In addition, the non-political ideology the Free Speech Movement (FSM) conducted was also implied in its organizational structure. Teoderri (1969) stated,

Its steering committee, on which all the groups supporting the goal of ‘free speech’ were represented, had a shifting membership, and it operated through ‘work centrals.’ But the outstanding characteristic of the movement’s internal structure was the dissolving of organized politico-ideological boundaries during the meetings, where, in the course of long discussions, political goals were

formulated and decisions made. (p. 26)

In order to connect what the students of FSM did with the real world they lived in (Fincher, 1965), the Free Speech Movement (FSM) took sit-in technique. The sit-in technique was adapted from the civil rights movement applied by Martin Luther King Jr. in Montgomery, Alabama and the famous Ms Rosa Parks' action in riding bus. Hence, this technique was performed by a student movement demanding their rights (Newfield, 1966). In addition, on February 1st, 1960, four famous Negro students of Greensboro, North Carolina, launched a sit-in protest in a white lunch counter in Woolworth to demand a lunch serving. However, these four Negro students were arrested by the South police. Later on, the news was spread heavily throughout the South, and nationwide (Freeman, 2004).

Inspired by the Greensboro sit-in, later on, the sit-in technique was adopted by the Free Speech Movement. In September and October 1964, the Berkeley students launched the sit-in to protest, "the rules prohibiting the holding of meetings on campus, soliciting funds, making speeches, distributing leaflets or setting up tables with political material, the students created a united front of all political organizations, and demanded free speech" (Teoderri, 1969, p. 26). Additionally, Freeman (2004) announced,

The rally tree became Picket Central, with a blackboard listing assignments, instructions for picketers, plus posterboard and marking pens for students to make their own signs. Every campus entrance and every building where undergraduates took most of their classes had a picket line. About 40 percent of all students actively supported the strike; 15 percent actively opposed it. (p. 216)

Another student organization involved in the New Left in America during the Sixties was Students for A Democratic Society (SDS). "The New Left was loosely organized, although it featured one important national organization, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which existed from 1960 to 1969" (Kazin, et al, 2010, p. 540). The SDS saw that in the early 1960s there was a tremendous disparity of wealth which American experienced despite its growing mass production and consumption. For example, Michael Harrington's *The Other America* revealed the persistence of poverty amid plenty. Harrington revealed,

40 to 50 million Americans lived in poverty, often in isolated rural areas or urban slums "invisible" to the middle class...technological improvements like the mechanization of agriculture and the automation of industry, which produced a higher standard of living overall, eliminated the jobs of farm laborers and unskilled workers, locking them in poverty. (as cited in Foner, 2011, p. 1049)

In order to respond to several issues of social and political, hence, Students for A Democratic Society (SDS) was formed to answer social problems resulted from the wide gap of income and wealth suffered by American minority, including white poor people and their mission was to make social transformation (Teoderri, 1969). To promote the vision and mission in social transformation in American society, the SDS formulated the Port Huron Statement drafted by Tom Hayden. The Port Huron Statement became the most inspiring feature by claiming to speak for alienated youth in Cold War America. In its opening words, it declared, "We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit" (Goose, 2005, p. 69). The

values promoted by the New Left values were the term of participatory democracy, drafted by Tom Hayden as well in the 1962 Port Huron Statement which was “an easy concept for Americans to understand, because the vision of a society administered by direct town-meeting-style democracy is widespread on both Right and Left” (Lynd, 1969, p. 69). Particularly, in its most famous lines of the Port Huron Statement,

We seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation, governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation. (SDS, http://www.sds-1960s.org/port_huron_statement)

According to the above citation, Goose (2005) asserted that, “this was a new politics, somewhere between liberalism and radicalism, non-Marxist but open to socialist analysis, and focused on a total democratization of society—the economy, schools, and governmental institutions” (p. 69). Thus, in 1963, the SDS founded ERAP (The Economic Research and Action Project) to anticipate the worse effect of the American crisis during the Vietnam War domestically. The ERAP project in 1964-65 emphasized on establishing ‘community unions’ (O’Brien, 1968).

Both student organizations’ struggles, the Free Speech Movement (FSM) and Students for A Democratic Society (SDS), demonstrated that their beliefs and ideas related to moral and ethical visions in social and political issues could attract attention of several students and minorities to adhere and join their struggle in criticizing social issues experienced by American minorities and redefining the American government politically. Therefore,

it is in line with ideology stated by Mannheim (1954) that the ideology both particular and total has an idea to function of people who hold particular ideology related with their position in reality. As result, ideologies, as psychological effect, are necessary to shape, unify and drive mass consciousness in order to voice and struggle for their rights (Gramsci, 1971). In short, according to Althusser, “in ideology men . . . express, not the relation between them and their conditions of existence, but the way they live in relation between them and their conditions of existence” (as cited in Storey, 2009, p. 71).

Transnationally, the student movement in Indonesia played an integral part in the history of Indonesian Independence as well as political changes. The role of Indonesian student movements, then, can be seen in the overthrowing of the Soekarno administration. The main reason was that President Soekarno was likely to maintain and defend his authority by proposing the Draft of a lifetime President within the Indonesian Basic Constitution of 1945. Another reason why the Indonesian student movement in 1960s strived against Soekarno’s authority was a mutual relationship with the communism axis of Moscow-Peking. The Soviet and Peking connection with President Soekarno was viewed by some nationalists and America as a red alert of the growing influence of communism in Indonesian politics. Consequently, there was a bloody revolution, some historians called it a coup de etat, nationally known as September 30th, 1965 (Wood, 2005). It was marked the falling of President Soekarno from its ‘lifetime presidency.’ Later on, the Indonesian student of 1960 launched their protest supported by the Indonesian army (ABRI) to overthrow President Soekarno. However, under Soeharto’s regime, Indonesia just entered into the new order with the same taste. According to Frederick and Worden (2011),

On the surface, and particularly through a Cold War lens, the New Order appeared to be the antithesis of the Old Order: anticommunist as opposed to communist-leaning, pro-Western as opposed to anti-Western, procapitalist rather than anticapitalist, and so on. As new head of state, Suharto seemed to reflect these differences by being, as historian Theodore Friend put it, 'cold and reclusive where Sukarno had been hot and expansive.' (p. 72)

If in the Sixties the Indonesian military (ABRI) was offensive in banishing and cleaning all PKI members supported by Indonesian student movement of 1960s for fear that the communism ideology would advent and spread in Indonesia, the Indonesian student movement of 1970s protested the Soeharto administration driven by two opposing factions in the Indonesian Army. The interesting point is that the demonstration theme of the Indonesian student movements of 1970 was 'Establishment'. The spirit of '*pembangunanisme*,' or development in the Soeharto regime was massive due to the incoming of foreign investment, mainly from Japan. The massive foreign investment was assumed to be the cause of the first political riot during five years establishment of the New Order. The first political protest over the Soeharto administration was conducted by college students from Universitas Indonesia, or 'University of Indonesia,' involved in the student movement of Fifteen January, known as the Malari riots. The student protest blamed Soeharto for mismanagement and unequal distribution of *pembangunanisme*, or 'development.'

The student movement in the 1970s observed that the profit of development was just enjoyed by a few members of the Indonesian political elite, since the poverty number had

increased tremendously. According to Tempo (2014), the principle of '*pembangunanisme*' was, "*pertumbuhan ekonomi digenjut dan karenanya politik harus stabil. Yang terakhir ini dicapai melalui penyerdehanaan sistem kepartaian, penerapan prinsip asa tunggal, dan infiltrasi terhadap pelbagai organisasi kemasyarakatan...Di tangan Soeharto istilah stabilitas berarti aspirasi yang diseragamkan*" (p. 29). In social aspect, the Soeharto regime also conducted strict rules in managing Indonesian attitudes. There was a raid over a long-hair and fat bellies of youth and artists. Mainly, in Yogyakarta, majority of schools did not allow long-haired students to take exams. In Wonosobo, the long-haired spectators were not allowed to enter the theatre. In Medan, the Governor of North Sumatera, Marah Halim formed the Agency of Long-hair Eradication (Tempo, 2014, p. 67).

Aside from the economic issue, the Indonesian student movement in 1970s had an integral part in the Indonesian social issue concerned with the role of women. The proposal of Draft of Marriage by the government during the 1970s resulted in rejection and protest by Muslim scholars supported by the students' organization. They thought that the content of the Draft of Marriage was contradicted with majority religion, Islam. Tempo (2014) conveyed that, "*laki – laki dan perempuan bisa menikah tanpa kehadiran wali dari pihak perempuan. Artinya pernikahan sudah sah secara hukum meski hanya dihadiri petugas kantor catatan sipil. Menurut mahasiswa dan kalangan tokoh agama, RUU ini disinyalir akan meniadakan peran agama dalam konteks kehidupan*" (p. 61). Moreover, the ambitious project of Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (TMII) also got reactionary protests from the students, where this project had nothing to do with the improvement of the poor and providing equal wealth for Indonesia. Globally, the main reason of the Indonesian student movement of

1970s was reaction the Japanese investment in Indonesia.

Conclusion

The study of student organizations in America, which are the Free Speech Movement (FSM) and Students for A Democratic Society (SDS) during the Sixties, is closely linked with the advent of the New Left. The development of the New Left itself has been deeply laid in the student's mind, from Western Hemisphere, Europe and America, through to Asian countries. From that point on, the globalizing ideology of the New Left confirmed that it was related with the significance of globalization, concerning on the similar language of inequality, the exchange of communication, the influence of people migration, and social phenomena globally.

The globalizing of the New Left resulted from various implications of industrial growth affecting the social structure during the post-industrial age. The significant effect was the emergence of an affluent middle class. This class emerged as the continuation of the working class. In essence, the affluent middle class was formed to answer the mass production experienced in the 1950s. A large number of products were introduced into everyday life, which required a number of consumers to purchase goods and services. Therefore, the emergence of the new middle class in Britain and America had become the main issue that the New Left of both countries tried to condemn. In a broad sense, the New Left also demanded on the equality and social justice for marginalized minorities in America, specifically related to the role of women, the 'separate but equal' law for the Blacks, and the radicalism of youth. The American New Left also criticized the domestic repression under the McCarthyism and its HUAC, and the international upheaval

of America and the Soviet Union in the nuclear and space exploration-testing race.

The phenomena of student organization protests have occurred in America and Indonesia. A different experience from both countries also brought a similarity and difference. In addition, globalization, the inequality, interchange of communication, people mobilization, and social phenomena have played important roles in the emergence of the New Left. The American New Left in the 1960s has indirectly influenced the Indonesian student protest in 1974 (the 'Malari' riots). Yet, the spirit of anti-capitalism protest as conducted by the American and British New Left is clearly seen in the Indonesian student movement in the 1970s. The main action was protesting the Japanese investment and the Soeharto regime on authoritarian democracy and several policies, such as rapid economic development by proposing large amount of loan from foreign investment, the Draft of Marriage. From both events, in bottom line, the ideology of American New Left in the 1960s and the Indonesian student movement of the 1970s, it is evidently shown that the locality or sustained values of both are democracy and social justice and the universalities values shared are anti-establishment and anti-capitalistic society.

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KENNEDY AND SOEKARNO IN POPULAR MOVIES: A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

A leader is someone who is perceived to represent a community. In nations that apply democracy, where people can choose their president through general election, the chosen leader is certainly someone who can meet the majority's taste and criteria. President Kennedy from the United States and President Sukarno from Indonesia are two examples of the popular leaders that have been adored by their people through generations. This research examines leadership representation of Kennedy and Sukarno in movies, how their characters are built on screen, and the significance of their appearance in movies. This research employs Representation Theory from Stuart Hall combined with Transnational Theory of New American Studies. This research is able to explain the connection between popular fiction and the social and political phenomena in both countries, the US and Indonesia, in the time before the general election. Besides, this research finds shared values and ideology in Kennedy's and Sukarno's leadership represented in movies.

Keywords: leadership, movies, representation, ideology, transnational

INTRODUCTION

This research is inspired by the social and political phenomena before the general election in the US and Indonesia, particularly the presidential election in 2014 in Indonesia and the last two presidential elections in 2008 and 2012 in The United States of America. There were similar things that appeared during the campaigns, the candidates associated themselves with a previous president from the past. In the US, Obama was ideologically identical with President Kennedy. In Indonesia, the effort was obvious. The two candidates, Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto, built their images as the next Sukarno. Besides, in the last decade there were many movies that put Kennedy and Sukarno on screens. Those political and cultural phenomena show that there is something in Kennedy and Sukarno which is interesting to explore. Therefore, this paper invites the readers to see American and

Indonesian values and ideology through their popular figures in the movies.

Some American movies which portray the life of Kennedy are chosen for this research. They are *JFK*, *The Thirteen Days*, *The Kennedys*, *Killing Kennedy* and *Parkland*. Their ratings on IMDb and Rotten Tomatoes are good and they are the most recent movies about John F. Kennedy. Those movies are considered to be the most representative samples to present the image of John F. Kennedy and to portray the political chaos in the early 1960s. In the Indonesian context, *Soekarno*, *Ketika Bung di Ende*, and *Ruma Maida* will be used to compare. They are chosen because they are the most recent movies presenting Sukarno.

In the United States, even in the world, the name of John F. Kennedy is still quite popular and powerful today. According to a poll sponsored by Gallup, Inc., an American research and global performance management consulting company, John F.

Kennedy is still considered as the best modern president of the United States. Dugan and Newport reports that nearly three-quarters of Americans believe John F. Kennedy will go down in history as an outstanding or above-average president. Another poll conducted by CNN Poll also presents a result that erodes the generation gap among Americans who rank President Kennedy as the top president of the United States for the last fifty years. CCN political editor, Steinhauser, reports that,

There is no real generation gap in Kennedy's approval rating. It stands at 89% among people under 50 who were not even born when Kennedy was killed, and at 92% among older Americans, most of whom would have memories of Camelot." CNN releases the result of the poll on the 50th anniversary of Kennedy's assassination. The poll is conducted on November 18-20, 2013 by ORC International with 843 adult Americans questioned by telephone. The survey's overall sampling error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points (<http://politicalticker.blogs.cnn.com/2013/11/22/cnn-poll-jfk-tops-presidential-rankings-for-last-50-years/> accessed on April 13, 2014).

For many Americans, John F. Kennedy is not only commemorated for his career in politics. People also recognize him as a superstar. He was the youngest candidate for president in 1960. Some aspects of his life including his noble family, his beautiful wife Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy, his popular attraction and some scandals due to his affairs make him into the complete package of United States popular figure. Professor Lewis L. Gould writes for *BBCHistory* that Kennedy is the "celebrity of the White House." He believes that John F. Kennedy has remained frozen in time as a youthful, vibrant figure (Gould, 2013).

If the United States has John F. Kennedy as the ideal leadership model, Indonesia has Sukarno as the loveable model of Indonesian leadership. This research does not have the intention to compare Kennedy and Sukarno personally in their real life, but to compare their images built on screens. Pramoedya Ananta Toer, a political reporter for the PIA news agency in the Sukarno years (1953-1956) wrote the biography of Sukarno for *Indonesia Monitor*, a website containing information about Indonesia. He writes that Sukarno "united his country and set it free. He liberated his people from a sense of inferiority and made them feel proud to be Indonesian" (Toer, n.d.). His opening marks the mighty power of Sukarno. Sukarno is seen as the leader of Indonesian in their struggle for independence.

Officially becoming the president of Indonesia on its independence day, Sukarno led and directed Indonesia through many domestic and international issues, such as Irian colonization by the Dutch, imperialism, communism, the Non-Aligned Movement, regime change, etc. In April 1961, President Sukarno, in respect of an invitation from the United States, visited Washington to have a meeting with the new president of the United States, President John F. Kennedy. Jones (1977) wrote

President Kennedy's impression after having discussions with President Sukarno on some matters, such as Soviet communism, West Irian, and also the negotiation to release Allan Pope, an American pilot who was suspected of getting involved in the Ambon bomb attack in 1958. President Kennedy summed up his private impression of Sukarno as "an inscrutable Asian" (p. 197).

The era of Sukarno came to an end in March 1967. General Suharto became as the successor of President Sukarno. There are some rumors that it was a regime change and

the United States took part in supporting Suharto overthrowing Sukarno. Furthermore, even though the era of Sukarno ended in 1967 and the New Order under Suharto had its own mechanism to put away all the things related to Sukarno, people from Sukarno's generation are alive to promote his ideology. Toer writes that lately Sukarno's reputation had begun to be reexamined in 1998, the time when the era of Suharto ended. Suharto was ousted by the reformation movement and Sukarno's daughter, Megawati Sukarno Putri, became the first female president of Indonesia. Toer adds, "It was, in a way, Bung Karno's triumphant political comeback" (Toer, n.d.).

The radical demonstration in 1998 by Indonesian youth was the turning point for Indonesia to enter the reformation era that longed to create a healthier, more democratic Indonesia. The New Order which suppressed people's freedom to speak about their aspirations and ideas had lost its power. The fall of Suharto's regime was followed by a great monetary crisis. Indonesia was near collapse. Slowly but surely Indonesia was able to overcome the crisis and even became the most dynamic country in South East Asia. The era of reformation was like an open gate for people's freedom to express and excavate the suppressed feeling during New Order. Besides, it was like the wind of change for the destiny of Indonesia in the future.

One interesting phenomenon one decade after the fall the New Order is that Indonesians have tendencies to recall the past. Some recall the glory of the Suharto era; some also recall the glory Sukarno brought for the country. In 2004, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was elected president of Indonesia. In the first term of his presidential era, he was successful in stabilizing the country. He is seen as the one who succeeded to lead Indonesia out of the crisis. He then

won again in the next election in 2009. Sadly, his second term was not as bright as his first term. Many politicians and critics state that President Yudhoyono was too cautious in making some important policies. Unfortunately, his reputation suffered when his political party had to deal with many corruption cases.

Having a leader with a very thoughtful and cautious image, supported with the political climate which accommodates freedom of expression, gives many Indonesians the opportunity to express their desire to recall the former leader who had a higher degree of determination. However, people's desire to recall Suharto is not quite as strong as people's desire to recall Sukarno. The evidence can be seen in the Indonesian presidential election of 2014. Both presidential candidates, Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto, put some obvious effort towards looking like President Sukarno, both ideologically and physically.

Prabowo Subianto imitated the way President Sukarno dressed himself. He always wore a white shirt with pockets on it, the one that Sukarno often wore daily. On the other hand, Joko Widodo did not wear the same outfit as President Sukarno, but he strengthened his image building in the way he made connections with Indonesians. He mingled with the people and created no boundaries between himself and the people. Having a tight-knit relationship with his people was one of the characteristics of President Sukarno. After all, both candidates brought the ideology of President Sukarno: always stick to *Pancasila*, the five philosophical principles of Indonesia used to build the country. In delivering speeches, both Prabowo Subianto and Joko Widodo made themselves sound like President Sukarno. They talked a lot about food sovereignty, social welfare and distribution, indigenous

heritage and so forth. In addition, Joko Widodo was supported by Megawati Soekarno Putri, the daughter of President Sukarno. It strengthened the idea that Joko Widodo was ideologically identical with Sukarno.

What can be seen at this point is both in Indonesia and in the United States, there are some certain times when people tend to recall the figures from the past. Therefore, the release of the movies about President Kennedy and Sukarno need to be analyzed beyond the idea that they are only entertainment. The movies accommodate people's imagination of an ideal leader. Therefore, this paper examines how their images are built in the movies.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research is under the new American Studies theory proposed by John Carlos Rowe. According to Rowe (2010), the new American Studies has different characteristics with the American Studies from the 1930s.

The characteristic of a new American Studies can be generally described. No longer focused exclusively on consensus history and assimilationist ideals, American Studies takes into account the many different and constantly changing communities that constitute the United States... Indeed, another crucial development of the new American Studies is the rediscovery of the polyglot history of the United States... The new American Studies is also attentive to the ways the US has participated in traditional imperialism, both in Manifest Destiny and slavery... the new American Studies should take all of the different nations and communities of the western hemisphere as its object of study... Whether or not we accept the hemispheric scope of the new American Studies, the field should be

understood as profoundly *comparative* and *transnational*, even when it concentrates exclusively on the internal diversity of the US. (Rowe, 2010, pp. 7-8)

Beside that humble idea and that broader space in its scope, new American Studies calls on its scholars to use innovative and established theories and interdisciplinary methodologies to elucidate the larger cultural meanings and social consequences of their criticism. Reviewing Rowe's new American Studies, Whaley explains that Rowe concentrates on a re-reading of literary text and close readings of popular film, television, media, and social problems with the hope that his work might provoke and challenge colleagues also committed to broadening the scope of American Studies and articulating its relationship with complimentary fields (Whaley, 2014).

Entangling the new trend in new American Studies, this research takes movies as the material objects for this research. In order to examine the relationship between producers and consumers, and to find out the ideology in the movies, the present writer uses theory of representation proposed by Stuart Hall, a Cultural Studies thinker. Hall's representation is considered to be the suitable theory to elucidate this popular culture phenomenon. His idea about representation is greatly influenced by the thought of his forerunners like Saussure, Barthes, and Foucault.

According to Hall (1997), representation is the process by which members of a culture use language (broadly defined as any system which deploys signs, or any signifying system) to produce meaning. Hall's definition carries the important premise that things-objects, people, events, in the world-do not have in themselves any fixed, final or true meaning. It is people in society, within human cultures-who make things mean

something, who signify. Meanings, consequently, will always change, from one culture or period to another. There is no guarantee that every object in one culture will have an equivalent meaning in another. Therefore, one important idea about representation is the acceptance of a degree of cultural relativism between one culture and another.

Hall classifies three different approaches to explain how representation of meaning through language works. He calls those the reflective, the intentional, and the constructionist or the constructivist approaches. Among others, the constructionist approach has had the most significant impact on Cultural Studies in recent years. The present writer also considers that this approach is the most sufficient for this research. The constructionist approach recognizes the social character of language,

Things don't mean: we construct meaning, using representational systems – concept and signs. Hence it is called the constructivist or constructionist approach to meaning in language. According to this approach, we must not confuse the material world, where things and people exist, and the symbolic practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate. Constructivists do not deny the existence of the material world. However, it is not the material world which conveys meaning: it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concept. It is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world

meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others. (Hall, 1997, pp. 25)

Hall continues explaining that in the constructionist approach, representation involves making meaning by forging links between three different orders of things: what we might broadly call the world of things, people, events and experiences; the conceptual world – the mental concepts we carry around in our heads; and the signs, arranged into languages, which communicate these concepts.

METHODOLOGY

This research applies a descriptive qualitative approach. According to Creswell (2009), qualitative method is described as approaches used to gather data systematically, but the data is purely descriptive, and therefore not numerical,

Qualitative research is a form of interpretive inquiry in which researchers make an interpretation of what they see, hear, and understand. Their interpretations cannot be separated from their own backgrounds, history, contexts, and prior understandings. After a research report is issued, the readers make an interpretation as well as the participants, offering yet other interpretations of the study. (p. 212)

Furthermore, Best (1970) describes that at times, descriptive research is concerned with how *what is* or *what exists* is related to some preceding events that have influenced or affected a present condition or an event. The process of descriptive research goes beyond the mere gathering and tabulating of data. It involves an element of analysis and

interpretation of the meaning or significance of what is described.

In collecting the data, this research employs library research. The primary data for this research was acquired from the mental evidence: the movies. To support the main data, much information and data was gained from a close book text reading, and exploration from the articles, journals, and the sources from reliable websites on the Internet. The data was collected and then catalogued based on certain topics of discussion.

DISCUSSION

IMAGE FORMULATION IN KENNEDY AND SUKARNO MOVIES

This section shows how movies construct the images of the two legendary leaders, President Kennedy and President Sukarno. The data and surveys show that youths who did not live during their presidential era know and even adore them. The popularity of those figures might be not only supported by the historical texts or historical lessons in class but also by the roles of popular cultures' products, particularly movies. It can be logical since the selected movies that portray the life of President Kennedy and President Sukarno romanticize their private and political life, so they become so loveable to the audiences,

But what about the historical film which fictionalises history? To begin with, it must be understood and conceded from the viewpoint of accuracy, that all historical films are fictional to a lesser or greater extent. If they were not be, they would bore the audience to death and fail at the box office. Without the play of imagination, fictional characters, invented minor events and emotional responses of historical persons the

historical film cannot be made.
(Deshpande, 2004)

From that quotation, movies have their own ways to describe history or to create images because they should meet market demands which means providing what people are likely to watch. Even though movies are not the real depiction of someone, they still play important roles in building an image or reputation which accommodates the imagination of the audiences. However, historical movies still need to stick to the grand historical narration. They cannot make the story and the setting out of history. They should be careful in choosing the casts because the audiences have had formulaic images of those popular figures. This research finds four classifications that specify the similarities and contrasts of Kennedy and Sukarno's leadership representation in movies: psychical and personality qualities, faith and religious identities, ideology, family and scandals.

A. PSYCHICAL AND PERSONAL QUALITY

Almost all people agree that both Kennedy and Sukarno were charismatic presidents. They both have physical and inner beauty that people cannot resist. Therefore, all the casts to play their roles need to meet certain qualities to bring the nuance of the reality on screens. Since they are popular figures and everyone seems to recognize them, all the movie about them need to maintain the reality even though it is in the movies.

Pictures below are the actors who played Kennedy in previous movies. At a glance, they look alike. It proves what has been discussed above that the actors who play Kennedy are chosen for some certain criteria, such as, possessing the qualities of John F. Kennedy, at least in their physical appearance

so they can generally represent a fine image of Kennedy.



Figure 1. The real President Kennedy



Figure 2. Rob Lowe as Kennedy in *The Killing* (2013)



Figure 3. Greg Kinnear as Kennedy in *The Kennedys* (2011)



Figure 4. Bruce Greenwood as Kennedy in *The Thirteen Days* (2000)



Figure 5. Brett Stimelly as Kennedy in *Parkland* (2013)

In Oliver Stone's *JFK* (1991) movie, there is no actor to play as Kennedy, but in the beginning of the movie there is a scene which portrays the real gunshots incident in Dallas. In this movie, the audiences are directed to think of the real John F. Kennedy who is known as the celebrity of the White House.

The Thirteen Days (2000) dramatically shows the audiences that the job of being Mr. President is really hard to do. Greenwood as President Kennedy successfully brings the audiences to see his dilemma in dealing with the Cuban Missile crisis in 1962. As the president of the United States, Kennedy does not only work with his logic and strategy but also with his heart in making the decisions to start a war or to go on a diplomatic mission. The movie shows the internal conflict between President Kennedy and his military and defense advisors. President Kennedy insists on preventing the war but almost all his advisors suggest that he should take military action to cope with the Cuban Missile issue. This contrast develops the strong image of President Kennedy as the protagonist together with his brother, Robert

Kennedy and White House aide, Kenny McDonell.

A Harvard historian, May (2001) in his analysis writes that *The Thirteen Days* is successful in (1) building the image of Kennedy as a very thoughtful president, and (2) making the Cuban Missile crisis as the greatest crisis in the world history,

...the film succeeds in representing the presidency as demanding very high intelligence and cool judgment...Bruce Greenwood's wholly believable performance as John F. Kennedy in *Thirteen Days* shows a real president – not a Camelot knight but someone who recognizes that he has a very difficult job and that anything he does or says can have huge consequences. (May, 2001)

As it has been discussed in the previous chapter, Blight and Lang's analysis (2013) explains that Kennedy is a 'black swan' – the one who is different with the others. It can be seen clearly in *The Thirteen Day*. This movie obviously shows the contrast of ideas between Kennedy and his military and defense advisors.

In *The Kennedys* (2011) series, Greg Kinnear shows the audiences how John F. Kennedy faced many dreadful situations in his life. This movie-series is successful in shaping the image of Kennedy as a victim of situations, at the same time presenting him as a person who had deep consideration and good intention toward what happened around him. It is seen in the movie that from the beginning of his career in politics, Kennedy was a victim of his father's obsession. After the death of Kennedy's oldest brother, Kennedy Sr. lost the son he dreamed to be the future president of the United States. Since he

saw the potential in his second son, Kennedy Sr. wanted Kennedy to get involved in politics so he could be a presidential candidate. This movie-series shows how Kennedy Sr. demonstrated dirty politics in order to put Kennedy in congress as a senator. However, the movie shows that Kennedy was morally clean and did not take part in unacceptable practices. Running for presidential candidate in 1961 made Kennedy so busy and tired. The movie-series shows how Kennedy's backbone disturbed him from the beginning of the campaign until he earned his job as president. For so many decisions he made, he had to bear the pain he felt in his backbone. This kind of show certainly attracts the sympathy of so many people in realizing that Kennedy was not healthy.

In *Killing Kennedy* (2013), Rob Lowe acts as Kennedy. In contrast to *The Kennedys*, Lowe plays Kennedy's role as a stronger and happier character. The beginning of the movie shows the most popular scene in Kennedy movies where John F. Kennedy plays ball with his children and family. It shapes his image, not only as a father for the United States but also as a charming father for his children.

On the other hand, Sukarno is no less magnetic and attractive. Similar to Kennedy's case, the actors are chosen to meet certain criteria of being Sukarno. Indonesians have already had an imagination about Sukarno. Therefore, the movie's makers cannot make the characters of Sukarno out of the characteristics of Sukarno. All the Sukarno actors are set as much as possible to imitate the real Sukarno.



Figure 6. The real Sukarno



Figure 7. Imam Wibowo as Sukarno in *Ruma Maida* (2010)



Figure 8. Baim Wong as Sukarno in *Ketika Bung di Ende* (2013)



Figure 9. Ario Bayu as Sukarno in *Soekarno* (2013)

In *Soekarno* (2013), Ario Bayu plays the role of Sukarno. To get his role as Sukarno, he had to compete with another notable actor in Indonesia, Anjasmara, who had experienced playing Sukarno in several shows. Bayu is capable of presenting Sukarno as a firm, charming, and confident character at the same time. In *Soekarno* (2013), the audiences can see Sukarno as a person who commits to bringing the Indonesian people to their independence. In his young age, the leadership blood flowed from his heart. He got the knowledge for his speeches from his teacher, Tjokroaminoto. He was also a smart student in his engineering class at Institut Teknologi Bandung (Technical Institute of Bandung). One important thing about Sukarno, he was brave enough to speak about his ideology. He for several times was put in jail because he openly stood against the Dutch colonists. *Soekarno* (2013) portrays Sukarno's perseverance while he was in exile.

Ketika Bung di Ende (2013) concerns with the life of Sukarno during his exile in Ende, the capital city of East Nusa Tenggara province. In this movie, Baim Wong builds the character of Sukarno as a patient and wise man. Sukarno here is also portrayed as a loyal husband, and a very lovable son and

father. In Ende, Sukarno lived with his wife, Inggit, his mother in law, and his adopted daughter, Omi. He spent much of his time with them. Therefore, this movie successfully shapes the image of Sukarno as a family man.

In this movie, everyone in Ende seems afraid to get close to Sukarno. They do not want to put themselves in trouble by having contact with him. Therefore, Sukarno in this movie is depressed because there is nothing he can do on the land where almost all the people do not want to have contact with him. With his perseverance, he patiently tries to make connections with the locals. Wong is able to show the modesty of the leader to start every communication with the locals. Finally, Sukarno wins the locals' hearts; people come to his house for routine *pengajian* (activity to learn and read the holy Quran). Here, Sukarno is presented as a humble and generous person.

In *Ruma Maida* (2010), Sukarno does not appear much in scenes. Sukarno is portrayed as an art and peace lover. There is a scene in this movie that shows him enjoying the piano music played by Isa Pahing who created the song *Pulau Tenggara* (South East Island), which becomes the inspiration of Sukarno to form the Non Aligned Movement since Indonesia does not tend to support the West and the East Bloc.

At the end of this movie, Maida, the main character of this movie asks her students to always remember what President Sukarno always said, "*Jas Merah...Jangan sekali-kali melupakan sejarah*" [Do not ever forget the history]. Sukarno here is commemorated as a leader who learned a lot from the history of his predecessors and stuck to the norm and tradition of eastern culture.

Overall, from the movies, it can be seen that there is similarity between all of them. Those

figures are portrayed as good leaders and family men-men with pure hearts who want to contribute something good to society. In addition, the movies show the scenes of both presidents with the background of their national flags. It builds the strong connection between both figures and their countries. It strengthens the patriotic sense in them.

B. FAITH AND RELIGIOUS ATTRIBUTES

In the discussion of faith and religious identities, there is an obvious difference between President Kennedy and President Sukarno. In the Kennedy movies, Kennedy does not imply anything in accordance with his religion. People know that Kennedy has religion due to the WASP myth in the US. Kennedy was a Catholic and the majority of the United States people are Protestant.

In *The Kennedys* (2011), the only religious practice shown in the movie is portrayed by Kennedy's mother. She is a very faithful Catholic, during the hard times she shows her faith toward Jesus Christ that he is the only one who can help her sons to overcome many obstacles in their jobs. Kennedy's father is the opposite, and does not believe in God. He becomes aware of God right after the death of President Kennedy. President Kennedy himself and his family never show their religious identity. Based on that fact and referring to the explanation that movies represent what people like, it can be seen that there is no need for movie producers to show Kennedy's religious practices or attributes since it is different with the majority.

On the other hand, the image of Sukarno in the movies is always associated with his religion, Islam. The image of Sukarno cannot be separated from his *peci*, a Moslem head-

cover, which he always wears in every occasion. The appearance of Sukarno's character is always associated with Moslem attributes. It becomes an important thing to show to the audiences because the producers know the nature of Indonesian people. If the United States has WASP myth to be a leader, which stands for White Anglo Saxon Protestant, Indonesians also have their own myth of leadership. The leader is supposed to be Javanese and Moslem. However, Indonesians somehow are sensitive with the religion issue. The majority of Indonesians embrace Islam as their religion and throughout history Indonesia has never had a non-Moslem president. Knowing the nature of the market and the Islamization in Indonesia, the producers always consider it as a significant point to show the religious attributes in Sukarno movies.

Furthermore, both in *Soekarno* (2013) and *Ketika Bung di Ende* (2013), there are scenes that show Sukarno doing prayers. In *Soekarno* (2013), Sukarno appears doing *shalat*, Moslem prayers, before he makes important decisions. In *Ketika Bung di Ende* (2013), Sukarno also appears doing *shalat*. There is one scene in *Ketika Bung di Ende* (2013) that shows Sukarno sitting by the sea. He prays and begs Allah to lend him the power of the sea waves that are never tired of rolling up and are able to break the coral. He wants Allah to give him that kind of power so he never feels too tired to struggle for Indonesia's independence.

In *Soekarno* (2013), Sukarno works as a teacher in one Muhammadiyah school in Lampung. Muhammadiyah is a big Moslem organization in Indonesia. It is an old Moslem organization noted as the Islam reformist organization whose main activities are in religion and education. Muhammadiyah is also identical with Islamic modern thinkers.

At this point, it can be concluded that the way producers decide what to show and what not to show depends on the target market for their products. The image of Sukarno and Kennedy are shaped to meet the market demand and to gain more profit for the producers.

C. IDEOLOGY: DEMOCRACY

Even though Sukarno and Kennedy lived on different parts of the globe, in the movies, their ideologies manifested and their ways of thinking are presented almost the same way. Both are humanitarian and libertarian. They struggle for the goodness of mankind, and the most visible one is they both promote democracy.

In *The Thirteen Days* (2000), in many scenes the audiences see the different arguments between John F. Kennedy and his military and defense advisors and also the congress.

President Kennedy: Look, I don't want a god-damn pep talk; you're not the Harvard quarterback anymore. We're on the brink here! They're trying to second-guess me into World War III - well it's not gonna happen!
Kenny O'Donnell: What did you think Congress was gonna do?
President Kennedy: Well, I, you know...
(Donaldson, 2000)

This movie successfully puts John F. Kennedy in a very hard situation dealing with the Cuban Missile crisis. President Kennedy does not want to go to war with Cuba or the Soviet Union, but his military and defense advisors push him to send a military force to Cuba as soon as possible. Some of his advisors including Le May, Bundy, McNamara, etc. scold him in the back as a weak person who cannot handle the nation

when it is on pins and needles. Fortunately, John F. Kennedy has loyal advisors who stand by his side, such as, his brother Robert Kennedy and Kenny O'Donnell,

McGeorge Bundy: These people are right, and the Kennedys are wrong. We need you to talk to them - they'll listen to you. Jack and Bobby are good men but it takes a certain amount of...

Kenny O'Donnell: You mean the president of the United States-?

McGeorge Bundy: They are good men...

Kenny O'Donnell: -and the attorney general?

McGeorge Bundy: Kenny, they're good men but it takes a certain character - moral toughness - to stand up to the Soviets.

Kenny O'Donnell: [whispering] You listen to me. You're in the White House right now because of the Kennedys. Now, they may be wrong; they make mistakes, but they are not weak. The weak ones are these people who can't seem to speak their own minds.

(Donaldson, 2000)

The movie also successfully shows the basic ideology of Kennedy, which was making peace all around the world. In the movie, he does not like war and really takes a deep consideration in deciding whether it is necessary or not to use military force.

President Kennedy: "What kind of peace do we seek? I am talking about genuine peace, the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living. Not merely peace in our time but peace for all time. Our problems are manmade - therefore, they can be solved by man. For, in the final

analysis, our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future. And we are all mortal."

(Donaldson, 2000)

Finally, at the end of the movie, the closing remark from Kennedy emphasizes his ideology.

President Kennedy: You know, it's been a long two weeks and, uh - or whatever - but I'd like to thank you all; I think you all did a great job, and I just think - I don't think we should be gloating too much, 'cause it was just as much a victory for them as it was for us... Enjoy your morning.

(Donaldson, 2000)

For those quotations from the movie the audiences see that victory according to Kennedy is not winning the war but preventing the war. The audiences also see the humility that President Kennedy has, the victory of preventing war is the victory of everyone; the real victory of mankind.

In *Soekarno* (2013), Sukarno also presents the same spirit. Several days before the Independence Day, the Indonesian youth under Sukarno's influence were not patient waiting for independence. They forced Sukarno to declare the independence of Indonesia as soon as possible. They accused Sukarno as a traitor who stood on Nippon's side and did not struggle for the sake of Indonesia's independence. Sukarno insisted on his principle not to declare independence in a rush because he was aware that careless action might cause great suffering for Indonesians. He did not want to see his people to be the victims of independence (in making several deals with both Dutch colonist and Nippon, Sukarno always required that they would not hurt

Indonesians). He made the safety of his people as his top priority and tried to maintain peace.

Dealing with democracy, *Soekarno* (2013) successfully portrays the way Sukarno led the meeting with the Indonesian important figures to set the ideological and philosophical principles of the country. On June 1, 1945, Sukarno came in front of the committee and presented the idea that he had in mind since he was in exile. He drew the following five principles: (1) *Kebangsaan Indonesia* [Indonesian Nationality]; (2) *Internasionalisme* [Internationalism]; (3) *Musyawarah Mufakat* [Deliberative Consensus]; (4) *Kesejahteraan Sosial* [Social Welfare]; *Ketuhanan yang Berkebudayaan* [Cultural Religiosity]. Those principles drawn by Sukarno greatly influenced the philosophical foundation of Indonesia which is now known as Pancasila. After having some rearrangements by the other members of the Investigating Committee for the Preparation of Independence (*Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia, BPUPKI*), Sukarno's idea was transformed to be the following: (1) *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* [Belief in the one supreme God]; (2) *Kemanusiaan Yang Adil dan Beradab* [Justicial and Civilized Humanity]; (3) *Persatuan Indonesia* [The unity of Indonesia]; (4) *Kerakyatan Yang Dipimpin oleh Hikmat Kebijaksanaan, Dalam Permusyawaratan dan Perwakilan* [Democracy guided by inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations among the representatives]; (5) *Keadilan Sosial Bagi Seluruh Rakyat Indonesia* [Social justice for all Indonesians]. From those principles, the audiences know the basic ideologies of Sukarno, which were humanity, justice, and democracy.

However, even though there was a parallel between Kennedy and Sukarno's spirit, but

there is absolute difference in the way they practiced democracy, which shows the culture of each country. There are scenes when Kennedy has meetings with the other White House officers. The nuance of the meeting is casual. There is no certain sitting arrangement or anything that differentiates president from the others. The people involved in the meetings are free to stand or to sit down on their chairs. They are also free to position themselves in their comfortable styles. It represents the nature of Americans. These movies show that equality and democracy are embedded in the blood of Americans. People come to the meeting with something in their mind and they are free to speak it. There is no border that distinguishes president and his staff. During the meetings, even when someone does not agree with the president, they literally say that.

On the other hand, Indonesians culture is different with American culture. There are also scenes that show Sukarno leads the meetings. Sukarno comes in front of the others to present his idea. From the way he takes position and distance from the others, it represents Indonesian culture. There is an invisible distance between the leader and his followers. The position of the leader is in the front of the others; he or she is higher and more powerful than others. It is also related to the social stratification in Indonesian society. Even though Sukarno promotes the spirit of equality, democracy, and freedom, it does not mean that there is no distance between him and his people. In some scenes, Sukarno sits on a chair, and sometimes stands, when he talks to the locals in Ende who sit on the floor. Those scenes depict the social hierarchy that differentiates Sukarno with the others.

D. FAMILY AND SCANDALS

Nobody knows the truth, but the discussions on Kennedy and Sukarno are always related to their scandals with many women. Therefore, in the movies that part is never absent. Mr. President's romance and desire seem to be a commercial issue to expose. Many scenes in *The Kennedys* (2013) show Kennedy's affairs with some women such as his secretary, White House entertainers, and the famous actress Marilyn Monroe. In *Soekarno* (2013) there are some scenes that imply Sukarno has affairs with some girls. Even though Kennedy and Sukarno are surrounded by scandals, there is a visible difference between them that may cause a significant justification on their image.

In the movies, Kennedy plays with some women but he keeps it a secret—a public secret—that everybody knows even his own wife. Kennedy for several times is warned by Jackie Kennedy not to humiliate her in front of Americans. Each time Kennedy is caught red handed with a woman, he has a guilty feeling but he cannot help it. He tells his brother, Robert Kennedy, there must be a part of a child who wants to play in every man. He only wants to play and he realizes that he has a beautiful lady beside him. He tries to make sense that his affair has no harm for his marriage. He only married Jacqueline Kennedy and kept her as his only wife until he died.

On the other hand, Sukarno has several wives and mistresses. It may relate to the culture and religion since in Islam a man can have more than one wife. In *Soekarno* (2013), Sukarno left Inggit, his second wife, to marry his adopted daughter's friend, Fatmawati.

Below are the pictures that show how movies depict their scandals. The Indonesian movies do not show the obvious physical contact between Sukarno and his mistresses. On the

opposite, American movies show the scandals more obviously than the Indonesian movies.



Figure 10. The Kennedys (2013)



Figure 11. The Kennedys (2013)



Figure 12. Soekarno (2013)



Figure 13. Soekarno (2013)

Figure 10 and 11 show how Kennedy plays in the swimming pool with some naked girls. The next scene only shows a floating bra in the pool, the audiences are left to think about what it means. The next two pictures show how Sukarno flirts with Fatmawati in the movie *Soekarno* (2013). They do not engage in physical contact but only tease each other with their eyes and smiles.

Moreover, the movies successfully bring the bias in exposing the affairs of the presidents. They are put in a situation that makes the audience can understand their position. It is the women who are crazy about them. They do not have to do anything, but the women come to them by their own willingness. Therefore, the audiences cannot put the blame on the two leaders only, but on the women too.

One important point is the significance of marriage for both of the presidents. Each needs to affiliate himself with his wife and children. An ideal president is supposed to have a harmonious family. In the Kennedy movies, *The Kennedys*, *The Thirteen Days*, and *Killing Kennedy*, the scenes showing Kennedy playing with his little children are the magnetic part of his life which strengthens his image as a family man.



Figure 14. *JFK* (1991)



Figure 15. *Soekarno* (2013)

From the examples above, there is a contrast between the United States and Indonesia on how leadership relates to the value of family. Kennedy with his children playing ball is really something that Americans like to see. On the other hand, in the Indonesian context that kind of display is not considered significant. There is no scene like that in Indonesian movies. If Sukarno plays with his child, the kid is in the hands of the mother. It shows that it was still embedded in Indonesians' point of view that children were supposed to be the mother's business only – a father did not bother himself to take care of his children.

Furthermore there are also many scenes in the movies that show contrasting values between Indonesia and the United States. Below are the pictures that show the contrast of the family value represented by the Kennedy and Sukarno in the movies.



Figure 16.
The Kennedys (2011)



Figure 17.
Killing Kennedy (2013)



Figure 18.
Soekarno (2013)



Figure 19.
Soekarno (2013)

Figure 16 shows how American families gather with each member of the family. They

gather together and there is no difference between the parents and the children, the old brothers and the young brothers. Figure 17 shows how Kennedy and his wife talk to each other in a casual occasion. As seen in the figure, his wife can do that pose. That thing would not be framed in Sukarno movies because at that time, a wife was seen as a subordinate to her husband, so a wife needed to behave in front of her husband even though it was a casual occasion. The last two figures show the nature of Indonesian people. The parents are higher than the children are. It can be seen in Figure 18 and 19, Sukarno bows his head and kneels in front of his mother. It is important to show to the Indonesian audiences because Indonesians see that as an important criteria for choosing a leader: a good person is the one who loves and obeys his/her parents. It proves that production of movies is really influenced by the social and cultural background of the society.

CONCLUSION

This research shows that there are some significant points in the appearance of popular figures like John F. Kennedy and Sukarno in the movies. First, the producers know that they are influential figures that people love to see on screens. Second, their images on screens can be interpreted to have several different meanings depending on their time of release. They more than just retell the audiences about the glory or the chaos in the past but at the same time also make the audiences think in romantic way about their past leader. By recalling and romanticizing the figures and the heroic moments in the past, movies produce meanings. More profound than just entertainment, they can be criticism, support or celebration toward the ruling government and also suggestions for the next leader in the near future. One important thing is when people recall or

memorize something in the past, people also expect things that they may not have in the present.

As a criticism, *JFK* (1991) can be the example. It was released when the Republicans became the ruling party. In 1991 the United States got involved in the Gulf War. This movie shows a kind of criticism toward the government by recalling the past. This movie wants to say in the past the United States had the figure of Kennedy who was totally different with the ruling leader at that time. Kennedy did not like going to war, but the ruling president at that time did.

Ruma Maida (2009) can be seen as a celebration of the ruling regime. This movie was released in 2009 when Indonesia experienced the era of freedom of speech, act, and expression. This movie is a celebration of the reformation era after the long repressive period of the New Order. The other works that represent the same thing are *Killing Kennedy* (2013) and *Parkland* (2013). Those movies are all about Kennedy. *Killing Kennedy* and *Parkland* appear to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Kennedy's death.

However, movies can suggest the future leader. *Soekarno* and *Ketika Bung di Ende*, both were released in 2013, one year before the Indonesian presidential election in 2014. The release of these movies indeed gave influences toward their audiences in defining what kind of a leader that they wanted to have in the future. This phenomenon also happened in the United States in 2000. The movie *The Thirteen Days* was released at the end of the Democrat authority, under President Clinton's presidential. In 2001 a presidential election was held in the United States.

At the end, through representation theory, this research shows that Kennedy and Sukarno in the movies are the representations of the ideologies and values of their societies. Sukarno represents the Indonesian values, such as respecting others, hospitality, religiosity, etc. Sukarno in the movies also shows the dream of Indonesians which is democracy. On the other hand, Kennedy represents the American values and ideologies such as equality and democracy.

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THE HIPPIES IDENTITY IN THE 1960S AND ITS AFTERMATH

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Abstract

The study on the hippies is abundant in numbers but not many of them study the disposition and identification of the hippies during the 1960s and its aftermath. Pierre Bourdieu's theory on cultural practice, theory of hybridity, and globalization are used in this research to investigate the disposition and trans-nationality of the hippies in order to search for their universal identity. A Transnational American Studies approach is implemented to cover the following issue: (1) the socio-cultural disposition of the hippies in the 1960s, (2) the influence of European movement to the American Hippies, (3) the cultural hybridity of the hippies in relation with India, and (4) the similarities of the hippies and the reasons behind it. This research used library research and document analysis method in gathering the data whereas descriptive analysis approach is also used to analyze the data. The United States of America, India and Germany are the three countries being studied in relation to the hippies in the 1960s. The finding shows similar dispositions or background among the hippies in some countries being studied as well as some similarities and differences in the cultural practices of the hippies in the countries being studied. This shows the transnationality of the hippie's identity and the influence of hybridity and globalization which causes the shifting of ideology and cultural practices of the hippies in its developments.

Keywords: hippies, identity, Pierre Bourdieu, habitus, hybridity, globalization, Transnational American Studies

INTRODUCTION

Identity is an important thing for human life. It defines disposition and it indirectly directs action regarding the reality of their world. The term identity relates to "cultural descriptions of persons with which we emotionally identify and which concern sameness and difference, the personal and the social" (Wise, 2007, p. 4). It relates with the term distinction with which we are able to identify ourselves and identified by others. Identity also is closely related with values and ideology. An item of value is something to which we ascribe worth and significance relative to other phenomena. Cultural studies has been concerned with questions of value in relation to (a) aesthetics, (b) political and cultural objectives and (c) the justification of action (Baker, 2004, p. 206).

Values thus differentiate between what is right and what is wrong in the three dimensions mentioned before. It is also closely related to the term ideology which according to Loewenstein (1953) puts more emphasize on the "consistent integrated pattern of thoughts and beliefs" which "explains man's attitude towards life and his existence in society" (Gerring, 1997, p. 958). The values that are practiced by a group of people for a long time and have been embedded in their very action can give birth to an ideology. When taken in cultural context, it is closely related to the Marxist idea that ideology basically tells about class relations although for Gramsci ideology is grasped as ideas, meanings and practices which, while they purport to be universal truths, are maps of meaning that support the power of particular social classes

(Baker, 2004). Ideology then turns into power which can be used by anyone given the necessary elements which make it constantly change through time and space.

The 1960s has been a landmark in American history regarding the study of identity formation, battle of values and ideology. It highlights the birth of civil empowerment in the form of rapidly changing socio cultural values. Not only that it gave birth to the bigger major movements such as feminism, anti-racial discrimination, freedom of speech and expressions, it also brought a massive changing of the lifestyle of youth at that time which defined their identity. The 1960s was a decade of protests and movements to change society which challenged the nature of ideology and its power mechanism between the minority and the majority.

Hippies are one of the few groups which played a significant role in the counterculture movement of the 1960s. The hippie subculture was originally a youth movement that began in the United states (San Francisco) in the middle of the 1960s which then spread around the world (Viota, 2013). The word hippie derives from hipster (Sheidlower, 2007). Hippies were young people, about 25 years old, mostly from rich families, who rejected their way of life and materialistic system of values. They left comfort, elegance, shallow adult ways of life and they chose a simple, rustic and natural life. They wanted to batter down boundaries: national, race, religious, sex and other differences. Hippies are closely related to the terms: vegetarians, nudists, intercede for natural medicine, clothing reform, sexual reform, economic, social, cultural and religious reforms and freedom for children, women and animals.

Hippies were powerful to the point that they could gather thousands of people to join their 'camaraderie' in the Summer of Love festivals and Woodstock festival in the 1960s which

became a landmark of history. Their lifestyle also became an inspiration for the youth around the world even until now. Through the Hippie Trail journey to the East looking for the real freedom, they spread their new values to the world which ended in Goa India. Hippie subculture with its controversies of good and evil and its strong influence on the society at that time are thus an interesting object to be studied. The unorthodox ways of life which are considered as revolutionary during the era makes us question the process of how the subculture emerged into the society and became one of the most influential groups in the Counterculture Movement of the 1960s both inside and outside America.

This research thus aims to search the possible alternative ways to study about the emergence of this subculture using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of Social Practice based on his book *Distinction: A Social Critique on the Judgment of Taste* (1984). Bourdieu's theory on the distinction of taste views a subculture not just as a resistance (from the dominated) to the mainstream (dominating) but more of a process of individual negotiations in the term of cultural capital (Williams, 2007). It involves a heavy process of searching for the identity of the subculture members. A Transnational American Studies approach is thus implemented to cover the following issues: (1) the socio-cultural disposition of the hippies in the 1960s, (2) the influence of the European movement on the American Hippies, (3) the cultural hybridity of the hippies in relation to India, and (4) the similarities of the hippies and the reasons behind it.

LITERARY REVIEW

Several writings taking Hippies as the object of study have been gathered. According to the research, the hippies are mostly seen as a historical phenomenon and sometimes seen as

a resistant action done by the youth to oppose the established government of that era. Some studies which include hippies as their object of study are merely related to the study of symbol in Volkswagen Bus, hippies related to rock music (Covach, 1966 - 1976), the hippies and their legacy (Tsimpouki, 2014), the roles of the hippies, etc. It is hard to find an analysis which studies hippies as a subculture which also implements Pierre Bourdieu's cultural practice theory and habitus. That is why, the researcher believes that this study is the first to use Bourdieu to explain the hippie phenomenon.

In the term of the implementation of Bourdieu's analysis to a subculture phenomenon, the researcher found some analyses which use the same theory. Some of them are the study of youth Punk Culture (Fox, 1987), study on Goth subculture in Finland (Tolonen, 2007), the study of youth subculture by Cohen (Cohen, 1972) and *The Investigation of the Hipsters* by Anne W. Rasmussen *et. al* (2012). The most similar study with this research is the study of the hipster since its subject (hipster) is sometimes considered as part of the revolution of the hippie generation of the 1960s. The study of the hipster mentioned that the hipster phenomenon exists as an attempt by middle class youth to gain cultural capital in terms of symbolic power of hipster fashion. The hipster youth cannot gain enough economic capital to acquire the lifestyle and value of the higher class youth. They then create an alternative ways of creating a fashion which then spread to the rest of the world by the use of media and internet to show their distinction and uniqueness which will then elevate their position in the social cultural field. The elevation happens due to the wide acceptance of the uniqueness or the *hip* factor of their style which later on, the higher class tries to acquire by simply taking the part of the hip fashion as they like it. The best example is the

use of hipster accessories by Paris Hilton and other popular artists. However, the research which specifically uses Bourdieu's habitus theory to describe the hippies has not yet been found. Thus, this research is considerably new and fresh.

THEORETICAL CONSTRUCT

The identity of the hippies is reflected by its distinct cultural practice. In an attempt to define its identity the study of practice becomes an essential part of this research. Within the theory of habitus by Pierre Bourdieu, practice itself is considered to be the result of a social agent's disposition (*habitus*) and that social agent's acquired power (volume and form of *capital*), *all within the social space (field)*. Agents' actions are determined by both the range of options available to them (*field and capital*) and their disposition (*habitus*). A field is a social space where agents (individuals or groups) interact, participating in exchanges and events. Capitals, on the other hand, are the resources that agents compete to acquire and, through their acquisition, gain power and/or social standing. Whereas the forms of capital ranges from economic (having monetary resources), social (having the "right" social network), and cultural (having knowledge), *Habitus* is the generative scheme (or set of dispositions) that agents acquire primarily in their childhood, but also in other social contexts. The interplay of the capitals in shaping the identity of the hippies which is reflected by their cultural practice is the catalyst which this research dwells upon. The discussion mainly covers how the interplay of the capitals owned by the hippies highlight the reasons and process behind its emergence in the 1960s.

As mentioned in the introduction above, the hippies here now spread all over the world and they have undergone some shifting both in their cultural practices and identification.

The distorted image between the hippies in the 1960s and the present can only be described through the notion of hybridity. Hybridity involves the mixing together of previously discrete cultural elements to create new meanings and identities. Whereas the spread of the hippies ideology and the people themselves is inseparable with the notion of globalization which becomes the bridge which interlink the elements together. In relation to globalization, diaspora cultures and post colonialism, hybrids destabilize and established cultural boundaries in a process of fusion or creolization. Each category is always already a hybrid form which is also divided along the lines of religion, class, gender, age, nationality and so forth. Avtar Brah in Hussain (2004) stated that borders are "arbitrary dividing lines" which function on a social, cultural and psychic level. As such they are always metaphors and "part of the discursive materiality of power relations". Hippies, in this term, are the hybrid of which origin might be nonexistent.

Globalization provides the context for an increased range of sources and resources available for identity construction. Globalization itself refers to "social, economic, cultural, and demographic processes that take place within nations but also transcend them". In this term, we are dealing with "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Kearney, 1995, pp. 547-565). The concept of globalization refers us to the increasing multi-directional economic, social, cultural and political connections that are forming across the world and our awareness of them. (Baker, 2004). Thus, identities are never either pure or fixed but formed through the articulation of age, class, gender, race and nation which transfers

through globalization (Baker, 2004, pp. 89-90).

As globalization occurs, border and space become absurd in a way that eliminates the border, making the world interconnected. Space, in this term, has to be understood as a multidimensional entity comprising notions of territorial dimensions as well as social and cultural characteristics. In this term, it both includes the physical space as in land or the nonphysical one, as in ideology. Hussain (2004) stated, "the applied perspective of space signifies the clearly operating colonial discourse which establishes the borders of Inside and Outside; thus, hybridity simultaneously refers to the potential border crossings through the adaptation of a westernized view of the world" (p. 110).

METHODOLOGY

In order to reach the objective of the research, this study uses a library research method which focuses on document analysis. The focus of the study is the examination of documents, thus, the researcher should have access to such material which may include letters, memos, notes, diaries, photographs, audiotapes, videotapes, films, articles, books, manuscripts, e-mails, online discussions and so forth. In general documents are any preserved recording of a person's thoughts, actions or creations (Potter, 1996). The examination of documents is especially important to historians who investigate patterns and trends from the past. Documents may be examined to investigate patterns and trends of the past as is commonly done by historians. If no humans remain alive to provide primary evidence, then documents are the in only source of data (Potter, 1996). Documents are also examined by researchers who are investigating subjects who are available. The examination of documents may also provide confirmatory evidence of the

information obtained from interviews and observations. The data being collected then analyzed and categorized based on its clusters and then analyzed to answer the objective of the research which mainly focuses on describing the hippie's emergence during the 1960s and the possible explanation about it and the transformation of their identity which underwent changes and border crossing processes which gave birth to the hippies that we know now.

DISCUSSION

THE DISPOSITION OF THE HIPPIES IN THE 1960S

It is generally acknowledged that the sixties inherited the surge of prosperity from the growing industrialization of the fifties. The growing factories and the escalating rate of employment of the fifties gave the sixties the notion of the Age of Plenty which referred to the abundant life of the American people. The number of Middle Class people escalated and they become the majority in terms of numbers. This situation called for various kinds of circumstances which led to the birth of the hippies among these new Middle Class groups. This subchapter describes the link between the hippies and the fact that they mostly came from this particular class instead of the others.

They were middle class people who owned sufficient economic capital in terms of income, social capital in terms of network, cultural capital in terms of education and symbolic capital in terms of the consumptive goods they possessed in their homes. Secondly, the number matters. The amount of people in the middle class in the 1960s was comparatively bigger than in the other two classes. This era was the era that created the

first mass middle class in the world—a middle class that even factory workers could enter, since they could earn relatively comfortable livings even without high levels of education or professional skills (Teixeira & Abramowitz, 2008, p. 4).

In addition, the stronger and the bigger the community that one joined, the bigger symbolic and social capital they had, the more significant they felt in their disposition when it became an important capital in that era (prosperous 1960s and 1980s). It relates to Bourdieu's theory on disposition: one will feel at home when they feel comfortable with their disposition no matter what and where their disposition is. The 1960s has an era with plenty of economic capital and cultural capital for the middle class. They had prosperous lives with no worry about spending their money for whatever they wanted as well as a proper education which they could gain since their parents did not force them to work and they could afford their tuition fee (Paglia, 2003, p. 94).

In summary, the reasons which related the hippies and the middle class were their fluidity within the liminal space which enabled them to move back and forth between the other two classes and their comparatively bigger number than the other two classes which enables them to build a strong community with meaning behind it. This added to their fair share of circumstances during the 1960s and 1980s about the war, 'unreliable government, pressure from conservatism and the other alternatives gained from the media and their education which will be explained in the later part of this chapter.

The discussion on the middle class above might apply to the U.S and Europe in general but truth be told, it is not so when we bring India into the context of this discussion. India was considered as less fortunate in terms of

economy compared to the two other nations discussed in this thesis. As mentioned in the introduction, India is included in this discussion to find the identity of hippies beyond borders. However, the hippies in India were not Indians, they were the whites migrating to seek the exotic and mythical India prior to the 'decline' of the hippies in Europe and the U.S in the 70s. The rate of the migration was huge and reached to the amount of 500.000 people coming from various countries in Europe and the Americas (Luthie, 2006). Some of them left and some are still living their values today in the quiet side of Goa, the hippie heaven in India.

It is often questioned whether African Americans fall into the discussion of hippies or not. Where were they when the counterculture happened and why did not they join the hippies in the first place? The answer to these question can be: (1) they were too busy with their civil rights causes, (2) they did not have the same fluidity as the white middle class, in the sense that they did not have as many options as the white middle class, and (3) they already had a strong sense of community and shared belief within their own groups with their own symbolic capitals reflected in their already unique cultural practices of lifestyle, or they simply could not blend with the majority white middle class with the circumstances and the struggle of equality in various aspects of American life. At the time, last but not least there may have been some African Americans within the crowd at Woodstock, they were simply not notice.

THE YOUTH DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE AND THE HIPPIE

The hippies of the 1960s were mostly youth (Kunkel, n.d., p. 12). The exact numbers of the youth joining the hippies is hard to obtain due to the mobility of the members. Youth were the ones with the access to the 'truth' of

the circumstances they lived in and the alternatives that they could run in to both from campus and media. By the circumstances here means the social and political conditions of the era. The second thing to be noticed about the sixties is the demographic change of the youth, their numbers compared to their parents (Baby Boomers). By the 1960s, the student population had rocketed. In 1960, 22 per cent of young people were students, by 1975 it was 35 per cent (Bailis, 1974, p. 174). The huge amount of youths in the 1960s meant an increase in student enrollment, which correlated with the rise of the middle class due to the high rate of employment in the industries of the post war era. It is mentioned that some colleges and universities were so overloaded with students that they needed to build new buildings and make new regulations to accommodate them (Stone, 1999, p. 35).

THE CLASH OF OLD AND NEW VALUES AND HOW IT INFLUENCED THE HIPPIES

The 50s was the age of prosperity for Americans for two reasons. First, the war did not happen in the continent but far away in Europe and Asia which left America unscathed, and second, the winning of the war and the fact that they survived the damage it caused implies that Europe and the rest of the world relied on America for their reparation. Industry and business flow to America triggered significant economic growth within the nation and the prosperity for its people with the Inflation-adjusted per capita disposable income increased by 36 percent over the decade. Unemployment fell steadily throughout the decade, declining from 5.5 percent in 1960 to 3.5 percent in 1969 (Podesta, 2004, p. 2).

Technology has changed human life rapidly. The invention of electricity and the telephone already changed the face of the society. New

technology also gives new opportunities for developments and new insights. It often becomes the source of a generation gap between the old and the new generation. The same thing happened during the emergence of the hippies in the 1960s in America, Germany and India. This subchapter highlights the prominent technological changes which contributed to the emergence of the hippies in the 1960s. Technology and the convenience it contributes to the habitus in the form of both economic capital and social capital. Economic capital highlights the notion of possession of convenience stuff whereas social capital relates with the role of technology in strengthening the network of the hippies.

In the U.S in the 1960s, the most prominent technological invention which contributed to the emergence of the hippies was the invention of contraceptive pills, the invention of LSD and other psychedelic drugs and the development of media and recording. Contraceptive pills contributed to the changing of youth attitudes towards sex which became one of the most important aspect in hippie lifestyle. Whereas LSD brought a new experience to the state of bliss which the hippies sought in order to achieve a psychedelic experience. Television, as always, gave new insights and information on the things happening around the world and contributed to the spread of the hippie movement. The freedom of sex became more reasonable when contraceptive pills were invented in the 1960s with the commercial release of Enovid, the first reliable oral contraceptive in history which overwhelmed the sixties' spiritual quest of free love (Paglia, 2003, p. 82). When it was introduced as birth control to the baby boomers, it was supposed to be for married couples. However, the youth finally got their hands on the pills and used them as an excuse to legitimize sex as something which you can do with anyone you love. Back then in the 50s, sex was considered

as a thing that should be done by married couples and it was a taboo thing to talk about (Stone, 1999, p. 16). Hippies, having learned that sex was in fact something sacred related to their rites, used the safety it provided to nullify the elders arguments regarding sex.

Hippies, in fact, received many influences from other countries around the world. As what has been mentioned in the chapter on the development of the hippies, the cultural practice of the hippies was a hybrid of many other cultural practices either from the East or the West. The popular way of spreading the hippie idealism was with the help of the rapid development of technology. It related to the media and how it changed the face of the communication in the world. By 1960s, almost every house in the U.S and Europe had a television set in the living room (Podesta, 2004, p. 4). It is true that television has indeed turned the world, according to McLuhan, into a global village in which everything is transfixed and mixed into one another with the disappearance of borders and limits (Paglia, 2003, p. 93).

THE WARS AND THE HIPPIES' CAUSE

As mentioned in the passage above, the circumstances of the agents, which acted as the outer factor in the agent's, middle class youth's, habitus played a significant role in the emergence of the hippies despite their social class and capitals. The circumstances mentioned above included the wars which loomed over the Americans at that time. The threat of Nuclear War, the Cold War and the Vietnam War subsequently became their monsters under their beds. This chapter will explain the kinds of threats faced by the U.S which became one of the important factors in the emergence of the hippies in the 1960s.

The Civil Rights movement can be seen as the cornerstone for the counterculture movements

of the 1960s. It all began with a woman who refused to sit at the back of a bus and a man who are refused to eat his lunch elsewhere just because they were black. The movements for civil rights that spread across the U.S inspired thousands of people in the way that it woke up their sense of disposition, their perception on the reality they lived in. It also set an example of the ability of the people to break off the established *doxa* and fight for their own rights to strengthen their disposition in the American society.

The importance of the movement to the hippies itself is almost the same in the way that it inspired them to have the guts to stand up and fight for their right. When the movement started it gave the youth a new set of classifications in which they could reformulate their disposition. The oppressed and the oppressor's state become so apparent that the injustice that the oppressed had to live by had materialized in the real world, it was not a denied myth anymore. Within the process of classifying the oppressor and the oppressed, the hippies put themselves in the later one's category but chose a different way to flip the table.

THE TRANSNATIONALITY OF THE HIPPIE'S IDENTITY

The notion of identity can be described in two processes: self-identification and how you are identified by others (Baker, 2001). The study of hybridity and globalization are implemented to show the process and mechanism of the identification of the transnationality of the hippies in the 60s, before and after.

Hippies seem to have similar traits which lead to an accepted definition given to the all members of movement. They commonly relate to the youth, drugs, unique fashion, naturalists and alternative life supporters.

Some accounts on the hippies are made based on those similarities. Although the hippies nowadays refers to the unique lifestyle represented in their cultural practices, the hippies used to refer to the 60s hippies in the U.S.A and the strong ideology they represented. This subchapter deciphers the similar practices of the hippies in three nations: the U.S, Germany and India. The similarities found in this research are analyzed in terms of whether they represent American values or global values. The result of the observation on the values may either support or negate the power of Americanism through its popular culture and capitalism across those three nations.

The first striking similarity of the hippies in the three countries being analyzed is the age of the hippies themselves. It is apparent and has been mentioned everywhere that the hippies are mostly youth between teen age to the middle age (16–30s). This brings up the notion that has become youth becomes closely related to the hippies. The similar age involved in the hippie movement in the three nations studied shows the importance of the age to the identification of a hippie despite the fact that there are lots of hippies with varying ages around nowadays. Fashion becomes one of the tools to rebel against the mainstream culture that the hippies loathed in the sixties. Stone in his book even mentioned that the true hippie ideology is expressed through the clothing choice. He stated that

...no self-respecting hippie ever wore a logo of some corporation. This was heretical to the hippy movement. It's no wonder so many kids today, sick of having to conform to corporate ideals of fashion have instead sought out the Hippy Brand® of non-conformist, anti-establishment, revolutionary, laid back sportswear! No logos, no commercials with sports figures, no multi-million dollar endorsements, no hype. Just

cheap, comfortable, easily repaired, second-hand clothes to give you the look (Stone, 1999, p. 26)

The statement by lifestyle is mentioned by Bourdieu as a means to strengthen their symbolic capital by increasing their distinction which will then in turn enable them to spread their ideology even more. The same thing seems to be persistent with the Indian hippies as well. Their famous clothing style has become one of the reasons why tourists are still flocking to the Flea Market in Goa. Through their commitment to staying close to nature despite the heavy consumerism of that era in Germany, the Wandervogels deliberately tried to get closer to nature by taking “long hikes in the country where they sang their own versions of Goliardic songs and camped under primitive conditions” (Kennedy and Ryan, 2009, pp. 7-8) which then was followed by the commune in Ascona as the pioneer of the 60s communes in the U.S.

Some practices that were common among the hippies of the 60s such as both sexes swimming nude together in the lakes and rivers were “common at that time as well as ‘establishing nests’ and ‘anti-homes,’ sometimes in ruined castles where they met to plan trips and play mandolins and guitars” (Kennedy & Ryan, 2009, pp. 7-8). It shows that the tradition of establishing communes and indulging in music while bathing nude that were done by the hippies in the 1960s America were rooted in what had been practiced by the Wandervogels in 1890s Germany.

The use of drugs by the hippies was mostly aimed toward reaching the psychedelic trance with which they could escape from the society they disagree with many levels. It might be true that drugs are a means of escaping from reality but the hippies believed that taking

drugs much more spiritual in a sense, although not internally religious, rather than for leisure or practical use. In the *Look of American Life in the 60's Especially it's music*, it is mentioned that “Drugs, especially entheogens, played an important factor in the hippie culture”. By the use of drugs they managed to “contrast the hippies within the society and intensify the counterculture while they enabled the Hippies to have psychedelic experiences” (p. 5). In this term, drugs are a means to reach the psychedelic trance as well as to ‘fight’ against the ‘corrupt’ mainstream culture. When someone visits Goa, the music they will be listening to is the trance music in the clubs and beach parties. Andi (adJ in Goa) stated that

In Goa, trance means trance which is designed to be danced, and to be listened to, while you're tripping. You know. And everybody else has to stand back. Because who is dancing the whole night, who is dancing the longest, is the people tripping. (Saldhana, 2006, p. 18)

Partying has been an integrated part of the hippie lifestyle. If we take notice of the gathering of hippies all around the world, it is partying and dancing to trance music which has become their main activity. From Woodstock to the latest Aozora festivals, what pulls people all around the world to join them is the never ending partying and having fun. A hippie must know how to party hard.

Festivals were said to begin in the late 60s with the many free concerts held by musicians in the U.S relating with the counterculture movement of 1960s America. It reached its peak with Woodstock and then gained more popularity with the media coverage and the amount of youth attending the event. More free concerts and festivals were held including Summer of Love Festivals in the U.S and

Britain, the festivals in Berlin, France, and others. Helped by television as the main media for spreading of Popular Culture, festivals became attached to the hippie identity.

HYBRIDITY AND GLOBALIZATION OF THE HIPPIES

As it was mentioned by Kearny, globalization is characterized by “the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Kearney, 1995). If in the past the notion of cultural fusions can only happen when people move from one place to another, nowadays, the exchange of culture is made easier with the invention of media especially television and the internet.

The globalization process in Goa began when the hippies migrated to Goa, which was due to the Lonely Planet article about it which spread all over the world. It was mentioned in the New York Times on the hippie trail to Goa that the hippies of the 70s were “Seduced by the beaches with no tourist, green jungle, dramatic cliffs” and decided to ride on the “magic buses” from Europe and created “a free-spirited, budget-friendly new world among the laid-back native northern Goans”. It is the free-spirit and the laid back attitudes of the natives which seduced the hippies. In addition to, the exotic nature of the land itself. The wilderness and the nature which represented their ideology of freedom and love made them want to move there. As an effect, they influenced the locals with their activities and made the quiet place, “the village of Anjuna becomes its wildly spinning center, with the quieter communities of Arambol and Vagator emerging as hemp-clad satellites” (Sherwood, 2006, p. 2)

Globalization also played an important role in the spread of Indian spiritualism in the U.S. When the hippie colonization of Goa reached its peak and more American hippies searched for gurus in India in the sixties, a certain Maharaj Ji, who claimed to be the successor of Jesus and Buddha, decided to visit America (Paglia, 2003, p. 78). It is mentioned that the Divine Light Mission was brought to the U.S in 1971 by thirteen-year-old Maharaj Ji of which philosophy required vegetarianism, celibacy, and meditation, which became so popular at that time due to both its unique values and its contrasting difference with the major culture that the hippies loathed at that time.

The notion above shows that the flux of globalization moves back and forth with both sides of the world influencing one another. The events in India influenced what happened in America and vice versa which then gave birth to the development of certain teachings such as The Divine Mission which claimed to have 480 centers in thirty-eight countries. “By 1973, there were thirty-eight ashrams in the U.S. with 40,000 followers” (Paglia, 2003, p. 78).

CONCLUSION

The finding shows that there are three major ideologies found in the cultural practices of the hippies. They are freedom, love and peace. Those ideologies always appeared and became the justifications of their weird cultural practices in the sixties by mentioning that flowers represented their faith in peace and not war and tie die shirts and long hair represented the freedom they sought. This makes the hippies appeal to the youth more than the elders due to the bold symbolism it represents. This kind of mechanization of ideologies embedded in cultural practice apparently blurs the line between ideology and lifestyle. One might wear a tie die shirt

and grow his hair long but he does not necessarily have the ideology of freedom. The same thing goes when one embraces vegetarianism as a lifestyle, because it might be related to a health reason more than to the idea of living in harmony with nature.

It has been mentioned in several sources that the hippies actually represent the ideology of peace, love and freedom (Stone, 1999). During its “emergence” in the 1960s this ideology becomes the appealing point of this subcultural phenomenon. According to the discussion in the previous chapter, those three core ideologies and values are the ones which are most suitable to surge regarding the condition of that era. Freedom, peace and love they represented with their unique cultural practices. The freedom of love was represented in the freedom of sexuality in which one is free to love anyone with any kind of background and with no boundaries. Whereas the freedom in life they represented in their slogan of “Turn in drop out” which encouraged the youth to leave home and stay in the communes with the people of their kind. The peace was represented with the flower they used in the marches to stop the war along with the iconic symbol of peace drawn in Fidus’ painting and the bright colors of their tie die shirts and long hair. While the real peace they could seek in their psychedelic trance with the help of drugs and music in which they could see the ideal world free of war, confines and hatred. The adoption of foreign cultures from around the world can be categorized as their attempt to strengthen their symbolic capital by the technique of distinction proposed by Pierre Bourdieu.

Becoming different and against the mainstream culture became one of the appeals of the hippies which attracted thousands of youth followers in the 1960’s America and the aftermath. Hippies ideologies become blurry and gone through time as well. The adoption

of culture instantly to show someone’s distinction which will then increase his symbolic capital becomes the cause of it. It can be seen from the adoption of culture by the hippies in terms of fashion which now is considered as the hipster fashion. Seen as the reincarnation of the sixties hippies, the hipster fashion has become popular and everyone can wear it and be identified as peace loving hippies (Rasmussen, Boas, King, and Madsen, 2012). The rebellion against on the conservative majority culture and values at that time was well represented in their indulgence in their unique fashion such as long hair, bright and colorful clothes, and the wearing of ethnic and eastern accessories such as jewelries and head bands as opposed to the crop short hair of the military, sleek and pastel colored clothes of the rich, and prim and simple but luxurious popular accessories of the sixties. However, nowadays, any artist without care about the basic ideology of what they are wearing can sport the hippie style whenever they want to be identified as one, who holds the same ideology as the hippies.

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REPRESENTATION OF VALUES THROUGH POPULAR LITERATURE: A CASE STUDY ON TRANSRACIAL ADOPTION IN AMERICAN MOVIES

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Abstract

This thesis is intended to uncover values in American movies related to trans-racial adoption in American family. The movie samples in this thesis are *Deep In My Heart*, *Losing Isaiah*, *Daughter From Danang* and *The Blind Side*. This research analyzes the values taught by the adoptive parents to their adoptive children, and the ideology behind the movies. It uses the representation theory from Stuart Hall to analyze the representation of values in the movies. This research also employs the theory of ideology from Terry Eagleton to discover the ideology related to the values in the movies and the concept of identity from Browne. As a result, parents teach the same values to their children, whether they are adopted or biological. The values are freedom, equality, honesty, hard work, supporting each other and responsibility. They treat them equally just like their own children and they deserve to have a better life and better future even though they come from a different racial background. The ideology in the movies is “all men are created equal”, and identity in trans-racial adoption shows that through the values children can be anything they want to be because identity is the process that can be influenced by social institutions like family, the education system and their experience.

Keywords: *Representation, Transracial Adoption, Value, Ideology, Identity*

INTRODUCTION

Multiculturalism is one of the notable aspects in human history. It is the aspect which allows people to share their culture. People of different races, ethnicities, religions and nationalities have come to the United States from all over the world. The US has become one of the most racially and culturally diverse nations in the world. This diversity brings with it a host of values, some that are held very strongly and acted upon, and others that are less vital in people's everyday lives.

One of the social phenomena is diversity in America. This diversity can be seen not only in the form of adoption in a family. Adoption touches almost every conceivable aspect of American society and culture and about one million children in America live with their adoptive parents and between 2% and 4%

families in America include an adopted child (Carp, 2004, p. 2). One type of adoption is trans-racial adoption. According to Silverman “The term trans-racial adoption means the joining of racially different parents and children together in adoptive families. While this term is sometimes reserved for the adoption of black children by white families, here it is understood to include also the adoption of Native American, Asian, and Hispanic children by white families” (Silverman, 1993, p. 104). The interesting thing about this adoption is that the parents are commonly white and the adoptees are non-white children. This phenomenon is interesting to investigate because there are certain values and norms transferred to the adoptee. The norms and values usually come from the dominant society represented by the adoptive parents.

Norms and values have an important role in human life as a social order regulator. People cannot live without values. This issue of adoption and values especially in the case of transracial adoption is so strong in the US that many movies seem to dramatize it. The movies as a popular cultural product can actually reflect what people wish. Movie or film as a cultural product carries cultural beliefs. It expresses the complex feelings, values, and ideas through symbols and myths (Cawelti, 1976, p. 27). Some analyses have assumed a more or less 'reflection' relationship between film and society. That is, film is seen as a 'reflection' of the dominant beliefs and values of its culture. Representation is the ability of texts to draw upon features of the world and present them to the viewer, not simply as reflections, but more so, as constructions (O'Shaughnessy & Stadler 2002). Even though movies belong to popular culture and they seem produced for commercial and entertainment reasons only, everything is not like what it seems. All media texts, (Films, posters, adverts etc.) include ideological messages. When we consume media text we are influenced by the creators' ideological views. Ideology is not a personal fantasy, but manifested in the collective way of life of the community. In many cases, such analyses have assumed a more or less 'reflectionist' relationship between film and society. That is, film is seen as a 'reflection' of the dominant beliefs and values of its culture (Turner, 1999, p.152). For that reason, representation of values through popular literature about transracial adoption in American movie is very interesting to study. The American movies that the writer thinks are representative to the object of study related to this topic are *Deep In My Heart*, *Losing Isaiah*, *Daughter From Danang*, and *The Blind Side*.

In order to achieve the purpose of the study, it is to find the kinds of values which are

represented by adoptive parents to the adoptee, ideology emerges through the values as seen in the identity image constructed through the values and ideology transmitted by the movies.

METHODOLOGY

The primary data for this research was acquired from the mental evidence, the movies. To support the main data, the present writer uses library research, a close book text reading, and exploration from the articles, journals, and the sources from the reliable websites on the Internet.

The descriptive qualitative approach is applied in this study. Creswell (1991) stated that, "qualitative method was described as approaches used to gather data systematically, but the data were purely descriptive, and therefore not numerical" (p. 110). Best (1970) described that, "at times, descriptive research concerns with how *what is* or *what exists* is related to some preceding events that have influenced or affected a present condition or an event. The process of descriptive research goes beyond the mere gathering and tabulating of data. It involves an element of analysis and interpretation of the meaning or significance of what is described" (p. 116).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Representation is one of the important practices of producing culture. Representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully to other people. Through representation, the meaning of language in a culture is exchanged. It depends on how those cultures give the meaning to that language because one culture from another is different.

Language is one of the 'media' through which thoughts, concept, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture. Meaning can only be shared through our common access to language. So language is central to meaning and culture and has always been regarded as the key repository of cultural values and meaning. In this discussion, representation refers to the construction of all forms of media (especially mass media) on all aspects of reality or the reality, like people, objects, events, to cultural identity. This representation may take the form of words or writings, can also be seen in the form of moving images or movies. The concept of representation itself is seen as a product of the process of representation. According to Stuart Hall, there are three different approaches of representation. They are the reflective, the intentional and the constructionist approaches to representation. Constructionist approach is applied in this study, because this research analyzes the representation of values which are taught by the adoptive parents to their adoption children who come from different racial backgrounds as seen in the movies.

People as a part of society cannot live without values; value is a key concept for understanding human behavior. Based on *Cambridge Dictionary*, values can be said to be the beliefs people have about what is right and wrong and what is important in life, which control their behavior. Value refers to man's conceptions or ideas with regard to feelings of 'worth' or 'desirability'. Gabriel also writes some of the social values of the American people: 1. The dignity and importance of the individual person; 2. Freedom of thought and action of the individual person; 3. Freedom, and so far as possible equal opportunity, of the individual person to make of his life what he can in accordance with his abilities; 4. Regard for the group and for group activity as a means to the end of developing individual personality;

5. Regard for the family as the basic social institution; 6. Regard for work leading to recognizable accomplishment in professional preferment, the accumulation of property as a normal aspect of the good life; 7. Concern for the physical and mental health of the community; 8. Regard for voluntary public service by private individuals; 9. Acceptance of change as a normal aspect of social life... (Gabriel, 1974, pp. 188-189)

Values cannot be separated from ideology, because values influence the existence of ideology in society. "Ideology is usually defined as a body of ideas reflecting the social needs and aspirations of an individual, group, class, or culture. The term is generally associated with politics and party platforms, but it can also mean a given set of values that are implicit in any human enterprise-including filmmaking" (Gianetti, 2007, p. 448).

Marx's view is that the conception of ideology of the ruling class dominates the ruling ideas and is resulted from the possession of the modes of production. Hence, the ruling class, for example capitalist, also possesses the power to maintain and establish its ideological, economical and political will at once in order to preserve its control over the minority. A single country may also be considered a hegemony if it has enough power to influence the way other countries behave. The concept of hegemony is used by Gramsci to refer to a *condition in process* in which a dominant class (in alliance with other classes or class fractions) does not merely *rule* a society but *leads* it through the exercise of intellectual and moral leadership (Storey, 1998, pp. 79-80).

DISCUSSION

REPRESENTATION OF VALUES IN THE MOVIES

Parents have responsible to teach their children and also become the example for

their children. Family is the first institution where people as human learn about values. As children, they learn about what kind of values are exists in society from their parent. In this case, the adoptive parents who have different culture and social background teach the adopted children the same values as they got from their parent when they were little as represented in the movies.

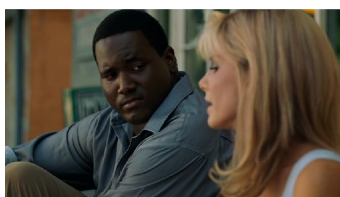
a. Freedom

Freedom is a basic value for everybody in the world. According to Bellah not surprisingly freedom became the most resonant, deeply held American value (Plaut & Markus, 2007, p. 469). Following is some scenes representing what the freedom is,



Scene 1
Deep In My Heart

Annalein : Barbara what are we going to do?
Barbara : I'm moving in with Don's sister.
Annalein: could we discuss this?
Barbara: discuss what? Giving it's a way.
Annalein: what about the baby? Did you considered which....
Barbara: I never stop considering that?



Scene 2
The Blind side

Leigh Anne: Michael. Do you even wanna play football? I mean do you even like it?
Big Mike: I'm pretty good at it.
Leigh Anne: Yeah, you are. Sean and I have been talking and...Michael, if you're goanna accept the football scholarship we think it should be to Tennessee. And I promise that I will be at every game cheering for you.

Big Mike: So you want me to go to Tennessee?

Leigh Anne: I want you to do whatever you want.
It is your decision, Michael. It's your life.

From above, Annalise and Anne give their children the right to make decisions about their own lives *In The Blind Side*, Leigh Anne gives Mike the freedom to choose the school and the football club he wants to attend. *In Deep in My Heart*, Barbara decides to move to her boy friend sister's home after she knows that she is pregnant and Annalise just lets her go. She accepts it without any debates after she get the answer from her daughter that she has considered about the future of the baby.

b. Equality

In this case, the parent never thinks that their children are different, they are all the same. As a child, he or she deserves to be treated as well as the biological child, getting same attention, love and other facilities that they need. All children are the same; they have the same rights at home and also in society. On equality in family, there is no difference between adopted and biological children.

Anne puts Mike in their family Christmas card as a member of the Touhy family. When he needs some help with his home work, Sean as a father helps him. He knows that his son. Mike needs they support to get better grades so he can get a scholarship and can be a college football player. Equality in society as means that a child can play with another child no matter what their skin color. Annalise tells Barbara that she can play with other white children in the neighborhood as it represents on this following scene,



Scene 3
Deep In My Heart

Annalise: You can go out and play.
Barbara: No, that okay. I like in side.....
Annalise: Barbara, didn't any one tell you about your mother?
Barbara: Corrine
Annalise: no, Before Corrine. She's white. That's why it's gonna be okay if you are here. You can play with anyone.

Margaret teaches Isaiah that he can play and sit together with his mommy and Khaila. Margaret represents the white community and Khaila represents the African American community, but as mother they are equal because both of them have same right to raise their child and all they want is all the best for their child. It can be seen from following scenes,



Scene 4 & 5
Losing Isaiah

Margaret: Isaiah, this is a nice school you have here, hmm? Can you show me and Khaila what you like to do? Huh?
Khaila: He likes to play with blocks.
Margaret: Do you want to play with some blocks? Do you want to build something? Oh, look. Khaila's got the blocks. Show me, Isaiah. Put that...oop... put that big one there. A house? Is that a house? Which house is Khaila's house? This one and this is yours Isaiah's tower. You can have that room at the Very top, huh? All right.

Those pictures show the representation of equality. By telling Isaiah to show what he loves to do and play together with her and Khaila, Margaret teaches him that there is no different between her and Khaila, they love him and want all the best for him.

c. Honesty

In Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, honesty means the quality of being honest. In

other words it means that an honest person does not do things or say something that is morally wrong. By telling about the real condition with their real mothers, and asking their children to tell everything about what they want to do what it means is that they have taught the children to be honest people. The honesty must be taught by the parents. Modeling is very important. If parents model honesty, the kids are more likely to be honest. It depicts from below scene,

Leigh Anne: Do you have anywhere to stay tonight? Don't you dare lie to me. Since the first meeting, Anne has told Mike to say the truth.
Leigh Anne: Tell me everything I need to know about you. Who takes care of you? A mother? Do you have a mother? A grandmother maybe? Look, Big Mike, we can do this the easy way-or we can do it the hard way. Take your pick. Fine. Tell me one thing I should know about you. One thing!



Scene 6
Losing Isaiah

Margaret: Isaiah? Come on, honey, it's time to go. Let's get your jacket on, okay? You're going to see Khaila now... remember? I told you about her. You're going to live with her, Isaiah.
Isaiah: And then I'm coming back.
Margaret: No, honey, you're not coming back.
Isaiah: I coming back.
Margaret: No, Isaiah, wait, wait!

d. Supporting each other

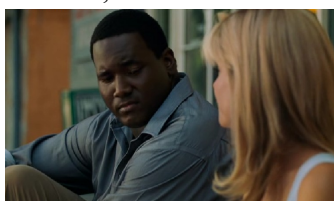
Giving support to each other in a family is important. In *Losing Isaiah*, they invite Isaiah to Hannah's performance at school, as following scene depicted,



Scene 6
Losing Isaiah

Margaret: You see who it is up there? It's Hannah.
Isaiah: Mommy, look!
Margaret: Isaiah, shh.
Isaiah: Hannah! Hannah!

Meanwhile, in *The Blind Side*, this value is represented through the situation when SJ as Mike's brother becomes his personal coach and manager, Sean as a father helps Mike in studying and all the members of the Touhy family always come to Mike's football matches,



Scene 7
The Blind Side

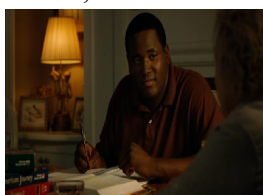
Leigh Anne: Michael. Do you even wanna play football? I mean do you even like it?

Big Mike: I'm pretty good at it.

Leigh Anne: Yeah, you are. Sean and I have been talking and...Michael, if you're gonna accept the football scholarship we think it should be to Tennessee. And I promise that I will be at every game cheering for you.

e. Hard work

Representation of this value can be seen in *Deep In My Heart* and *The Blind Side*. Since Barbara was a child until she becomes a teenager, there are scenes showing her sitting in the chair and reading her text book. To get better grades and a scholarship, Mike must study harder than other students. He needs more time to study not only at school but also at home and to be a football player he must practice harder. This represents in following scenes,



Scene 8



Scene 9

The Blind Side

Deep In My Heart

Based on pictures above, as student they responsibility is study. It is not easy to get great grade at school. It is shows that to get a better grade in school as student is important. Barbara believes that by studying well, she can show to the world that she becomes a success person. She finish her study even she has all ready has a son. Mike must study hard to get better grade so he can get a scholarship to university and he can be a football player. To pass the test or get great grade in the final exam all the student must study well because education is one of the key for people to reach their future. Education is important for everyone. More educated people are less likely to be unemployed and live in poverty because there is a correlation between higher levels of education and higher earnings for all racial/ethnic groups and for both men and women. The income gap between high school graduates and college graduates has increased significantly over time (Baum & Payea, 2005, pp. 7-9).

f. Responsibility

As a child, Leigh Anne teaches her son to be responsible with his life. He must study well at his university and do not ruin his future by doing something bad. In other movie's representation of responsibility can be seen from Barbara decides to move because of her pregnancy. She realizes that she has made a mistake and she knows that she has to be responsible for that. She knows that her adoptive mom will be disappointed with her, so as a consequence she leaves and decides to raise the baby by herself without her adoptive mother's help, as reflected below scene,



Scene 10
Deep In My Heart

Mother: Barbara what are we going to do?
Barbara: I'm moving in with Don's sister.

Mother: could we discuss this?
Barbara: discuss what? Giving it's a way.
Mother: what about the baby? Did you considered which....
Barbara: I never stop considering that?

REPRESENTATION OF IDEOLOGY IN THE MOVIES

The movies represent how the adoptee deserved to have a better life and family as a normal child from a major community (white family) and have a better career later. Through the movies, the issue of racial discrimination seems unimportant. The status of the minority child is equal to that of their white parents when they are accepted into a white family (Morrison, 2004, p. 191). The values come from American majority values, and it can be concluded that when the majority teaches the same values that they believe in as the ideal values to live with, that means majority and minority are equal. The movies represent the ideology that "all men are created equal".

In *Deep in My Heart*, Annalise says that she just wants to give that child a home,

Annalise's Narration: I was Barbara mother. Adoptive mother. Adoptive child. Black white. I didn't think it makes different. We can make a home for a child whose already here.

Based on the narration above, she wanted to give the child a better place to live. When she knew that Barbara could not make a relationship with other child because they lived in white neighborhood she decided to move. She moved to neighborhood where black and white could live together so Barbara would find some friends to play with. It also depicts in *The Blind Side*. When Leigh Anne knew that Big Mike did not have any place to stay, she invited him to stay at her house and spent Thanksgiving with Touhy family. It was not easy for someone or a family decided to adopt a child especially from different racial

background. When Leigh Anne and Sean Touhy wanted to adopt Michael Oher as their son, they were rejected by the society. When Leigh Anne told her friends that she wanted to adopt Mike, her friends did not think that was a great idea.

In *Daughter From Danang*, the rejection of idea to adopt the child from Vietnam comes from Heidi's uncle, Don Neville.

Don Neville's Narration: The way I found out about Anne was adopting Heidi, I think, was talking to my mom. She told me over the telephone. I say: "What in the world is she doing that for?" And I was very perturbed. I say: "Y'know, with all of the kids in this country that need homes- why?"

This condition also can be seen in *Deep In My Heart* when Bob thinks that it difficult to raise a black girl, and when Annalise decides to move to new neighborhood, he left them. Since that time, Annalise become a single mother and she works to become an earner.



Scene 11
Deep In My Heart

Bob: It just about time.
Annalise: you aren't staying. Are you?
Bob: No. I asked you to make a choice and you did it
Annalise: We made a commitment to her. I don't see like we have had an option.
Bob: Yeah..well....I guess I do. I need some figuring, I can cover some of expenses here but not at all.

These movies portray the idea of how the white parent comes into the life of the black child or Vietnamese child and changes their life drastically for the better. America is known as "the land of opportunity" and this

has helped perpetuate the idea, as stated in the Declaration of Independence that “all men are created equal”. Americans believe that, no matter what your social position or your racial background in the U.S., you are free to rise as high as you can, provided you work hard and have some good luck.

CONSTRUCTING IMAGE OF IDENTITY IN THE MOVIES

One of the problems related to trans-racial adoption is about identity. It happens when black children live with a white family. They will be confused in recognizing themselves, or they will lose their identity since they are of a different race. The confusing condition related to identity can be seen in *Deep In My Heart*. It is not easy for a little girl who has already lived with people who just look like her for years, to suddenly move and live in a white community. Barbara cannot have a relationship with other kids because she realizes that she is different. It is difficult for a child to have a relationship when she already knows that black and white are different and have a bad relationship in American history. Barbara cannot have a relationship with other kids because she realizes that she is different. In the white community she is called “nigger” and “oreo,” words that she never knew before. It is obviously depicted in the cases when children live with parents from a different race. He or she will lose their identity. Isaiah is a three year old black infant. He does not know that he is different from his adoptive family. He is living in a neighborhood where there are no other black people. In *Daughter From Danang*, Heidi says that her adoptive mother, Ann, tries to make her as “American as possible”. In addition, her friend says that she becomes strictly all American, and Heidi's features and her complexion and everything is just like an American that has a suntan. Isaiah does not notice that he is different from his sister. If he knew it, he would answers

Hanna's question with “my hands are black and your hands are white” but he answer it by telling the size of their hands. This clearly shows that he does not think about his skin color, or in other words he does not know about his racial background.

IDEOLOGY OF TRANSRACIAL ADOPTION MOVIES

These movies actually represent the values which humans already embrace. As we know, everybody has values in his mind or core values. The core values are the guiding principles that dictate behavior and action. Values can help people differentiate between right and wrong. Some of those values are freedom, equality, honesty, and hard work. These values are only true if they have an influence and if the person manages to live with it. In fact not all of the values can be applied in society. But in America, through the representation of values as seen in the movies everything can happen, especially when those values are taught by the majority in American society which seems impossible in reality. Therefore, when movie industry represents those values, it makes people like it. As we know one of the characteristics of popular literature is that they are created to fulfill the market demand or taste. However, movies are an effective media to transfer ideas and influence people around the world, movies work as an instrument to affect the ideology and culture around the world, as Maisuwong (2012) stated,

..the Hollywood movie can influence the people around the world... Hollywood is the succeed story of America which it works as an instrument to affect the ideology, and culture of the world populations.

Based on the statement above, it can be concluded that when people see or enjoy movies, they are already influenced by the

ideology and culture that exist in the movies which are produced by Hollywood, one of the biggest movie industries in the world. Through the movie, it makes all people around the world who are movie lovers have a different point of view of America in general.

The media, in this case is the movie has a central role in spreading the ideology. The ideological media is the center of the struggle for consumers' minds and central views. The way in which the media operates could equate to what it envisaged when it talked about 'equality' and the creation of values that others must follow. This ideology grows through mediums, such as movies to show the movie lovers that America is a country which can provide equal rights for every community and it makes people have different ways of seeing America. The movies represent that the issues of racial discrimination and inequality are not too important. When a white family has decided to adopt a child they become color blind, they want to raise the child and give the best place to live. The movies show that white as the major community in America is equal with minorities (Black and Asian).

Actually until today, discrimination still exists and has become a never ending story in American history. The issues of racial discrimination and injustice are things that cannot simply be ignored in communities, especially in the history of the American nation. In the 1990s, Americans witnessed racial riots in Los Angeles, and the burning of African American churches in the South. Hate crimes against minorities, especially African Americans, reportedly increased in the 1990s. African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics, and Asians all have experienced institutionalized or state-sanctioned discrimination as well as social prejudice and oppression. (Pollard & O'hare, 1999, p. 4).

The ideology that "all men are created equal" also can be seen in transracial adoption movies and it seems that inequality is unimportant. The absence of inequality in the movies doesn't only represent the take side or celebration of equality as is often declared in American writings. It can be said as respecting different ideology as well.

One of the powers of hegemony is to promote the dominant's way of thinking through discourse or even ideology using mass media. Based on this situation, the movies want to influence society by showing different ways of seeing Americans, especially the white society as the major community in America.

Finally the moviegoers see that America is the best at respecting the other or minorities. The statement that "all men are created equal" in the American Declaration of Independence is really happened and America as the land of opportunity is not only a dream. The country that can represent the dominant class and produce values which are accepted and enjoyed by society all around the world is America through Hollywood movies. Hollywood has succeeded in selling America to the world and through these movies America succeeds in making the people view American white society as the best society in the world. This will still continue as long as America still leads in presenting its popular culture. It is through the popular culture that the ideology still lives in the form of what Eagleton describes as pseudo ideology, "on the one hand, ideologies are passionate, rhetorical, impelled by some benighted pseudo-religious faith which the sober technocratic world of modern capitalism has thankfully outgrown" (Eagleton, 1991, p. 4).

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion of transracial adoption movies, the representation of values

through popular literature is analyzed. Movies as mass media can represent something meaningful, and they can be enjoyed by people all around the world.

First, the movies show a reflection of the tastes of the people who missed the values they exist in real life. The movies represent the values which are taught by adoptive parents to the adoptee which are the same values that exist in society. The values represented in the movies are freedom, equality, honesty, responsibility, giving support to each other, and also hard work.

Second, the movies show the ideology that "all men are created equal." It seems impossible in America because until today the racial discriminations still exist in American society. The ability of the movies as an affective media to spread the ideology that is unnoticed by the audience then allows the audience to see America become different. In other words, movies are made to create a conception as if it will clean up the history of the actions of the American majority toward minority groups. Examples of the mistreatment of minorities by the majority include slavery, segregation, the Jim Crow Law, discrimination and when they took land and rights from the Native Americans.

Third, based on the values which are taught by the adoptive parents it doesn't make the adoptee forget about their identity. However, when they become adult and they have their own freedom to choose what they want to be or what they want to do, it will make a difference. They can be proud to be American, because by becoming Americans, they can have a better life. The process of identity can be influenced by the social institution and their experience and the process of identity will be continuous until they decide the best way in which to identify.

In the end, those who dominate the global movie industry through hegemony are able to display something which is acceptable and desired by audiences around the world. Hollywood is still the most powerful movie industry and it is able to determine market demands.

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A POPULAR CULTURE RESEARCH ON AMERICAN HEGEMONY IN TRANSNATIONAL WOMEN MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS

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Abstract

Women magazine advertisements from the United States of America (U.S.A.) cross border in space of time and location due to the transnational characteristics of American popular culture. By traveling through spaces of time, an advertisement from previous years is possible to come up again in many years after. This occurrence happens in some U.S. women magazine advertisements. Meanwhile through spaces of location, U.S. magazine advertisements can also be published in magazines from other nations with almost no real difference in its visualizations, like what happens in Indonesian women magazines. Scholars claim the occurrence is influenced by the American hegemony phenomena. Working under the American Studies discipline, the researcher chooses a total of 3621 women magazine advertisements from the 2007-2008 issues of U.S. *Ladies Home Journal*, *O: The Oprah Magazine*, *Cosmopolitan*; Indonesian *Cosmopolitan*, *Kartini*, and *Femina*, as well as 1960 *Ladies Home Journal* to become the main data for research. In her research, a thread of popular culture, consumer culture and gender ideology perspectives are found. First, through popular culture, the advertisements gain an easy access for transnationality and globalization. Second, through consumer culture, the researcher finds that women are acknowledged as the highest potential as consumers because they are the decision makers of their own family's household expenses. Third, by dissecting and analyzing the advertisements in more detail, the research also finds that gender ideology confirms how society still want women to maintain the traditional roles of women as mothers and housewives.

Keywords: Transnational American Studies, popular culture, hegemony, gender ideology

INTRODUCTION

Crisscrossing influences in global society today is an absolute phenomenon because in the era of globalization where cultures are becoming transnational, people have difficulty in distinguishing what becomes the characteristic of a nation due to the emergence of borderless areas among nations. With regards to the phenomenon, it is interesting to take note of Kraidy's opinion (2002) that with globalization, the culture of "the entire world has been molded in the image of a Western, mainly American, culture" (p. 1). Part of the reason for this particular condition is because in foreign and domestic policies, according to Beeson (2004), America has assumed "an unprecedented prominence in the affairs of

other nations and regions as they seek to accommodate, and where possible benefit from, the evolution of American hegemony" (p. 1). The hegemonic status of being the most powerful country on the planet has been continually maintained by America with their popularity of American products, such as the mushrooming of McDonald's restaurants and the worldwide spread of the credit card (Ritzer, 1998). The credit card has especially encouraged people to continually buy American products with ease, thus, support the continual hegemonic status America has over other nations. In Crockatt's view (2007), however, American hegemony is not only caused by the global service of credit cards, but it is also caused by the identification of the U.S. as a country which is incomparable to

others due to the understanding that America has been regarded as the chosen country to lead and become the savior of all nations (p. 16). In relation to this, Ferguson (2003) observes that America's massive economy output, powerful military and soft cultural power has also led America to hegemony and therefore makes an undeniable picture of the reality of American globalization (2003, p. 21).

America's globalization is said to have taken into account of Marshall McLuhan's prophecy (2002) of the "Global Village" (p. 1). In this village, McLuhan predicts that by way of electricity, unique cultures of certain countries are blending into one another to produce a global village of similar cultures. After half a century later, the electricity media McLuhan talks about is revealed in the occurrence of the internet. The internet, which reaches great distances through its increasing speed (Vertovec, 1999, p. 1) has created an invisibility of areas' boundaries. With much information on the many kinds of American products that are available within a single click, the American popular culture has easily crossed the borders of many nations. For this reason, Ritzer (1998) argues that America's culture is tied to no place and no period when he cites Smith who believes that the characterization of globalization is "context-less" because it is "a true *mélange* if disparate components drawn from everywhere and nowhere, borne upon the modern chariots of global telecommunications systems" (p. 84).

In this discussion on the cross bordering phenomenon of context-less communication, America is witty in not only taking advantage of the digital media of the internet but also through a more conventional print media, such as the magazine, which is prepared for cultures whose modern digital technology is still limited. Through either digital or printed media, therefore, a person from anywhere in

the world can learn and be immersed in the American culture. Through the digital and print media, global citizens are potentially influenced to dress up, behave and think like the Americans.

As an example, the popularization of the McDonald's burger not only increase America's economy and elevate its hegemonic status, but it has also introduced the modern fast food eating habit for people on the run. The American eating habit and its effect on transforming other nations' way of thinking is, consequently, making it increasingly difficult to recognize the origin of someone's culture. The uncertainty of someone's origin is based on W.B. Yeats' belief on globalization as the factor for the "Western world [that] is going Eastern, even as the East goes Western" (McLuhan, 1964, p. 44). The intertwining of the Asian and American culture above is, in other words, caused by the global or transnational character of American popular culture.

A study on American popular culture, which deals with the everyday life phenomenon of what Americans do during their spare time and what they listen to, talk about or wear each day is an interesting, likewise, important area of American Studies research. This is especially relevant when considering that the Indonesian culture, according to Beng-Huat (2000) is heavily influenced by the existence of American popular culture. With American popular culture easily transnationalized across the globe, Beng-Huat reports that most Indonesians aspire to be Americans. Not only do Indonesians admire whatever is American, but they see the need to buy American products, which are advertised in women magazine advertisements, in order to be identified as a member of the world's leading global citizen. In Beng-Huat's understanding (2000), Indonesians feel a sense of pride in using American products because it not only

“signal self-identities” but also establish and “maintain membership of collective identities” (p. 137). In support of this, Warde (1994) comments that,

today, people define themselves through the messages they transmit to others through the goods and practices that they possess and display. They manipulate or manage appearances and thereby create and sustain a “self-identity”. In a world where there is an increasing number of commodities available to act as props in this process, identity becomes more than a matter of the personal selection of self-image. (p. 878)

In other words, to an Indonesian the purchase and use of American commodities is a crucial need in showing their identity. The American popular culture product helps transform Indonesians’ appearances and identifies them as members of a leading global group. The products or American commodities, thus, have a hegemonic nature. In relation to American Studies research, therefore, a number of questions arise. First, is how the magazine advertisements as a media of promoting the American products can influence women magazine readers to be interested in and trap them into a consumer culture. Second, is how they scan signal the dream of achieving a global self-identity. Third, because most of the advertisements are published in women magazines, it is also interesting to question whether the women images used in the advertisements have a gender ideology influence behind them or not.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The above phenomenon on the cross-bordering of culture and American hegemony is also experienced in the field of American Studies when facing the development of the U.S. In the New American Studies, Rowe explains, “Where traditional American studies focus on one single dominant culture that assimilates with other immigrant cultures, the

more recent or New American Studies focus on the cultural hybridities that have occurred historically among the many cultures that constitute the American nation.” (Rowe, 2002, p.12). In her argument, Rowe (2002) also expresses that American Studies scholars are strongly encouraged to give attention to the “intersections and interactions” of the different cultures in America, which help make up the “cultural hybridities” that constitute its people (p. 167). The focus on cultural hybridities in the New American Studies approach, have encouraged scholars to make use of the coming of the multi-cultured immigrants in America as an important history to the shaping up of the country. It is this cultural hybridity in women magazine advertisements that may be the key to the strong hegemony position of American popular culture.

In the field of American Studies, the cross-bordering phenomenon is equivalent to the transnational phenomenon of popular culture. As informed above, in the transnational culture of American hegemony, a cultural hybridity arises from America’s multi-cultures. Rowe’s view, which sees the effect of the immigrant’s culture variations in American history as an important element of research in American Studies, is the same with Fishkin, another distinguished American Studies scholar’s view point. It is Fishkin, who has been encouraging American Studies scholars to acknowledge scholarly research by embracing the complexities behind the building up of an American identity (2004, p. 1). Although initial discussions of the concept have begun since the 1990s, it was not until 2004 that Transnational American Studies as a theory is formalized by Fishkin (2004) in her American Studies Association’s presidential address. In order to understand the whole American culture, she states: “The goal of American studies scholarship is not exporting and championing an arrogant, pro-American

nationalism but understanding the multiple meaning of America and American culture in all their complexity” (p. 20). This means that Fishkin believes American culture is a result of not just one single culture but a result of a hybrid of cultures that spring up from the various immigrants that make up America. Fishkin (2004) also exclaims that “Today American studies scholars increasingly recognize that that understanding requires looking beyond the nation’s borders, and understanding how the nation is seen from vantage points beyond its borders” (p. 20). Her address, opens up the understanding that in looking at America, the place of American hegemony’s self-regard would permit scholars to gain more distinction and better multi-cultural understandings of what was or could be defined as American. This hints that with transnationalism in New American Studies, theories of cosmopolitanism and post-national conception of global or planetary citizenship is now intellectually challenged.

As understood from the above discussions, in dealing with a global phenomenon, research that deals with what most people “listen, buy, read, consume, and seem to enjoy to the full” (Hall, 2002, p. 446) and “do in their dominant culture” (Hall, 2002, p. 448) is important to do. The advent of American popular culture that is made transnational through women magazine advertisements is a factor that causes the country’s position to have a strong relationship with other countries. The popular use of Google facilities with that of Apple computers and Ipads are proof of how American popular culture has been an influencing leader to the world. Like informed by Beng-Huat’s (2000) and Warde’s (1994) above in his “self-identity” proclamation, owning an American popular culture product is understood by Indonesians and other nations as a realization for a “sense of freedom, personal power, and status aspiration” (Tomlinson, 1990, p. 6). These are

tempting people to be consumptive in their lives. To these people, the more American products they have, the more hegemon they can be. Yet in consuming American popular culture products, Indonesians and other countries often do not realize how powerful the American culture is in changing the people’s lifestyle and every day habits.

The hegemonic influence America has over other nations, such as Indonesia via its popular culture products has made some strong impact to the local culture. When Indonesians interact with American popular culture, they are unconsciously sending and absorbing the new culture with others’ cultures, too. In the process, there is a tendency for a shift or reconstruction of the cultural belief when absorption of globalized American products is being concerned. Thus, not only do Easterners become influenced by the Western culture, but at the other end, the Westerners are also getting impressions from the Eastern countries. This article, therefore, makes a discussion on an American Studies research which deals with American hegemony by way of popular women magazine advertisements.

METHODOLOGY

The data source for the research reported here is advertisements from three popular U.S. women magazines of 2007-2008, i.e. *Cosmopolitan* (905 advertisements), *Ladies’ Home Journal* (587 advertisements), and *O: the Oprah Magazine* (786 advertisements); and three popular Indonesian women magazines, i.e. *Cosmopolitan* (723 advertisements), *Kartini* (102 advertisements) and *Femina* (170 advertisements). This particular year frame is chosen because there was a world economy recession or crisis in 2008, thus gives the assumption that there are more advertisements of products in the magazines. Yet, by comparing it to the year before, i.e. 2007, the

research finds that the number of advertisements published in the six magazines do not have any significant difference in number. Thus, the economic recession experienced by people do not directly affect how many industries choose to pay up for promotions through magazine advertisements. The research on magazine advertisements uses *Cosmopolitan* because it is acknowledged as the most popular franchised magazine, which is brought transnational across the world. In almost any country, there is *Cosmopolitan* magazine. This gives reason why *Cosmopolitan* Indonesia is directly compared to the U.S. version. The transnational phenomenon of the magazine advertisements in the sample of the U.S. *Cosmopolitan* magazine, according to Lagani in a YouTube interview has the position as the “number one magazine in the world” (2009), thus, it promises a better understanding on the study of women magazines as a representation of how the factor of space or location can result differences in the choice of American popular culture products advertised in American women magazine versus the Indonesian ones.

The transnational characteristics on popular culture also forces the research to deal with the borderless boundary of space time. As a representative for this, there is a seventh magazine, i.e. the selection of 1960-1961 *Ladies' Home Journal* magazine (348 advertisements), which is reknowned as the pioneering and most long standing magazine in America. In seeing the similarities and differences of the 2000s edition versus the 1960s, the research can find whether or not there has been a development in women's image that is used as the models for the American popular culture products advertised in the magazines. This step is important to do, since a Philadelphia advertising agency, N.W. Ayer and Son, has opened up the understanding that advertisements have a high

credibility in an historical reconstruction (Marchand, 1986, p. xv). The fact that America is formed from multi cultures, also makes it necessary for the research to use magazine advertisements from *O: the Oprah Magazine* that is founded by an African-American in the year 2000.

Femina and *Kartini* are two of the most popular women magazines circulated in Indonesia. These magazines are used as the variable to see how transnational are the American popular culture's products advertised in magazines. The more transnational the advertisements are, then some advertisement from either the American *Cosmopolitan*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and *O: the Oprah Magazine* could be found in the Indonesian one without any changes in either the visualization and verbal texts. Yet. Since transnational also entails cultural hybridity, the research also wants to see what has the Indonesian copywriters do to accomodate the Indonesian audience for the American products advertised in the Indonesian magazines.

DISCUSSION SUCCESS OF CROSS BORDERING NATIONS WITH WOMEN MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS' FREEDOM IMAGERY

America is stereotyped as a country, which offers its inhabitants to have the freedom in choosing the kind life one wants to have without any real hindrance from anyone. In analyzing the kinds of imageries advertisements offer to women, the most frequent imagery found in the research is one that represents the value of freedom. The expression of freedom, in this case is supported by imageries that show a democracy of working independently or being self-reliant and in the self confidence of making decisions in purchasing the appropriate

products advertised in the magazines for the benefit of the family.

In the U.S., the exercises of democracy for its people commences by giving low affordable prices to magazines. If, for example, a college or foreign graduate student can have a stipend of U.S. \$1000 and the price of a newly published magazine is around a U.S. \$3 to \$5 range that means it is less than 1% of the stipend, thereby it makes possible for everyone to buy and read a magazine. In reading a magazine advertisement, there is no boundary of race, age or gender, so the price range should accommodate for as many people to consume it. Next, magazines are the media for women's aspirations to work independently and pursue for a career. Thus, in magazines there are various kinds of modern technology advertisements that decrease the burden of women's housework and office work duties, so that in doing the duties women are encouraged to do them alone without asking for any assistance from the men. Magazines also teaches women to speak up freely and express themselves through forums of making complaints, suggestions or answering questions for polling purposes, thus advertisements that show images on making women feel more worthy as a human being are often used deliberately to attract potential consumers. For this reason, magazine advertisements often offer chances for women to exercise their own decision making in purchasing advertised products to achieve a more comfortable life in either the U.S. or Indonesian setting.

Some prominent issues which are related with the freedom imagery of women are shown, first with the idea that women can do so much more and better with the conditions they already have. The issue of women's self-actualization is presented in, for example, the hair spray magazine advertisement which holds the women's hair even though she moves about a lot. From an advertisement in

USA *Cosmopolitan*, February 2007, p. 84, it is seen that a woman freely laughs out loud at the accomplishment she has done with her hair spray. The image seems to point to how in every way she moves, her hair manages to hold well into place that she is satisfied with the result of her hair spray. Spraying the hair spray around herself is an expression that signifies the feeling of a personal achievement in using the product. The way she dresses herself with a sleeveless top that show off some of her beautiful body curves is also a sign that she has a high self-reliance of the independence of whatever she can do to elevate a self-confident feeling. The text at the bottom right that says "BEAUTY THAT HOLDS" not only signifies how the hair spray holds her beautiful hair in place, but also in how she holds her audience's breath for the beauty she is expressing.

In Indonesia, the freedom of being a self-reliant person is manifested in the ownership of a credit card. The offering of the "Lady Series" card from Lippo Bank promises the possibility of women achieving and possessing many things. She could choose the Lady Pink card to get her to Paris, or the Lady Diamond card to buy the shoes and gown she needs to see a theatrical performance, or the Lady Gold card to get her shopping and bring back packages of goodies. Women can freely go anywhere, do anything and buy whatever she wants with a bonus of 5% savings. In the Lippo Bank Lady Card (*Femina*, 29 Mei-4Jun 2008, p. 109) there is the promise of a bonus or discount, which becomes a marketing strategy that most Indonesian consumers often look forward to. In other words, credit cards to Indonesians are identical to discounts on something rather than as a way to make a down payment on an important asset.

In the same magazine, *Femina*, the offer of a credit card from BII and BCA all have discounts to the other leisure activity

Indonesians love to do, i.e. eating Western food at U.S. franchise restaurants. For BII, it is offering the purchase of *satay* kebab with as much as 50% discount to merchants and restaurants listed in the advertisements, whereas for BCA it is offering a 15% off to the pizza menu available at a Pizza Hut restaurant. Somehow eating a Western food and paying it with a credit card for the Indonesian consumer signifies a higher social status. The advertisement on a Citibank credit card, however, chooses to use fashion jewelry accessories in the picture. This means that the value of the American credit card is not delegated like for the Indonesian middle class who loves to use it for food, but instead the American credit card is for the high class, thus, the image used in the Citibank card is diamond ring and bracelet, and a matching glittery purse. Instead of a discount for the purchase of the jewelry, Citibank is offering a 0% installment. Interestingly, advertisements on credit cards are not seen in any of the U.S. magazines chosen as data. The credit card is already a culture for the Americans that the advertisers assumes everyone already has one and so there is no need to advertise. If in Indonesia people still need to be influenced into making a credit card, for Americans it is odd to see someone only having a debit and no credit card.

America is known as a consumer country. This implies that it is ordinary to have people pay in credit for the things they need. In lifestyle, this effected the way Americans could easily donate their materials for others even though the thing they are donating is still in god quality or have only been used for a couple of months. By comparison, for Indonesians parting with their material is hard to do since buying it was by debit card or by cash, thus, there is a tendency for passing down materials to others only when the material is already bad in quality or no longer meet the kind of prestige Indonesians seek by

having the material. Indonesians see that the experience they had in the past with their materials is something to treasure and retold to their grandchildren. By comparison, Kluckhohn and Strodbeck (1961) point out that the U.S. is a very future-oriented society. Freedom imagery is supported by how optimistic and self-confident the models in the advertisements are. For example, a backless dress worn by a model signifies the daring attitude a woman can do in proudly exposing her back and thus become the center of attraction by the male counterpart. The expression of the model which shows a daring and full of confident attitude signifies the self-actualization and awareness of her own sexy body and its power to 'allure' men, that all men, as represented in the advertisement's background see her as the ideal type of woman. This image is seen in the Giorgio Armani perfume advertisement in the Indonesian *Cosmopolitan*, February, 2007, p. 21. It is, however, interesting to point out that the magazine uses the hybridity of a half-naked female Caucasian model with the backless dress. It is as though a confirmation that only Western foreigners are allowed to act the way they are. However, the appearance of the female model with brown hair and dark cosmetics or make-up in the advertisement makes her looking similar with an Indonesian woman which brings a sense of closeness to signify that Indonesian women are capable to achieve the same thing.

A year later, a similar attempt in showing how a woman are free to express oneself by being daring with her half-naked body is found in a Vaseline product advertisement. In it is used an Indo-European model, Dewi Sandra, whose hair is colored brunette, thus from afar she looks Western (Indonesian *Cosmopolitan*, November 2008, p. 153). Although Dewi Sandra is an Indonesian actress, the background of one of her parent being a Westerner allows her to show off her sexy

back like in the Giorgio Armani perfume advertisement.

Looking through the number of advertisements in the Indonesian *Cosmopolitan* of 2007-2008, no advertisement with a backless and fully bred Indonesian model is found. This shows that although the magazine is franchised, it realizes its Indonesian audience and thus carry on the culture that it is impolite to fully show one's sexy self in public.

Yet, in finding out whether there are instances of exactly the same advertisement from the U.S. *Cosmopolitan* and Indonesian version, women's freedom imagery is found in the Calvin Klein product's advertisement on jeans, which shows off the film star, Brooke Shields and Kate Moss. The Brooke Shields advertisement in the 1980s shot by Richard Avedon, was a popular advertisement because of the first of many taboo-breaking Klein advertisements. It showed the fifteen-year-old Shields, who is innocent with long straight hair and clear eyes, wearing a Calvin Klein is turning slowly towards the camera is asking boldly, "Know what comes between me and my Calvins? Nothing". People may vaguely know Brooke Shields before they saw the advertisement. The word "Nothing" in the advertisement also points to her experience of starring in the *Blue Lagoon* as a teenager, who shows her nudity. It is this nudity scene that makes her chosen as the icon for Calvin Klein's sex appeal.

A decade later, Brooke Shields is replaced by the supermodel, Kate Moss whose thin body became the next celebrity for the Calvin Klein jeans and perfume. During that time, America sees the twiggy style as popular, thus explains why Kate Moss is chosen as the mode. When Klein saw that Americans were ready for more and more suggestive or sexual advertising, he made sure that he and his clothing were in full view of a series of

provocative advertisements. Calvin Klein's perfume advertisement, which is published in both the 2007 U.S. *Cosmopolitan* and Indonesian *Cosmopolitan*, however, do not show off half-naked bodies, but instead show a fully clothed Kate Moss with sexually provocative gesture with a guy as though they were about to make some kind of sexual favors.

The freedom expression of women, such as mediated by Kate Moss in her provocative gesture is an example how women freedom imagery in advertisements is usually used to help spread consumerism in both American and Indonesian magazines. In fact, many advertisements often use women models that challenge their readers either in their gesture, the clothing they wear or in the language style or vocabulary used to help advertise the products through the magazine as media for promotion. This use of women magazine as a media for advertisements has been done ever since the post-World War II era. Since that time, women's magazine in cooperation with industries used demographics to research and classify their readers in order to make predictions about their consumption patterns (Gough-Yates, 2003, p. 2) and find ways to ensure that the advertisement in the magazine is continually popular and enhance the promotion of the industries' products. This condition has constructed a "women's market" ever since the 1950s (Winship, 1987, p. 46). In the attempt to seduce women to buy more of the products, this research analysis of advertisements finds that women's freedom imagery is mostly used as a strategy to globally market the industries' products.

By the late 1970s, research on the motivation of women consumers was replaced by "lifestyle segmentations" (Gough-Yates, 2003, p. 2), which shape the new image of women who are decision makers of buying the products. In the 1990s, however women's

magazines shifted their representation of women to having sexual confidence and independence, when researchers found the new middle class consumers call for “pleasure as a duty, self-expression, bodily expression and natural sexuality” (Gough-Yates, 2003, pp. 140-143). It is for this reason that in both American and Indonesian *Cosmopolitan* magazines, many of the advertisements rely on sexual scenes to elevate a freedom imagery for women via advertisements.

In showing how women can exercise her freedom of choice, advertisements also offer that there is strength in women collectivism, which is represented in the notion of sisterhood. Women has been noted to usually gather in a group along with other women. Groupings with fellow women strengthen ones sense of belonging. According to Lindquist and Sirgy (2006) the sense of belonging relates to the terms of security, camaraderie and friendship which strengthen one’s position in the society. In collectivism, women are able to actualize themselves by sharing and talking about their daily life problems with their fellow women when they gather with their friends (p. 176). Further, American culture increasingly supports the need to work collectively to solve problems. Despite the fact that the spirit of individualism is still strong for the U.S. people, today’s consumers tend to place greater value on teamwork. The advertisement on Nivea body product, which shows three American women of multi race, i.e. an African-American with a Mexican-American and European-American are making friendly conversation while applying Nivea body lotion on their legs from *O: The Oprah Magazine of* May 2007, p. 68-69 show the strength of collectivism in women. Through a visual study, the advertisement seem to inform that women can achieve freedom by making use of the opportunity to be together to talk out whatever problems women have. In the advertisement,

the problem may be any career and household problems or the dryness on their skin, thus becomes reason why Nivea body lotion is continually needed. (Lindquist and Sirgy, 2006)

In Indonesia, finding strength through collectivism to express freedom is also found in the emphasis of togetherness or *gotong royong* culture. The Indonesian women’s tradition of *arisan* where women are gathered to discuss their problems, eat together, gossip and conduct a kind of lottery, that still persists until nowadays, becomes the media for self expression in the Indonesian *Cosmopolitan* November 2008, p. 73 issue. The happy smiles of the models signify the happiness of being with friends and enjoy that sense of belonging to a group of woman. Although the product advertised is a handy camera, the message transferred from this advertisement clearly reads: you will be happy when you gather with your friends and you can keep the happiness by capturing it with a handy cam. Interestingly, the advertisement which represents the collectivism value in Indonesian *Cosmopolitan* magazines is found to only cover 1% of all the issues within American *Cosmopolitan* advertisements on collectivism, i.e. around 3.4% of the advertisement’s total data for the research. It is interesting to note that in Indonesian magazines, collectivism is usually shown in relation with the product of technology.

PATRIARCHY HEGEMONY IN WOMEN’S LIFE AS A PARADOX TO WOMEN’S FREEDOM

Advertisements in magazines are paradoxical. Although advertisements can be the media to transfer a freedom imagery, they also transfer the confirmation that women are bind under a patriarchy hegemony of keeping women in their own household. For example, in a milk advertisement from a U.S. magazine, the message transferred to its readers is that being

healthy means that women have the freedom to focus on how to increase their health by consuming as much milk each day as it contains a high dosage of vitamin D. As shown in another U.S. milk advertisement, an elderly woman is seen to have a 'white' mustache to prove that she has just drunk milk. This scene opens the idea that there is no restriction as to whom can consume milk for health. No matter how young or old, how busy you are as a manager of an office or business woman or a mother of a baby is, or how sexy a red dressed actress is, in a series of *Got Milk* advertisement the accompanying text "In show business your figure shows. That's why I drink milk" (*Ladies' Home Journal* August 2007, p.3) and "Staying active, eating right, and drinking 24 ounces of low fat free milk a day helps you look at your best" (*O: The Oprah Magazine*, February 2007, p. 41) *Got Milk* advertisement has become proof that women are free individuals, who can choose to drink milk as a daily beverage to keep healthy.

By comparison, although Indonesian advertisements on milk produce are also valued, women models used give out the image that it is the duty for mothers to buy milk for her family. Therefore, it does not elevate the sense of freedom imagery that the American *Got Milk* advertisement above has. The Indonesian mother positioned around a dining table and kitchen has instead solidify the meaning of patriarchy hegemony. The explanation for this is, it has not become a habit yet for Indonesians to drink milk every day. Thus, milk in the *Frisian Flag* advertisement from (*Femina* 24-30 May 2007, p.135) is still exclusively limited for the growing children and not for every member of the family.

Reflecting back to the *Ladies' Home Journal* magazine advertisements in the 1960s, it is interesting to find that like the Indonesian

magazine advertisements, the women are given patriarchy hegemony images. As proof almost all of the images of women in the 1960s advertisements, women models have been located in kitchens doing household chores. Examples are women, who are promoting laundry detergents, or dishwashing detergents, which claim that the ingredients in the detergents can still leave women's hands silky smooth. If women are shown some kind of freedom, it is usually found in fashion and cosmetics advertisements, where men are often pictured as lurking beside the women while giving compliments on how beautiful are the women. Scenes like these do not really impress women as having freedom, but instead have strengthen the men as the agent who makes women feel beautiful. In other words, women need men to defone them as beautiful creatures.

THE GENDER IDEOLOGY OF WOMEN IN MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS

In Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1974), out of a sample of 4,500 wives that are from middle-class, high school or college educated American women were divided into three gender ideology categories, they are either the True Housewife, The Career Woman, or The Balanced Homemaker type (pp. 199-200).

In the first category, housekeeping becomes the main interest of these women that the comfortable and well-running home for her family is something that makes her proud and satisfied that she would not want to exchange it with any other type of job nor will anyone be able to take over the job she is managing. It is in this Housewife type of women that appliance marketers see the potential of selling their products to, thus becomes the main reason why 1960s advertisements are filled with household appliances. In the research, it is found that 7% of a total of 3621 advertisements under scrutiny follow this rule.

The second category is the Career Woman. In here, Friedan expresses her belief that women are the minority and extremely unhealthy according to the product sellers' point of view because although women would buy appliances, such women do not believe their primary place is in the home and thus are considered *too critical* by sellers.

Meanwhile, in the third category, the Balanced Homemaker, is regarded as the ideal type by Friedan. In the research, a number of 1960s magazine advertisements do show that women having some outside interests or holding a job before turning into the career of homemaking, would make women readily accept any kind of help a home appliance mechanic offers. Although accepting the male mechanic's help, women do not surrender fully to him because she can still exercise her managing qualities to make the man do whatever is necessary to well-run her household.

Through a consumer perspective, the research finds that the development of women's equality of rights to a workplace outside of the home have resulted marketers, who devised ways for appealing these women with an X mix aid so women are influenced to spend the family's money to get rid of the boredom in the home by creatively doing something. Friedan exclaims:

Every effort must be made to sell X Mix, as a base upon which the woman's creative effort is used.

The appeal should emphasize the fact that X Mix aids the woman in expressing her creativity because it takes the drudgery away. At the same time stress should be laid upon the cooking manipulations, the fun that goes with them, permitting you to feel that X Mix baking is real baking. (1974, p. 202)

In her book *Shaping Our Mother's World: American Women's Magazines*, Walker (2000)

also discussed the role of magazines as a business of expressing editorial philosophies to readers who yearn for personal, social and family advice, in addition to providing entertainment and information about the period of 1940 to 1960 that celebrated women's primary role as a cook and creative homemaker (pp. viii-ix). Especially for the 1950s, Kammen (1999), in his *American Culture, American Tastes: Social Change and the 20th Century*, also added his argument that the American family was immersed in the claim that the rise of income in the economic sector has developed a culture of what used to be a 'need' to become into a 'want' of something for the newly targeted women consumers.

There has been a saying that one should keep up with the Joneses to mean whatever the Jones's family has, it has got to be whatever one has also. During the 1940 to 1960s period of popular culture affluence, although not needing a dish washer machine, since washing dishes for a small family of four is still manageable to a housewife; the saying has influenced women to have what their neighbors have to keep up with the current trend of their society. In connection to this, advertisers are clever to put in a philosophy in their advertisements that is not wrong to want one of their products, too, for the sake of modernity or as a show-off to party goers. This American attitude of wanting to have whatever their neighbors' have has made some dilemma when at the war time, mass produced things became scarce due to the limitations of manpower at factories.

With men going to war as soldiers, women had the chance to join the work force and did a man's job. Joining the work force for women was not a matter of choice, however. Women had to work because some could not live with the small "pittance" given by the government as dependents of their husbands

(Walker, 2000, p. 84). However, this condition created a controversy about the morality of motherly and domestic work with that of public employment (Walker, 2000, p. 67).

Walker explains that during the war, women's magazines target their readers to become nationalistic by supporting the war as army helpers who would "roll bandages, knit warm clothing for servicemen, distribute ration coupons and work for the Red Cross" (2000, p. 80). However, by contrast, after the war, the 350,000 'Rossie the Riveter' women who joined the Women's Army Corps were asked to return to their cultural role as the controller of their domestic world and engage in their lifelong, unpaid employment. A magazine article entitled "Women Work for Their Country" written by Dorothy Dunbar Bromley was in support of this cause, when she wrote in *Women's Home Companion* (December 1941) that in being a woman,

You needn't pilot an airplane, nurse in the army or go into a munitions factory to be of help. There are a number of important though less dramatic things to be done. Volunteer as an air raid warden, drive soldiers and their families to and from camps, entertain at the service clubs and at home. At Traveler's Aid booths in a hundred cities trained volunteers hand out information to boys on week-end leave.

Take a home-nursing course or be a gray lady – a hospital assistant. Study nutrition at a Red Cross class and keep your family well, or study canteen work for larger-scale feeding. If you are qualified teach instead of learn. And when spring comes plant a vegetable garden. (Walker, 1998, p. 35)

To be a woman, therefore, necessitates a far more important duty in the household where a woman, can be her own boss rather than becoming a laborer in a work force. According to the article "The Married Woman Goes Back to Work", which was published in *Woman's Home Companion* of October 1956, women went to work for three reasons:

First of all, there's the obvious answer – money. But statistics show few women need the money for survival...

The second thing that drives women out of the house and into an office or factory to earn a weekly check is prestige...

"At last," a woman, who operates a punch machine in a printing plant, said, "I have something to talk to my husband about in the evening..." (Walker, 1998, pp. 88-91)

The three reasons mentioned connotes that whatever a woman makes outside of the house is regarded an event to have extra money. As implied by the article, the required necessities of the home seem to be sufficiently supplied by whatever earnings any man of the house would earn. Because of that, a woman working, means that she has a higher status in society because she belongs to those who are not in the normal position of a full-time housewife.

The prestige women feel when working outside the home is made possible because the women can get acquaintances with outside people who would deal with their husbands. This makes women feel they are as equally knowledgeable as their husbands. Yet in that situation, a woman is also challenged with the following a number of questions from Walker about work (1998, pp. 91-96). First, in the question "Can you afford to work" a woman is made to realize that by working the family will have to have an additional expenses due to the kinds of wardrobe, beauty care, transportation costs, telephone calls and lunch hour activities such as window shopping. A woman worker is challenged to the idea that if she earns only 75 cents an hour, she may not break even when paying a child care assistant for the same 75 cents because the woman will still have to find extra money somewhere to pay up for her federal income tax, which comes up to 23 cents. The article puts up the following remark:

To be absolutely realistic, then you should add up all of the hidden costs that may be

entailed in your working, then figure out how much you will have to earn in order to pay these costs plus your income tax. If your expenses will be \$50 a week, and your husband's income will put your whole paycheck into the 30 percent bracket, you'll need a salary of \$71.50 to break even. (Walker, 1998, p. 93)

The arithmetic bluntly tells women that it really is not worth working outside the home because a woman cannot afford to have one, so the only best solution is for women to just conform to society's rule of becoming obedient housewives.

Second, in the question "What can you do", the magazine article mentions that the home and community experience have given a woman a certain balance, maturity, organizational ability and warmth (Walker, 1998, pp. 93-94). However, these qualities are something that employers would most likely not buy as they only go under the heading "experiences" and not professional qualifications. A woman's age is also a factor that would most likely decide employers not to accept a woman on a job. If ever a woman does get a job, it would be teaching elementary school students that gives a salary to around \$84,000 a year. Talking about profession, a nursing field or hospital administration, requires the applicant to be under fifty and have had two years of high school education. Thus, a woman must have a Bachelor of Science degree, something that even the male counterparts only have some success in meeting the requirements. By contrast, doing office work such as filing, stenography, electric machine punching, book keeping and handling the switchboard is something that large numbers of women are absorbed into doing. Thus, in "what can you do" question, women in the 1950-60s who have not obtained a qualified education and only depended on the housework experience,

are made to realize that then there is only a small chance of working outside the home.

Third, in the question "What does your husband think of you working?" there is an inclination that husbands mind about wives and mothers working because the child is the one that often suffers from common colds and the garden that was usually made neat would need pruning once in a while.

Fourth, "Are you healthy and energetic" is a question that makes a woman reflect on the idea that if she decides to accept a paying job outside the home, she must take care of herself well enough in order to return home and still have the energy and health to continue with the daily duties of cooking, wash dishes, sort laundry and be ready as a host in entertaining her husband's friends.

Fifth, "Are you adaptable" is another challenging question that asks whether or not women who are already used to the independence they had at home without any supervision and can be the boss to any kind of home event would enable them to become novices and forget the age to office supervisors who need young, smart, non-sensitive, dependable, and quick working employees. Basically, all five questions want women to get the general understanding that a woman's best place is in the home.

After the war, therefore, it is not surprising to learn that a combination of government and business policies and public opinion has favored the patriarchy system of men by making men return to their industrial jobs, and thus, solidly domesticating the women as homemakers. Although some women are reliable workers, who are helped by magazines with practical advice on how to deal with war or career challenges; the lack of adequate day care facilities, which proceeds to the closing off the centers for their baby boom

children, has made it difficult for women to look for long-term job opportunities. Rothman (1978) reports that the federal government has only established day-care centers in 1943, where by 1945 only 10% of them were available for use with very limited facilities and located at inconvenient places, as it was too close to emergency places and encouraged too many women to stay even more at work that rearing their own children no longer became their main duties (p. 223). This consequently, gives reason for some pages of magazines to insert articles that warn women about the increase of juvenile delinquency as a cause for women who decides to abandon their children (Walker, 2000). In the background of this day care issue, Tuttle (1993) comments that there is actually an issue of a male dominated group who regard the entry of millions of women into the paid labor force that was threatening the patriarchal goal of returning women to the life-time performance of unpaid, largely domestic tasks (p. 70).

The above discussions point to the understanding that through magazines women are shown how to become beautiful and attractive with the many kinds of sophistication in cosmetics and how to be practical in cooking; doing housework and using smart clothes for their career. Yet at the same time, through magazine advertisements, women are conditioned to realize as beings that cannot work well unless working in their own household. Magazine advertisements are telling women were to both buy and make savings in the family budget, in order to strive for improved class, and thus should have amiable budget to buy the modern facilitating machines advertised in magazines. For example, the advertisement on the modern gas stove, cooking utensils, sewing machine and vacuum cleaner are claimed to help ease and make quicker the work of the dutiful housewives.

Like the advertisements found in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, December 1960 issue; in *Femina* 2007, there is a picture of both mother and daughter showing how happy they are with their LG washing machine that claims to not crease clothes when washed. In it is written: "*Cuci pakaian Anda dengan mesin cuci LG! Teknologi perputaran ganda Turbo Drum-nya, mencegah cucian tidak kusut karena terlilit dengan pakaian lain*". Likewise, in a 2008 Indonesian *Cosmopolitan* is an LG refrigerator advertisement that promises consumers to be as classy as the machine and the woman model in red when a consumer decides to purchase the refrigerator. Talking about how the refrigerator is made equivalent with the classy woman is interestingly an idea that is similar to Walker's opinion (2000) about women's magazine advertisements that makes a match of "shiny [white] postwar kitchens" with the "whiteness of the proud owners" (p. 133).

In some respect, this is similar to Tomagola's research finding (1998) that Indonesian women cannot avoid the kitchen even though she has a high education and salary because advertisers have cleverly ensure women that housework does not enslave women because it is an entertainment to make a husband satisfied (p. 341). Unlike the American society, although already in the year 2000s having washing machines and refrigerators for Indonesians are still relegated for certain middle to high class consumers and not for every social class. The kind of visualization and text used in the Indonesian advertisement is found to be one way of enticing women consumers to buy products with the promise of receiving something luxurious in return. By comparison, in the U.S. magazine data used for this research, no advertisements on washing machine and refrigerator are found. This may be due to the understanding that in almost any American house or apartments, these kinds of machinery are already available

that there is no need for advertising them. The non-availability of washing machines and refrigerator advertisements in the USA magazine is probably a form of negotiation since washing machines are easily accessible in USA neighborhood laundry mats by just putting in some coins into the slots (see LG refrigerator advertisement in the Indonesian *Cosmopolitan*, November 2008, p. 201).

It is interesting to analyze a vacuum cleaner advertisement, which is claimed to be a must have for any woman. In the November 2007 of *O: the Oprah Magazine* (p. 142), a Halo vacuum cleaner seems to promise as “the world’s only germ killing vacuum cleaner”. Meanwhile, a Dyson slim vacuum cleaner which is light weight promises to be “no longer an oxymoron” in the May 2007 (p. 173) issue. The word “oxymoron” in the Dyson vacuum cleaner advertisement suggests that in the past the machine were not intelligent enough to pick up dirt, so that through time, the machine continually receives a modern outlook and function. It is also interesting to notice that these vacuum cleaners are not advertised in the USA *Cosmopolitan* or *Ladies’ Home Journal* which also becomes the main data for this research. One explanation may be caused by the understanding that housework is perhaps racially relegated to the minority groups, such as the African-American mammies, who in the past are referred to household slaves. In the present time, these vacuum cleaners are mostly in the hands of women minorities who are working for a cleaning service agency. Thus, may explain for why the vacuum cleaner is only found in *O: The Oprah Magazine* whose readers are not only the European white but also includes the black African-American readers.

The above discussion, nevertheless, shows that ever since the World War II era and up to now, many women think that owning modern

household machines will help perform the dual responsibility of a mother or housewife and worker better. Walker (2000) gives the understanding that purchasing certain products and appliances promises women to be out from lower class drudgery. The following samples of texts found in advertisements show how advertisers try to influence women into thinking how helpful a household appliance is. For example, is the “More Small Electric Appliances that Work for You” (*Good Housekeeping*, November 1950) that is used to describe a steam iron.

Another is in the advertisement of a Spray shortening, which is a basic ingredient to making Fried Chicken, Beef burger Toasties, and summertime Sherbert Cake. In the advertisement, a woman is shown opening up a refrigerator door to get rid of the heat of the day with a text that says: “To the Woman who thinks it is too hot to cook! You will spend less time in your kitchen if you use these modern short-cuts-New methods [which is] only possible because Spry is homogenized” (*Ladies’ Home Journal*, August 1953).

Although women are thankful to have these modern appliances most have not realized that having all of those facilities have just given emphasis on the fact that women are being undervalued by society. In other words, the kinds of house work women usually do are understood as non-important. By purchasing modern household machines, it could be said that women are empowered by the men who prefer to have women stay at home. Thanks to “Home Economics High School Text Book” of 1954, a woman is able to learn how to become an ideal housewife, because it has been an aspiration before the end of the 1950s for many girls to be married and have a decent family life (Lamb, 2011, p. 1). The kinds of activities an ideal housewife would do is to maintain the house, prepare meals, take care of the children, help them with their

homework, doing the dishes and laundry while remaining elegant.

Why do women not mind with the idea of being a housewife? Nies offers the reflection upon the American society that believes “a successful college woman of the era was supposed to have an engagement ring on her finger by the end of her senior year” (2008, p. 49). Meanwhile, Mintz and Kellogg (1988) refer to a speech given by a college student, Adlai Stevenson, in 1955 who says that, a woman’s role in life was to “influence us, man and boy, to restore valid, meaningful purpose to life in your home” and “to keep their husbands truly purposeful”. This is also similar to the text of an advertisement that ran: “What’s college? That’s where girls who are above cooking and sewing go to meet a man so they can spend their lives cooking and sewing” (Mintz & Kellogg, 1988).

Discussing about the suburban family in the 1960s, which was a female dominated and pro-child one with a father’s absence, it is learnt that this suburban society was created at the cause of having no new housing built during the twenty years men had been busy going to war, that it forced many people to leave the cities and settle in the districts. According to Lamb (2011) the housings with large gardens that range from \$6,000 to \$62,000 in the suburbs appealed to all low-average to higher class people (p. 7). This appeal was far greater when in the cities many kinds of jobs are abundantly available and that the community in the suburbs was helpful in providing a share of some of the neighborhood’s cars for people who had to work in the cities. The safety of the children was also the attraction of the suburbs because some mothers offer help in raising the children of other mothers who had to work in cities. It is for this reason that magazines make an effort of not only domesticating women to do housework but also in reminding

women to raise their children well. Articles from the popular Dr. Benjamin Spock, who wrote a regular column for *Ladies’ Home Journal* in the beginning of July 1954 (Walker, 2000, p. 174) were among those that women read at a regular basis to help make them become better mothers.

MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS’ REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN AS MOTHERS

It cannot be denied that women are mothers. That is the stereotype which grows in this world. However, motherhood relates to several meanings. According to Woodward (1999), motherhood is the identity position of the biological, social, and symbolic. Motherhood also means that women should behave, but cannot express their minds too freely (pp. 240-241). This means that women, in this case, mothers, are not allowed to stand out. Mothers are in the shadow of an understanding that they should abide to the rule of taking care of their children, husband, and their beautiful house. Woodward says, that mothers need not to be smart or express their mind because it is the “idealized standard which are culturally prescribed” (Woodward, 1999, p. 243). Hence, mothers cannot be separated from the media, especially magazines, where it is used as an identity for “a shared imaginary community” (Woodward, 1999, p. 269). Mothers are depicted to do the housework and take care of their body, too. In doing the housework, advertisements through magazines spread the product to make mothers easy to do the housework. They seem to help mothers, but they do not.

As discussed earlier in this research, advertisers make ways for mothers to buy the household products to ease their work but at the same time, make some kind of agreement that it is a nature for women to keep staying at home. The psychoanalyst, Luce Irigaray argues that “the patriarchal system of representations exclude the mother from culture” (as cited in Woodward, 1999, p. 244), so, in order to speak rather than be spoken, mothers have to be put into a “subject-

position” but one that is “not as identical as a woman” (Woodward, 1999, p. 245).

The following are samples, whose theme travel through time and space, i.e. about how a mother is represented in magazines as provider of a family’s healthy meal and child rearing, which among others must be concerned about children’s health like shown in this Ungentine First-Aid spray advertisement from *Ladies’ Home Journal* June 1961, p.24). Other advertisement samples are how a mother or grandmother would show little girls how to become a good cook, or a mother about to bathe her children to signify how a mother is concerned with hygiene, and healthy meals for the family like shown in *Ladies’ Home Journal*, February 2008, p.73. To avoid the fact that women should be at home, the magazine has created a side job for women. One of those is the *Ladies’ Home Journal* magazine, which offers the women to search for subscribers. If women can persuade friends to subscribe to the magazine, the magazine will give them an amount of money. Another strategy is for these women to send in menu or articles about their home cooking, such as that done by with the features of the Betty Crocker menu. This means women do not need to go outside the house to earn money. It makes mothers happy, but most importantly it makes the magazine happy, too, as it gets more subscribers and also get more support from those who wants to keep the women at home.

ENTRAPPING WOMEN WITH BEAUTY TIPS

Ever since the 1950s up to now, magazine advertisements also influence the hegemony of women, through the trap of making women think that they will not be as attractive if not using the kinds of fashion and makeup magazine advertisements suggest. As seen in the advertisements, the Emily Tyler style fashion (*Ladies’ Home Journal*, December 1960, p. 127) i.e. women wearing a long gown or skirt has used the

strategy of luring women to buy their fashion product by making women feel they can be as important as a princess or first lady hosting a ballroom function that daughters are also encouraged to dress in a similar fashion as their mothers and use as minimal makeup they can for daily use. In the advertisement makeup tips, the text underneath the picture, it says:

I know boys who come right out and speak their disapproval of too much makeup,” says Patsy Davis. The deb’s favorite formula: lipstick and powder by day; for evening add a touch of mascara and eye shadow “if it does something for you” (*Ladies’ Home Journal*, December 1960, p. 65)

The excerpt above shows that advertisers know exactly that women would read advertisements as a source of information for beauty tips. In suggesting the kinds of ideal beauty, advertisements have unfortunately manipulated women to be submissive also under the name of the patriarchy system.

In magazine advertisements, it may seem that women are given a way out to show their self-confidence and self-esteem by choosing for example, their own kinds of cosmetics through the range of cosmetic samples shown in magazine advertisements. However, consciously aware or not, women want to be made beautiful and adored by the men and other women. To a feminist, this condition actually signifies that women want to become an object that can please those in the patriarchy level of hegemony. For a capitalist, which in this case includes corporations and advertising agencies, knowing that women aspires for a clean, fresh and younger looking face, they make a system where women would depend on them to find some kind of identity by being different or better than others.

Advertisers know that women are not usually satisfied with their own condition and look to

others for some kind of identity because it is in the difference that women find their identity. For this reason, advertisers make sure that their product stands out and attracts the women magazine reader to look more than once to their advertised product.

CONCLUSION

Advertisers know that women are their best consumers. The research discussed here sets out with the question on how the magazine advertisements can trap and influence women readers as consumer culture. The answer to this is, magazine advertisements managed to position women as the decision maker, thereby with many influential visual and verbal texts women are made to not only want but feel they need the product.

The second question is how the advertisements can signal the dream of achieving a global self-identity. The answer to this is, advertisements play with a freedom imagery, so women can freely exercise their democracy of choosing the array of products they desire to have and consume continually as they elevate their self-identity and social status.

The last question on whether or not the women images used in the advertisements have a gender ideology intent, is answered in the idea that cultural patriarchy hegemony make ways for women to fulfill Friedan's categorization of either the True Housewife, the Career Woman, or the Balanced Homemaker type.

As an American Studies research that base heavily on women magazine advertisements as data for Popular Culture, the research, which is grounded in nature manages to sum up the interpretation and analysis of magazine advertisements as emitting the following theories: (1) American hegemony

is possible by way of the transnationality of popular culture, (2) women magazine advertisements is the best media to reach out to women who are the number one target of consumer culture, (3) cultural hybridity exists only when there is a negotiation of cultural diversity, (4) cultural homogeneity results from a borderless world of popular culture, (5) the construction of a pseudo-freedom and egalitarian position for career women is constraint by nature's gender ideology and patriarchy hegemony, (6) the representations of women in magazine advertisements is the gender ideology of women as the only true housewife, balanced homemaker, and best provider of families' health; and (7) the highest satisfaction in a woman is when she fulfils the myth of the beautiful chattel men are continually competing for.

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