

Ageism against Adolescents in “Dilan 1990” Film

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Abstract

In the era of modernization and post-industrial society, the study of ageism focuses more on discrimination against the elderly because it assumes today's society prefers young people than the old people. Ironically, in this era where the society prefers young people, at the same time, ageism against the young people occurs. Media is one of the parties which play a role in spreading and establishing discrimination against adolescents. Therefore, research is needed to analyze critically the popular media of teenagers. In this study, researchers will analyze critically the popular Indonesian teen film “Dilan 1990” to see how the ideology of ageism distributed through that film. This research will use critical paradigm with qualitative approach and I use critical discourse analysis of Teun A. Van Dijk as method of analysis. Primary data which will be used are verbal data from interviews and mediated data from the primary literature of the concepts, theories, and research method in this research. Besides that, secondary resources in the form of mediated data from the documents and visual data which related with this research topic will be used as well. The results showed that there is ageism against the adolescents in “Dilan 1990” movie. Furthermore, there is also attempts to build false consciousness in the life of young people, which relate to adult domination, romantic relationship and violence.

Keywords: Ageism, Adolescents, False Consciousness, “Dilan 1990” Film

Introduction

Modernization is a concept which relates closely to the advancement of human civilization. In today's society, the modernization has made a big shifts, from industrial society to post-industrial society. In the present we experiences some of the advancements which brought by the modernization, such as: digital technology that can be used by the industry to make end-to-end digital production and distribution, mode of production that depends on the production and consumption of information, populations become more urban and mobile, the needs of graduates who can use, develop and advance the technology, and other changes as well (Straubhaar, LaRose, & Davenport, 2012, p. 15; Crossman, 2018). In short, today, people live in a developed and developing society.

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In the midst of some advantages, researchers found some evidences which show that there is also downside in the present or modernized society. One of the downside that appears in today’s society is the deterioration on how the society value and treat the elderly. For example, in industrial context, there are owners of the industry who prefer young people more than the elderly because they think that the young people have a better productivity in work, which in turns can help the company get much more profits (Street & Parham, 2002, p. 1333). In addition to that, there are also some negative stereotypes, prejudices and discriminations targeted to older persons in various countries and contexts of life: work, daily interpersonal relationship, health institution, media industry, and other areas of life as well (North & Fiske, 2012; Wilkinson & Ferraro, 2002; Awaliyah, Suhariningsih, Budiono & Safa’af, 2017; Vauclair, Hanke, Huang & Abrams, 2017). It is clear that, on the one hand, today’s society is developed and developing, but on the other hand, there is age discrimination against the elderly.

Ironically, in the middle of the society that tend to prefer young people than elderly, especially in industrial context, ageism or age discrimination does not only appear against the elderly, but also the young people. John W. Santrock (2014, p. 7) explained that the society have sorts of negative stereotypes about young persons, for example: they are lazy, do not want to work, do not have the moral fiber, self-centered, and so on. In addition to that, young persons also experienced similar age discrimination from older generations: discrimination in workplace, youth studies, media industry, and so forth (North & Fiske, 2012, p. 992; Kimball, 2017; Noviani, 2011). Those research findings prove that there is age discrimination against young persons as well.

This research will focus on the issue about ageism against the adolescents. The focus of the study is juvenile ageism because according to Kimball (2017, p. 2) the youth is “the least-studied group.” In addition to that, North and Fiske (2012, p. 991; cf. Westman, 2009, p. 17) explained that “a underresearched as ageism generally is, even more scant is the subfield of ageism against the young.” As media studies scholars, researchers will deal with that issue in media and cultural studies perspective.

This study primarily will on analyzing the second of the best-selling film in the history of Indonesian film, which is a film about young people, entitled “Dilan 1990”. There are reasons why researchers choose film as the object of analysis: (1) two researches found that watching television (and movies) has been the top priority of media uses by adolescents (Rideout, Foehr & Roberts, 2010; Common Sense Media Inc., 2015); (2) since 1950s, film has been one of the important sources of

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young people where they could find role models (Romer, 2015, p. 7); and (3) Terry Ramsaye as a film historian said, as cited by Catherine Driscoll (2011, p. 5), that “like all great arts the motion pictures has grown up by appeal to the interest of childhood and youth.” In addition to those reasons, there are also causes that make researchers choose the film of “Dilan 1990”. At least there are two film reviewers which explained that although “Dilan 1990” film was a popular Indonesian film, that film also shared bias and negative views about young people, for example: the film focused on the romantic narratives of a young couple, there are violences with no or minimum consequences, and so forth (Santana, 2018; Warga Muda, 2018). The reviewers also explained that it is possible that film will lead young people to focus only on romantic relationship, and not on their involvement in the development of Indonesian society.

For sure, this research will be different from previous researches, which also will give fresh information about ageism against adolescence in Indonesia, especially in media studies field. There were couples of research which are focused on how the media are establishing ageism against the elderly (Wilinska & Cendersund, 2010; Gatling, 2013; Lahad & Madsen, 2017), but researchers still could not find research(s) about how media are establishing juvenile ageism. There were a lot of researches on how the young people were represented in the media, whether positively or negatively (Noviani, 2011; Nestya, 2013; Marôpo, 2014; Hidayat & Prasetio, 2015). However, those researches could not answer the research questions in this study, because those research only focus on the issue of representations and not on age discrimination against young people. Finally, there are also differences about the theories and method of analysis which are used in this research with those cited previous researches above.

Objectives

The objectives of this research are: (1) to analyze how ageism against adolescents is depicted in “Dilan 1990” film, and (2) to expose forms of false consciousness which are attempt to be established through “Dilan 1990” film.

Research Questions

Based on the background described above, then the research questions which researchers will analyze are:

1. How ageism against adolescence depicted in “Dilan 1990” film?
2. What are the forms of false consciousness which are attempt to be established through “Dilan 1990” film?

Theory

In this research, researchers use the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory by Teun A. Van Dijk. Van Dijk has his own approach in doing CDA, named “socio-cognitive discourse analysis” (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 97). Furthermore, Van Dijk explained that his approach of CDA specifically used to critically analyze the discourse or communicative event, which produced and distributed by someone who has had particular cognitive structures, who also a part of broader society. Through that approach of CDA, Van Dijk (2003, p. 352) wants “to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality” which established by dominant group of the society. Because CDA theory is a part of critical tradition of research, the theory of Hegemony by Antonio Gramsci and Cultural Studies by Stuart Hall will be used as well.

Theories above are selected in this research because the topic of this research is closely related to cognitive process of the discourse maker. In using those theories, researchers will analyze (1) the discourse of “Dilan 1990”, (2) the cognitive framework of the main film director about adolescents, and (3) the how the ageism against adolescents framework of the director, as a part of the society, resemblances with the dominant views of the society about young people.

Methodology

This research used a qualitative approach, with critical paradigm. That approach and paradigm are considered as the most appropriate approach and paradigm to answer the research questions, which related with power relations and/or domination from the dominant group to the powerless group. Particularly, researchers used the CDA method of analysis by Van Dijk. In that method of analysis, (1) I used critical linguistics to analyze the film, (2) deep interview with the director (key informant) to dig his cognitive framework about young people, and (3) literature review and historical research about how the juvenile ageism discourse exist in Indonesian society, especially in the year of 1990s (cf. Eriyanto, 2001, p. 275-279).

The data collection for this study, consisted of primary and secondary data. The primary data are verbal data which were obtained from “semi-standardized interview” (cf. Flick, 2009, p. 156) with Pidi Baiq as the key informant – He was the novelist and director of “Dilan 1990” film – and Iqbaal Ramadhan as the informant – he acted of Dilan in the film. In addition to that, this research also used some secondary data in the forms of documents and visual data which were related to the research topic. This research used six steps of data analyzing technique, which starts from organizing the raw data, reading, coding, themes categorization, interrelating

themes, and finally interpreting the meaning (Creswell, 2004, p. 197). To ensure data validity, researchers used triangulation of observers strategy.

Literature Review

Popular Culture

This study will analyze on of the popular Indonesian film. Film itself is one of the forms of cultural products. Therefore, this research deals with one of popular cultural product, named “Dilan 1990” movie. So, at first, it is necessary to choose a clear point of view in understanding the concept of popular culture.

In this study, researchers choose to view the popular culture in critical tradition. Scholar in cultural studies, Stuart Hall (2005, p. 69), has defined popular culture as:

forms and activities which have their roots in social and material conditions of particular classes; which have been embodied in popular traditions and practices. ... what is essential to the definition of popular culture is the relations which define ‘popular culture’ in a continuing tension (relationship, influence and antagonism) to the dominant culture.

In capitalist society now, popular culture was the products which made by the company to maintain their dominance or hegemony, in order to get much money. In other words, most of the popular culture now are “produced by the industrial techniques of mass production, and marketed for profits to a mass public of consumers,” therefore there will be “less room for any culture which cannot make money.” (Strinati, 2004, p. 10) However, as Hall explained, popular culture is also a battlefield in which resistance against domination could be done.

It is worth to note that every cultural products will definitely contain particular ideology. According to Hall (1986, p. 29), ideology is “the mental frameworks—the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation—which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works.” The ideology distributed by the media could be either reinforced the dominant culture, or challenged it.

The film industry in capitalist society surely will share the dominant ideology to get some money. Ariel Heryanto (2017) explained that in the film industry, film are “made to make money, and they only make money, if the films entertain the people who pay to watch them”, hence the “filmmakers don’t want to take risks with their

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work. They are only interesting in affirming what is already there in society.” Therefore, the films should be analyzed critically so that researchers can help the society aware of the hegemony from the capital owners.

False Consciousness

False consciousness is a concept that closely related to ideology. Ron Eyerman (1981, p. 45) explained that in the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels “the concepts of false consciousness and ideology are used synonymously and applied only to intellectuals, or to capitalists for whom history happens behind their backs.” In other words, false consciousness is established by the capitalists through spreading ideologies that could make the society unaware of the domination done by the capitalists.

This research will use the notion of false consciousness in Antonio Gramsci’s thoughts. Gramsci believed that the shared ideology by the capitalists will maintain their dominance – of course the ideology they use will not something opposite from what society like, for instance: American Dream. In doing so, the capitalists will get the consensual control when the “individuals ‘willingly’ or ‘voluntarily’ assimilate the world-view or hegemony of the dominant group.” (Strinati, 2004, p. 154) When there is consent between the dominant group with the unaware and powerless individuals, hegemony happened.

To deal with the existence of false consciousness in the society, there is a need to help the society conscious about the false consciousness they possibly hold, and the attempts done by capitalists to maintain their dominance. In his thought, Gramsci encouraged the readers to do war of position, instead of war of movement; it is “a long, protracted and uneven struggle over the hegemony of the dominant group, and its eventual replacement by the hegemony of the subordinate groups fighting for power and the revolutionary transformation of society.” (Strinati, 2004, p. 157) To do so, Gramsci explained that the counter-hegemony parties should make counter ideologies against the dominant and capitalist ideologies in the society. Gramsci (1971, p. 377) said “arbitrary, rationalistic, or ‘willed’” ideology is need to “‘organise’ human masses, and create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc.” In other words, one revolutionary ideology should be distributed and established to challenge the dominant one.

Ageism

Ageism is a term coined by Robert N. Butler, scientist from Washington School of Psychiatry and George Washington University Medical School. The term itself is referring to discriminative ideology, which Butler (1969, p. 243) defined as “prejudice by one age group toward other age group.” In this context, prejudice could be understood as a negative attitude against particular group (Stangor, 2016, p. 4). In addition to that, unjustified prejudice towards others is harmful because prejudice is closely related to someone’s affection, which can lead someone to behave in a discriminatory manner to others (University of Minnesota, 2010, p. 528). In his first writing about ageism, Butler (1969) focused to the practices of ageism against the elderly.

Like the other discriminatory ideology (for examples: racism and sexism), ageism is a social problem that is not easy to be challenged. It is because that, according to Butler, ageism appears in several aspects of social life, which closely related to maintain and strengthen ageism. Butler, as it was cited by Levy and MacDonald (2016, p. 7), explained the aspects which strengthen the ageism, especially against the elderly, are:

- 1) prejudicial attitudes toward the aged, toward old age, and toward the aging process, including attitudes held by the elderly themselves; 2) discriminatory practices against the elderly, particularly in employment, but in other social roles as well; and 3) institutional practices and policies which, often without malice, perpetuate stereotypic beliefs about the elderly.

In other words, ageism can happen in personal, interpersonal relationships, and institutional aspects as well.

In the personal level, there are some process that will lead someone hold on to ageism ideology. All starts with the cognition process in someone’s mind, from the categorization process to the stereotyping process (Cuddy & Fiske, 2002, p. 4; Nelson, 2016, p. 337-338). Those processes will influence someone to have particular affection and behavior towards someone. The problem is the cognition process on someone’s mind can occur implicitly or “implicit social cognition”. Levy and Banaji (2002, p. 52) explained that “implicit social cognition is an umbrella term used to capture the idea that thoughts and feelings may operate outside the purview of conscious awareness, control, and intention.” In relation to ageism, it is possible that someone unconsciously hold on to the ideology of ageism. Of course this is what the

capitalists want: the society unconsciously consent to the distributed ideology from capitalists.

One of the reason why it is necessary to challenge the ideology of ageism from the media studies is because media industry is one of the parties which distributed the discriminative idea about particular age group. Wilkinson & Ferraro (2002, p. 345) noted that media is a powerful site in through which bias representation of particular age group distributed and strengthened. Those who are “cultural dopes” and have dominant-hegemonic position of decoding the message in the media, they will be easily influenced by the ageism ideology.

Ageism against adolescents. The definition of ageism by Butler denotes that there is no age group that is immune from being the victim of ageism. Butler (1969, p. 244) himself stated that “age-ism is also seen in other groups. The young may not trust anyone over 30; but those over 30 may not trust anyone younger.” Related to that, the concept of adolescence in this study refers for young people age 11-24 (Sarwono, 2012, p. 18).

There are researchers that indicate the existence of ageism against the adolescents in today’s society (Marôpo, 2014; Bruce, 2015; Borsheim-Black, 2015; cf. North & Fiske, 2012). Even in academic context, Kimball (2017, p. 2) explained that researchers in youth studies tend to focus on “problems, delinquency, deviancy or rebellious subcultural styles rather than what young people think or how they contribute to their communities.” It is clear that there are evidences which show that the ageism against adolescents has occurred.

Futhermore, it should be noted that young people are targeted by the industry. Osgerby (2008, p. 27-29) explained that after the World War II and social changes afterwards, adolescence has been an age group that targeted by the industry; the adolescence have been seen and became a “jackpot market” by the capitalists. In media-saturated life today (Rideout, Foehr & Roberts, 2010; Common Sense Media Inc., 2015), young persons usually use the media as sources of learning, especially in finding the information they need, identity searching, and searching for role model(s) of life (Santrock, 2003, p. 315). Of course it is dangerous when the young people consume the messages by the capitalists, that established ideology of ageism against the adolescence.

Findings

Text Analysis

In analyzing the movie, researchers will analyze the macro structure, the superstructure, and the micro structure of the text. Researchers will explain the findings of each part below.

Macro structure. The main topic of the movie is about the love story of two senior high students, they are Dilan and Milea. It is obvious, especially in the opening and the ending of the movie, that Dilan means so much to Milea; even when she already become young adult she miss their love story.

Superstructure. In the opening, young adult Milea said that she would shared her love story with Dilan when she was in senior high school. From the beginning of the story, Milea already showed her interest to Dilan and began to compare her unromantic boyfriend with Dilan. There were some other man who love Milea, but Milea showed her preferences only to Dilan, the leader of the famous gang in Bandung.

In the love story of Dilan and Milea, there were some conflicts happen. There are various conflicts happened, such as: (1) misunderstanding between Milea and Dilan; (2) conflict between Milea and Beni, her ex-boyfriend; (3) fight between Dilan and his teacher; (4) gang attack; and (5) fight between Dilan and his friend because his friend slapped Milea. In those conflicts, the love story between Dilan and Milea remained. At the end of the film, young adult Milea concludes the story by telling that she misses Dilan and their love story.

The structure of the story clearly show that the movie is about young persons' love story. All the elements of the story, from the beginning, the conflicts, and the ending, obviously emphasize to one topic, it is romantic relationship between young teenage girl and boy.

Micro structure. In order to analyze the micro structure of the movie thoroughly, researchers divide the movie into 27 parts according to the sequences. The explanation about the findings from the micro structure of the text will be done in three parts, regarding three closely related aspects of ageism explained by Butler.

Prejudicial Attitudes Toward Adolescence. There are prejudicial attitudes toward adolescence from the adults, especially parents, uncle, and teachers. In the film, the bias attitudes toward young people were seen in the way the adults described them. First, Milea's parent said that 1990's young people were weird and confusing. Second, Beni's uncle said that young people usually did violence. In addition to that, he also quoted the lyric of a popular song from Indonesian singer, Rhoma Irama, to describe young people: they “do not want to want to feel guilty, and do not want to

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yield.” That quotation share a meaning that young people think that they’re always right and they never want to yield upon others even if they’re wrong. Third, there were also some sequences in the film that showed the teachers only focused only Dilan and his friends’ bad behaviors in the school, instead of the achievements of other students. Those findings confirms that within the text there were unjustified and often generalized prejudices toward young people from the adults.

Besides negative views about adolescence, there was also positive attitudes towards young people. Dilan’s mother stressed the importance of knowing particular young person before giving judgment towards him/her. However, that idea was faded away by other prejudicial attitudes toward adolescence.

Discriminatory Practices Against Adolescence. The movie portrayed how the adolescents have less space to be heard and understood by adults. First, there was discriminatory practice by the teachers related to the fighting between Dilan and his teacher. The principal took double standard decisions toward them: Dilan was suspended from school for several days, and there was no portrayal in the movie that showed the teacher was punished. Moreover, other teachers only asked Dilan to understood the violent teacher. Second, in the family context, Milea’s father had the main role in taking decision for his daughter. For example, in the film, she was forced to obey her father to go (only) with her tutor to his university. It was a problem because Milea already promised to Dilan that she would not go anywhere with her private tutor. Third, related to the prejudicial attitudes toward adolescence, there was no scene that showed the portrayal of young people were discussing with adults about adults’ opinion about them; young people’s opinion often overlooked and adults unjustified prejudices dominated the movie. Those findings showed that there are discriminatory practices against adolescence, especially in the school and family contexts.

Institutional Practices which Perpetuate Stereotypic Beliefs about Adolescence. The institution which perpetuate stereotypic beliefs about adolescence is the film industry, the one who make “Dilan 1990” movie, it is Max Pictures production house. There are several stereotypic beliefs that was existed within the movie. First, adolescents prioritize romantic relationship, besides other important things, for examples: education, family relationship, etc. For instances, there were the sequences in the movie that portrayed Milea: (1) preferred talked about Dilan with her friend in the class instead of listening to her teacher, (2) chose to take the call from Dilan than studied with her tutor, and so on. Beside the stereotypic belief related to romance, the film also build the violent stereotype of the adolescents, especially the boys. The stereotype shared the portrayal that the boys saw that violence was the main

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solution to deal with problems. That stereotype was portrayed within several sequences, such as: (1) in Dilan’s bedroom there was Ronald Reagan’s quotation: “if you want peace, prepare for war”, and (2) there were many fights in the movie between Dilan and his teacher, Dilan and his friend, and between gangs. Related to the violent stereotype of teenage boys, it is interesting to note that although Milea was angry if Dilan involved in gangs fight, she seems tolerated the violent acts from Dilan if he did it to defend her. Those two main stereotypic beliefs confirm that there are institutional practices which share and establish stereotypic beliefs about young people.

Cognition Analysis

The results of the interviews showed that the juvenile ageism ideology existed within the cognitive framework, especially in Pidi Baiq, the key informant. The bias views of Baiq evident when he shared his views about young people. For him, in the 1990s context there were two types of young people: (1) those who were submissive in the repressive regime, the New Order; and (2) those who were the children of powerful people (for examples: army, police, and government) that were brave enough to do something rebellious (for instances: gang fight, disobedient toward and against the teachers, and also fight for a truth) because of they were the children of the respected and ruling parents. Besides that views, Baiq also shared his prejudicial views about the adolescence in today’s context. In his opinion, today’s young people are like “servants” and “robots” that stand against their owners because they already know much information. That idea contain problematic idea, especially when he use the word “servants” and “robots” to describe young people. Furthermore, Baiq also said that young people today often nagging toward many things, such as: governments, religions, norms, and so on. Not only that, he also said that the adolescents prefer to be apathetic towards the social life, they prefer nagging instead doing something that is wrong in their eyes. Moreover, the key informant also shared the idea that young people today are easily affected or influenced by the information shared within the internet, especially by something popular and entertaining. The ideas about young people above clearly prove that in the cognitive framework of the key informant, there were bias views towards young people.

Another results from the interviews showed some views related to the existence of domination and the idea of fighting for the truth. First, Baiq believes that there is no common enemy in today’s society – in the 1990s the New Order was seen as common enemy of the society because the authoritative system of the government. That idea is problematic because it stands in contrast with the academicians from

critical tradition that there is common enemy, it is the media industry or the capitalists that often try to do domination and hegemony to the powerless groups. Second, both of the key informant and the informant agreed that fighting for the truth is a noble action. However, that idea becomes disputable because the idea of fight closely related with violent acts within the movie. With the violent depictions of “fight for truth” idea, the movie possibly establish the false consciousness within the audiences cognitive framework that violent acts is the main solution to fight for truths. The findings clearly show some problematic cognitive frameworks related with the movie.

Discussions

According to the findings above, as the result of conceptualization process, there are three main (new) concepts that are presented as the answers how the ageism against the adolescents depicted in the film. In this section, the discussion of the concepts will be followed by the explanation of the social analysis findings and also the explanation about the forms of false consciousness in the film.

Adultminant

Adultminant is a new concept that researchers propose, which derived from two English words: adult and dominant. That concept refers specifically to the state of adult domination towards young people in various ways, from the way they treat young people to the process of meaning-making toward something, even in understanding the adolescents. This concept relates closely to the aspects of ageism, those are: prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory practices against young people.

Regarding the textual analysis, the concept of *adultminant* was portrayed in several sequences in the movie, such as: (1) the parents of Milea said that “today’s” young people are *weird*; (2) quoting one Indonesian singers, Rhoma Irama, one adult said that the adolescents are stubborn and it is common if they do violence, both physical and verbal; (3) when Dilan fought with his teacher, other teacher asked Dilan to understand the violent behavior of the teacher, and the principal did a discriminatory practice when he gave punishment only for Dilan – according to the film director, this practices seemly common in the 1900s contexts because the school works within the feudalism idea; and (4) the father of Milea took a decision for Milea that she can (and should) go with her tutor (a man who loved Milea) to particular university, without asked her opinion first. It is obvious that the film promotes *adultminant* concept.

From the analysis of the cognitive framework, especially of the key informant, the *adultminant* concept also existed. Although Pidi Baiq said that it is important not

to judge the adolescent(s) without knowing them deeper, he himself did the unjustified judgments toward young people, such as: (1) he used the word “servant” and “robot” to describe them; (2) he said that young people like to grumble or nagging about something they do not agree with; and (3) they’re apathetic. What he did clearly contradicts with his idea about “not to judge young people without knowing them deeper.”

The *adultminant* concept related to the idea of domination from Stuart Hall. In Hall’s idea, the passive society tend to “look first to authorities” as the “primary definers” about something (Procter, 2004, p. 79). In other words, the less powerful (and passive) groups of the society will trust and obey the meaning given by the primary definers. When the society hold on to the meaning given by the primary definers, that is when the hegemony happen. In this study, the findings proved that the adults, especially parents and teachers or schools, works as the primary definers that define something related to the life of young people. Therefore, the voice of young people often overlooked, and the hegemony towards young people take place.

The concept of *adultminant* also appears in the local and global contexts. First, some films in the 1990s shared the same idea of *adultminant*, especially when the adults shared they prejudicial judgments, usually towards the so-called bad boys (Noviani, 2011). Second, the interviews done by Vice Indonesia (2018) towards some youths that experience the New Order regime in 1990s said that in those days the dictator and authoritative government dominated those who considered rebellious towards them, including the college students. Third, in the academic context, Kimball (2017, p. 6) said that even in the research or book about young people, the voices of the young people are often overlooked. In addition to that, as cited above, Kimball also said that some researchers focus only on the negative traits of young people. In other words, the domination towards young people could be done by intellectuals, which in turns established the hegemony towards young people (Strinati, 2004, p. 152). The social analysis above clearly proved that the *adultminant* concept has been established in the society, both local and global.

Adultminant as False Consciousness. The explanation above clearly shows that the film attempts to establish the false consciousness of *adultminant*. The result of the social analysis of *adultminant* concept also shows that the society also has been supported *adultminant* idea. Consequently, researchers argue that the film can established the false consciousness, especially in the (passive) viewers, and led them to see and be confirmed that *adultminant* is the ideal state of life, especially in relation to the young people. With that false consciousness the adults will think that it is normal to dominate young people because they are young, and the adolescents will

have the same idea. In addition to that, false consciousness could possibly lead the young people be aware of the adult domination and less aware to the hegemony or the exploitation from the capitalists toward young people.

Priomance

Priomance is a proposed concept that is derived from the words (1) priority and (2) romance. The concept refers to the state wherein the love story or romantic relationship becomes the priority in the life of young people; it is preferred than other stories and experiences, for examples: education, spiritual life, social life, and so on. This concept particularly related to the aspect of institutional practices of ageism that established the stereotypic belief that young people prioritize romance over other things.

The findings in textual analysis give strong evidences about the existence of *priomance* concept in the film. Although cognition analysis is not offering strong arguments about *priomance*, the textual analysis clearly established the *priomance* idea throughout the romantic genre movie. In the movie, the love story of the high school students are portrayed in several setting, such as: home and school. There are few portrayals of family relationships in the house. Moreover, there are no scene that focus on showing how the students are studying, for examples: (1) when the teacher was explaining about a lesson, Milea and her friend was talking about Dilan, (2) when Milea studying with her tutor, Milea left the learning process because Dilan called her, and so on. In short, the romantic relationship was portrayed as the main focus in the life of Milea and Dilan, both in the school and home. Related to It is important to note that Baiq wrote that story because in his opinion the love story is interesting story that is experienced by every persons. In other words, other stories are not really interesting, especially when it comes to film industry that usually make a film which shares interesting story, in order to get much money.

The concept of *priomance* has been established in Indonesian society. First, the psychologist Elizabeth Santosa explained that most of the young people, especially the millennials, see that having girlfriend/boyfriend as an achievement and as a mean through which they can get acceptance and recognition from others (Cahya, 2017). Second, Noviani (2011, p. 44) found that from 1970-2000s, love story was the one of the most story that dominated the film Industries in Indonesia, both adults and adolescents love stories. Related to the finding, Ariel Heryanto (2017) said that “the film may not always reflect reality but it is clear that film reflects the dominant norms” – the film industry most unlikely will make a movie that will not entertain people, because they want to make money. In other words, when film industry often

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make romantic films, that means that love stories are the stories that are preferred by the society. It is clear that film industry has established the idea of *prionance*. Third, there is one Indonesian song, entitled “*Remaja*” (adolescence, eng.). This song was made by one popular group band that wanted to share their interesting experience while they were young (Saraswati, 2018). The interesting thing about this song is although the song entitled “*Remaja*”, the song lyric *only* shared about love story in their life as young people – the opening lyric is “*kita remaja yang sedang dimabuk asmara*” or “we are teenagers, which are being drunk in love”. It is interesting to see how the group band linked the song about adolescence only with the love story. The social analysis clearly proves that the concept of *prionance* has established within Indonesian society.

Prionance as False Consciousness. The stereotypic portrayal of young people as *prionance* in the most of the sequences in the movie possibly create the false consciousness in the viewers, especially in Indonesian society that already believe the *prionance* idea. First, the portrayals can make the uncritical adults to see that young people only care about romance. That idea of course will affect how the adults behave towards adolescence. Second, the passive young people also possibly believe that romantic relationships as the main focus on their live. Consequently, they will less likely to focus on other important things like: development of Indonesian society, social justice, religion, and so on. Besides that, the false consciousness will less likely to do the counter-hegemony against the capitalists and other groups that dominate young people.

Viosolution

The last proposed new concept is *viosolution*, derived from two words: violence and solution. That concept refers to the idea that violence, both physical and verbal, is seen as the primary option to win the struggle for a truth. Just like *prionance*, this concept particularly related to the aspect of institutional practices of ageism that established the stereotypic belief that young people are violent.

The textual analysis clearly promotes the stereotypic belief of *viosolution*. In the cognitive framework analysis, researchers do not clearly find a prove which confirms that the key informant hold on to the *viosolution* concept. Although the key informant and the informant agreed that young people should struggle for a truth, researchers found that idea is problematic because the portrayals of “struggle for a truth” in the film are dominated by violent acts. In the movie, there were a lot of violent scenes, for example: the gang attack, fights between Dilan and his friend and his teacher, etc., that ended with minimum portrayal of disciplines or punishments

given to the person committed to violent acts. Besides that, the film also promotes violent acts as solution when the Ronald Reagan’s quotation showed for couple seconds in one scene. It is clear that the movie promotes violence as the solution to defend a truth.

The concept of *viosolution* has existed in Indonesian society for several decades. One of social analyst, Sari Monik Agustin, explained that the culture of fighting between students (usually from two different schools) has existed since 1980s (Detik, 2014). In addition to that, other social analyst, Devie Rahmawati, also explained that the students usually fight with each other in order to win the conflicts between them or between former students (Rudi, 2013). Heri Santoso, lecturer in faculty of philosophy, also admitted that the phenomenon of violence in the life of young people should not be denied (Satria, 2016). At some extent, it could be said that *viosolution* concept has been established in Indonesian society for decades.

Viosolution as False Consciousness. The findings from the text, cognition, and social analysis also shared the possibility that the movie can established the false consciousness: young people always see violence as the main solution to solve problems. Usually when young people do some violent towards someone, that persons can be judged as the naughty adolescents (Noviani, 2011, p. 49). So, when the young people hold on to the false consciousness of *viosolution*, they are not fighting for the truth, they simply make the *viosolution* as stereotypical belief of adolescents more established. In addition to that, if the young people believe that violence is the only way to win the truth, then they will very unlikely win the struggle against the domination from the capitalists and other powerful groups that dominate young people. It is because, according to the thoughts of Gramsci, to win the struggle against the powerful groups, instead of war of movement or military revolution, war of position or ideology is the most important and foundational thing. In other words, if young people hold on to the *viosolution* belief, then they will not do the ideological way to struggle to defend a truth.

Conclusion

This research proved that the ageism against the adolescence is shared and established in Indonesia, especially through the popular film, “Dilan 1990”. In this study, researchers found that the film depicted the young people with the depictions of *adulminant*, *priomance*, and *viosolution* concepts. Besides enhancing ageism against adolescents, the film also attempted to establish those forms of false consciousness that in turns will make the ageism against adolescents dominates the society.

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Ageism against the young people should be challenged with alternative and emancipatory ideology. The challenges could be done in many ways, for examples: (1) the culture of discussion with young people and hear their voices will works as the alternative idea against the *adulminant*; (2) the society should help the young people by giving them greater vision of life that surpasses the *priomance*; and (3) instead of *viosolution*, the idea of war of position should be shared and established to battle the ageism against adolescents. In doing so, the counter-hegemony could be done and there will be no consent-making with the discriminative idea about young people.

Further researches need to be done in the future to deal with the issue of ageism against adolescents. This study found three concepts that explain how the ageism against adolescents portrayed and practiced, especially in Indonesian movie. Those three new concepts need to be tested, whether those concepts also exist and dominate in other media texts. In addition to that, there also huge needs to know how the ageism against adolescents happen in various life context, such as: family, school, workplace, marketplace, and so on. Concerning other discriminatory ideology, researchers need to analyze, whether the teenage girls in Indonesia experience double jeopardy (ageism and sexism) at the same time. Because the research topic about ageism against the young is still scant researched topic, there are a lot of research ideas and opportunities that can contribute in challenging the discriminatory ideology of ageism against adolescents.

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