THE UNITED STATES MILITARY HEGEMONY TOWARD THE TIPTON THREE IN THE DOCUDRAMA MOVIE *THE ROAD TO GUANTANAMO*

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ABSTRAK

Hegemoni merupakan suatu kontrol atau kepemimpinan yang dilakukan oleh suatu negara terhadap negara lain untuk mendapatkan suatu dominasi baik secara paksaan maupun dengan cara kooperatif. Hegemoni ini bisa dilihat dalam beberapa aspek, seperti pada aspek politik, sosial, maupun ekonomi. Dalam film *The Road to Guantanamo* terlihat adanya bentuk hegemoni yang dilakukan oleh militer Amerika Serikat sebagai alat dari tekanan pemerintah Amerika Serikat untuk mendapatkan kekuatan politik terhadap tiga orang tokoh utama yang biasa disebut *Tipton Three* yang berasal dari Pakistan.

Tujuan penulisan skripsi ini adalah untuk mengetahui latar belakang terjadinya hegemoni militer dan apa saja bentuk-bentuk hegemoni yang dilakukan oleh para militer Amerika Serikat terhadap tokoh *Tipton Three*. Dalam analisis pada skripsi ini, penulis menggunakan metode penelitian kepustakaan, metode pendekatan eksponensial untuk menganalisis unsur intrinsik, serta menggunakan teori *Hegemony* dari Antonio Gramsci untuk membahas unsur ekstrinsik.

Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa peristiwa 11 September 2001 dan adanya kerjasama antara pemerintah Amerika Serikat dan pemerintah Inggris dalam hal terorisme menjadi latar belakang terjadinya hegemoni militer Amerika Serikat. Selain itu, bentuk dari hegemoni ini meliputi penangkapan tokoh *Tipton Three* oleh militer Amerika Serikat dengan sewenang-wenang dan tanpa melalui penyelidikan latar belakang, adanya pemaksaan dan pemalsuan bukti serta dokumen oleh militer Amerika Serikat terhadap *Tipton Three*, serta penyiksaan yang kejam baik secara fisik maupun psikis terhadap *Tipton Three*.

Kata Kunci : The Road to Guantanamo, Hegemony, Tipton Three, Militer Amerika Serikat.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), an Italian Marxist philosopher, developed hegemony concept on the basis of the deconstruction of orthodox Marxism concepts. Hegemony comes from the word *egemonia* (Greek) and *direzione* (Italian) which means leadership or domination (Gramsci, 1971:55). According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, hegemony means control and leadership especially by one country over others within a group (1995:555).

The United States do the hegemony to the other countries in some sectors, such as social, economic, and politic. One of them is what seen in *The Road to Guantanamo* movie. The writer sees that there is a military hegemony which is done by the United States military as the result of the government political suppression toward the East people, in this case is the Pakistani called the Tipton Three.

Hegemony can be seen through literary work as a branch of literature, which is a medium as writer's delineation by words. Wellek and Warren explain in their book *Theory of Literature* "We must first make a distinction between literature and literary study. The two are distinct activities: one is creative an art; the other, if not precisely a science, is a species of knowledge or of learning" (1976:15). From the statement above, literature and literary study are different. Literature, based on *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, means writings that are valued as works of art, especially fiction, drama, and poetry (in contrast with technical books and newspapers, magazines, etc) (1995:687). While, literary study is a way to learn the literature. In this study, the writer chooses a movie to be discussed.

Film is one of the literary works. Film is an aspect of the art which concerns its relationship toward the world around it. Film has two other terms; they are cinema and movie. Cinema explicitly deals with the esthetics and the internal structure of the art, while movie has a function as an economic commodity. Those three terms have similar meaning, but in general they have differentiation. Movie is to be consumed, cinema is a high art, and film is the most common term (Monaco, 1981:193).

There are several kinds of movie; one of them is a documentary drama movie. Documentary drama (docudrama) movie is a term referring to one of some different ways of handling documentary material. It refers to a specific, true and maybe historic event which is reenacted for the camera ("Documentary Drama (Docudrama)", 2013: par. 1, page 1). In this paper, the writer will analyze the United States military hegemony toward the characters of "Tipton Three" by the docudrama movie *The Road to Guantanamo*.

1.2. Scope of the Study

The study will focus on the military hegemony which is done by the United States toward the Tipton Three (the characters from this movie) who are considered as terrorists as presented in *The Road to Guantanamo* movie. This study also discusses the intrinsic and the extrinsic elements of *The Road to Guantanamo* movie.

1.3. Purposes of the Study

The purposes of the study are as the following:

- 1.3.1. Explain the intrinsic and the extrinsic elements of *The Road to Guantanamo* movie.
- 1.3.2. Describe the backgrounds of the hegemony which are done by the United States military toward the Tipton Three based on *The Road to Guantanamo* movie.
- 1.3.3. Explain the hegemony forms which are done by the United States military toward the Tipton Three.

1.4. Method of the Study

1.4.1. Method of Research

The writer uses library research to analyze the problem of this thesis. Library research is a method which the writer finds some data and information of the object by using some books or the other audio-visual device. In gathering the data, it is not only using books, but also using internet as the sources.

1.4.2. Approaches

The writer uses the exponential approach to analyze the intrinsic elements and the cinematography elements. Besides, the writer also uses the sociology of literature approach to analyze the extrinsic elements. The writer will apply Hegemony theory by Antonio Gramsci to analyze the extrinsic elements.

Gramsci (1971:207), in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, states "A social group can, and indeed must, already exercise 'leadership' [i.e. be hegemonic] before winning governmental power (this indeed is one of the principal conditions for the winning of such power)." For dominating and gaining power to the other group or country, a group or a country has to do leadership or hegemony first.

2. Director and Synopsis

2.1. Director and Scriptwriter

Tribute Entertainment Media stated that Michael Winterbottom, the director and the scriptwriter of *The Road to Guantanamo* movie, was born in March 29, 1961 in Blackburn, Lancashire, England. He was taking O Levels in an accelerated four years in Queen Elizabeth's

Grammar School, and then he studied English at Balliol College, Oxford. After that, he continued his study in film school at Bristol University ("Michael Winterbottom Biography", 2013: par. 1, page 1).

Michael Winterbottom is an English filmmaker. He began his career working in British television before moving into features. His works are *Cracker*, four television movies, an episode of the Inspector Alleyn Mysteries, two documentaries about Ingmar Bergman (film director, writer, and producer from Sweden), an episode of the documentary series *Cinema Europe: The Other Hollywood*, and mini-series *Family*. His movies are *Butterfly Kiss*, *Go Now*, *Jude*, *Welcome to Sarajevo*, *I Want You*, *Wonderland*, *With or Without You*, *The Claim* University, *In This World*, *Code 46*, *Tristram Shandy: A Cock and Bull Story*, *The Road to Guantanamo*, *The Trip*, *Trishna*, *24 Hour Party People*, *9 Songs*, *A Mighty Heart*, *The Killer inside Me*, *A Summer in Genoa*, and *The Look of Love* ("Michael Winterbottom Biography", 2013: par. 2-5, page 1).

2.2. Synopsis

The Road to Guantanamo is a British 2006 docudrama movie which is directed by Michael Winterbottom. Based on the true story, it talks about the "Tipton Three" Ruhel Ahmed, Asif Iqbal, and Shafiq Rasul, Pakistanis who live in Tipton, Birmingham, England and want to go to Pakistan for the marriage of Asif Iqbal. On the way, they change their destination to Afghanistan, but unfortunately they are caught and sent to the Guantanamo prison in Cuba by the United States military. They are considered as terrorists of Al Qaeda, and there is no justice for them. For two years, the United States military accuses them and forces them to admit that they are really terrorists. They also torture the Tipton Three in order to make them admit that they belong to Al Qaeda. Finally, they are released without sorry or compensation from the United States military in 2004, and then Asif get married in 2005.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. Intrinsic Elements

3.1.1. Theme

Holman in *A Handbook to Literature* explains that theme is the central or dominating idea in a literary work. In fiction prose it may be thought of as the general topic of discussion, the subject of the discourse, the thesis. In poetry, fiction, and drama it is the abstract concept which is made concrete through its representation in person, action, and image in the work (1960:486).

3.1.2. Plot

In *A Handbook to Literature*, plot is a planned series of interrelated actions progressing, because of the interplay of one force upon another, through a struggle of opposing forces to a climax and a *dénoument* (Holman, 1960: 356). Plot consists of three main parts: exposition, conflict, and the ending.

3.1.2.1. Exposition

Exposition is the introduction part which is setting forth of the beginning (Barnet, Berman, and Burto, 1967:13).

3.1.2.2. Conflict

Conflict is the middle part; there is a complication that moves to a climax (Barnet, Berman, and Burto, 1967:13).

3.1.2.3. The Ending

The ending, or *dénoument*, is the last part which unknotting the outcome of the conflict. It is also called the resolution (Barnet, Berman, and Burto, 1967:14).

3.1.3. Characters

Characters are the people who play in a movie and they are created by the author. Characters can make the movie become interesting.

Character: A literary form which flourished in England and France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is a brief descriptive sketch of a personage who typifies some definite quality. The person is described not as an individualized personality but as an example of some vice or virtue or type, such as a busybody, a superstitious fellow, a fop, a country bumpkin, a garrulous old man, a happy milkmaid, etc (Holman, 1960:79).

Character is a delineation of a figure in a story as an example of vice or virtue or type, not as an individualized personality.

3.1.3.1. Major Character

Major character in fiction needs three-dimensional treatment; a congeries of personality characters that more complex than a simple character emerges (Holman, 1960:81).

3.1.3.2. Minor Character

Minor character often handled two-dimensional treatment; it is striking and interesting but lack depth (Holman, 1960:81).

3.1.4. Setting

Setting is concerned to when and where the action happens. Holman, in *A Handbook to Literature*, states that setting is the physical, and sometimes spiritual, background against which the action of narrative takes place (1960:453).

3.1.4.1. Setting of Place

Setting of place determines the actual geographical location, including topography, scenery, and such physical arrangements as the details of a room's interior (windows, doors, etc) (Holman, 1960:453).

3.1.4.2. Setting of Time

Setting of time gives the information about the time or the period in which the action takes place, such as the epoch in history or the season of the year (Holman, 1960:453).

3.1.4.3. Setting of Social Background

Setting of social background describes the general environment of characters in the story, such as religious, mental, moral, social, and emotional conditions through which the characters in narrative move (Holman, 1960:453).

3.1.5. Conflict

Perrine, in *Literature: Structure, Sound, and Sense,* explains that conflict is a clash of actions, ideas, desires, or wills. The main character may be pitted against some other person or group of persons (man against man); he may be in conflict with some external force—physical nature, society or "fate" (man against environment); or he may be in conflict with some element in his own nature (man against himself). The conflict may be physical, mental, emotional, or moral (1988:42).

3.1.6. Point of View

Point of view is a term used in the analysis and criticism of fiction to describe the way in which the reader is presented with the materials of the story, or, viewed from another angle, the vantage point from which the author presents the actions of the story (Holman, 1960:371). In the *Literature: Structure, Sound, and Sense,* Perrine explains that there are four basic points of view: omniscient point of view, limited omniscient point of view, first-person point of view, and objective point of view.

In omniscient point of view, the story is told by a narrator using the third person, whose knowledge and prerogatives are unlimited. In limited omniscient point of view, the author tells the story in the third person, but he tells it from the viewpoint of one character in the story. In first-person point of view, the author disappears into one of the characters, who tell the story in the first

person. While in objective point of view, the narrator disappears into a kind of roving sound camera. The camera can do anywhere, but it can only record what is seen and heard. It cannot comment, interpret, or enter a character's mind. The viewer is placed as a spectator at a movie in this point of view (Perrine, 1988:137-140).

3.2. Cinematography Elements

Cinematography is a motion picture photography which covers the treatment of the moviemakers toward their camera and their movie stock (Monaco, 1981:425).

3.2.1. Mise-en-Scéne

Mise-en-scéne is the stage setting of a play, including the use of scenery, properties, etc., and the general arrangement of the piece (Holman, 1960:291). The writer will analyzes the costume and the make up in this thesis.

3.2.1.1. Costume

Costume has specific functions and the range of possibilities is very big in the total film. It may be stylized because it has to be adapted with the other in the color, the texture, and even the movement of the actor. Costume, also, can play important causal roles in narratives (Bordwell and Thompson, 2008:119-122).

3. 2.1.2. Make-Up

Make-up is used to enhance the appearance of actors in various ways on the screen. It becomes very important to creates character features or motivate plot action (Bordwell and Thompson, 2008:122-124).

3.2.2. Distance of the Frame

Distance of the frame is usually called camera distance. Framing gives a sense of being far away or close to the *misé-en-scéne* on the shot by manipulating it (Bordwell and Thompson, 2008:190-191).

3.2.2.1. Extreme Long Shot

Extreme long shot is used to describe the human body which is barely visible. It is usually used for landscape, bird's eye views of cities, or other sceneries (Bordwell and Thompson, 2008:191).

3.2.2.2. Long Shot

In the long shot, the human body is more prominent, but the background still dominates (Bordwell and Thompson, 2008:191).

3.2.2.3. Medium Long Shot

In medium long shot, the human body can be seen from the knee to the top in frame. There is a balance between the figure and surroundings (Bordwell and Thompson, 2008:191).

3.2.2.4. Medium Shot

In medium shot, the human body can be seen from the waist to the top. The face expression in this shot is coming more visible (Bordwell and Thompson, 2008:191).

3.2.2.5. Medium Close Up

Medium close up shows the human body from the chest up (Bordwell and Thompson, 2008:191).

3.2.2.6. Close Up

Close up just shows a head, hands, feet, or the other small objects in detail. This technique emphasizes the face expression and the detail of a gesture, or a significant object (Bordwell and Thompson, 2008:191).

3.2.2.7. Extreme Close Up

In the extreme close up, the viewer can see a portion of the face (often eyes, lips, or nose) or isolates and enlarges an object (Bordwell and Thompson, 2008:191).

3.2.3. Angle

Angle of view is the angle subtended by the lens (Monaco, 1981:420). There are three different angles:

3.2.3.1. High-Angle

High-angle positions the viewer looking down at the material within the frame. It means that the camera shoots an object in a frame from a high position. A character is presented as dwarfed and defeated (Bordwell and Thompson, 2008:190-192).

3.2.3.2. Low-Angle

Low-angle positions the viewer as looking up at the framed materials. It means that the camera shoots an object in a frame from a low position. This angle causes a character as powerful (Bordwell and Thompson, 2008:190-192).

3.2.3.3. Straight-on Angle

Straight-on angle is the most common. The camera shoots an object in a frame straightly (Bordwell and Thompson, 2008:190).

3.3. Extrinsic Elements

3.3.1. Hegemony Theory by Antonio Gramsci

Antonio Gramsci, in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, explains that the term hegemony has two different faces. First, the term hegemony is contrasted with "domination", that is a process gaining power through violence. Second, it can be called "hegemonic", which sometimes is used as opposite of "corporate". Hegemonic appoints a historical phase in which a given group maintains and aspires its position of leadership in the economic, political, and social arena by using its power (1971:xiv).

There are two major super structural levels which correspond to the function of hegemony and direct domination; they are civil society that appoints the organisms commonly called "private" and political society or "the State". The function of hegemony happens when the dominant group exercises throughout the society, while the function of direct domination happens when a command is exercised through the State and the juridical government (Gramsci, 1971:12).

The methodological criterion on which our own study must be based is the following : that the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as "domination" and as "intellectual and moral leadership". A social group dominates antagonistic groups, which it tends to "liquidate", or to subjugate perhaps even by armed force; it leads kindred and allied groups. A social group can, and indeed must, already exercise "leadership" before winning governmental power (this indeed is one of the principal conditions for the winning of such power) ; it subsequently becomes dominant when it exercises power, but even if it holds it firmly in its grasp, it must continue to "lead" as well (Gramsci, 1971:57-58).

From the statement above, the supremacy of a social group points out itself as "domination" and "intellectual and moral leadership". It is known that a social group leads kindred and allied groups to dominate antagonistic groups by "liquidate" or destroy them, or by conquer them even using armed force. This social group has to already exercise leadership to win the governmental power, and then the domination appears when it exercises power. However, the leadership must be done persistently to hold this domination. All of this process can be called as hegemony.

3.3.2. Incident of 9/11

In September 11, 2001, the World Trade Center towers in New York were crashed by hijackers by using planes. The first plane, American Airlines Flight 11 a Boeing 767, which was out of Boston for Los Angeles crashed the north tower of World Trade Centre. The second, United

Airlines Flight 175 which was also headed from Boston to Los Angeles, crashed the south tower (Schmemann, 2001: par.1-2, page 1).

Osama bin Laden, the head of Islamic militant of Taliban in Afghanistan, was pointed as the side that holding responsible for these attacks. Terrorists who hijack the planes did these suicide bombings as their way of jihad (Schmemann, 2001: par.13, page 1).

The phenomenon of suicide bombing causes many horrible damages, especially in the event of September 11 (9/11) in New York. The aftermath of this event is the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The United States government sends out the militaries there to provoke the terrorists in order to be caught or to be killed (Said, 2003:xiii).

In the demonization of an unknown enemy, for whom the label "terrorist" serves the general purpose of keeping people stirred up and angry, media images command too much attention and can be exploited at times of crisis and insecurity of the kind that the post-9/11 period has produced (Said, 2003:xix).

The events of 9/11 are staggering the world. The fear is not over because people get such a trauma and anger. The mass media which report about terrorism even make it worse. Some parties can exploit the news and it commands chaos among the people in the world even in America itself. It also makes insecurity after 9/11 happened.

3.3.3. United States Military Hegemony

Since the Second Civil War, the United States sought to maintain a position of military dominance, or called military hegemony, by using military leadership. Presidents of America, from time to time, are trying to maintain it with rude ways; wars and interventions. The United States military always leads every war in the world. By the existence of terrorism, the United States military unceasingly does intervention toward countries which are suspected as "terrorist countries", such as Afghanistan (Linden, 2009:2).

...some of the global security costs of U.S. military hegemony. The United States was by far the largest military force in the multilateral Gulf War; executed the war on its own terms; kept permanent forces in the region and so contributed to the emergence of al-Qaeda; and made clear to the world that only nuclear weapons can deter its superior forces, thus contributing to nuclear proliferation (Linden, 2009:3-4).

From the statement above, the United States military has an important role in the Gulf War and the appearance of Al Qaeda. It forces its hegemony power in military to maintain domination. Nuclear weapon is used as a weapon to obstruct superior forces itself, and it causes the using of nuclear weapon is developed.

Obama said: "No President should ever hesitate to use force – unilaterally if necessary – to protect ourselves and our vital interests when we are attacked or imminently threatened" (Linden, 2009:4).

President Obama, as the United States President now, implied that he can use force to protect his people and his important interests when other parties attack or threat him imminently. In the case of counterterrorism, he uses military hegemony to protect his country and he shows that his country as the superpower could not be defeated by other countries which are suspected as the basis of terrorist country (Linden, 2009:4-5).

4. Analysis

4.1. Intrinsic Elements

4.1.1. Theme

The Road to Guantanamo is a docudrama movie which tells about the human rights violation of the United States military toward the Pakistani. The movie describes the struggling of the Tipton Three to prove that they are not terrorists.

4.1.2. Plot

Plot which is used in *The Road to Guantanamo* movie is progressive plot. The movie tells about the hegemony which is done by the United States military toward the Tipton Three. In the beginning, the Tipton Three start their journey to Pakistan, conflict appears when they are caught and arrested by the United States military, and it ends by the release of Tipton Three with a happy ending. In this movie, there are two main conflicts which are described. The first conflict is a man against the other man; that is the Tipton Three against the United States military. The second conflict is man against himself. In this case, there are internal conflicts in the Tipton Three selves.

4.1.3. Characters

There are some characters appeared in *The Road to Guantanamo* movie. They are major characters and minor characters. The major characters are Asif Iqbal, Ruhel Ahmed, and Shafiq Rasul, while the minor characters are Monir and Zahid who all of them are Pakistani.

4.1.4. Setting

4.1.4.1. Setting of Place

The Road to Guantanamo is a docudrama movie about Pakistani people who arrested by the United States military, so the settings of place are located in some areas of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and also in Birmingham and Cuba. However, most of the scenes are taken in Camp X-Ray and Camp Delta in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

4.1.4.2. Setting of Time

The Road to Guantanamo movie set in September 2001 when the Tipton Three start their journey to Pakistan. The story ends in July 2005 when Asif gets married in Pakistan after released by the United States military from Guantanamo prison in Cuba for terrorism prejudice.

4.1.4.3. Setting of Social Background

Asif Iqbal, Ruhel Ahmed, and Shafiq Rasul called the Tipton Three are Moslems. All of their families are also Moslems. They are not really good Moslems, but they try to be religious people by praying to their God. In moral, the Tipton Three belong to good people; they are religious and have good behaviors. However, they had done something bad. In Tipton, Birmingham, they had bad police record. They ever did some criminalities, such as fraud, deception, handling stolen goods, and violent disorder. However, they were not charged for those criminalities. In 2001, when the Tipton Three decide to go to Afghanistan in order to help people there, the social situation is really bad. It is because the incident of September 11, 2001 (9/11) when the World Trade Center towers in the United States are crashed by planes which are hijacked by terrorists from Al Qaeda.

4.2. Extrinsic Elements

4.2.1. Backgrounds of the United States Military Hegemony toward the Tipton Three in *The Road to Guantanamo* Movie

The incident of 9/11 when the World Trade Centre towers were crashed by two planes which are hijacked by terrorists from Al Qaeda becomes the first background why the United States military does hegemony toward the Tipton Three. The second background of the United States military hegemony is the existence of cooperation between the United States government and the England government in terrorism case

4.2.2. Forms of Hegemony which are Done by the United States Military toward the Tipton Three in *The Road to Guantanamo* Movie

Hegemony happens when a super group gains power by dominating other subgroup in some aspects: social, political, and economical aspect. In the *Road to Guantanamo* movie, The United States as the super group does hegemony to the Tipton Three as the subgroup in political aspect. Whereas military hegemony appears when there is a political pressure. The United States government suppresses its military as a part of the tools to do hegemony toward the Tipton Three. In *The Road to Guantanamo* movie, there are three main forms of hegemony done by the United States military toward the Tipton Three.

First, the arresting of the Tipton Three without searching their identities by the United States military is one of the forms of hegemony. The forcefulness and falsification of identity by the United States military is the second forms of hegemony. The worst form of hegemony is the torturing by the United States military toward the Tipton Three during their detention. There are many types of torturing which are done by the United States military, such as snap at the Tipton Three, punch and kick their bodies, and also strip them when they are investigated in the prison.

5. Conclusion

Hegemony is a concept which appears when a group leads or dominates the other group. Hegemony itself can be seen in some aspects, such as economical, social, and political aspects. In doing the hegemony, there are two different ways; first a group dominates another group by using violence, or second by using cooperation. It can be related with the situation in nowadays which the United States of America as super group dominates the Pakistani which represents as subgroup.

The Road to Guantanamo is a docudrama movie which tells a story about the United States military hegemony toward Pakistani people who are considered as members of Al Qaeda. Asif Iqbal, Ruhel Ahmed, and Shafiq Rasul, who are called the Tipton Three, are the main characters in this movie who are arrested by the United States military because they are accused as the members of Al Qaeda who join in the incident of 9/11 in the United States of America. There are some hegemony delineations of the United States military toward the characters, the Tipton Three, which are described in this movie, such as the physical and psychic torturing and the forcefulness to admit something which is untrue.

In this thesis, the writer uses the theory of hegemony by Antonio Gramsci to analyze two main problems. Those problems are the backgrounds of the United States military hegemony toward the Tipton Three and the forms of hegemony which are done by the United States military hegemony toward the Tipton Three.

The incident of 9/11 (September 9, 2001) when the World Trade Center buildings were crashed by planes which are hijacked by terrorists from Al Qaeda becomes the main background why the United States military does hegemony toward the Tipton Three. The other background is the cooperation between the United States government and England government in terrorism case.

Military hegemony appears when there is a political pressure done by the United States government. The writer finds some forms of hegemony from the United States military toward the Tipton Three which are described in this movie. The arresting without searching the identity, the falsification of evidences, the coercion toward the Tipton Three in order to admit that they are terrorists which is untrue, and the torturing, like kicking, punching, and stripping their bodies are forms of hegemony which are described clearly in this movie.

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