

Cigarette as a Tool for Representing Masculinity in Indonesian Left-Wing Films

Redi Panuju, Daniel Susilo & Harliantara

Abstrak/Abstract

Tulisan ini membahas representasi maskulinitas dalam film-film sayap kiri Indonesia, yang dibuat sebelum dan sesudah reformasi 1998. Film sayap kiri adalah film yang menceritakan tentang politik pada tahun 1965 dan berfokus pada kontroversi Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI). Beberapa film sayap kiri memosisikan PKI dan simpatisannya sebagai dalang di balik kudeta tahun 1965, tetapi ada juga yang menempatkan tokoh dan simpatisan komunis sebagai korban kekejaman pihak lain. Penelitian ini mempelajari tiga film, yaitu Pengkhianatan G30 S PKI, Sang Penari, dan Jagal-Act of Killing. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah analisis hubungan yang didasarkan pada konsep hubungan kekuasaan. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa rokok digunakan sebagai representasi maskulinitas tokoh-tokoh klasik dalam film-film sayap kiri Indonesia. Dalam semua film ini, rokok menjadi alat stigmatisasi bagi orang lain. Dalam film Pengkhianatan G 30 S / PKI, rokok digunakan untuk mewakili maskulinitas tokoh-tokoh terkemuka PKI, khususnya DN Aidit. Dalam film Sang Penari, seorang tokoh sentral bernama Bakar digambarkan sebagai seorang provokator komunis yang tidak dapat berhenti merokok. Sebaliknya Jagal, menggambarkan Anwar Kongo, ketua organisasi massa Pemuda Pancasila yang mengaku membantai lebih dari seribu komunis di Medan, dengan gambaran negatif. Kongo distigmatisasi oleh rokok yang selalu mengepul di mulutnya.

This article discusses the representation of masculinity in Indonesian left-wing films, which were made before and after the 1998 reform. Left-wing films are those which tell about the politics in 1965 and focus on the controversial Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Some of the left-wing films position the PKI and its sympathizers as the masterminds behind a coup d'état occurred in 1965, but there are also those which place communist figures and sympathizers as victims of the savagery of others. This research studies three films, namely *Pengkhianatan G30 S PKI*, *Sang Penari*, and *Jagal-Act of Killing*. The method used in this research is a relationship analysis that based on power relations concept. The research finds that cigarettes are used as a representation of masculinity of classical figures in Indonesian left-wing films. In all of these films, cigarettes become a stigmatizing tool for others. In the film *Pengkhianatan G 30 S / PKI*, cigarette is used to represent the masculinity of PKI's leading figures, especially DN Aidit. In the film *Sang Penari*, a central figure named Bakar is described as a communist provocator who cannot cease wanting cigarette as well. On the contrary, the *Jagal*, portrays Anwar Congo, chairman of mass organization Pancasila Youth which claimed to slaughter more than a thousand communists in Medan, in a negative way. Congo is stigmatized by cigarettes that always billowed in his mouth.

Kata kunci/Keywords:

Film sayap kiri, rokok, maskulinitas, relasi kekuasaan, representasi

Left film, cigarettes, masculinity, power relations, representation

*Communication Science Faculty, dr. Soetomo
University,
Semolowaru, Sukolilo, Surabaya 60118*

daniel.susilo@unitomo.ac.id

Introduction

Studies on masculinity are always associated with gender discourse. It is occasionally assumed as the opponent or the negation of feminism. Thus, masculinity, as a product of human behaviour, is considered as a consequence of gender-related problem, which is the domination of male in everyday reality and signing system.

Kurnia (2004: 17-36) states that in almost every time, gender discourse is dominated with criticisms of females' inferiority compared to males' inferiority. Such construction of females' inferiority is also considered as the reflection of the reality that is embedded in patriarchal culture. In this patriarchal culture, women are consid-

ered as passive creatures and men's subordinate. Mass media largely contributes in strengthening this stereotype. According to Novi, media's role in this context is providing a platform where people struggle for "signs"; media is the arena of seizing signs reflecting something in particular. In other words, in media, struggles for sign seizing and gender domination always happen.

Sign seizing happens in all media. In television, for example, constructing inferiority occurs in Indonesian soap operas where women are represented as victims of males' abuse (either verbal or physical), harbingers of bad luck, mere commodity (being sold), or objects that cannot satisfy their husbands, leading to the practice of polygamy. In those soap operas, women are illustrated as helpless, so there are no depictions of females' social, economic, or political struggles. In other words, women are creatures that accept whatever "fate" brings. Following the women's unconditional acceptance, then often come a "supernatural power" that punishes the men, such as lightning strikes, car accidents, or fatal illnesses. Along with these "punishments", the men then realizes all of his faults, then, in repentance, apologizes to the mistreated women. This kind of plot becomes a stereotypical plot found attractive by the audience. Television always chases for ratings and a high number of audience (Panuju, 2017: 33). With a high rating, the media then can get advertisement deals, financially benefitting the media. Therefore, gender stereotype becomes stronger and more embedded in the society because the mass media tends to position themselves as an industry. As an industry, its priority is to get as much profit as possible, disregarding its moral obligation. In print media, many advertisements illustrate patriarchal domination, in which women are often used as means of representation which does not benefit the women. (In printed media, many advertisements that illustrates patriarchal domination, which appears the woman's usage as a product representation that often not for woman.

Therefore, women's physique is often viewed as a stimuli to attract attention. Panuju (2011: 24) states that women are used in communication process as a symbol of people's prosperity. The females' body is then also used to signify harmony. Thus, in our political system, for example, women is considered as a creature that needs to be pitied and cannot compete in the the struggle for signs. Such perspective is illustrated by the "quota" system enforced in the country's legislative body, where quota for female councillors is much lower than the one for male councillors (see Susilo, 2016).

The problem of discourse on masculinity, that is its support for male privilege, is reinforced by the media which represents the privilege as just (Susilo, 2017). In representing male power in "owning" females' body, masculinity acts as a symbol of control and ownership (Susilo & Kodir, 2016).

Damartoto (2010) mentions masculinity as a construction on maleness imposed on males. Males were not born along with their masculinity naturally, but rather shaped by the culture. Things that determine male and female characters are perception on human culture. Generally, traditional masculinity highly considers values such as strength, power, steadfastness, action, control, self-reliance, self satisfaction, male solidarity, and work. Some things between that considered as low are interpersonal relationship, verbal ability, domestic life, tenderness, communication, woman, and children.

Those values have been passed down from generation to generation through various mechanisms such as cultural heritage and informal rules, mechanisms which enforce ideas that real men cannot cry, must look tough, strong, brave, and fierce. Great men are those who can conquer women's heart, hence the polygamy. There are also arguments that consider male as protectors or state that a man is a real a man only if he is associated with **cigarette** (bolded by the author), alcohol, and violence (Donaldson, 1993: 1).

Studies on films discover narratives and portrayals which position women as subordinates and men as dominants either in public or private life. Bambang Aris Kartika (2015: 35-54), for example, discovers that a film entitled *Soekarno* by Hanung Bramantyo is full of portrayals and representations of females' position compared to males' in the context of power relation. This portrayal shows how females in films are represented as subaltern objects. The term subaltern was first used in post-colonial theory to refer to marginal and lower groups of people. This term was formulated by Antonio Gramsci. Masculinity Hegemony in *Soekarno* Film stated that these groups existed due to hegemony. Meanwhile, hegemony is defined as the domination of some groups towards other groups with or without coercion (Kartika, 2011).

Spivak (cited in Kartika, 2015) states that Indonesian women are positioned as subaltern, that is either as colonialists' historiographical object or as subjects of resistance, while gender construction still positions males as the dominant party. Such positioning appears in the depiction of the hegemony of Japanese fascist soldiers againsts Indonesian young women and also the depiction of Soekarno's actions toward his wife, Inggit Ganarsih, which is often associated with power relations on domestic affairs. Gender-related injustice always involves woman facing situational political hegemony and patriarchal politics conducted by the men, with the objectives of acquiring women's obedience and surrender.

Meanwhile, previous studies on masculinity in film have also been conducted. An example is a research by Syulhajji (2017: 1-11) on *Talak 3* film. *Talak 3* is a drama film that was produced by Hanung Bramantyo and Ismail Basbeth and starred popular actors such as Vino G. Bastian,

Laudya Cynthia Bella, and Reza Rahadian. Directed in Yogyakarta, Dapur Films and MD Pictures released this film on February 4, 2016. This film tells a story of a relationship between a married couple that wants to reconcile. The couple, Risa (played by Laudya Cynthia Bella) and Bagas (played by Vino G. Bastian), has to put in considerable efforts to reconcile as they know the difficulties posed by the existing law. *Talak* means to divorce, and *Talak 3* refers to the situation when a husband/wife asks for a divorce for the third time. According to the law, once a husband/wife orders *talak 3*, he/she cannot immediately reconcile if they want to, unless if the wife marries and divorces a new husband first.

Syulhajji (2017) concludes that masculinity portrayed in *Talak 3* is divided into two types. First is the traditional type of masculinity that highly values concepts such as strength, power, strong physical appearance, toughness, and success. In this film, traditional masculinity is portrayed as men who has money, wife, and job considered as “gentlemen’s job”. The second type of masculinity type is new masculinity. Films produce new social standards for men, requiring them to be aggressive and sensitive, combining the element of strength and sensitivity. New masculinity in film is represented through the metropolitan lifestyle of urban society that lives in developed cities.

This research focuses on the use of cigarette to represent masculinity in Indonesian films, which are divided into two: pre-Reformation films (before 1998) and post-Reformation films (after 1998). This research finds a pre-Reformation film imbued with leftist ideology which consists a lot of smoking scenes, namely *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* (Treachery of G30S/PKI). Meanwhile, this research also finds post-Reformation left-wing films that consist many smoking scenes, namely *Jagal – The Act of Killing* and *Sang Penari* (The Dancer).

Plenty of previous research discussed about PKI and Film (Roosa, 2014; Nirwinastu & Anggraheni, 2018; Sambhi, 2016). They discuss about how communist represented as power, subordinated, and part of abuse from military. This article would to challenge about representation of masculinity on left-wing film who associated with PKI and communism.

Literature Review

Left-wing Films

Left-wing films are those that narrate the situation in 1965 and figures that were members of Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and/or supporters of socialism and/or communism ideology admirers, as well as other people that were involved with these figures. Some of these left-wing films were produced before 1998, when Suharto’s New Order was in rule, while some films were produced after the end of the New Order. The years leading to 1998 themselves are important

to consider in order for one to understand the downfall of the New Order regime and Suharto, who blatantly denounced communism and the PKI as the enemy of the nation.

Abdullah (2012) states that the mass killings of communists in 1965 left extraordinary social impacts in Indonesia and all of its social elements. Order, ethics, and norms in the society were broken. Under the New Order, communism as an ideology and philosophy also shifted in meaning; it was no longer a collection of ideas or philosophical school of thought anymore, but rather it represented everything bad and evil.

Therefore, the communism-related issues have often been recycled from time to time in ideological competition. Mainly after the September 30, 1965 Incident (dubbed as G30S/PKI), when a pro-communist group assassinated six Indonesian army generals, and the regime change from the Old Order to the New Order, communism has been portrayed in discourses as a dangerous ideology. Moreover, after the Temporary Indonesian People’s Consultative Assembly (MPRS) passed TAP MPRS XXV/1966 (MPRS Determination No. 25 year 1966) that disbanded the PKI and prohibited the spread of communism and Marxism in Indonesia, the New Order regime enforced tight censorship on mass media as the mass media had the ability to change public opinion and even trigger mass mobilization. Daniel Dhakidae, the writer of “State and its Jealousy towards Press: An Ideological Review” (Siregar, 1997: 11), argues that in 1974, military infiltrated the press organization to eradicate all PKI-related publications. The New Order regime also tautologically circulated discourse on the latent dangers of communism and the importance of commitment to practice Pancasila purely. Likewise, according to Eriyanto (2000), in order to strengthen his power legacy, Suharto, in his every presidential speech of always conveyed the same message (tautologically) about the latent danger of communism and its threat against Pancasila. His speeches were broadcasted live by all available television stations at that time.

Left-wing films during the New Order were marginalised, banned, and even annihilated. Pradityo (2017) states that during the New Order, left-wing films were “castrated”. Only one left-wing film left that could be watched, while the remaining 30 left-wing films were annihilated. One of the remained film titled *Violetta* that was produced in 1962, written by Bachtiar Siagian. He is also the one who directed this film, which starred by Fifi Young, Bambang Hermanoto, and Rima Melati.

Cigarette

According to an online Indonesian Language Dictionary, cigarette is tobacco rolls (approximately as big as a pinkie finger) that are wrapped by nipa leaf or paper. If the rolls are wrapped by nipa or sugar palm leaf, it is referred as *kawung*.

If *klembak* is added into the tobacco, it is referred as *klembak*. If cloves is added to the tobacco, it is referred as *kretek*.

Types of cigarette are often classified into *kretek* cigarette, filter cigarette, and cigar. Cigarette as the symbol of masculinity is often debated due to its negative effects on health (Swastikawara, *et al*, 2018).

Masculinity

Masculinity is one of males' considerations to smoke. Teenage boys often assume that by smoking, they can become a real man; they become an aggressive, independent, macho, and strong masculine figure through smoking. As stated by Brigham in Komalasari (2000), smoking is a symbol of maturity, strength, leadership, and attractiveness toward the opposite sex. Males also assume that smoking makes them part of people who reject society's conventional norms, strengthens their membership in the group, symbolises their freedom from authority's rules, and makes them more mature than other teenagers in general (Azalia, 2017).

Methods

This research is explorative; it sorts through and selects Indonesian left-wing films produced between 1970 and 2018 that contain story or scenes about cigarette smoking behavior. The selected films are the films that narrate the background of the tumults occurred in the 1965s, where the 30 September Movement took place, and the milestone of anti-communism movement by Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI), especially the forces under Suharto's commando. After that, Suharto took over the Indonesian government until 1998.

The aforementioned year-span contains the background of the domestic situation under the New Order (1966-1998), that tended to be authoritarian and repressive, and the Reformation era (1998-2018), that tends to be democratic and liberal.

This research uses narrative analysis method. According to Ida (2014: 147), narrative analysis aims to understand how a story or a storyline is made or structured. This analysis uses three concepts, namely story, plot, and genre. Story is the chronological sequence of events or the meaning of the events. Meanwhile, plot is anything that explicitly shown films. Lastly, genre is types of films classified into action, horror, comedy, and drama films.

At the analysis level, this research uses Foucault's concept of power relation which emphasizes power, a term that has to be focused on by researchers in the field of discourse analysis. Power determines and constructs realities, and it is created subjectively under the intention of power domination; it focus on power that encircles discourse area (Ida, 2014: 112). In analyzing political power relation, it focuses on contestation in seizing public opinion (Panuju, 2002: 1-24).

Text in this research includes text in real context, which is the transcribed narrative of dialogues and interpreted text from the film's visual aspect. Through this analysis, it will gather the structure of films and the intention of the film makers to present cigarette in the films.

Results

Film with 1965 Background

Nurjanah (2015, September 29) wrote six films associated with G30S/PKI. The first film, *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI*, was directed and written by Arifin C. Noer and historian Nugroho Noto-susanto. It was awarded 7 nominations in 1984 Indonesian Film Festival. This film, which later became mandatory for people to watch on every September 30 for 13 years, teaches the public to hate communist and all of its attributes. The conveyed story is the dark history of September 30, 1965, with the government's version of the violence occurred on that day narrated.

The second film, *the Year of Living Dangerously*, is starred by Mel Gibson, who plays the role of a journalist posted in Indonesia. The title was taken from Soekarno's independence commemoration speech in 1964. This film was banned in Indonesia until 1999 when Suharto was dethroned after 32 years of his rule. Even though it tells the background of September 30, 1965 movement, the film was made in Australia and the Philippines.

The third film, *Shadow Play*, is a documentary that is quite comprehensive in illustrating the situation during the 1965 movement. Not only it tells about Indonesia's then internal politics, it also explains about the influence of international affairs at that time on Indonesia. Released in 2003 and directed by Chris Hilton with the help of Linda Hunt and Pramodya Ananta Toer, this film tells another side of the 1965 movement.

The fourth film, *40 Years of Silence: An Indonesian Tragedy*, is a documentary directed by anthropologist Robert Lemelson. The film portrays individual impacts left by the 1965 movement. The film was made between 2002 and 2006 in Java and Bali, two regions which were most affected by the movement. This film tells the perspective of victims of communist purge, during which 500,000 people were murdered, which followed the 1965 movement. The film was first aired in the US in 2009 and in Indonesia as well, although in a very limited manner.

The fifth film, *the Act of Killing (Jagal)*, is set in the middle of the 1965 tragedy. Directed by Joshua Oppenheimer, the film smashes the prevailing public perspective on the tragedy. This documentary narrates the stories of individuals who slaughtered alleged communists at that time and how these individuals committed the murders. This film strickly potrays the mass murder of PKI's supporters in Indonesia as an act of heroism that was agreed upon by the society.

The sixth film, *the Look of Silence (Senyap)*, is a documentary which complements the fifth

film, *the Act of Killing*. If *the Act of Killing* tells the perspectives of the killers, *the Look of Silence* narrates the perspectives of the victims. In the film, Adi, brother of one of the 1965 purge's victims, met the people allegedly took part in killing his brother, who had been accused as a member of the PKI. This film, which was directed by Oppenheimer as well, is often shocks the people, depicting the violence committed toward our own people. *The Look of Silence* won the 2014 Venice Film Festival in the Grand Jury Prize category.

According to Heryanto (2017, October 22), there are films discussing the 1965 tragedy that were released after the 1998 Reformation. These films include *Puisi Tak Terkuburan*, *Gie*, *Sang Penari*, and *Surat dari Praha*. These films illustrate leftists as antagonists: smart but sly and deceptive, innocent but stupid, and lost, having bad luck such as married with a leftist, getting scholarship by the government, and involved leftist art group such as Lekra.

Heryanto argues that there is a connection between film and the social reality. In the analysis above, Heryanto explicitly mentions that film's strongest connection is with the providers of capital that funds the film. Those providers or investors, in funding films, adopt an economic perspective, seeing film merely as an industry or commodity to be traded (watched). While watching films, people, according to Heryanto, relates to their favorite things.

Meanwhile, during the New Order, leftist ideology was totally marginalised. For instance, people that wanted to apply for a job, especially as a public servant, must be free from any associations with the left-wing politics. People were required to have a letter stating that they were not associated with the PKI. The police then labelled the letter as "Letter of Good Behaviour" because during the New Order, communism was considered "not good". Students in schools and universities were required as well to attend ideological debriefing through P4 (*Pedoman Penghormatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila* or Guidelines, Appreciation, and Implementation of Pancasila). The seminar was mandatory also for people working in the mass media, including the editors in chief. For the editors, the P4 Seminar was taken into a more intensive level which was named as "Manggala" level. During the seminar, people were indoctrinated in a special "educational program" held by the National Resilience Institution (Lemhanas).

Domestic politics had divided public opinion on the New Order regime. At the internal level of the government, communism was constructed as evil and the enemy of the nation. Meanwhile, figures involved in the New Order regime considered themselves as good and noble, claiming themselves as the regime that conducted Pancasila purely and responsibly. Panuju (2017: 67-89) illustrates how countries with this kind of perspective granted themselves the authority

to censor any contents that might be Marxist or communist. In the case of Indonesia's national broadcasting, television content was controlled by the state through the Indonesian Department of Information, Film Censorship Board, and various policies on news embargo.

Therefore, it is not surprising that people had negative views on communism and its disciples. Moreover, even after the New Order collapsed in 1998, such negative views have remained strong. Even in the current President Jokowi's administration, communism is still prohibited, when he was accused of supporting the PKI, Jokowi lambasted the accusation, saying that, "If the PKI appears, just beat them!" (<http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/05/17/16433321/jokowi.kalau.pki.nongol.gebuk.saja>)

It can be concluded that the prevailing public opinion in the society still considers the PKI negatively. It is not surprising, thus, that film producers, including the investors who fund the films, portrayed the PKI, its ideology, and its supporters negatively in their films. Heryanto implicitly states that the connection between films and investors is influenced by politics and power. Because of that, Heryanto questions the intentions of many institutions who gave awards for films depicting the left-wing films negatively. It appears that Heryanto implies state's intervention in award-giving events.

Film as a text cannot deflect from its role as an instrument of power which can divide people into opposing groups. Text represents certain ideal reality which not all people agree on. Therefore, mobilization and regulation on discourse are often in line with cultural text in constructing realities (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009: 222)

Three Films: Same Narratives, Different Ways of Expression

Three films that will be studied in this research are *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI*, *the Act of Killing* (*Jagal*), and *The Dancer* (*Sang Penari*). All of these films depict the same occurrence, namely the chaos that happened in the 1965 where the PKI started to gather mass supporters and killed Indonesian generals. The murder was considered by the then military regime as PKI's treachery to conduct a coup d'état. Based on this reason, the military, under the commando of General Suharto, crushed PKI's officers, sympathizers, and even their offsprings. Meanwhile, human rights activists, as depicted in *the Act of Killing*, perceived this purge as pure thuggery.

In these three films, scenes of prominent figures smoking are frequently featured. The mapping of masculinity representation in those films follows two perspectives. First, smoking scenes in the films are intended to label and connote the smoking figures as bad, evil, and unsure; thus, by smoking, the figures are badly stigmatized. Smoking scenes in this context dubbed as primary scenes. Meanwhile, according to the sec-





ond perspective, smoking scenes, which in this perspective are called secondary attribute, are meant to merely demonstrate masculinity, (in coincidence, it appears that all females in these films do not smoke) such as aggressiveness, machismo, independence, rebellion, strength, leadership, and charm.




Masculinity Representation in Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI

This film was produced in 1984 and directed by Arifin C Noor. It starred Amaroso Katamsi

as Suharto and Umar Khayam as Soekarno. In the 1984 Indonesian Film Festival, this film was awarded 7 nominations and grabbed the prestigious Piala Citra award as the film with the best scenario. In the 1985 Indonesian Film Festival, this film achieved the special award of Piala Antemas as the best selling film at that time. According to Thomas Barker (2011), the awards were the combination of festivals and country's interest.

Table 1. Smoking as the Masculinity Representation through Cigarette In *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI*

No	Scene/visual/narration	Primary Attributes	Secondary Attributes	Masculinity Representation
	<p>Scene 14:17- 17:02</p>  <p>Smoking scene begins with a queue for rice and dialogue about the rising prices. This man says to his wife, "If by that way we have to be communist? Where is our dignity?"</p>	<p>Dialogue: "In this recent dilapidated situation, communist and materialistic will fall. Human will not be selfish forever just like Noah's son. God permits, there will be youth that will lead this country."</p>	<p>Do not feel tempted by an offer to join the PKI and asks his family to be patient instead.</p> <p>The PKI takes advantages of the poor economic condition to gather public sympathy.</p>	<p>Prime attribute: Communists are considered as arrogant</p> <p>Secondary attribute: Independent figures with a good sense of leadership in the family, religious, and confident that there will be young people building the nation (the "young people" can represent Suharto).</p>
2	<p>Scene 21:01- 24:06</p>  <p>Scenes on Aidit's house between August 8 and August 8, 1965. The scenes begin with two silhouettes of people smoking behind a curtain.</p>	<p>A close-up of Aidit's mouth while he exhales cigarette smoke. He says, "We have to overtake those generals who want to take the power."</p> <p>Aidit is illustrated as restless or under pressure.</p> <p>Conversations between the silhouettes from behind the curtain shows the secrecy nature of the scene.</p>	<p>Cigarette signs the rising tension because he is assured that on October 5, 1965, the Armed Forces (TNI) will take over the power from Soekarno. To Colonel Syam, Aidit says, "Two months left!"</p> <p>A close up of an ashtray filled to the brim strengthens the assumption that they have smoked dozens of cigarettes during the conversation.</p>	<p>Aidit is depicted as immature, as illustrated by his anxiety in this scene. Cigarette is a way to cover up his agitation.</p>
3	<p>Scene 33:21- 35:01</p>   <p>Top picture: Aidit leads a politbiro meeting where a plan for coup through military actions is hatched</p> <p>Bottom picture: Aidit never stops holding a cigarette.</p>	<p>The PKI systematically plans a coup. A cigarette characterizes Aidit's leading the meeting.</p>	<p>In this scene, Aidit continuously smokes cigarettes, illustrating Aidit's addiction to smoking.</p>	<p>This scene depicts aggressive and macho leadership filled with strength. Aidit claims that the PKI has gathered support from the high-ranking soldiers.</p>

4	<p>Scene 42: 43</p>  <p>The situation in PKI's elite meeting where the elites discuss their plan of kidnapping generals (Generals Council)</p>	<p>A large ashtray on the middle of the table. All meeting participants are smoking during the meeting, constructing a meaning that the PKI is closely associated with cigarettes. Every meeting is always imbued with cigarette smokes, different with Colonel Suharto's meetings that are free from cigarettes.</p>	<p>Dialogue that shows the involvement of Cakrabirawa, President Soekarno's bodyguard, indicates the PKI's strong influence on the Armed Forces.</p>	<p>This scene represents independent men that are strong and good leaders.</p>
5	<p>Scene 1: 16: 01- 1: 19:01</p>  <p>Smoking scene of Cakrabirawa elites in a meeting where the elites finalize the plan of kidnapping and killing the General Council members.</p>	<p>Cigarette provides a stimulus for the PKI elite to devise and formulate the strategy of conducting a coup.</p>		<p>This scene represents a rejection of established norms by seizing power illegally.</p>
6	<p>Scene 03:10:21</p>  <p>Soekarno's meeting with the generals and Suharto's domination in the dialogue.</p>	<p>A clean table and tidy room without any ashtrays or cigarette smoke represent the meeting of good people.</p>	<p>In representing leadership, Suharto is depicted as "clean" and mature in communicating. In the opposite, Soekarno, the one who wears cap, is depicted as powerless.</p>	<p>Suharto is represented as a mature, independent, and well-behaved man with a good leadership in the Army. During the negotiation, responsibilities of situation's rehabilitation when Soekarno takes over the Army's command by appointing Pranoto as the commander of the Army.</p>

Masculinity Representation in the film of Jagal – The Act of Killing

Jagal is a documentary film by Joshua Oppenheimer. This film highlights the purge of communists that was conducted by a group of people claiming as anti-PKI. *Jagal* received various awards, such as the Best Documentary Film by the British Academy Film and the 2013 Television Arts Awards (BAFTA). The film was nominated as the Best Documentary Film on the 86th Academy Awards. Meanwhile, *Jagal's* sequel, *Senyap (The Look of Silence)*, was released in 2014. This film focuses on right-wing paramilitary organization Pemuda Pancasila (PP). After TNI declared the PKI as the mastermind behind the September 30, 1965 movement, Anwar Congo acted as an executioner that killed more than 100 PKI's sympathisers by his own hands in Medan in a year.

This film starts with following narration:
 "1965: by taking advantage on G30S military operation as the alibi, General Suharto toppled President Soekarno. Soekarno's supporters, communist party members, labours and farmers union, intellectuals,






and Chinese were accused of being involved in G30S. In a year, with the help of western countries, more than a million of "communist" were slaughtered."




Cigarette is also dominant in this film. Table 2 summarizes some masculinity representation using cigarette in the film.

Masculinity Representation in Sang Penari

Sang Penari (The Dancer) is an Indonesian film produced in 2011 and directed by Ifah Infansyah. Adapted from the popular novel named *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* (1982), this film received four *Piala Citra* awards. The story is about the arrival of Bakar to Paruk village to influence the villagers to join the communist party. By joining the party, their bad economic condition is promised to improve. Regardless, different with the previous films that illustrate the situation in 1965 at the surface level, this film focuses more on cultural humanism aspect and the political map at that time. Cigarettes are considered as important to explain something. The following is the summary of masculinity representation through cigarette in *Sang Penari*.

Table 2. Masculinity Representation through Cigarette use in *Jagal*

No	Scene/Visual/narration	Primary Attributes	Secondary Attributes	Masculinity Representation
1	<p>Scene 1:02:42 – 1:02:46</p>  <p>After torturing his victim by ensnaring their neck with ropes, Anwar Congo asks for a cigarette.</p>	<p>The scene is narrated, “If this film works, so what they told in the <i>Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI</i> is not true. It is not them who are evil, but us!”</p>	<p>The bamboo wall in the background indicates that the slaughter happens outside the city.</p>	<p>Man that is manly, cruel, and indifferent about defying norm.</p>
2	<p>Scene 1:26:05</p>  <p>Congo smokes and watches TV shows about death.</p>	<p>Death is considered as normal. The murder of communists is also considered as normal.</p>	<p>Enjoying a luxurious life after becomes a legend of slaughterer in Medan</p>	<p>Cigarette strengthens the impression of a calm, cold-blooded killer man.</p>
3	<p>Scene 2:29:33</p>  <p>Congo speaks about his cruelty of killing while holding a cigarette in his right hand.</p>	<p>Killing communists is considered as a heroic action that one should be proud of.</p>		<p>Representation of a brave man.</p>
4	<p>Scene 2:08:43</p>  <p>Congo interrogates PKI's figures with a cigar in his mouth.</p>	<p>According to Congo, people become a communist because they envy those with suits and ties.</p>	<p>When interrogating a communist, a knife was rubbed on the communist's cheek. The communist's face appears pale.</p>	<p>Masculinity representation: a PKI figure.</p>
5	<p>Scene 23:54</p>  <p>A scene depicting PP members imbued with cigarette smoke.</p>	<p>Joshua uses cigarette smoke as the PP's identity.</p>	<p>PP leader shouts “Pancasila” many times in his speech.</p>	<p>Man that is a leader, strong, nationalist, and influential in the government.</p>




<p>6</p>	<p>Scene 29:21</p>  <p>A scene where clothes are being chosen for the film making</p>	<p>Man on the right exhales cigarette smoke. Two packs of US-made cigarettes are visible.</p>	<p>Suits and tie with a cowboy hat.</p>	<p>Man that are successful, modest, modern, but smoke cigarettes.</p>
<p>7</p>	<p>Scene 33:46- 35:02</p>  <p>A scene of a Chinese merchant that being scolded (asked) for “tributes” by a group of PP.</p>	<p>Cigarette as a tool to hide the merchant’s fear.</p>	<p>Retail products in the background shows the low class background of the merchant.</p>	<p>Represents can with power and influence.</p>
<p>8</p>	<p>Scene 45:12</p>  <p>A scene of Anwar Congo interrogating a communist while smoking.</p>	<p>Anwar Congo interrogates his “prospective” victim happily. Cigarette in his hand shows his preoccupation before committing manslaughter.</p>	<p>Green hat worn by the soldier shows his close ties with the PP and the TNI.</p>	<p>Represents a brave and manly figure.</p>



Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI, according to Adhi Joko Kuncoro (2013: 5), is relatively more comprehensive in retelling the story of the PKI, compared to other similar films, by involving PKI’s elements such as *Gerwani* and *Pemuda Rakyat* when the G30S movement occurred. In this film, naked female members of *Gerwani* performing a dance called *harum bunga* while torturing kidnapped generals are depicted. The six methods of Gerwani’s torture includes cutting the victims’ body using razors, poking eyes, and cutting their genitals. *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* illustrates the “cruelty in *Lubang Buaya*” through sinister dialogues such as “just kill him”, “cut his meat”, “hit his head”, or “cut his tongue and hands” (McGregor, 2005). This docu-drama film is the most effective medium to spread and defend the myth about “communist cruelty”. Just as the monument, this film also creates the “complete version” of G30S coup effort, including the *harum*

bunga dance performed by the Gerwani when torturing the generals.

Therefore, this film is intended to propagate the New Order’s preferred ideology and strengthen its power and legitimacy. Cigarette is an instrument that is used as a tool to stigmatize the PKI and other Indonesians that were involved in the 1965 movement. Figures that were alleged as the masterminds of the movement such as DN Aidit are mostly portrayed as badly behaved by smoking continuously in every meeting. Scene 21:01 even shows Aidit’s persistent smoking until his face is clouded by cigarette smoke. Such representation is reinforced in scenes 33:21 and 42:43 where Aidit always holds a cigarette in his hand while planning the kidnapping and/or killing of the Generals Council members. Power relations that want to be connected inter-scene is that Aidit is an evil figure, affirmed by his smoking habit. In the society, smoking is considered bad because of its bad

Table 3. Masculinity Representations through Cigarette in *Sang Penari*

No	Scene/visual/Narration	Primary Attributes	Secondary Attributes	Masculinity Representation
1	<p>Scene 24:14</p>  <p>A scene of village life, relaxing in stalls (<i>warung</i>), drinking tea, eating banana, and smoking cigarette hand (far left) made from tobacco, paper, and <i>klebak menyam</i>. This type of cigarette is dubbed as <i>tengwe cigarette</i> (self-rolled cigarettes)</p>	<p>Signs of poverty in the village as represented by the fil: a lot of time for relaxing rather than working.</p>	<p>There are dialogues that indicate a happy life in the village despite the poverty there. As stated by Umar Khayam, one of the figures in the film, "Eat or not, the important thing is gathering". By gathering together they can be happy.</p>	<p>The life of an Innocent and simple man, prompted by poverty that makes them live just as it is.</p>
2	<p>Scene: 25:09</p>  <p>Bakar is igniting a cigarette with gas lighters. The cigarette is from a good quality factory.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Bakar asks the seller, "I want to eat, <i>Kang!</i>" "Nothing," answered the sellers, "It has been a long time of no rice here." "Something must be wrong here. Why a <i>warung</i> located next to a paddy field has no rice?"</p>	<p>Bakar is the communist party elite that is portrayed as educated, tidy and well-spoken</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Bakar indoctrinates people to join the communist party.</p>	<p>The way he smokes shows a person with class and confidence.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Poverty makes people easily agitated, except for Bakar that chooses to join the army.</p>	<p>Urban people representation: clean and tidy, packed with cigarettes and modern lighters, and full of ideas about the future.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Modern cigarette represents the masculinity of urban and educated people. Meanwhile, <i>tengwe</i> cigarette represents innocent and poor villagers.</p>
3	<p>Scene 25:52</p>  <p>Modern cigarettes that are displayed on purpose by Bakar to the poor Paruk villagers.</p>	<p>Cigarette as a symbol of the bourgeois.</p>	<p>Juxtaposed with banana and teapot which symbolize of poverty and backwardness.</p>	<p>Cigarette strengthens the representation of urban, rich people affiliated with the communist party.</p>

4	<p>Scene 31:09</p>  <p>A scene of a tailor smoking beside a barber.</p>	<p>The scene portrays the situation in the 1965 as poor and backward.</p>		<p>While smoking the cigarette, this man looks tenacious, strong, and tough.</p>
5	<p>Scene 43:55</p>  <p>A scene depicting a smoking soldier</p>	<p>This film shows that smoking are done by either farmers, communists, or soldiers.</p>	<p>A dominant expression of the soldier who commands Barus to come again with a new uniform.</p>	<p>Cigarette as the representation of a man that is a dominant and assertive leader.</p>

impacts on health. Bad things are very effective to denounce someone. It is different with scene 03:10:21 that depicts Suharto leading a meeting in a clean and neat environment without any ash-tray visible. Ikhsan (2013) states that smoking is a dangerous activity for the body as cigarettes contain 200 out of 4000 unhealthy elements. People that have the habit of smoking usually find it difficult to cease their addiction. Most young smokers aged 14-17 years old only smoke because of peer pressure without knowing the negative impacts of smoking. *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* follows this way of thinking: Smoking is dangerous, and as PKI members smoke, then the PKI is dangerous.

In this context, masculinity is represented through cigarette and smoking habit as bad. Strength, aggressiveness, leadership, and confidence are characteristics that are reinforced by smoking habit, which coincides with illegal activity. Masculinity in this film is interpreted as something negative in regard to the PKI. Smoking is part of strengthening the PKI's stigmatized image.

The representation of masculinity through cigarette is also conducted in *Sang Penari*. Through the role of Bakar, smoking is represented as an activity that shows the bourgeois lifestyle, namely tidy clothes, imported manufactured cigarettes, and gas lighters. Paruk villagers are fascinated with Bakar's appearance, so a lot of them decides to join the PKI. In this film, PKI members tend to smoke when they are conducting something bad. In contrast, ordinary citizens smoke when they conduct social activities which strengthen their community, as illustrated by scenes at 24:14 and 31:09.

Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI and *Jagal*, meanwhile, convey a contrasting message. It can be said that *Jagal* is the antithesis of previous films about the PKI. If in *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* PKI's supporters are depicted as evil, in *Jagal*, New Order's sympathisers are the ones considered as abusers of human rights. Hidayatullah (2017) characterizes types of violence in *Jagal*, starting from intimidation, blackmail, cutting, hitting head, to decapitation. If in *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* the antagonists are the communists, particularly PKI's prominent figures such as DN Aidit, in *Jagal*, the antagonist is Anwar Congo, a New Order's supporter from the Pemuda Pancasila (PP) mass organization. Meanwhile, the communists are portrayed as hate crime victims. As an antagonist in this film, Anwar Congo, is also depicted as a figure with smoking habit..

Conclusion

Smoking as the representation of masculinity occurs in three films that discuss conflicts surrounding the PKI. Through smoking habit, men are portrayed as strong, macho, brave, aggressive, or prestigious in these films. However, in this film, masculinity is associated with bad figures instead, either communist or anti-communist figures. PKI's prominent figure DN Aidit, which was accused of masterminding the 1965 movement in *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI*, for instance, is portrayed as evil with scenarios detailing his plan of killing generals on September 30, 1965. In the film, Aidit is characterized with his smoking habit. The same method of representation using cigarette is also conducted in *Sang Penari*, particularly through the role of Bakar,

a smoker PKI activist that is urban and stylish as illustrated by his imported cigarette and gas lighter.

Meanwhile, in *Jagal*, the representation of masculinity focuses on Anwar Congo, the founder of right-wing paramilitary group named Pemuda Pancasila who admitted of killing thousands of communists in Medan within one year. Congo perceives his act of killing as heroic. Like Aidit and Bakar, Congo is also portrayed as a heavy smoker in *Jagal*. Almost all smoking scenes in this film involves Congo.

In the perspective of power relation, this neg-

ative representation of masculinity is produced by the respective film makers. *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* and *Sang Penari* that were produced and made by New Order's supporters tend to portrays communists as threats against the nation. Therefore, cigarettes are used to strengthen the image of PKI as cruel, evil, et cetera. On the other hand, *Jagal*, that was made and supported by the left-wing, portrays communists as the victims of New Order's supporters' brutality. Again, cigarettes are used as a tool to strengthen the negative image of the regime's supporters.

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