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WHOSE CULTURE ?**



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SOCIAL REPRODUCTION 'BODY SHAPE FOR WOMAN' IN ADVERTISING

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to explain how mechanism of social reproduction about body shape for woman created throughout advertising. The base theory which be used is social reproduction concept of Pierre Bourdieu with dialective reflective method. Result of the research showed that strategy of distinction and dramatization appear from power relations between subject in field of advertising production. Symbolic image about slim and body shape for woman which are produced in advertising, is assumed by peoples as cultural arbitrary. This social condition is being possible because there is a suitability between social mindset and advertising symbolic image. Roots of this mindset come from domination relations in family, social friendship and working enviroment which built the recognition about habitus of body shape for woman.

Key word : advertising, social reproduction, symbolic power

A. Introduction

Advertisement can create categorization system, classification, and certain social definition in accordance with certain class needs or dominant group. Symbolic images which produced by advertisement such as happiness, harmony, beauty, self esteem, masculinity, and modern lifestyle which is basically a value system held by dominant class or group, educated and implanted to a certain social group. Value implantation process through advertisement can create a habitus regarding the value system.

Reality of female body shape is not something that naturally occurred, but it is something that is created and disseminated through media, including advertisement. In other words, we can assume that advertisement is a tool which used to conduct a pedagogic act from a certain social class or group, because advertisement field is not only become a symbolic image contestation field of a product that wanted to be marketed but also a wide scale symbolic image of social reality – in this case is female body shape.

The social reality that is being continuously reproduced by the producers through advertisement to public, represent what can be identified by Bourdieu (1984) that 'taste and lifestyle are not limited to class-based observation concerning consumption, as we have seen, but incorporate the larger perception of, and interaction within the social world.'

The constant interaction between consumer and media that broadcasting advertisements from these producers enabling a chance that it will create a habitus about some value system, and also representing a symbolic authority it did. However, Bourdieu suggest that the relation between producers with society or consumer didn't only being dominated by one side only, but there is a habitus from an individual as a consumer which enabling them become an active subject and contradicting and negating each other with the capitalists as producers and institution in a field.



This research offers a way to study advertisement based on assumption of a dialectic relation between advertisement-created realities with power relations in an advertisement production and consumption as a condition that enabling the birth and acceptance of a symbolic image. To that end, this research is focused on how female body shape reproduction mechanism is being done in WRP food and beverage product advertisement.

B. Theoretical Framework

B.1 Social Reproduction Mechanism

In the book *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture* (1990:4), Bourdieu explains how culture reproduction mechanism work, which covers pedagogic act, pedagogic authority, pedagogic work, and education system. Firstly, the mechanism according to Bourdieu is the whole pedagogic act, whether conducted in home, school, or wherever, has the authority in defining value system, which is an authority which rooted in the authority relation between social classes and or groups. In his explanation of this authority, Bourdieu using the word arbitrary which is an authority that "cannot be deduced from any universal principle, whether physical, biological, or spiritual" (Bourdieu, 1990:8) an authority over value system which basically doesn't have a universal standard of truth.

Secondly, pedagogic act necessitates value system or meaning which is embedded sourced from certain social class or group, so that the impact of the value system implantation is reproduction of cultural capital distribution structure between different social class and group, which will ultimately lead to the social structure reproduction as a whole. This reproduction pattern is likely to occur if the pedagogic action has an authority. This authority comes as far as the dependence on the structure and culture facility that is in stilled is not objectively known by non-dominant social class or group. But because this pedagogic authority is often done in a variety of methods that looks like non-authoritarian such as student centered learning, so the authority continuously being misrecognized. This is because each element of social class and group believes that pedagogic action is just merely normal communication with no value system reproduction content in it.

Thirdly, pedagogic act always involves pedagogic work which is value implantation process. Socialization gives birth to what Bourdieu and Passeron said as habitus. When the habitus is taking shape then the classificatorical and categorical principles about value system related to social world will also continue to cling inseparably. This habitus never explicit but is inherent in the understanding of social actors, because habitus works below the surface of consciousness and habitus become a deep structure which eventually will form believes and behavior at the surface level. This habitus function is important for the sustainability of long-term social reproduction through what is termed by Mead as *Self* where social actor reproducing its domination. According to Bourdieu there is no possibility to cut the domination circle: "The man who deliberates on his culture is already cultivated and the questions of the man who thinks he is questioning the principles of his upbringing still have their roots in his upbringing" (Bourdieu, 1990:37). Pedagogic work can be successful when habitus is not only leading uniform actions with dominant culture but also reproducing dominant culture.

Fourthly, pedagogic works operates in variety of diverse group and highly dependent on relative position of these groups when dealing with dominant culture. The further position of the subordinate social class and or group from symbolic skills dominant habitus, the more difficult

the task of the dominant culture teaching. However, instead of adjusting teaching methods and criteria to fit the culture of the subordinate, but a teacher adapts to students who already have the symbolic skills. So the students from non-dominant class such as worker class always necessitate two things: 1) they didn't have the dominant culture in the first place; 2) they are measured and evaluated in the basis of dominant social class standard that already had the symbolic skill. Because these standards are fair and objective enough according to parents and students believe so none of them are protesting the pedagogic process.

Regarding the social reproduction theory, Bourdieu tries to link it with the capital seizure. According to Bourdieu the social actor always adjust what capital expectation that can be taken from each step that is taken based on what practical limitations that they have in the field that they play into, the consideration of educational background, social connection, class position, and many others, so eventually, those who has the most least capital tend to be not so ambitious and accepting what he can get, Bourdieu explain it as "the subjective hope of profit tends to be adjusted to the objective probability of profit" (2000 : 216). This eventually will lead to symbolic dominant reproduction, like what Bourdieu describe in *Pascalian Meditations* (2000:217).

"the realistic, even resigned or fatalistic, dispositions which lead members of the dominated classes to put up with objective conditions that would be judged intolerable or revolting by agents otherwise disposed . . . help to reproduce the conditions of oppression"

Then how this reproduction mechanism is applied in advertisement? The function of advertisement is nearly the same with educational institution, both of them become somewhat like *sociodicy in action* of a social regularity, both of them become "a rational for its inequities and the cognitive and moral basis for its conservation (Wacquant, 1993:2)". Advertisement and educational institution become somewhat like *controlling process* or, borrowing Wacquant's term, *disciplining mind*. A consciousness regularity process which is done to perpetuate social regularity that is existed; a domination perpetuation process by concealing domination relation "No domination can maintain itself without making itself recognized by making the arbitrary which is at its basis be misrecognized (Wacquant, 1993:1)".

Advertisement and educational institution alike strive to create a subject that has predisposition system that can give birth to adaptive actions against existing structure so it can reproducing the structure. Advertisement and educational institution simultaneously conduct *controlling process* and *disciplining mind* to pass a cultural heritage that is considered as belonged entirely to the whole community. Thus, advertisement and educational institution become a structure reproduction instrument by reproducing cultural capital distribution system.

Society group that has already applying the lifestyle that is being described by advertisement would by itself more easily make itself in the symbolic life pattern that is being described by advertisement. It's different with those who originally belonged to a society that is completely out of touch with that culture that they would have trouble adjusting to suit the reality demand created by advertisement. This is the same with what occurred in education world where education success level is very dependent to the initial culture received in family level, as stated by Bourdieu (1973 : 75) "The action of the educational system can attain full effectiveness only to the extent that it bears upon individuals who have been previously granted a certain familiarity with the world of art by their family upbringing".

Advertisement and educational institution becomes a structure reproduction instrument that necessitates inequality effect so that tend to strengthen and consecrate existing inequality. Advertisement and educational institution cannot change history's inequality because both of them are only emphasize dominant society group cultural gain by letting those who used to live in a subordinate society group to run helter-skelter in order to adjust to *civilized* lifestyle as being described by advertisement.

B.2 Symbolic Contestation in Advertisement Production Field

Culture reproduction mechanism that is explained by Bourdieu is a symbolic power's potency and ability with assumption that there's no domination that is imperishable without itself recognized as something that is right and acceptable by make itself being misrecognition. Symbolic power is a capacity owned by meaning system and a significance that is able to maintain and strengthen pressure and exploitation relation by concealing that relation behind claims of naturalness, scientific, goodness, and usefulness.

Advertisement as a culture production field has reality creating ability and the authority to influencing other culture production fields by controlling certain symbolic images, because advertisement field is not only become a symbolic image contestation field of a product that wanted to be marketed but also a wide scale symbolic image of social reality. Advertisement used to be understood as an institution in capitalist economy system network which often criticized because of the manipulative effect associated with the packaging of the product communication that is being delivered. What is disclosed by Ogilvy (1983 : 206) becomes one example on how advertisement used to be understood: "Advertising is a profoundly subversive force in American life. It is intellectual and moral pollution. It trivializes, manipulates, is insincere and vulgarizes. It is undermining our faith in our nation and in ourselves."

The role of advertisement in producing this consumptive yearning can be traced from Marx's explanation regarding *commodity fetishism*. In Marx's theory it is said that human and product relation pattern in a typical capitalist economy system emanates because production system is not driven by goods use function it produced but by the needs of exchange function that the goods have. This commodity theory distinguishes between two levels which is *essence* and *appearance*. *Essence* refers to social relation in production process that is tried to be hidden behind the appearance of the goods, while *appearance* in Marx's words (1987 : 28) is "the form in which essence shows itself." For Marx the duality of *use* and *exchange value* in commodity is the key in understanding production mechanism social relation in capitalist economy system.

These two values each have their own *essence* and *appearance*. But according to Marx, in *use value* both of it are linked instrumentally where object's appearance wholly describing the essence of the object. It's different with *exchange value*, which according to Marx the product is packaged conceptually wit qualities that is not owned by the product, thus according to Marx there is no relation between *essence* and *appearance* in *exchange value*. This condition becomes the basis for commodity fetishism. Surely Marx didn't include advertisement role in defining commodity fetishism's mechanism, but lots of philosophers in Marxian tradition expand an argument on how advertising actually has a close relationship with commodity fetishism. They understand that advertisement is one of the main tools that make a product has an *exchange value* and can fabricate product's appearance which didn't have any relation with its *essence* become accepted as a truth for public. Shortly, Marx's disclosure

regarding commodity production relation subsequently influencing social scientist's perspective in viewing advertisement's only relation between public and product, especially on how advertisement role in producing public's consumptive desire that becomes the basis of contemporary capitalist system production mechanism. In McFall's term, advertisement has the authority "to stimulate demand, to manipulate behavior and to manufacture meaning" (MacFall, 2004: 35).

B.3 Television Advertisement and Symbolic Power

In connection with television as advertisement media, television has a *symbolic power* that is associated with truth production in framing reality. Television can concoct viewers' *eyeglass* related to the world it create and depict, whether it is a world depicted visually or packaged in words. And, according to Bourdieu, even a simple display regarding social world "always implies a social construction of reality that can mobilize (or demobilize) individuals or groups" (Bourdieu, 1998:21).

By conjoining visual and verbal element, television advertisement communicates its product concept persuasively by creating product symbolic image that is offered. Besides product's symbolic image, advertisement also unconsciously afterward creating symbolic image toward social reality which is used in translating product concept that is being communicated. A dramatic and hyperbolic social reality then becomes a standard advertising language which indirectly creating awareness on the acceptability of the ideal reality by consuming offered product. In product's *appearance* creating process, advertisement then not only constructs a subject that feel the need to consume the product but also a subject that consider the reality that is depicted in the advertisement as reasonable and necessary. Thus advertisement not only creating a subject that can regulate itself related to product consumption but also a subject that can regulate itself related to social world classification, because social reality that is used in translating product abstraction actually is a reality owned by certain social group that then all of a sudden becomes symbolic reality. This is concordant to Bourdieu's prediction (1998 : 20) that "We are getting closer and closer to the point where the social world is primarily described-and in a sense prescribed-by television". Advertisement is not only depicting reality but also creating reality. We are not only being occupied by product symbolic image but also by certain social reality symbolic image.

C. Methodology

This research is focused on dialective-reflective perspective. In dialective-reflective perspective, the practice of symbolic image production and consumption in advertisement is constructed and reconstructed socially and historically by human agency and social action. Individual-social relation is viewed here as a relation that is a part of human's life and their daily practice.

To answer about conditions that enabling the production of female body shape symbolic image, data obtained through in-depth interviews with parties involved in the advertisement production, which is advertisement agency, Drug and Food Supervisory Board, and Advertisement Supervisory Board. To answer about social conditions that enabling the acceptance of female body shape symbolic image by public, data obtained through in-depth interviews with several informants.

Analyses of the in-depth interviews are combined with qualitative content analysis towards WRP food and beverage product advertisements. From the qualitative content analysis and in-depth interview, then categorized in female body shape symbolic strategy in advertisement. Whereas to obtain the understanding of the acceptance of female body shape image mechanism, the results of in-depth interviews will be analyzed based on dominant relationships in the structure of society.

D. Findings and Interpretation of Data

In outline, research result shows that WRP advertisement is not only constructing an image about the offered product – which is food and beverage product – but also creating reality symbolic image about ideal female body shape. Classification and categorization system's creating process in the advertisement also shaping a consciousness of reasonability and necessity of ideal female body shape. With *distinction* and *dramatization*, WRP advertisement creates a reality of slender body shape as an ideal female body shape. *Distinction* pattern carried by depicting the divergence of class, status, and culture linked with body shape. WRP's advertisement tagline '*sure you can do, the healthy diet*' is a strategy or mechanism to conduct the suggestion which is then considered as something normal and must be done if female want an ideal body shape.

Research finding shows that slender female body shape reality defined by WRP advertisement evidently considered as normality. This is because subject mindset about ideal female body shape that is slender is in match with what is being depicted in the advertisement. Subject's acceptability about ideal body shape definition indicates the occurrence of social reproduction. It means, slender body shape is the right classification, so subject is not only compelled to consume the product but also to regulate itself in the matter of the slender body shape classification.

Thus it can be said that reality of slim body shape in WRP advertisement is a shape of knowledge and value that is produced and arranged in such ways to perpetuate existing social harmony. It means, the manifested lifestyle in slim body shape is actually owned by upper-class society group – in Bourdieu's concept included in dominant class, so that this society group can easily accept the body shape reality depicted in WRP advertisement. Whereas the other society group can't be easily following the demand of slim body shape represented in WRP advertisement. In other words, in order to following slim body shape demand as in image in advertisement, they need to have economy capital as well as cultural capital.

As has been described above that WRP advertisement produces product symbolic image as well as slim body shape symbolic image. Product symbolic image and ideal body shape symbolic image born from specific power relations between actors that involved in advertisement production field is a condition that enabling the production of product symbolic image and slim body shape symbolic image. The actor that has a role as regulator in the advertisement production only has an authority in claims that is related to the product image. It means, regulations that are done tend to just oversee on product claims in the advertisement that related to its effect with product consumption. Whereas body shape reality's symbolic image that is indirectly being created in advertisement isn't covered by those regulations. These conditions that enabled the production of female body shape symbolic image. Regulations that are made by regulator institutions didn't touch the female's ideal body shape reality's symbolic image. Thus the body shape symbolic image production has opened a chance

of 'symbolic struggles over representation', which is advertisers' effort to implant or subtly impose the concept and representation of legitimate female body shape.

E. Conclusion & Research Implication

The results showed the symbolic image of the ideal female body shape is produced by advertisement seen as something normal and natural by the audience. This is because there is a match mindset about women's ideal body shape as depicted in the advertisement. Reality of slim female body shape is produced in the advertisement is considered really are. This means that the reality of the body that produced advertisements suddenly not received by the audience, but apparently has no internal forces. Internal force either through symbolic violence in family relationships, social relationships and relationships within the work environment, which in turn form a system of categorization, classification and distinction system of ideal female body shape. Ideal body image of women who produced advertisements as external forces reinforced the public conception of the ideal female body shape. Thus, it can be concluded that there is a dialectical relationship between the structures of a society with a ideal body shape image produced symbolic advertisement.

The first implication of this study is that the power possessed by the advertisement turned out to affect power relations in other social arenas. When referring to Bourdieu's ideas, concepts and practices are basically understood to be meaningful when placed in a particular arena. While advertisement practices were not only understandable and meaning ful in the arena of commercial production, but also can affect other arenas such as family, work, education and culture. Intrusion advertisements in other social arenas which prompted the new theoretical problem of how to understand the pattern of relationships between the arena or field. This issues still a big question mark for Bourdieu(1992).

Second, the conception of a ideal body shape is seen as an ideology that is often defined in negative advertisements. In fact, the ideology contained in the advertisement is not always bad, harm or negativë connotation. Ideology translated by Bourdieu into the practical doxa belief: a belief taken for granted against a reality. As long as he produces the source and the nature of the reasonableness of a frame or the perception of the social world, a frame that became the basis of the classification, categorization, and the definition of the social world, then the action can be called symbolic violence. Advertisement in this research is seen as a production machine that spawned normality doxa and an awareness of the nature of the body shape produced by advertisement. Doxa is then accepted in the community because it was readily available enabling conditions for the acceptance of advertisement symbolic message about ideal body shape.

Based on the results obtained have made efforts to enhance, modify and conduct researching the future. First, study using Bourdieu's concept of thinking about social reproduction is still not sufficient to explain the complexity of the dialectical relationship between reality parse built by advertisement with power relation since the production and consumption of advertisement as a condition that allows for birth and adoption of a symbolic image produced by advertisements. Therefore necessary to study more in-depth to be able to comprehensively capture the complexity of the dialectical relationship unravel. Second, the symbolic image of the reality of this research shape pattern the mechanism of social reproduction, but it will be more enriching if further research on this social reproduction to operationalize. Through continued research will find patterns of social reproduction mechanism to enrich the pattern of social reproduction through advertisement. Third, for researchers who will conduct research on Bourdieu's social

reproduction is necessary reflexivity as do Bourdieu, because the concept of social reproduction has ideological effects that are not always deliberate and planned by the advertisement producers though. A mechanism of production and normalization that is difficult to detect by other instruments such as the theoretical hegemony more emphasis on the conscious and intended actor.

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by Endah Murwani

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Thirdly, pedagogic act always involves pedagogic work which is value implantation process. Socialization gives birth to what Bourdieu and Passeron said as

habitus. When the habitus is taking shape then the classificational and categorical principles about value system related to social world will also continue to cling inseparably. This habitus never explicit but is inherent in the understanding of social actors, because habitus works below the surface of consciousness and habitus become a deep structure which eventually will form beliefs and behavior at the surface level. This habitus function is important for the sustainability of long-term social reproduction through what is termed by Mead as *Self* where social actor reproducing its domination. According to Bourdieu there is no possibility to cut the domination circle: “The man who deliberates on his culture is already cultivated and the questions of the man who thinks he is questioning the principles of his upbringing still have their roots in his upbringing” (Bourdieu, 1990:37). Pedagogic work can be successful when habitus is not only leading uniform actions with dominant culture but also reproducing dominant culture.

Fourthly, pedagogic works operates in variety of diverse group and highly dependent on relative position of these groups when dealing with dominant culture. The further position of the subordinate social class and or group from symbolic skills dominant habitus, the ³ more difficult the task of the dominant culture ³ teaching. However, instead of ³ adjusting teaching methods and criteria to fit the culture of the subordinate, but a teacher adapts to students who already have the symbolic skills. So the students from non-dominant class such as worker class always necessitate two things: 1) they didn't have the dominant culture in the first place; 2) they are measured and evaluated in the basis of dominant social class standard that already had the symbolic skill. Because these standards are fair and objective enough according to parents and students believe so none of them are protesting the pedagogic process.

Regarding the social reproduction theory, Bourdieu tries to link it with the capital seizure. According to Bourdieu the social actor always adjust what capital expectation that can be taken from each step that is taken based on what practical limitations that they have in the field that they play into, the consideration of educational background, social connection, class position, and many others, so eventually, those who has the most least capital tend to be not so ambitious and accepting what he can get, Bourdieu explain it as “the subjective hope of profit tends

to be adjusted to the objective probability of profit” (2000 : 216). This eventually will lead to symbolic dominant reproduction, like what Bourdieu describe in *Pascalian Meditations* (2000:217).

“the realistic, even resigned or fatalistic, dispositions which lead members of the dominated classes to put up with objective conditions that would be judged intolerable or revolting by agents otherwise disposed . . . help to reproduce the conditions of oppression”

Then how this reproduction mechanism is applied in advertisement? The function of advertisement is nearly the same with educational institution, both of them become somewhat like *sociodicy in action* of a social regularity, both of them become “a rational for its inequities and the cognitive and moral basis for its conservation (Wacquant, 1993:2)”. Advertisement and educational institution become somewhat like *controlling process* or, borrowing Wacquant’s term, *disciplining mind*. A consciousness regularity process which is done to perpetuate social regularity that is existed; a domination perpetuation process by concealing domination relation “No domination can maintain itself without making itself recognized by making the arbitrary which is at its basis be misrecognized (Wacquant, 1993:1)”.

Advertisement and educational institution alike strive to create a subject that has predisposition system that can give birth to adaptive actions against existing structure so it can reproducing the structure. Advertisement and educational institution simultaneously conduct *controlling process* and *disciplining mind* to pass a cultural heritage that is considered as belonged entirely to the whole community. Thus, advertisement and educational institution become a structure reproduction instrument by reproducing cultural capital distribution system.

Society group that has already applying the lifestyle that is being described by advertisement would by itself more easily make itself in the symbolic life pattern that is being described by advertisement. It’s different with those who originally belonged to a society that is completely out of touch with that culture that they would have trouble adjusting to suit the reality demand created by advertisement. This is the same with what occurred in education world where education success level is very

dependent to the initial culture received in family level, as stated by Bourdieu (1973 : 75) “The action of the educational system can attain full effectiveness only to the extent that it bears upon individuals who have been previously granted a certain familiarity with the world of art by their family upbringing”.

Advertisement and educational institution becomes a structure reproduction instrument that necessitates inequality effect so that tend to strengthen and consecrate existing inequality. Advertisement and educational institution cannot change history’s inequality because both of them are only emphasize dominant society group cultural gain by letting those who used to live in a subordinate society group to run helter-skelter in order to adjust to *civilized* lifestyle as being described by advertisement.

B.2 Symbolic Contestation in Advertisement Production Field

Culture reproduction mechanism that is explained by Bourdieu is a symbolic power’s potency and ability with assumption that there’s no domination that is imperishable without itself recognized as something that is right and acceptable by make itself being misrecognized. Symbolic power is a capacity owned by meaning system and a significance that is able to maintain and strengthen pressure and exploitation relation by concealing that relation behind claims of naturalness, scientific, goodness, and usefulness.

Advertisement as a culture production field has reality creating ability and the authority to influencing other culture production fields by controlling certain symbolic images, because advertisement field is not only become a symbolic image contestation field of a product that wanted to be marketed but also a wide scale symbolic image of social reality. Advertisement used to be understood as an institution in capitalist economy system network which often criticized because of the manipulative effect associated with the packaging of the product communication that is being delivered. What is disclosed by Ogilvy (1983 : 206) becomes one example on how advertisement used to be understood: “Advertising is a profoundly subversive force in American life. It is intellectual and moral pollution. It trivializes, manipulates, is insincere and vulgarizes. It is undermining our faith in our nation and in ourselves.”

The role of advertisement in producing this consumptive yearning can be traced from Marx's explanation regarding *commodity fetishism*. In Marx's theory it is said that human and product relation pattern in a typical capitalist economy system emanates because production system is not driven by goods use function it produced but by the needs of exchange function that the goods have. This commodity theory distinguishes between two levels which is *essence* and *appearance*. *Essence* refers to social relation in production process that is tried to be hidden behind the appearance of the goods, while *appearance* in Marx's words (1987 : 28) is "the form in which essence shows itself." For Marx the duality of *use* and *exchange value* in commodity is the key in understanding production mechanism social relation in capitalist economy system.

These two values each have their own *essence* and *appearance*. But according to Marx, in *use value* both of it are linked instrumentally where object's appearance wholly describing the essence of the object. It's different with *exchange value*, which according to Marx the product is packaged conceptually with qualities that is not owned by the product, thus according to Marx there is no relation between *essence* and *appearance* in *exchange value*. This condition becomes the basis for commodity fetishism. Surely Marx didn't include advertisement role in defining commodity fetishism's mechanism, but lots of philosophers in Marxian tradition expand an argument on how advertising actually has a close relationship with commodity fetishism. They understand that advertisement is one of the main tools that make a product has an *exchange value* and can fabricate product's appearance which didn't have any relation with its *essence* become accepted as a truth for public. Shortly, Marx's disclosure regarding commodity production relation subsequently influencing social scientist's perspective in viewing advertisement's only relation between public and product, especially on how advertisement role in producing public's consumptive desire that becomes the basis of contemporary capitalist system production mechanism. In McFall's term, advertisement has the authority "to stimulate demand, to manipulate behavior and to manufacture meaning" (MacFall, 2004: 35).

B.3 Television Advertisement and Symbolic Power

In connection with television as advertisement media, television has a *symbolic power* that is associated with truth production in framing reality. Television can concoct viewers' *eyeglass* related to the world it create and depict, whether it is a world depicted visually or packaged in words. And, according to Bourdieu, even a simple display regarding social world "always implies a social construction of reality that can mobilize (or demobilize) individuals or groups" (Bourdieu, 1998:21).

By conjoining *visual* and *verbal* element, television advertisement communicates its product concept persuasively by creating product symbolic image that is offered. Besides product's symbolic image, advertisement also unconsciously afterward creating symbolic image toward social reality which is used in translating product concept that is being communicated. A dramatic and hyperbolic social reality then becomes a standard advertising language which indirectly creating awareness on the acceptability of the ideal reality by consuming offered product. In product's *appearance* creating process, advertisement then not only constructs a subject that feel the need to consume the product but also a subject that consider the reality that is depicted in the advertisement as reasonable and necessary. Thus advertisement not only creating a subject that can regulate itself related to product consumption but also a subject that can regulate itself related to social world classification, because social reality that is used in translating product abstraction actually is a reality owned by certain social group that then all of a sudden becomes symbolic reality. This is concordant to Bourdieu's prediction (1998 : 20) that "We are getting closer and closer to the point where the social world is primarily described-and in a sense prescribed-by television". Advertisement is not only depicting reality but also creating reality. We are not only being occupied by product symbolic image but also by certain social reality symbolic image.

C. Methodology

This research is focused on dialective-reflective perspective. In dialective-reflective perspective, the practice of symbolic image production and consumption in advertisement is constructed and reconstructed socially and historically by human

agency and social action. Individual-social relation is viewed here as a relation that is a part of human's life and their daily practice.

To answer about conditions that enabling the production of female body shape symbolic image, data obtained through in-depth interviews with parties involved in the advertisement production, which is advertisement agency, Drug and Food Supervisory Board, and Advertisement Supervisory Board. To answer about social conditions that enabling the acceptance of female body shape symbolic image by public, data obtained through in-depth interviews with several informants.

Analyses of the in-depth interviews are combined with qualitative content analysis towards WRP food and beverage product advertisements. From the qualitative content analysis and in-depth interview, then categorized in female body shape symbolic strategy in advertisement. Whereas to obtain the understanding of the acceptance of female body shape image mechanism, the results of in-depth interviews will be analyzed based on dominant relationships in the structure of society.

D. Findings and Interpretation of Data

In outline, research result shows that WRP advertisement is not only constructing an image about the offered product – which is food and beverage product – but also creating reality symbolic image about ideal female body shape. Classification and categorization system's creating process in the advertisement also shaping a consciousness of reasonability and necessity of ideal female body shape. With *distinction* and *dramatization*, WRP advertisement creates a reality of slender body shape as an ideal female body shape. *Distinction* pattern carried by depicting the divergence of class, status, and culture linked with body shape. WRP's advertisement tagline '*sure you can do, the healthy diet*' is a strategy or mechanism to conduct the suggestion which is then considered as something normal and must be done if female want an ideal body shape.

Research finding shows that slender female body shape reality defined by WRP advertisement evidently considered as normality. This is because subject mindset about ideal female body shape that is slender is in match with what is being depicted in the advertisement. Subject's acceptability about ideal body shape definition indicates the occurrence of social reproduction. It means, slender body shape is the right

classification, so subject is not only compelled to consume the product but also to regulate itself in the matter of the slender body shape classification.

Thus it can be said that reality of slim body shape in WRP advertisement is a shape of knowledge and value that is produced and arranged in such ways to perpetuate existing social harmony. It means, the manifested lifestyle in slim body shape is actually owned by upper-class society group – in Bourdieu's concept included in dominant class, so that this society group can easily accept the body shape reality depicted in WRP advertisement. Whereas the other society group can't be easily following the demand of slim body shape represented in WRP advertisement. In other words, in order to following slim body shape demand as in image in advertisement, they need to have economy capital as well as cultural capital.

As has been described above that WRP advertisement produces product symbolic image as well as slim body shape symbolic image. Product symbolic image and ideal body shape symbolic image born from specific power relations between actors that involved in advertisement production field. Role of the actor in advertisement production field is a condition that enabling the production of product symbolic image and slim body shape symbolic image. The actor that has a role as regulator in the advertisement production only has an authority in claims that is related to the product image. It means, regulations that are done tend to just oversee on product claims in the advertisement that related to its effect with product consumption. Whereas body shape reality's symbolic image that is indirectly being created in advertisement isn't covered by those regulations. These conditions that enabled the production of female body shape symbolic image. Regulations that are made by regulator institutions didn't touch the female's ideal body shape reality's symbolic image. Thus the body shape symbolic image production has opened a chance of 'symbolic struggles over representation', which is advertisers' effort to implant or subtly impose the concept and representation of legitimate female body shape.

E. Conclusion & Research Implication

The results showed the symbolic image of the ideal female body shape is produced by advertisement seen as something normal and natural by the audience. This is because there is a match mindset about women's ideal body shape as depicted in the

advertisement. Reality of slim female body shape is produced in the advertisement is considered really are. This means that the reality of the body that produced advertisements suddenly not received by the audience, but apparently has no internal forces. Internal force either through symbolic violence in family relationships, social relationships and relationships within the work environment, which in turn form a system of categorization, classification and distinction system of ideal female body shape. Ideal body image of women who produced advertisements as external forces reinforced the public conception of the ideal female body shape. Thus, it can be concluded ⁵ that there is a dialectical relationship between the structures of a society with a ideal body shape image produced symbolic advertisement.

The first implication of this study is that the power possessed by the advertisement turned out to affect power relations in other social arenas. When referring to Bourdieu's ideas, concepts and practices are basically understood to be meaningful when placed in a particular arena. While advertisement practices were not only understandable and meaning ful in the arena of commercial production, but also can affect other arenas such as family, work, education and culture. Intrusion advertisements in other social arenas which prompted the new theoretical problem of how to understand the pattern of relationships between the arena or field. This issues still a big question mark for Bourdieu(1992).

Second, the conception of a ideal body shape is seen as an ideology that is often defined in negative advertisements. In fact, the ideology contained in the advertisement is not always bad, harm or negative connotation. Ideology translated by Bourdieu into the practical doxa belief: a belief taken for granted against a reality. As long as he produces the source and the nature of the reasonableness of a frame or the ⁴ perception of the social world, a frame that became the basis of the classification, categorization, and the definition of the social world, then the action can be called symbolic violence. Advertisement in this research is seen as a production machine that spawned normality doxa and an awareness of the nature of the body shape produced by advertisement. Doxa is then accepted in the community because it was readily available enabling conditions for the acceptance of advertisement symbolic message about ideal body shape.

Based on the results obtained have made efforts to enhance, modify and conduct researching the future. First, study using Bourdieu's concept of thinking about social reproduction is still not sufficient to explain the complexity of the dialectical relationship between reality parse built by advertisement with power relation since the production and consumption of advertisement as a condition that allows for birth and adoption of a symbolic image produced by advertisements. Therefore necessary to study more in-depth to be able to comprehensively capture the complexity of the dialectical relationship unravel. Second, the symbolic image of the reality of this research shape pattern the mechanism of social reproduction, but it will be more enriching if further research on this social reproduction to operationalize. Through continued research will find patterns of social reproduction mechanism to enrich the pattern of social reproduction through advertisement. Third, for researchers who will conduct research on Bourdieu's social reproduction is necessary reflexivity as do Bourdieu, because the concept of social reproduction has ideological effects that are not always deliberate and planned by the advertisement producers though. A mechanism of production and normalization that is difficult to detect by other instruments such as the theoretical hegemony more emphasis on the conscious and intended actor.

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