

Discourse on Disciplining Indonesian Women's Bodies in a Dove Advertisement

Rina Widiastuti, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

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Abstract

In modern society, all human beings are performers. Our identities could be formed to imitate the personality types that are circulating around us, or we could create our own unique personality styles, which are different and in fact has never been attached to another person. Advances in information technology affect the way people define their identity. The mass media provides the widest opportunity for people to get a reference of lifestyles and role models in the process of establishing a person's identity. Hair is one of the attributes of the body which receives most of human attention besides the skin, face and body itself. It becomes a topic that is often discussed in various articles published in mass media, ranging from magazines, newspapers and the Internet. Hair has also become one of the attributes of the body sold by the world beauty industry.

This article does not only describe the contents of a shampoo advertisement text, but also questions the existence of the advertisements in the context of society and explores their role in the project of disciplining the female body. Dove shampoo commercial is chosen to be analyzed in an effort to dismantle the intervention of the beauty industry in the process of identity formation of women in Indonesia. The discussion in this article advertisement adopts Fairclough's theoretical framework on three elements of discourse, namely text, discourse practice (production, distribution and consumption of text), and sociocultural practice (socio-cultural practices in society).

Keywords: Discourse, body, hair, identity, advertisement

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Introduction

Body has become important identity symbol. Biologically, a woman's identity is distinguished from men in terms of body anatomy. In her book *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1984), Mary Douglas stated that "as everything symbolizes our body, it becomes the symbol for everything." In *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (1996), she divided the body into two: the self (individual body) and the society (body politics). The body politics forms the way the body is physically felt. Physical experience of a body is always modified by social categories known, including particular perceptions of the society.

In all social contexts, body has become the center of consumption since in this part occur reproduction practices and social norms. The body becomes an epigraph of various symbols and identity values, as well as differences. In the regime of fashion, body is the epigraph of desire in fulfilling the beauty satisfaction temporarily. Modern consumption practices have enabled the body to become potential consumers to be manipulated by the pleasure of gaze offered by televisions and advertisements (Appadurai, 1996: 84).

If consumption is the effort to obtain satisfaction of the fulfillment of human's need, advertisement in mass media does not have other function but providing the information to the consumers on what goods and services they need to fulfill, where to get them, how to use them, and what effects may appeared after using them (Falk, 1994: 151).

Commercials do not only offer the products to fulfill consumers' needs, it also creates new necessities on a product that is, in fact, not needed or not yet needed by the society (politics of desire economy). Those necessities are created through pieces of image that are considered as representing certain product. In beauty product commercials, pseudo necessities are produced through the image of beautiful hair, slim tall body, fair skin, as well as pretty face presented by various models.

If we observe the development of media industry, the appearances of Indonesian women in newspaper, magazine, radio, television, internet, as well as other media has become daily normality. They take the role as producers, commercial model presenter, or actress in TV series. Indonesian women also become the part of advertisement material, a theme of a topic, as well as the title and central story in a TV series. Their existence in an increasingly open public space has attracted beauty product companies to make them part of market expansion targets.

In the globalization era, Indonesian women do not only own a single face. We can see them in various appearances. Different hair colors, skin colors, body shapes, and women fashion selections appear in televisions, magazines, newspaper, and, indeed, on the billboard set on the highway. This phenomenon cannot be separated from the role of beauty product commercials employing the image of celebrities that appear to be perfect in the purpose of influencing the society. These public figures act as if they are the warden of beauty industry who assures the discipline of the convict in the form of woman body so that they obey the regulations of the markets. This obedience is shown by their reluctance to move from one beauty product to another. Commercial

has become the controlling tower of their prisoned body that will never guarantee their freedom.

The study of discourse in advertisement, especially in Dove ads, has been carried out with diverse theoretical approaches and methodologies. *A Not-So-Beautiful Campaign: A Feminist Analysis of the Dove Campaign for Real Beauty* (McCleary, 2014), *Consuming Construction: A Critique of Dove's Campaign for Real Beauty* (Dye, 2011), and *Critical Discourse Analysis: Analyzing the Beauty Advertisement Discourse, Dove's Campaign for Real Beauty* (Hoepfner, 2006) are the examples of study of Dove ads, which has been published by previous researchers. The difference between this article and the previous one is the use of panopticon, the ideas of Michel Foucault, to dismantle the discourse practice. Panopticon become a referral form of production, distribution, and consumption of discourse in society. Advertisement has become the controlling tower of the women's prisoned body that will never give them the freedom to be themselves.

Critical Discourse Analysis as a Method

Language is a social practice. Language use is always simultaneously constitutive as social identities, social relation and system of knowledge and belief. A discourse is the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view (Fairclough, 1989).

Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. Critical discourse analysts take explicit position to understand, expose and resist social inequality. Most kinds of CDA will ask questions about the way specific discourse structures are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance, whether they are part of a conversation or a news report or other genres and contexts (Van Dijk, 1993).

Critical discourse analysis of a communicative event is the analysis of relationships between three dimensions, which call text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. Text refers to written or oral text and visual text. Discourse practice is the processes of text production and text consumption. And sociocultural practice means the social and cultural context, on which the communicative events are a part of (Fairclough, 1997). Analysis of texts is concerned with both their meanings and their form. This analysis provides a way of investigating the simultaneous constitution of systems and belief, social relations, and social identities in a text.

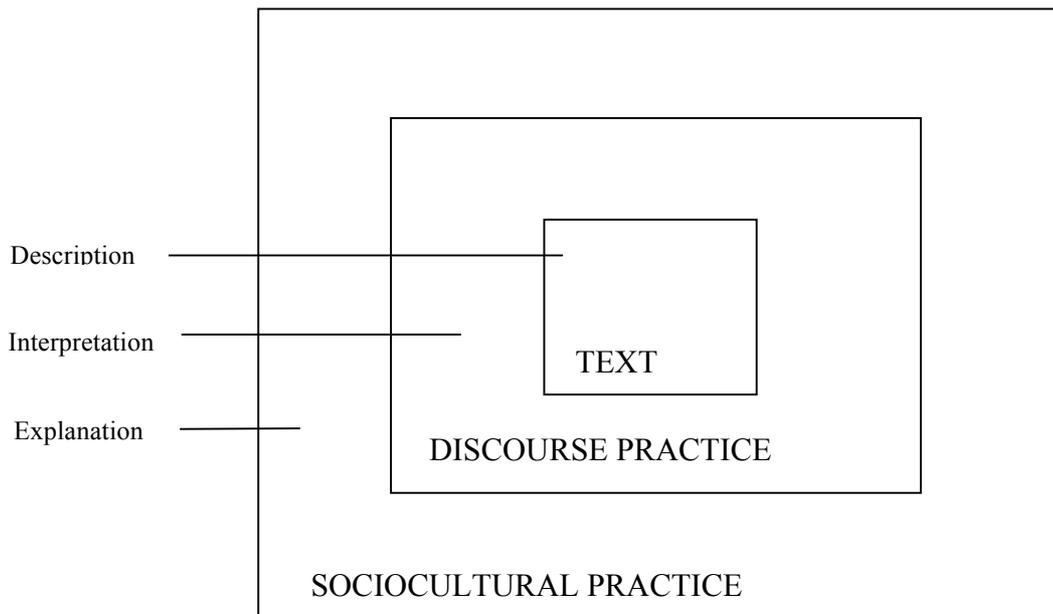


Figure 1. A framework for critical discourse analysis

Based on the figure, text dimension becomes the object of the analysis that should be described to see the parts of the discourse. The text can take the form of writing, illustrations, conversation, writing and illustration, conversation and illustration, or the combination of the three. The dimension of discourse practice is the place where text is produced, distributed, and consumed by the society through the process of meaning (reading, writing, listening, speaking, seeing, and designing and so on). In this area occurs the conflicts among relations of power appeared in certain discourse. The next dimension is socio-cultural practice, a condition of the social culture that becomes the background of the process of meaning of a discourse.

The dimension of commercial includes substance, music and pictures, para-language, situation, co-text, inter-text, participants, and function. Substance is the physical material in the form of voice of the model and narrator, screen, package, sticker, and banner containing text. Music can take the form of orchestra, solo, or acoustic. Picture can be moving images, cartoon, and photograph. Paralanguage is a variety of different language variation, ranging from words, phrases, sentence structures, facial expressions, sound quality, and gestures. Situation is the text scope, in which we know where and when the advertisement is aired. Co-text is the text that is equal, coordinative, and is related to other text, either precede or go along the text. Intertext is the discourse that depends on other discourse, either in the form of events in the advertisement or events outside of the advertisements. Participants can be classified into two: sender and receiver. Sender is the producers offering their products, while receiver is the target community of the products. Function is what is wanted by the producers from the consumers and is contained in a text (Cook, 2003). Critical Discourse Analysis does not focus on one dimension. The discussion will always involve the three dimensions. Text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practice cannot stand on its own. The three dimensions are having mutual influence.

Indonesian Women's Hair in Dove Commercial: A Text

The advertisement discussed in this article is the TV commercial of Dove Hairtherapy, in which the fragment is aired in Indonesian televisions in 2014. As a whole, the advertisement lasted in 2 minutes 30 seconds. Below is the scripts of the scenes in the advertisement of Dove Hairtherapy, with its tagline, “No Makeup, Just my Dove Hair.”

| Scene | Text |
|-------|--|
| 00:00 | Opening: Writing of “Dove Hairtherapy” with the white background. |
| 00:03 | Anonymous Quote, “Healthy hair is the best make up a girl can get!” with white background. |
| 00:05 | The writing of “Dove visited several campuses and offices in Jakarta” with white background. |
| 00:08 | Writing of “and challenged the women to be confident with their healthy hair without makeup” in white background. |
| 00:10 | An office situation with desks full of books, documents, and coats hanged on the chair; a male staff in the corner of the room, a woman in big figure wearing flowery blouse was tying up her hair. Next to her was a black-veiled woman wearing green blouse. She was looking at her. |
| 00:11 | A woman was sitting in front of her computer and holding her mouse, taking a short glance at the camera, then facing her computer in front of her. This woman has straight black hair that was loosened to her shoulder and wore flowery shirt. |
| 00:14 | A woman with a short straight black hair, wearing black blouse, was holding her mobile phone and smiling. Next to her was a woman with a long, straight black hair, wearing a shirt and a white inner shirt. She touched the first woman’s chin while smiling at her. The background was an office with the male and female staffs walking here and there. |
| 00:17 | Writing, “but we previously asked” |
| 00:18 | A face of a woman (with the focus on her eyes) was being put on mascara. |
| 00:19 | A face of a woman (with the focus on her eyes) whose eyelashes were being trimmed. |
| 00:20 | A face of a woman (with the focus on her lips) was putting on her lipstick. |
| 00:21 | Red lips of a woman. |
| 00:22 | Writing “What does makeup mean to you?” |
| 00:23 | Karin, “Personally, I am crazy about makeup.” Visually, Karin has straight black hair that was loosened to her shoulder. She wore white, short-sleeve blouse and a necklace. She has slim figure. Karin was sitting on the broken white sofa. |
| 00:25 | Debi, “Makeup make me more confident and fresh” This woman had strong black hair that was loosened to her shoulder. She wore short-sleeve blue blouse, glasses, necklace, watch in her left hand, and rings on two of her fingers. She was slim. Debi was sitting on a white chair. |
| 00:30 | Egin, “If I put some makeup I feel more confident.” Egin had long black straight hair, some were loosened to her shoulder and some were tied to the back of her head. She wore white sleeveless blouse. She was slim and sitting on white chair. |
| 00:35 | Nuti, “I feel like there is something missing without makeup.” This woman has long straight black hair. She wore long-sleeve shirt that |

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| | were rolled up to her upper arms. The shirt had asymmetric black and blue patterns. She also wore long trousers. She completed her outfit with a watch in her right hand and bracelet in her left. She was slim and sitting on a white chair. |
| 00:36 | Puput, "Extremely important." Puput had straight black hair loosened to her shoulder. She wore long-sleeve black T-shirt. She was rather big. She was sitting on a white chair. |
| 00:38 | Theresia, "Only eyeliner and eyebrow." Theresia has brown long straight hair. She was wearing white inner shirt and peach blazer, with necklace and watch in her right hand. She was slim. She was sitting on a broken white chair. |
| 00:41 | Kenzo, "Sometimes i just feel unconfident, feels like I don't belong..." This woman has short straight black hair, with some part of it were tied. Kenzo was wearing grey inner shirt with green cardigan and black short skirt. She is also wearing a watch in her left hand. She was slim. She was sitting on a white chair. |
| 00:45 | Writing, "Then DOVE challenged them to be confident with healthy hair without any makeup." |
| 00:48 | Writing, "And their reaction?" |
| 00:51 | Debi, "If I don't put any, I will look pale." |
| 00:54 | Angela, "Seriously without any?" This woman had long straight black hair. Angela was wearing white inner shirt, black cardigan, and short black skirt. She was sitting on a chair in a broken white color. She was a slim woman. |
| 00:57 | Karin, "Nothing for my eyebrow?" |
| 00:59 | Writing, "First, their makeup was cleaned." |
| | The situation of the beauty shop: washing table, chairs, dressing table, towels, shower, and hairdressers. Puput, Kenzo, Karin, and Debi seemed not to enjoy the process. |
| 01:00 | Writing, "During the cleaning up the makeup and hair treatment, the participants were not allowed to look at the mirror..." |
| 01:04 | Situation: the face of the women putting up makeup was being cleaned. |
| 01:10 | Writing, "Then DOVE gave them a series of treatment providing them a complete nutrient." |
| 01:12 | Writing, "to make their hair healthy and shiny." |
| 01:16 | Close up products of Dove Hair Therapy |
| 01:17 | Close up process of hair washing using Dove Hair Therapy |
| 01:25 | Close up product Dove Hair Therapy: Total Damage Treatment Conditioner |
| 01:30 | Close up process of applying conditioner to the hair |
| 01:35 | Close up product Dove Hair Therapy: Hair Vitamin |
| 01:36 | Close up process of applying vitamin to the hair. |
| 01:40 | Close up process of combing their hair. |
| 01:45 | Writing, "The result ... " |
| 01:48 | A woman was sitting playing with her hair with an expression of surprise |
| 01:49 | Kenzo was playing with her hair with an expression of joy |
| 01:51 | Theresia was combing her hair using her hand and smiled. |
| 01:53 | A woman flicked her hair with an expression of joy |
| 01:54 | A woman was holding her hair and shaking them with an expression of |

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| | joy. |
| 01:57 | Writing, “Won’t you believe now that healthy hair make you beautiful even without makeup?” |
| 02:01 | Debi, “Well, it’s nice and I still look fresh.” |
| 02:06 | Valeri, “Healthy hair makes me more confident.” This woman has long straight black hair. She was wearing white inner shirt, black cardigan, and short black skirt. Valeri was sitting on a chair with in a color of broken white. |
| 02:07 | Theresia, “It’s awesome. It’s so natural if I am like this every day.” |
| 02:10 | Puput was playing with her hair while smiling. |
| 02:12 | Quote from Martin Luther. “The hair is the richest ornament of women.” |
| 02:15 | Writing, “They dared to be beautiful and confident only by healthy hair.” |
| 02:17 | Writing, “What about you?” |
| 02:18 | Writing, “upload your selfie photo with your healthy hair and without makeup.” |
| 02:21 | Writing, “in social media with the hashtag |
| 02:23 | Writing, “Get 500 packages of Dove and Hair Styling Tools every week until September 10, 2014.” |
| 02:27 | Writing “Visit facebook Dove & www.vemale.com/microsite/dove ” |
| 02.30 | Writing, “Dove hairtherapy” |

According to the cuts of the scenes in the commercial of Dove, we can see that the discourse of beauty has shifted. In general, the commercial offering beauty products, such as cosmetics, soaps, and shampoo, always employs typical model, beautiful woman. They are said to be beautiful if they are young, have white skin and long black hair, as well as slim. In this case, commercial becomes the agent that strengthening the cultural construction in Indonesian society on the stereotype of woman’s beauty. However, Dove is different from other brands owned by Unilever. Sunsilk and Clear always employ beautiful model who are also public figure. Dove deconstructs this habit. It employs ‘regular’ women with different body shape, hair types, and occupations. The representation of women in the Commercial of Dove is considered to represent a figure of Indonesian women in general.

Disciplinary Project: A Discourse Practice

Foucault said that discourse analysis does not reveal the language system, such as words, sentences, and structures, as well as the social system from which it comes. The idea on discourse emphasizes the historical relationship among discipline (knowledge) and disciplinary practices (social control). Knowledge means more than a statement of true or false in terms of social politics and particular culture. Knowledge is the instrument of the power that bears the functions of supervisory, regulatory, and disciplinary. Knowledge and power are like two sides of a coin. The products of knowledge tend to support the system of authority.

According to Foucault, the relation pattern of power does not come from the authority and cannot be conceptualized as being owned by individual or class. Power is an expansive network. It is not given, changed, or looked for. Indeed, it is implemented. It is in the form of action. Authority is a relationship of power and always exists in the society. This authority is distributed through social relationship producing the forms of categorization of good and bad behaviors as the form of individual control. The

obedience is not originated in direct physical pressure, but in discourse and disciplinary mechanisms in the form of procedures, regulations, and so on. Disciplinary, according to Foucault, is the way the power takes control or supervision on individuals that is aimed to create obedient individuals. The control is not only intended to supervise the physical power, but also the thinking.

Panopticon, a concept of prison stated by Bentham, became the model of rigorous control on criminal, using the camera that can reach all areas and record every event within its reach. According to Foucault, panopticon is the form of punishment in modern era that does not emphasize the significance of physical punishment. Instead, it focuses on how to reform the soul of a "convict." Panopticon is designed to implement the procedures of the establishment of individuals' behavior so that they become obedient through a series of trainings called discipline. Disciplines occur in four ways, those are individual spatial distribution, control on the impacts of an action, adjustment on the segments and stages of an organization, and integrated trainings for individuals according to the effective norms (Mc Houll, 1995).

The commercial of Dove Hairtherapy is, in fact, a form of disciplinary practice, especially on woman's body. Sandra Bartly (Mills, 1997) stated that woman's body that she described in the magazines and commercials are forms of disciplinary practices, where woman's body becomes the subject of control and deconstruction. In this case, they make their body, especially the inferior woman's body, trained and subjected. This commercial showed the success of disciplinary project on woman's body, especially hair.

At the beginning, woman was placed as the convict because they depend themselves on makeup to be beautiful. They feel alienated and less confident when they go without makeup. Debi said, "Makeup makes me more confident and fresh." While Egin said, "Wearing makeup makes me more confident." Similarly, Nuti believed that, "I feel less perfect without makeup." Kenzo also confirmed, "Sometimes I don't feel confident. It feels like I don't belong to anywhere." Those expressions clearly stated that makeup is part of those women that is important for their existence among the society.

When Dove challenged them to clean their makeup, they felt worried, anxious, and scared. It can be seen from Debi's statement, "If I don't put any, I look pale." Angela questioned Dove's offer to appear without makeup, in doubt, "Seriously without any?" Karin, indeed, hoped that there would be tolerance in using eyebrow pencil in her question, "No pencil for my eyebrow?" For Dove, their doubt and anxiety were 'wrong.' Then, the 'wrong' behavior was corrected by encouraging them to try the product of hair treatment from Dove Hairtherapy.

These 'wrong' women underwent a series of special treatments, as if they were convict, based on the regulation of the usage of Dove Hairtherapy. The treatment is aimed to improve their hair condition in certain period of time, to make them behave in the 'right' way, to feel confident without makeup. Dove 'forced' them to obey the rules using the products stage by stage without complaining. This obedience is continuously built through product commercials. The results, the industrial prison of beauty products named Unilever succeeded in regulating, even, changing their mindset, in that to be beautiful, they do not need any makeup. They just need healthy hair. Unfortunately, the healthy hair is based on the standard of Dove Hairtherapy.

Thus, whether they want it or not, these women should follow the rules of Dove Hairtherapy, free from makeup but still pretty. These are shown in the reaction of the women following the series of hair treatment in the commercials. Debi said, "It's nice and look fresh." Valeri said, "Healthy hair makes me feel confident." Theresia shared similar opinion with Debi and Valeri, "It's awesome, if I can be like this every day, I will look natural."

In this case, commercial of Dove Hairtherapy has become the control tower of the women imprisoned in the construction of beauty from cosmetic products. Instead of freeing them, Dove Hairtherapy leads them to new construction about beauty, forcing them to admit their mistake and assuring them to follow series of treatment to make them return to the 'right' track, according to Unilever through Dove Hairtherapy.

Dove in Indonesia: A Sociocultural Practice

In Indonesia, there are seven big companies offering beauty products for hair. Those are Lionwings, Unilever, P&G, Mandom, Sara Lee, Makarizo, and Kinocare, along with all their brands. Not only promotion in the mass media through advertisement that are limited to duration or pages, those companies also create special program in televisions called outdoor events to promote their products. PT Procter and Gambel (P&G) and Unilever set a beauty pageant to select the commercial star for Pantene, Rejoice, and Sunsilk. This program was showed in several private televisions in Indonesia.

Dove is one of the brands launched by Unilever. It is a new trademark introduced by Unilever to the consumers in Indonesia. Previously, Unilever initiated hair treatment products in Indonesia with their Sunsilk trademark in 1952. Different from other hair treatment product advertisement, Dove, with its motto 'Beauty is a State of Mind,' first appeared with the model chosen from the regular people, instead of professional or celebrity. Dove presents various types of hair, ranging from curly, short, to coloured and extended hair. This brand has broken the stereotype of beautiful hair in Indonesia which was identical with long straight black hair. It offers new ideas on the beauty of hair in that the beautiful hair belongs to healthy hair.

The fame of hair treatment products in Indonesia, especially Dove, is the result of vigorous advertisement through various communication media. According to Nielsen Advertising Information Services, in general, hair treatment products reached the total value of advertisement spending of Rp 2 trillion. Mass media becoming the main contributor to the growth of advertising spending is television, reaching as much as 9%.

Even if it seems to take the sides of humanity of the Indonesian women, Dove does not fully struggle for 'regular' woman as its biggest consumers. Industrial interest is still the main thing to be considered in making the commercial. Their partiality is artificial only for the sake of greater profits. In fact, the industry does not want to lose anything. Unilever, like other companies, aims to gain as much as profits as they can and satisfy their stakeholders.

So far, the aim of our company is still the same, where we work to create our better future every day; making the customers feel comfortable; appear nice, and enjoy the

life through the brands and services providing the advantages for them or other people; inspiring the society to do little things to create greater change to the world; as well as developing new way in doing the business that enables us to grow and reduce the bad impact to the environment.

(www.unilever.co.id).

If surviving the old discourse is more profitable, the industry surely will not take the risk to build new paradigm that will not be accepted by the society. In this case, commercials tend to maintain the paradigm that has developed in the society or reproduce the paradigm that it will spread widely. In turn, it will increase their sales performance. In the context of the commercial of Dove Hairtherapy, the concept of beauty has changed. However, disciplinary discourse on woman's body has not changed. Indeed, Dove uses the new disciplinary mechanism because they present 'regular' women in their commercials as the role model of obedience. Their existence was so natural that they want other women to be more respected and no longer question the disciplinary project that was happening. At the beginning, women feel like they are watched by the appearance of non-stop commercials. Then, they are used to and follow what are done by the role model according to the expectation of the industry or ignore the role model with the consequence of being haunted by the guilt because they appear with the makeup that represent their dependence and inferiority. Here, the industry serves as the prison that helps 'guilty' women upon the beauty products as the guides or regulations that should be followed. Meanwhile, commercials act as the controller or the warden.

Conclusion

Hair as the symbol of identity of a woman, in one hand, is physical and private. On the other hand, it is public. Everyone has different type of hair that is naturally owned since they were born. However, in the development, woman's hair is defined by the patriarchal society that it leads to various imagination on the ideal hair of a woman, forcing them to adjust to the demands.

The imagination of the society about the ideal hair of a woman is used by the industry of beauty products to discipline woman's body, since the beginning of the establishment in 1933. This company created various beauty products as the tools to discipline woman's body. One of the products is Dove Hairtherapy shampoo. Women having wavy or straight hair, long or short cut, and putting up some makeup, are trapped in the commercial aired in televisions and forced to use the hair treatment. Their obedience is built continuously by the commercials employing 'regular' woman as the role model. The main objective of the disciplinary process is woman's dependence on Dove products so that their behavior can be controlled in such a way to gain the company's profits.

In the commercials of Dove Hairtherapy, the concept of ideal beauty of a woman has changed. Different from the previous concept of ideal beauty, a face with makeup, the healthy hair in the version of Dove Hairtherapy is the symbol of real beauty. Whatever is the hair type, the cut, or the color, as well as the body shape, Indonesian women have to have healthy hair that can only be obtained if they use Dove Hairtherapy.

Even though the concept of beauty in the commercial of Dove Hairtherapy has changed, there will be the concept that will never be changed by the commercials of beauty products in the awareness of the society. It is the disciplinary of woman's body for the sake of capital accumulation. This discourse will always develop but it will never disappear, as long as human's body, especially woman's body, is still interesting to discuss.

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- Contact email:** rina.widi.astuti@ugm.ac.id.