

SYNTHESIZING IDEOLOGY: REPRESENTATION OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS' IDENTITY IN THE 1960S

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Abstract: Identity is shaped through values and values are maintained through ideology. Ideology is therefore important for every nation in making its vision into realization. The research is intended to find out (1) the values that African-American would like to fight for, through which they try to create their own identity, (2) how African-Americans, as minority, tried to build their identity in 1960s, and (3) the common ground of the effort in sustaining their ideology in that they can build their identity. This is a qualitative and interdisciplinary research in the constructivist paradigm in which qualitative method is used in gathering the data and descriptive qualitative is used in analyzing the data. This research reveals that the ways in establishing the African-American identities are through sports, social practices and music. In relation to the notion of ideology, the spreading and strengthening of African-American ideology, both cultural and pseudo ideology, are done through humanitarian actions to fight the discrimination they endure. This research determines that the synthesis in creating identity among the whites is through individual freedom and responsibility in which freedom is the common ground of human existence marking the primary force of the existence of identity.

Key words: identity, ideology, African-Americans, values,

***Abstrak:** Identitas dibentuk melalui berbagai nilai dan nilai tersebut dipertahankan melalui ideology. Dengan demikian ideology menjadi penting bagi setiap bangsa untuk mewujudkan visi mereka. Penelitian ini ditujukan untuk mengetahui (1) nilai-nilai yang diperjuangkan oleh African-American dalam membangun identitas mereka, (2) bagaimana African-Americans, sebagai kaum minoritas,*

membangun ideology pada tahun 1960an, dan (3) kesamaan pandangan mereka dalam mempertahankan ideology sehingga identitas dibangun sesuai dengan apa yang mereka inginkan. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan interdisipliner dalam paradigma konstruktivis. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa cara untuk membentuk identitas African-American dilakukan melalui olah raga, praktik social dan music. Dalam kaitannya dengan ideology, penyebaran dan penguatan ideology African-American dilakukan melalui aksi humanitarian untuk melawan diskriminasi yang mereka alami yang mencerminkan adanya ideology riil dan melalui pseudo ideology melalui penggambaran dan prestasi mereka dalam televisi. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa sintesa dari pembentukan identitas di antara kaum kulit putih dilakukan melalui kebebasan individu dan tanggung jawab di mana kebebasan merupakan landasan umum dari keberadaan manusia. Hal ini menjadi dorongan utama dalam pembentukan identitas.

Kata kunci: identitas, ideology, African-American, nilai

INTRODUCTION

Man's creations cannot be separated from the values of the society no matter how modern the society is because values are subjective. It is the values that create the identity of the society and the identity creates the culture of the society. Values as the rule governing how people think, feel, and behave also experience changes. They also experience global interrelation and integration. In American context, values are believed as having capability in creating the greatness of the United States of America, for example, freedom, individualism, pragmatism, progress, multiculturalism, and mobility which appear in various readings of American Literature.

However, among the development and progress that American people face, American history records that American people experienced drastic changes in 1960s. The years of 1960s is seen as a peak point of a change from the life with old values to the beginning of modern life as what we can see today. Values preserved by the ideology is seen no longer compatible with reality. Various social movements appeared as a reaction to the chaos of the that era. People felt that there were many things which were not in

accordance with what is stated in *The Bill of Rights*. The most noticeable happening is, for example, discrimination toward African-American.

The phase of African-Americans' protests on civil rights rose sharply as a result of several happenings. Martin Luther King, Jr., the influential civil rights leader, for example, led a boycott that ended segregated busing in Montgomery, Alabama. Sit-ins and other protests spread across the South in early 1960. It is recorded that in more than 65 cities in 12 states about 50,000 young people joined the protests that year. Protests from African-American movements in fighting discrimination appeared in great number. The questions raised then: what ideology they were fighting for? or in other words, what ideology do they reject? And how do they build themselves in building their power through which they structure their identity? These are important to be answered in this research.

Identity is shaped through values and values are maintained through ideology. Ideology is therefore important for every community in making its vision into realization. Starting with the question of what kind of identity African-American have and what kind of values they hold in their ideology that makes them to have such identity, the research is intended to find out (1) the values that African-American would like to fight for, through which they try to create their own identity, (2) how African-Americans, as minority, tried to build their identity in the 1960s, and (3) the common ground of their efforts in sustaining ideology so that their identity is built in accordance with what they want.

Watts states, "Community spoke to membership and identity in which interests, property and shared meanings were at issues" (2006, p. 43). This means that the identity of the African-Americans lies on the acceptance of the working identity of the community. According to Rose, "a community is not necessarily geographic space, but it is a moral field binding persons into durable relations. It is a space of emotional relationships through which individual identities are constructed through bonds to micro-cultures of values and meanings" (1999, as cited in Watts, 2006, p. 43). Identity, therefore, relates to "cultural descriptions of persons with which we emotionally identify and which concern sameness and difference, the personal and the social" (Barker, 2004, p. 96). From those concepts of community and identity, it can be said that the ideology and values of African-Americans in the 1960s can be seen from cultural practice and how they are able to spread and maintain their ideology. This becomes their identity. Identity is therefore a "production, which is never complete, always

in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation” (Hall, 1990, p. 222).

Bourdieu (2000) in his theory of Cultural Practice in the form of habitus states that, “the importance of negotiation of capitals, which are economic, social, and symbolic in forming cultural practice” (p. 46). This means Bourdieu emphasizes the struggle of power in the society to gain their capital and to strengthen their dominance in the society. Every agent negotiates their capitals to establish power in the creation of meaning in a certain field. In the case of African-Americans, the dominant society in 1960s is the government. It tries to suppress the emergence of sub cultural movements which against their values by various kinds of ways which include violence at times. On the other hand, the minorities, African-Americans, try to gain more capitals of their own to sustain their position in the society and ‘legitimize’ their standing during the chaos of the 1960s.

METHODOLOGY

This is a qualitative and interdisciplinary research in the constructivist paradigm in which qualitative method is used in gathering the data. This method suggests that it is the researcher who interprets data. The interpretation, therefore, depends on the researcher who can interpret it subjectively. Creswell (2003) has pointed out, “qualitative research is a form of interpretive inquiry in which researchers make an interpretation of what they see, hear, and understand” (p. 212).

There are three parts of research process. First, organizing proposal design which includes formulating theme, theories used, method used in the research as well as research location in accordance with already decided indicators. The second steps is accumulating data, processing data, and analysing data. Data are accumulated from phenomena in the US, specially on African-American movements in the 1960s. After the data were collected in the database, the analysis begins. In analyzing the data, the researcher employs descriptive qualitative approach. Descriptive qualitative approach is mainly employed to describe the data in words or in making interpretation on the findings.

In analyzing data, theory of representation is used in making a justification. Theory of representation basically shows that the production of the meaning of the concept in our minds is through language. In part, we

give things meaning by how we represent them – the world we use about them, the stories we tell about them, the image about them, the image of them we produce, the emotions we associate with them, the way we classify and conceptualize them, and the values we place about them (Hall, 1997, p. 15). In analyzing the data this research makes use of the construction of all forms of media in the system of representation: the system by which all sorts of object, people, and events correlated with a set of concepts or mental representation and signs enabling people to translate thoughts or concept into words, sounds or image (Hall, 1997, pp. 17 - 18). Specifically, in spite of three different approaches of representation, proposed by Hall, the analysis is based only on the reflective approach that meaning is thought to lie in the object, person, idea or event in the real world, and the language function like a mirror or reflect the true meaning as it already exists in the world (Hall, 1997, p. 24).

RESULTS

Dealing with African-Americans' identity, one cannot be put far away from what social group they belong to. Like Native-Americans, Asian-Americans, and Hispanic-Americans, African-Americans can be regarded as minority group. The difference on the term of minority in Europe and America are described in several ways. Lois Wirth proposes the ideal types of minority groups in accordance with their purposes. They are pluralistic, assimilationist, sectionist, and militant. They are implied in European minority groups. In the United States, the minority group is defined firstly by migration characteristics. Secondly, it is categorized in accordance with the development of south states because of plantations and slavery. Therefore, American minority is classified because of its historical background and geographical condition (Barron, 1967, pp. 6 - 10).

Furthermore, Schermerhorn (1967) has shown that American minority can be seen through the dominant group in the country, i.e. WASP (White Anglo Saxon Puritan). Based on the categories of race and ethnicities, he states,

First of all, they [the WASP] categorize them [minorities] as either colored or non-colored as compared with their own white status... A second category employed popularly to distinguish the ins from the outs is that of foreigner... Religious label are also used to differentiate the dominant group from others...

[and] Non-Caucasian immigrants, for example the Mexicans, that based on the color distinctions a stranger to America might hypothesize that when color discriminations is added to that against foreigners, colored aliens might be subject to the most severe power pressures of all. (Schermerhom, 1967, pp. 11 - 13)

African-Americans can therefore be categorized as minority as Meyers (1984) stated, “[minority group] was used to identify a cohesive social group within a larger social group cohabited a nation state but that differed from that larger group” (p. 2). The results of the research on how African-Americans as the minority group negotiates their identity are discussed in the following.

A. Conflict and Negotiation of African-American Identity

In order to see the identity of African-American individuals in the 1960s, which are regarded as minorities, the investigation of this research is based on social practices, education, media, sport and state rituals. As the theory of representation suggests, the identity can be seen not only in the existing social practices of African-Americans but also in media, sport, and education. For the purpose of analysis, eight leading individuals, who became popular in the 1960s, are used to build the argument.

The primary noticeable identity of African-Americans is in sport and music. In sport, the US of the 1960s has, for example. Jim Brown. Jim Brown was a football player playing for Cleveland Browns from 1957–1965. He was awarded a Rookie of the Year and two-time MVP (Most Valuable Player) and led the Browns to the NFL (National Football League) championship in 1964. In the music industry, African-Americans have Ray Charles, who had already mixed gospel and blues into an original, energetic heart-stirring sound for Atlantic records. Sam Cooke, the most successful artists of the early 60s; Aretha Franklin, who is regarded as the queen of soul and the most influential singer of all; Marvin Gaye, a Motown greatest singer; Jimi Hendrix, a guitar player who was the one of rock superstars and still regarded as rock’s master genius; and Wilson Pickett, Otis Redding, a singer, who gained international reputation, and The Supreme, the most commercially successful girl group.

The above reputations of African-Americans in the 1960s are actually very little when compared with what the “White” had accomplished. They are still categorized as minority in number. However, Parillo (1985) states that, “the term minority can refer to millions of persons, a size larger than a

secondary group” (p. 16). The question is, then, can African-Americans make themselves belong to the majority? Such question is based on the assumption that when in the process of negotiation, they can gain power over the majority; they then meet the criteria of the majority. African-Americans, however, negotiate their identity only through music, especially through blues, jazz, rap and hip-hop, and sports, especially in basket ball game. They cannot, thus, be in the majority group. Therefore, this research on identity of African-Americans starts with the idea that the identity of African-Americans is that of the minority.

Taking the notion that, “the emerging identities of new social groups and subjectivities as being confronted by a dominant culture whose discourses and language do not allow them to articulate fully their experience” (Rutherford, 1990, p. 22) brings about the idea that American culture in music and sport endorse African-Americans to build their identity. Barker (2004) states that identity is,

a cultural construction because the discursive resources that form the material for identity formation are cultural in character. In particular, we are constituted as individuals in a social process that is commonly understood as acculturation without which we would not be persons. Indeed, the very notion of what it is to be a person is a cultural question. (p. 93)

Such notion, actually demonstrate the power of the majority, the “White”. In reality, however, African-Americans are still classified as minority. For example, we can see in the following quotation:

The various forms of Black music—from gospel and the blues to jazz, soul, and, more recently, hip-hop—have helped define the culture over time Black music, in the forms of blues and rhythm and blues, was the original source for what would eventually become “rock ’n’ roll,” a popular but derivative genre of music that went on to reach mainstream mass appeal—often at the expense of its Black roots. (Gilroy, 1997, p. 103).

The image, or specifically the stereotype, of African-Americans, is only for sports and music. Sport connotes physical activity. It can be argued therefore, the stereotype that African-Americans rely on their physical activities, which also connotes activities that do not need brain, going continues. Fighting the stereotype for building identity becomes important within other activities because mainstream society has long used sport and

music to offer unattractive images of African-Americans, images that would validate the poor treatment of blacks within American society.

This confirms the idea that the locus of African-Americans as minority and majority cannot be interchangeable. The majority shapes their identity although African-Americans possess resources to gain and to maintain their authority in music and sport. Even though Barron (1967) states that the “majority group that does not have enough resources that can maintain their power can be moved to be minority group, the Whites cannot be the one” (p. 4). Barron (1967), further, states, a “minority is those who subordinated in these intergroup relations are typically referred as minorities, whereas their superordinate in status are called both majority and dominant groups” (p. 3). In the case of African-Americans in music as discussed above, they cannot move its status as becoming the majority.

African-Americans are still marginalized people as confirmed in the following statement, “the minority is a subgroup within a larger society and that its members are subject to disabilities in the form of prejudices, discrimination, segregation, or persecution at the hands of another kind of subgroup, usually called a majority” (Marmaryan, 2010). The position of African-Americans, in spite their accomplishment in music, imply the role of marginalized people in the already established dominant group. Pollard and O’Harre (1999) reported that, “African-Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics, and Asians all have experienced institutionalized or state-sanctioned discrimination as well as social prejudice and oppression” (p. 5). The Whites still enjoy their privileges while African-Americans were still treated as peoples set apart or, in Gleason’s term, “look upon themselves in that same light, and consequently develop attitudes and behavioral forms that exaggerate their distinctiveness and isolation” (Gleason, 1991, p. 398).

Other than sport and music, education can also be regarded as tools in the negotiation of identity. The research draws this conclusion from the examination of through the most leading figures of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. Malcolm X was African-American Moslem nationalist and a founder of the Organization of Afro-American Unity and Martin Luther King Jr. was a leader of activists from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and its student wing, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Martin Luther King, Jr. is the only one American born in the 20th century who has been honored with his own national holiday today. He was

a Baptist church in Montgomery, Alabama at the time America's most racially intolerant state. At the summer 1963 at a rally in Washington D.C. in front of 200.000 people he deliver his speech "I have a dream" that becomes a touchstone of American history, as important in the 20th century as Lincoln's Gettysburg Address in 19th century. Time awarded him as the Person of the Year in the end of 1963. He was the youngest-ever recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1974. The issues he targeted are labor equality, voting rights, the end of Jim Crow Law. These were formalized with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. He was killed in and followed by a national day of mourning. Until today he is celebrated as a hero who, had fought a war, like Gandhi, with nonviolence (Strodder, 2007, pp. 172 - 174)

These two leading figures Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. represent the educated people. Interestingly enough, there is photograph of Malcolm X posing by holding the Holy Quran. This seems to symbolize the educated people. In other words, it can be said that education or well learned individual has the power over the people. This is also the case with other American spokesperson along American history. Those two figures are religious leaders. By this title, they can be the representation of the leaders. The binary oppositions can be seen in the following:

Majority	:	Minority
Superior	:	inferior
Educated	:	uneducated
Leader	:	follower
Knowledgeable	:	Ignorant
Conversant	:	unfamiliar

Therefore, it can be concluded that education seems to be tools in creating the image of power and strength in negotiation of identity. However, when analyzed through Bourdieu's perspective the habitus plays an important role in determining the individual's success in achieving their dream, the identity of African-Americans analyzed from their attitudes, beliefs, and experiences is shaped through their habitus of the White's authority.

The African-Americans inhabits a social world related with aspiration and connected with effort and reward frame of the Whites. For the purpose of this study and in order to complete the analysis, a life narrative of African-Americans entitled *Ain't No Making It* is the best illustration of the

notion of education as mechanism of power in the negotiation of African-Americans in the 1960s. The story is about two gangs in house project. One of the gang is called the Brothers whose members are African-Americans and the other is called the Hallway Hangers with the Whites as the members. This narrative tells about how these two gangs live after the period of civil rights movement in the 1960s. Though these both gangs enjoy the success of the civil right movements and they share the same poverty and education because they go to the same schools but they have a different perception toward the condition. The White is still optimistic but the African-Americans are pessimistic.

The Brothers once believe that having higher education will guarantee them to have better job and higher position, as McLeod (2009) stated, "They had been told over and over by their parents, teachers, and counselors to stay in school, that they needed a high school diploma to get a decent job" (p. 228). The Brothers' experience, however, tells differently. McLeod (2009) stated,

Craig [an African-American], too, has followed the prescription for occupational success by investing heavily in education. He attended a junior college after graduating from high school and then transferred to a large university. He struggled to pay his bills, and he struggled academically. ... Craig returned home saddled with over \$10,000 in student loans and hoping to land an entry-level job in the business world. He was disappointed. Unemployed for over a year, Craig settled for a clerical job in a large store's credit department where he works the phone trying to recover delinquent bills for an annual salary of \$17,000. (p. 207)

Mike (the White), on the other hand, experiences differently. "The irony is that Mike landed the job at the bank only after he and Craig indulged in a little collective use of credentials. They doctored Craig's diploma to make it appear that Mike had received his associate's degree, a foray into white collar crime about which Mike makes no apologies." (McLeod, 2009, p. 208). Although the book was written many years after 1960s, how the book illustrates the discrimination toward African-Americans, confirms the idea that the ruling power in building their identity is still the White. The norm the African-Americans hold is the norm of the majority.

The other sign that shows the disposition toward education in negotiating identity is the sit-ins technique practiced by AFRICAN-AMERICANS in 1960s. The technique in showing protest in demanding rights, which was later adopted by student movements in several universities, like Free Speech Movement (FSM), can be also considered as representing an educated way of making protest.

It was initiated by Martin Luther King Jr. in Montgomery, Alabama and Ms Rosa Parks' action in riding bus (Newfield, 1966). This is also seen from the famous incident in Greensboro, North Carolina. On February 1st, 1960, four African-American students of Greensboro launched sit-in protest in a white lunch counter in Woolworth to demand a lunch serving. As a result, they got the South police's arrest. Later on, the news was spread heavily throughout the South, and nationwide (Freeman, 2004).

The power of sit-in technique was so strong that influenced students' movement. In September and October 1964, for example, the Berkeley students launched the sit-in to protest, "the rules prohibiting the holding of meetings on campus, soliciting funds, making speeches, distributing leaflets or setting up tables with political material, the students created a united front of all political organizations, and demanded free speech" (Teoderri, 1969, p. 26). "A first picket line attracted 200 demonstrators—out of a total student enrolment of 27,500 at that time." (Horn, 2007, p. 62). This new technique of sit-in is confirmed by The Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest (1970),

The activists introduced into campus protest new tactics that disrupted the university and denied others their fundamental civil liberties. These tactics included blocking of university officials carrying out their duties, harassing of university officials, and sit-ins in university buildings. The origin of these tactics, which had not been used by radical groups on campus before, was the civil rights movement, in which several FSM leaders had taken part. (pp. 25 - 26)

The matriarch image of African-American women emerging most prominently during the height of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement can be also used as analogy of this argument. The African-American matriarch was of particular concern to the U.S. Government as they have double problems, being a woman and an African-American who has lack of education. They are regarded as the picture of the problems of African-

American family among other things such as poverty, crime, juvenile delinquency, lack of education, and so on. Many argue that this was the weakness in the structure of the black family. In order to gain power in negotiating their identity, therefore, they should be educated and knowledgeable.

B. Mapping the Ideology

The advanced industrial growth in 1960s that resulted in mass production creating mass consumption has dramatically transformed the American society into the post-industrial age. Advertisements marking the development of mass production and consumption were so strongly developed that these years became popularly called as advertisement era. The drive of consumerism created concerns among social movements, believing that the impact of consumerism could erase traditional values and cultures, as Goose (2005) stated, “from the 1950s through the 1970s, a series of social movements surged across America, radically changing the relationship between white people and people of color, how the U.S. government conducts foreign policy, and the popular consensus regarding gender and sexuality” (p. 2).

Other mostly noted social movements were conducted by the youth, the New Left and the Hippies. The 1960s became a starting point of the advent of the New Left. The leading phenomenon of the New Left in America was the emergence of the Free Speech Movement (FSM) in University of California at Berkeley and the Students for A Democratic Society (SDS) in University of Michigan (Newfield, 1966, p. 16). These movements were out with their opposition toward social practices, especially by the government, which they viewed as moving away from the essence of Declaration of Independence of 1776 that promote the basic human right and individual freedom. It can be seen by their protest toward Nixon, representing the old era, “the old era is ending. The old ways will not do.” (Anderson, 2012, p. 21).

The old era represented by the Fifties was no longer accommodated. It was also the issue used by Kennedy, who were regarded as representing the new era. This is seen by his speech in his Inaugural Address by stating, “we observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom, symbolizing an end as well as a beginning, signifying renewal as well as change” (Quinn & Dolan, 1968, p. 59).

Other social reality that can be said as initiating social unrest is poverty. In the early 1960s, there were a big number of American scholars criticizing the disparity of wealth distribution despite its growing mass production and consumption. For example, Michael Harrington's *The Other America* made comments on poverty by stating,

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

The wide gap of income and wealth suffered by American minority, specifically African-Americans also resulted in the students' movement, like the New Left movements whose mission was to make social transformation (Teoderri, 1969). This can be seen, for example, from SDS's opening statement, which was famously called Port Huron Statement, "We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit" (Goose, 2005, p. 69). The statement shows that economic growth does not guarantee contentment. The equality of enjoying economic opportunity should be provided. It is a common sense that the emergence of socialist thought appeared through the New Left movement. Goose (2005) affirmed, "this was a new politics, somewhere between liberalism and radicalism, non-Marxist but open to socialist analysis, and focused on a total democratization of society—the economy, schools, and governmental institutions" (p. 69).

As theory of representation suggests, the existence of "the other" is important in the process of analysis. This is also what is conducted in this research. When concerning American social unrest and social movement, Indonesian experience can also be taken into account for the signification. One noted issue of Indonesian social movement in the 1960s was the phenomena of President Sukarno's *Nasakom*, which was declared during the Cold War. The battle of ideology of Capitalism, America, and Communism, Soviet Union, also influenced Indonesian politics. At this time, President Soekarno established and combined several values of Communism and Indonesian to form a 'political' course of Indonesia by implement the ideology *Nasakom* as Wood (2005) argued,

From early in his career he had been sympathetic towards a Marxist interpretation of Indonesian history... to create a just, egalitarian society. In addition to Marxism, he also saw both religion and Indonesian nationalism as essential for the nation's full development. In the 1920's he had argued that these three streams of thought were not incompatible; later he developed the concept of NASAKOM [nationalism, religion, communism] as the basis of a unified Indonesian political identity. (p. 89)

Out of people's apprehension toward the growing influence of Communism into Indonesian politics, *coup de etat* of the September 30th 1965, and the increasing rate of poverty, Indonesian students, later called Batch of 1960s, threw protest with the support of Indonesian Armed Force (ABRI) to overthrow President Soekarno. This led to the falling of President Sukarno's presidency and the emergence of New Order of President Suharto replacing Old Order. Under the New Order administration student movement of 1960s, they hunted down several members of Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), either in campus and society. Frederick and Worden (2011) argued, "on the surface, and particularly through a Cold War lens, the New Order appeared to be the antithesis of the Old Order: anticommunist as opposed to communist-leaning, pro-Western as opposed to anti-Western, pro-capitalist rather than anti-capitalist, and so on" (p. 72).

The issue of capitalist and socialist ideologies in Indonesia, which can be said as driven by economic problems, appeared again in the 1970s. Students also were the agents voicing the social change. The Indonesian student movements of 1970 fought "establishment", foreign investment that was mainly from Japan, and unequal distribution of economic development. This research, however, is not intended to go to a deeper analysis of both the student movements and capitalist and socialist ideologies. It rather sees the general pattern of the movements and the African-American movements in the 1960s. From the above Indonesian phenomena, it can be inferred that it is universal that inequality and discrimination always results in social unrest. In addition, people intend to make equilibrium between the two extreme polars, capitalist and socialist ideologies.

In the 1960s, television played a vital role in broadcasting the pivotal moments of the Civil Rights movement. These years represented a new moment in terms of television history and public activism. Although public interest had always been a consideration—the basis on which all stations were licensed—it was only in the 1960s that the notion of public interest

extended to the concept of legal “standing”. “In the 1960s, television played a vital role in broadcasting the pivotal moments of the Civil Rights movement, and the 1970s inaugurated a fertile period for Black representation on television. Since that time, some might say that little has changed in these representations, even though the landscape of television has broadened substantially since then” (Bodroghkozy, 2008, p. 339).

Television culture, particularly sports television media, has thus been central to the process of building the identity of African-American, not only in focusing news on African-Americans but also in using ideologies as explanations for why certain happening occurred. The criminalization of young generation of African-Americans has surrounded the people imagination.

The Negro revolution of the 1960s could not have occurred without the television coverage that brought it to almost every home in the land. ”This observation from a producer of CBS News in 1965 might suggest that American television was awash with images of African-Americans during the Civil Rights era. And it was-but it also was not. Television during this period adopted a strangely schizophrenic attitude to African-Americans: their plight and struggles received voluminous attention in news, documentary, and special reports. In prime-time entertainment programming, however, American audiences saw a mostly whitewashed world, with the dramas and sitcoms of the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s rarely featuring non-white characters. What role did network television play during the tumultuous and profoundly transformational years of the Civil Rights revolution in American race relations?. (Bodroghkozy, 2008, p. 144)

The revolutionary time of 1960s is widespread among the society and it resulted in gaining power over the population in creating the image of discrimination and it is thus voicing the African-American ideology. The assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr., and the urban uprisings of the late 1960s, for example, became public concerns. This means television brought about larger social tensions.

In researching the power of ideology penetrates in many different culture, Pierre Bourdieu’s theory on the practice of social habitus can answer this phenomena. His theory basically stresses on human capability in

negotiating their capita. Further, this theory proposes the idea on human ability in negotiating their capita as the face social issues. In social scope, an individual or group can interact and negotiate. By this process, either individual or group, consciously or unconsciously, compete each other in gaining social power (Bennett & et al, 2009, pp. 22 - 26).

The consistent appeal provided by television resulted in the pervasive information of African-American values. Through Bourdieu's point of view stating, "Being the product of the conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence, ... taste is the basis of all that one has - people and things - and all that one is for others, whereby one classifies oneself and is classified by others" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 56), television became a legacy formulating African-American identity.

Building identity through preserving ideology is actually what is seen in the movements. The ideology, however, is also preserved through the media. The African-American movement cannot be successful in the absence of mass media, television. The role of mass media in broadcasting and portraying the movement, especially minority group of African - American, is highly significant. Through publication in magazines, newspapers, and television, the African-American's self-identification has emerged intensively nationwide.

Airing and publishing the African-American movement in fighting for human and equal rights in many aspects of life through television can be said as imposing "false consciousness". This is like a snowball meaning that whenever publication of African-Americans can create profit to television, the television stations intend to increase the publication. The increasing publication brings effects in the preservation of African-American ideology through which African-Americans' value is well maintained. In other words, it can be said that the ideology of African-Americans can be the dominating ideas when the African-American can possess the modes of production of the media. The role of mass media is a tool to answer the effectiveness of the movements in formatting African-American's identity.

CONCLUSION

This research reveals that there are three ways in establishing the African-American identities. They are through sports, music, and social practices. The identification of African-Americans in the field of sports are

apparent both in real life and in popular products such as movies. Despite its stereotyping nature, African-Americans identification as sportsmen manage to place them in a special place in American social life. This also means strengthening their identification in giving positive image to the African-Americans to oppose the stereotype given to them.

The second way of establishing the African-American identity is done through the notion of social practices which also includes education. Education becomes one of the tools in creating the image of power and strength in negotiating their identity to counter the image of uneducated and juvenile image of African-Americans.

The third way of establishing as well as strengthening the African-American identity is done through music. Music has been embedded in African-American cultural practices since their first coming to America. The elevation of African-American image in the United States becomes apparent with the rising popularity of Black Music such as Jazz, Blues, Swing, R&B and others. Represented by the famous Ray Charles, Sam Cooke and Aretha Franklin, African-Americans manage to set their place highly in the area of music even until nowadays. In this way, in a sense, the strong position of the African-Americans also putting them in the position of the majority to combat the negative image of uncultured African-Americans.

In relation to the notion of ideology, the spreading and strengthening of African-American ideology are done through two ways. They are from humanitarian actions to combat the discrimination they endure which represent the real ideology and pseudo ideology through their portrayals and achievement in the television. The humanitarian actions are enacted through the various kinds of movements which includes the famous Civil Rights movement, NAACP (*the National Council of Negro Women*), Bus Boycott, various sit-ins and marches in the 1960s. Those movements are done in peaceful way instead of using violence anarchicism which has similar pattern with the New Left movement. By those movements, the awareness of their disposition of being discriminated becomes stronger with the recognition of the mass both in the white community and the black community themselves. It also spreads the freedom ideology of the African-Americans in a sense.

Ideology of the African-American minority also spreads through the pseudo-ideology by the means of television. The recognition of African-Americans in television industry both professionally and story wise in their

portrayal also strengthen the disposition and thus the ideology of African-Americans among the whites as well. By this, this research determines that the synthesis in creating identity among the whites is through individual freedom and responsibility in which freedom is the common ground of human existence marking the primary force of the existence of identity.

The African-Americans voiced their ideology of freedom not through anarchism but through non-anarchical action. The justification over this idea is that the African-American has responsibility to be the United States Citizens. The responsibility is shown in the ways of conducting movements in peace since doing it in violence will not bring them anywhere close to spreading their disposition of being discriminated. There is nothing to gain through the use of violence and it is proven that by this, their ideology and identities can be spread positively. It also needs to be noted that the state of being the minority puts them in the position in which they have no hands in changing the majority's policy regarding their discrimination. As the minority, they cannot change anything. In other words, it can be said that the responsibility is coming out of their awareness of being minority.

In conclusion, the minority, through the mechanism of identity, ideology, hegemony and habitus, cannot move from their disposition as the minority. The identification which are represented through their achievement in sports, social practices and music are related with their ideology of freedom as the best way to fight against the hegemony of the majority through their discriminations and their habitus which includes the notion of education and the recognition of their disposition as the minority. In this way, their state of being the minority and identification as one are represented in their inability to change the status quo and are manifested in their responsibility as the citizen of the United States by keeping the peace through peaceful actions i.e. marches and sit-ins, achievements and television to voice their ideals.

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The word "Celt" is written in a large, stylized, blue and white font. The letters are thick and have a white outline, giving them a 3D or embossed appearance. The font is a rounded, sans-serif style.