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The construction of a particular version of the modern Indonesian women in contemporary Indonesian women's magazines

Rachmah Ida
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**THE CONSTRUCTION OF A PARTICULAR VERSION OF THE
MODERN INDONESIAN WOMEN IN CONTEMPORARY
INDONESIAN WOMEN'S MAGAZINES**

Rachmah Ida

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Award of
Master of Communications (Media Studies)**

**At the Faculty of Communications, Health and Science
Edith Cowan University
Mount Lawley**

Date of Submission: 16 July 1999

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the representation of women in two women's magazines in Indonesia. It compares and contrasts the representation of women under the New Order Regime (1966-1998) and the *Reformasi* (reformation) period (1998-1999) through an analysis of the content of *Kartini* and *Femina*, between 1992 and 1998. It seeks to understand how changes in the representation of women are specifically related to the social, economic, and political changes in Indonesia. Moreover, by analysing the cultural production of a particular popular media [women's magazines], this study examines the explicit characteristics of Indonesian women that have been identified as "modern" in the transformation era of Indonesia.

To understand how the images of modern Indonesian women are articulated in *Femina* and *Kartini*, this study analyses the discursive formation of the urban middle class women throughout the magazine texts, showing how these representations have been perceived and accepted by the society. The analysis of the editorial articles that relate to the issues of gender and femininity in the designated period, interviews with editorial staff of the respective journals, and the focus group work with young urban middle class women have been attempted to answer the problems addressed in this study.

The thesis will show that the magazines have constructed common images of Indonesian women such as, women as *Istri* (wife), women as *Ibu* (mother), and women who play a dual role as a housewife and a working woman at the same time. Together, these images are shaped by the influence of Javanese culture and Islamic values that dominated much of the New Order Indonesia. Moreover, state ideology, or the official social construction of womanhood, is significantly involved in the determination of the dominant gender ideology in Indonesia. This study also suggests that representation of women in Indonesia are always constructed both within and against a patriarchal ideology. The thesis extends our understanding of gender relations in modern Indonesia. As the position of women remains problematic in the period of modernisation in Indonesia, this research shows how women's magazines still adhere to a patriarchal system of representation. For instance, urban middle class women are represented as constantly negotiating extreme roles, where they are both traditional and modern at the same time. This is clear in the way the audiences respond to the magazines. Ironically, the construction of a particular image of modern Indonesian women in the magazines has been considered by the audience to be a portrait of otherness, of difference from their social reality and identity. The portrayals shown in the magazines, however, have created the role models for these urban middle class readers.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The rapid economic expansion in Indonesia since the 1970s has brought several consequences, especially for women's participation in productive or salaried work. Industrialisation seems to promise women an escape from their traditional role in the home by providing a new challenge for them to take an active part in the work force. The urban population of Indonesia is growing by five per cent per year. Already, the urban population is thirty-five per cent of the total population, and it is projected to increase to fifty per cent in the year 2020 (Kupa, 1996, p. 112). According to the World Bank data "one-sixth of Java's rural population migrated to urban areas between 1980 and 1990" (p.112).

The accelerated pace of urbanisation has also led rural women in Indonesia to migrate to city to look for jobs. The economic pressure on families has also become the main reason for rural women to move from their villages. Sometimes, friends are also a potential factor in influencing rural women to migrate. In fact, most of them are employed only in informal sectors, like domestic service, road sweepers, even as a prostitute when they have no other alternatives to find suitable work.

However, industrialisation and modernisation led to increasing of numbers of women occupying fields that were traditionally dominated by men. The proportion of women in employment rose by 2.6 per cent (from 33.2 per cent in 1971 to 35.8 per cent in 1990) in

the last twenty years of national development in Indonesia (Hill, 1994, p. 146). More and more women are occupying managerial positions both in government departments and in private businesses. However, Suryakusumah (1982) argues that these women do not represent the majority of Indonesian women because they are only a fraction of the female population. In addition, for upper middle class women, jobs are part of social status. The wife's responsibility is not demanding in terms of hours because servants take over their domestic work. On the contrary, women from the lower classes value a job because it is essential as a part of their life's struggle. Moreover, the wife's domestic responsibility still places huge demands on them.

Industrialisation has also brought a positive impact to a progression of the level of education among Indonesian women. In other words, there is a greater chance for women to complete their education to a higher level than ever before. The proportion of women who completed junior high school and above increased rapidly from seven per cent in 1971 to 49.2 per cent in 1990 (Hill, 1994, p. 146). However, while many women work and bring income to the family, the social situation has not changed. Women still hold responsibility for doing the housework, which is demanded of women by Indonesia society and culture, even women with higher education. This is what the New Order Indonesia called the "dual role" of women [*peran ganda wanita*]. Women on the one hand are given the opportunity to enter occupations, on the other hand women are supposed to recognise their destiny [*kodrat*] as mother and wife.

The position of women in the transformation era of Indonesia is considered problematic.

Indonesia is in transition from being an agrarian society to becoming an industrial society, or between traditional and modern. Consequently, women as members of the society are also in a similar crucial position. Women are facing a dilemma. The issue is whether they behave in a traditional manner or become modern women. "Traditional women", seen by the society, still follow and hold the ideal norms of traditional Javanese culture and the tenets of Islam. On the other hand, the modern women are perceived as having a modern lifestyle following the values of Western culture. In reality, some urban middle class women are not one or the other, but are constantly negotiating the two extremes, filling a middle ground where they are both traditional and modern at the same time.

On the one hand, there are women who follow the global movement and develop themselves in adapting to the movement of modernisation according to the values of Western culture. They are usually the affluent middle class, who have a modern life style, some of them having studied overseas, who sometimes shop in Singapore, Hong Kong, Paris, and casually travel overseas. These women have been considered as modern women who tend to be liberal in their attitude and beliefs and are viewed as having sufficient freedom to define their future. These women concentrate on their career and principally they also support women's emancipation, but in fact, it is hard for them to sympathise or feel any solidarity with the poor village women, many of whom are employed as domestic servants in these women's houses.

On the other hand, there are also numbers of women who consider themselves primarily

as mothers and wives, and only secondarily as the workers or as wage earners. These women are less likely to demand a wage, which provides them with more economic independence. The work of a woman in this case is always regarded as supporting a husband. These women follow and hold the norms, role and behaviour which are considered ideal by the society. They like being *Ibu* [mother] who is busy with children, cooking for her husband, and being a wife beside her husband [*istri pendamping suami*]. They are viewed as following the tenets of Islam and the norms prescribed by the Javanese culture for being the ideal woman. They are the women who believe that a woman must obey her husband if he orders her to serve him, for example, or by accepting the right of the husband to determine their social life. Thus, I argue, the transformation era, from traditional (agrarian society) to modern (industrialised society), has problematised the models available to Indonesian women, requiring them to negotiate between the extremes.

Even many Indonesian Muslim women still have different interpretations in defining the role of woman as it has been prescribed by Islam. Many of them view, according to Islam, the role of wife as being to carry the responsibilities inside the house and to look after the husband and children. As a Muslim mother argues, “the role of the husband is as leader in the house and in society. In Islam a woman has no obligation to work for money, that is her husband’s role” (cited in Williams, 1998, p. 272). This notion implies that a woman in Islam has to have the support of her husband for her to have a job outside the home, because a woman is not required to look for a job to earn money. The responsibility to bring an income for the family rests on a man’s shoulders. As one

Muslim woman says,

We are not superwomen... so if I want to work then I must compensate for my absence by providing a maid to do my work. Islam doesn't say that a wife has to do all the work herself.... The husband isn't actually doing any of the domestic work himself (Williams, 1998, p. 272).

However, some Muslim leaders and scholars have argued that Islam does not restrict the relationships between husband and wife in term of responsibility in bringing in the family income or in terms of role distribution in the household. Islam has also never prohibited women from looking for work outside the home or going out in the public sphere. Islam may even encourage women to have a career outside the home. As Abdurrahman Wahid, one of the Indonesian's Muslim leaders, claims,

You have to look at the issue with wider sense of the meaning of Islam in Indonesia, ... We are conscious of the threat of being uprooted by modernisation and rapid social change ... Personally, I believe that the Prophet demands interpretation from us, not just blind following, and I think this illustrates the differences in the perceptions of women in the religion. But, also, I do have to say this frankly, many Muslim leaders still look at women with degrading attitudes, they still believe that the rights of women are not equal to the rights of men (Williams, 1998, p. 278-279).

In the modern era, the role of Muslim women in Indonesia has shifted. There are some devout Muslim women, who are appointed to several important positions either in Parliament [*DPR*] or in the Consultative People Assembly [*MPR*], in government departments, and in private enterprises. These women are considered by many Indonesian people as successful in the education field and political arenas. For example, Dr. Marwah Daud Ibrahim is one of senior researchers at LIPI (Indonesia Science Institute), who was also appointed as a chairperson of the ad-hoc committee in MPR; Dr. Dewi Fortuna Anwar is the spokes person of President B.J. Habibie; Aisyah Amini is a member of

parliament; and Tuti Alawiyah, a woman priest, is a Minister of Women's Affairs. Although, some of them have these positions because they have a good relation to the elite power base, there is also evidence that modern Muslim women are not as conservative as they have been claimed to be. The women adapt to modernity, but are still in tune with the values of Islam. As Williams points out, "the balance between the expectations of a woman's role in Islam and the reality of life in modern Indonesia is increasingly difficult to achieve" (1998, p. 275).

The role of the state has also been indirectly involved in the determination of the dominant gender ideology currently in place in Indonesia. The identification of women with the domestic role by the ruling class apparatus has serious consequences. As in most patriarchal systems, in Indonesia the relationships between gender and the state is far more complex and paradoxical than the functionalist accounts of a patriarchal state would indicate (Stivens, 1990, p.108). The role of women as mothers and wives is praised, especially under the New Order government for more than thirty years. As stated by Soeharto, the former President, in his biography, the women's organisation (*Dharma Wanita*) in Indonesia is supposed to:

"... to bring Indonesian women to their correct position and role, that is as the mother in a household [*Ibu rumah tangga*] and simultaneously as a motor of development ... We must not forget their essential nature [*kodrat*] as beings who must provide for the continuation of a life that is healthy, good and pleasurable" (cited in Tiwon, 1996, p. 59).

Hence, the concept of *Ibu* (mother) in Indonesia is related to the "essential nature" of women. With the "essential nature", *Ibu* is given a responsibility to bring all members of the family to a better life by preparing the children to be a good citizens in the future.

These kinds of women's responsibilities have been promoted as crucial in the national development. That is why a housewife is called "a motor of development" by the New Order regime. The question then is how deeply this image of women penetrated Indonesian society.

The creation of a state concept of womanhood in Indonesia comes into conflict with the idea of global modernisation which has also affected the attitude and behaviour of Indonesian women. This conflict has stimulated a set of dual portrayals of woman in Indonesia. On the one hand, it was the New Order state's policy that described a woman [*perempuan/wanita*¹] as mother [*Ibu*]. On the other hand, modernity has created the concept of Indonesian women who seem to accept Islamic fundamentalism, are also active professional people and at the same time are urban women with a modern life style.

A woman in Indonesia is considered not a complete human being before she is married (Tiwon, 1996, p.59). All single women have to prepare themselves for the appropriate fulfillment of the role of wife. Consequently, a career woman who prefers to remain single is considered as deviant. According to Tiwon (1996, p.59), *Femina*, the most popular women's magazine in Indonesia, has tried to cover the image of single career woman, but she is still represented as a potential wife, so that she will not be claimed [by

¹ The terms "*perempuan*" (woman) and "*wanita*" (lady) are still in dispute in Indonesia. Some feminists in Indonesia like to use the term *perempuan* instead of *wanita*. They have argued that the term *perempuan* is seen more polite and more acceptable than *wanita*, according to its lexical meaning from the Sanskrit. However, politically, these feminists seem to oppose the State creation toward the term *wanita*. As it is written by Sen (1999, p. 15) in her reportage article on women's congress in Indonesia in December 1998, that the congress was "seeing a particular strength in term *perempuan* (woman) over *wanita* (lady, the common New Order term for women)".

the society] as being a deviant. The image of single career women is presented to suggest that these women are still looking for their predestined man [*jodoh*] for a husband.

By exploring the magazine contents, its editorial practices, and reader reception as the method of research, this study investigates how changes in the representation of women are specifically related to socio-economic changes in Indonesia. To achieve this goal, the research question is, do the contemporary Indonesian women's magazines construct a particular version of the modern Indonesian woman? If so what version of woman is constructed? In addition, there are several subsidiary questions: What are the dominant portrayals of the modern Indonesian woman represented in Indonesian women's magazines, such as, *Femina* and *Kartini*? What have *Femina* and *Kartini* been telling the Indonesian women about themselves and the sort of woman they are or ought to be? Do these portrayals create role models for Indonesian women? Have these portrayals changed between 1992 and 1998? If there are changes, can they be related to the economic and political changes that produced social prosperity in Indonesia? How does the editorial decision of the magazines affect these representations?

Women's magazines as a social institution, like other social institution such as, family, school and other media, contribute to the process of cultural production that defines the position of women in a given society at a given point in time. In other words, women's magazines have a significant role in shaping a woman's view of herself and society's view of women. These are the reasons why this study is interested in women's magazines, especially contemporary Indonesian women's magazines, and the relationship

to the society in the 1990s.

Another factor related to the trend towards urbanisation is not only the increasing number of working women and educated women in Indonesia, but also the creation of a new middle class in the cities, which has impacted on the socio-economic status of women. One consequence of these social changes is that these women expect reading material commensurate with the educated middle class woman's lifestyle. For instance, women's magazines have recognised the situation among educated women, and have used this knowledge to generate a style of presentation that is attractive to this audience. For example, apart from the editors' consideration to the changing social situation, *Femina* provides articles about career, modern life style, and professional matters, and this magazine has claimed to try to not dictate to the reader, because they are an educated audience.

The situation outlined above is significant to the vision and mission of Indonesian women's magazines. *Femina*, as the market leader, is designed to capture the middle-upper class woman reader. The founders formed this journal to provide the readers, who have the same social status as the editors and founder, with the articles that relate to the urban lifestyle. As one of the founders claims, the magazine provides articles and information, not only to entertain women, but also to educate them. It is also claimed that the magazine tends to represent the woman's position as the subject not as the object of men (Djunaedi, 1995). The editors state that *Femina* has "an ideology" not to publish vulgar and sensational materials about women. According to Widarti, one of the founders

(cited in *Media Indonesia*, 1996), *Femina* is published to meet women's needs; both the need of woman to take an active part in the workplace and the need to marry and have a happy family life. The success of *Femina* indicates that the lifestyle of the new middle class women has shifted from domestic activity and everyday life to the modern daily life and cosmopolitan lifestyle. They now concentrate as much on career and possibilities of progress and take an active part in public activities, as they do on traditional domestic roles for women.

Another popular women's magazine in Indonesia, *Kartini*, tries to capture all classes of female readers; they do not want to cover only a certain class (Djuenedi, 1995, p. 84). The editors attempt to provide articles and features in a popular language, so the lower class readers can read and understand the content of the journal. Positioning itself as a family magazine, *Kartini* offers many popular articles like true stories, women's interest features, educational and social programs, and civic affairs. According to Sidharta (1982, p.76), *Kartini* has featured "avant-garde" articles, which are often controversial. For example, the magazine covered the relationship between one government official and a call girl, who was murdered. This case became controversial, because of the involvement of the official in the tragedy. This journal also provides articles on human interest, current affairs, and frequently about political issues in Indonesia rather than just articles on femininity.

Media are an indicator of the social structure of society. Media also give a reflection of the conditions in a society, and reinforce the status quo. However, we can also argue that

women's magazines are agents for social change for women by changing their views, attitudes and life styles. Women's magazines may be viewed as trendsetters for women readers. In crucial social situations such as gender and ethnicity issues, these are problematic aspects for the media both in their institutional role and the relative access of different groups to the media (Philo, 1995, p. 176). Philo states, "the mass media have had a critical role in the battle of ideas over how our society is to be explained and how the key relationships within it are justified" (p.176).

Each magazine has its own ideological position, which offers knowledge, poses problems and provides solutions to capture its readers' "hearts and minds". The orientation of the magazines' content is aimed at educating and at informing Indonesian women readers, mostly the urban middle-upper class women as the main target of the magazines. As the middle class became more affluent and influential as a consequence of increased social mobility powered by the wider educational opportunities and the developments in the business world, women in this class then become the target market of women's magazines.

One of the objectives of this study is to analyse the respective vision and mission of these magazines. The study questions whether *Femina* and *Kartini* have articulated their "ideology" toward the representation of modern Indonesian woman through their magazine contents. It also questions whether these magazines are still consistent with their arguments about themselves, especially in regard to the changes in the economic and political situation in recent years. Because *Kartini* and *Femina* have claimed that they

are different from each other both in capturing the reader and in providing the information, this study will examine these differences by analysing the magazine texts and by interviewing the readers to understand their attitudes toward these magazines. Both *Kartini*'s and *Femina*'s owners claim that they have captured readers from different social classes. If this is the case then, this study argues that they should be portraying modern Indonesian women in different ways. Finally, how these two magazines construct a particular version of modern Indonesian woman is also a focus of this study.

Despite the fact that women's magazines, in general, have provided interesting and some useful articles for the reader, they are the media type that might be seen as a monstrous. As Jensen (1990) points out, women's magazines are not only the "agents of change and progress, but also the devil in disguise, agent of alienation, anomy and despair in the powerfully seductive guise of provider of entertainment and excitement" (Hermes, 1995, p.1). Moreover, as the feminist media critics claim, women's magazines need to be made aware of and provide good feminist texts for women readers, in order to avoid false consciousness and false depiction in describing the position of women in society (ibid).

In addition, women are aware of the way the media have portrayed women and their capabilities, affecting the perceptions and actions of men. It should be considered that the ruling class, who own the media, have attempted to control the flow of information. As many Marxists claim, media institutions are crucial to the understanding of "how consciousness is determined, shaped, and manipulated" (Berger, 1991, p.38). According to Berger, Marx proposed that the ruling class, which has the means of material

production (media institutions), have control over the means of mental production (people's consciousness, believe, value) at the same time. For instance, the ideas that people have are the ideas that the ruling class want people to hold. The ruling class have propagated an ideology that justifies the status quo, and causes a complex situation for the ordinary people to recognise that they are being exploited and victimised. "Quite obviously the media and popular culture are centrally important in the spread of false consciousness, in leading people to believe that "whatever is, is right" (cited in Berger, 1991, p. 38). I wish to question here whether or not the Indonesian women's magazines have been in this position in describing the representation of women in Indonesia, and how the audience has responded to the representation in the manner described.

As in most studies on the representation of women in media, this study argues that women in media are still represented as belonging to the domestic sphere. Winship (1987) points out, the contents of women's magazines were dominated by articles on domestic matters which not just signaled but installed women in the home. Similar to this work, Freidan (1974) attributed mythic power to women's magazines in keeping women within their homes. Moreover, Sue Sharpe (1976) argues that women (girls) are presented in the media in ways that are corresponding with the appearances of their stereotyped image, and which are as "equally unrealistic and unsatisfactory" (Ang, 1996, p.' 11). Thus, as Tuchman points out, since the media images are "full of traditionalist and outmoded sex role stereotypes", they will eventually socialise a woman into becoming a mother and housewife, because as the audience, a woman models her behaviour on what is shown in the mass media (Ang, 1996, p.111).

These feminist approaches account of media and women's consumption are full of interpretations and critical of the hypodermic needle model of media effect, which assumes that media directly inject values, ideas, and information into a passive audience. Indeed if people, or more specifically women as readers, are not stupid or apathetic, they would use their collective strength to change the information which is inaccurate, biased or circulated partially, and information which causes such an agitation and insubordination (Davies, 1987, p.3). According to the sociological research "people hold very shifting, ambiguous, and even downright contradictory 'views', and that they are conscious of a variety of possible ways of looking at and understanding the world" (Ballaster, 1989). In other words, every individual in a certain time has a freedom to criticise, and takes a certain position toward the situation around.

Sidharta (1982, p.76) suggests that women's magazines should create an environment that encourages women who have a lack of self-confidence in dealing with the challenges in society to be more confident. Moreover, she argues women's magazines should function as socio-educational reading material for women. For example, women's magazines should be formed to educate women to be knowledgeable on their rights and limits of responsibilities in a world dominated by men, and improving reading preferences for women from the entertainment and sensational to thoughtful and meaningful reading. Indeed, women's magazines are the media where a woman might find pleasure and happiness. Thus, a further objective of this study is to discuss the significance of Indonesian women's magazines to the urban middle class women readers:

why the magazines are read, and what readers expect of them.

Many feminist studies in Indonesia have focused on women's representation and gender relationships. However, there is still little information in the relationship between media representation of women and social reality in Indonesia. Where studies do exist the focus is more on the representation of women in films, soap operas and advertising rather than the articles in women's magazines. Indeed, the manifest portrayals of women and the interpretation of the underlying meanings of these portrayals require in depth contextual analysis. Another significant aspect of this study tries to give an alternative perspective toward the study of audience reception in Indonesia, especially a study of the reading practice of women's magazine readers. There is still little focus research on the reception of women's magazine readers.

Studies such as Tamagola (1990), Siregar (1992), and Suratmo (1993), have analysed the content of reportage and advertising material in Indonesian women's magazines, demonstrated that the coverage of the role of women in the domestic sphere was more frequent than images of women in the public sphere. Public sphere here means, as Habermas (1989) indicated, places where people meet to discourse and are located in the salons, literary societies, cafes, and newspapers. In this sense, the term 'public sphere' is defined as an arena of public discussion, which is open to all, challenging the individual to engage in informed debate about the general issues or to act as a citizen.

The bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public: they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly

relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor (Habermas, 1989, p. 27)

All these studies conclude that Indonesian women have been covered throughout the mass media as being busy in their domestic activities quiet often, rather than being shown for their participation in the public arena. Thus, what 'nature' of a woman is being articulated in Indonesian context? How are the concepts of a woman defined in Indonesia so far? These questions are examined within the literature review and theoretical underpinnings in chapter 2.

Indonesian women's magazines, despite their business successes, remain a problematic medium for several reasons. The major problem is a financial hurdle, but another crucial problem, which has arisen in the history of some Indonesian women's magazines, is a fundamental conflict between the editorial staff and the company shareholders, and the conflict among the company shareholders themselves. All these situations are covered in chapter 3. This chapter describes the political economy of women's magazines business in the New Order era.

Chapter 4 analyses the content of *Femina* and *Kartini*. It goes on to present the quantitative data of the editorial subject matter selected for the period 1992-1998, and the qualitative analysis of some selected editorial articles, so that we understand what sort of modern Indonesian women are portrayed, and the standpoint the magazines in these portrayals. Furthermore, in chapter 5, some advertisements and images of modern women, which are carried by the journals are examined, considering the economic

upheavals, modernity, and the affect of global social changes in Indonesia. Finally, chapter 6 examines the reading practices among the young career women and the young mothers to extend the scope of this research. It shows the patterns of behavior of everyday media use (reading women's magazines), and how readers perceive the role of women's magazines in their everyday lives. The variety of responses and the contradiction views of readers are also covered in this chapter. In addition, in order to poses a problem of length and organisation of the thesis, the explanation about the method of research can be seen in detail in appendices.

Concluding Remarks

Although many feminist studies in Indonesia have been focused on the representation of women and gender relationships, there are still few studies that pay attention to the construction of women in the Indonesian media in relation to the politico-economic and cultural context in which the popular texts are produced. This present work explores the representation of gender in the patriarchal state of the New Order Indonesia through the production of women's magazines.

Indeed, the state ideology –the official social construction of womanhood— is significantly involved in the determination of the dominant gender ideology in Indonesia. Thus, the manifest portrayals of women and the interpretation of the underlying these portrayals will be discussed in the discursive formation analysis. Extending the topic on the construction of modern woman in women's magazines into the reading practices is

also intended both to enrich this study and to contribute to the study of audience reception, especially in reading women's magazines as everyday media use for young career women and young mothers.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of Literature and Theoretical Underpinnings

Before studying the representation of women in Indonesia media, including women's magazines, we should consider first how the concept of 'woman' is defined in this society in relation to the cultural and political formation in the "history" of Indonesia. This chapter explores some propositions and ideas about the conception of 'woman' in the Indonesian context, through an analysis of the literature and studies on the representation of women in Indonesia. This aims to understand the various perspectives from which the position of women is defined and articulated, theoretically and pragmatically, both by the state formation and by the cultural norms.

This chapter also examines previous studies which deal with the representation of women in Indonesian women's magazines and other textual sites, both from the Western perspective and from an Indonesian perspective. However, the research on women's magazines in other cultural contexts may not be immediately applicable to the Indonesian women's periodical press and its cultural context. Indeed, to discuss the representation of women in Indonesia is not a simple matter, considering the diversity of these women in terms of class, ethnicity, cultural background, dominant religion, and other factors. As a consequence, the Western perspectives cited here, or 'Eurocentric' models, are not the most useful for studies on the representation of women in Indonesian media. The Western perspectives do not necessarily illuminate the position of women in Indonesia nor the way in which they have been portrayed. Thus, this chapter focuses on Indonesian accounts of womanhood and the role of women in society first and then addresses Western concerns.

Like other Indonesian print media, women's magazines have a social role. They not only encourage the empowerment of women, but also promote the government programs that are addressed to women specifically and the society in general. The media in Indonesia are expected to provide information, education, and entertainment. Indeed, women's magazines, as a social institution, have made a significant contribution to the process of shaping perceptions about the position of women in a given society. As Ferguson (1983, p. 1) points out, women's magazines not only express opinions on women and women's issues, but also concerns on femininity itself. Some Indonesian women's magazines conform to this notion, but some others tend to cover more national political issues than women's issues.

In order to analyse a specific kind of publication, we have to consider also the relationship between media ownership and state influence on that publication. That is what is discussed in the last part of this chapter, where the significant influence of the editors' ideology on the magazines' content is discussed. What some Western scholars have suggested about the relationship between media and the dominant ideology, underpins the kind of situation found in Indonesia. Brown (1990, p. 158), argues that critical media analysts often use the theory of hegemony to explain the content and influence of the mass media in complex societies. For hegemonic theorists, mass media plays an ideological role in society, reinforcing and encouraging general world-views and specific beliefs that help secure the position of the group already in power. Ideological analysis assumes that cultural productions, such as literature, film, and television, are produced in particular cultural contexts by and for a particular social group. Hence, cultural productions are viewed as "expressing and promoting values,

beliefs, and ideas in relation to the context in which they are produced, distributed, and received by the society” (White 1992, p. 163).

Studies that have dealt with the representation of women in Indonesian media, as discussed later in the first part of this chapter, have suggested that the image of women in their domestic role continues to be the mainstay in many Indonesian cultural productions and popular media, including women’s magazines. The representation of women is strongly adapted from, or influenced by, dominant ethnic values, that is Javanese culture, or Islamic norms, as consistently promoted by the New Order regime, from the lowest level of society up to the state level. In this sense, the state has shaped the way Indonesian women think about themselves, and has created an ideological conception of womanhood in Indonesia that is different from the Western concept of womanhood. All these issues are discussed in detail in the following section.

Representation of Women in Indonesia: between cultural norms, economic implications, and state formation

There are three concepts involved in the social construction of womanhood in Indonesia. These are formed particularly from the blend between Javanese cultural traditions and Islamic norms. The two first concepts are those of ‘*Istri*’ [housewife] and ‘*Ibu*’ [mother]. The third concept, there of ‘state *Ibuism*’, is a creation of the state, and symbolises its position on women within the context of a patriarchal system.

The Indonesian New Order government¹ has defined in terms of '*Istri*' [housewife] and '*Ibu*' [mother]. Woman as a housewife ('*Istri*') depends on her husband, has to take care of her husband and children, and is also busy with home duties. Meanwhile, the notion of '*Ibu*' [mother] covers the range of roles from domestic to public worker. The state uses the term *Ibu* in its limited biological meaning (Suryakusumah, 1996, p.101).

Housewifization is the first concept of Indonesian women discussed here, in terms of its economic aspect. This term was used for the first time by Maria Mies in her work *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* (1986). She defines this term as:

A process by which women are socially defined as housewives, dependent for their sustenance on the income of their husbands, irrespective of whether they are de facto housewives or not. The social definition of housewives is the social definition of men as breadwinners, irrespective of their actual contribution to their families (cited in Suryakusumah, 1996, p.101).

The concept of 'housewifization' describes the ways in which women depend on the income of their husband for their sustenance. Women are not considered as wage earners in the family and are perceived as non-productive in society. As a housewife, a woman provides free domestic labour. Women are also viewed as isolated and lacking adequate political and economic power. Consequently, women are placed by the state in a subordinate position to men. According to Suryakusumah (1991, p.47), the term was coined by Mies the ideology of 'housewifization' was developed in relation to the growth of capitalism in Indonesia. In industrial development, 'housewifization' is a strategy for the reproduction of the labour force in a domestic setting and for

¹ By the New Order government, I mean here, is the Indonesian government under the power of President Soeharto, which ended with his resignation in May 1998. Meanwhile, the new transition government is called the 'Reformation Government'.

producing agents of consumption amongst domesticated housewives. Mies (1986:110) states, "housework is essential to the accumulation process and that housewifization means the "externalization" of costs which would be otherwise covered by capitalists" (cited in Suryakusumah, 1991, p.47). Thus in this context, a woman is a person who spends most of her life and social activity around the house.

It is Madelon Djadjadiningrat (1987) who coined the term '*Ibuism*', the second concept examined here, in relation to the creation of an ideology of femininity in the Indonesia context. She defines *Ibuism*:

As being an ideology which sanctions any action provided it is taken by the mother who looks after her family, a group, a class, company, or the state, without demanding any power or prestige in return (Djadjadiningrat, 1987, p. 44).

Djadjadiningrat derives her concept from a Javanese cultural historical model of womanhood. The concept of *Ibuism* focuses more on the spread of the dominant Javanese ethnic value defining the ideal woman, as being a mother for her children and as the one supposed to do the domestic work for the family, throughout the Indonesian political sphere. According to Djadjadiningrat (1987, p.44), the ideology of *Ibuism* developed in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. As Indonesia is still a class society in which status symbols are important, women as *Ibu* not only have to subsidize their income as before, but women have to ensure that the *priyayi* [Javanese bourgeois] class status symbol is maintained. She couples the ideology of *Ibuism* with the process of *priyayization* or elite class action among the Javanese groups. The process of *priyayization* in Djadjadiningrat's work is significant to the process of social transformation and the application of traditional values to

support national development, modernisation, and the control of power in the New Order regime (Suryakusumah, 1991, p.48).

Thus the role of *Ibu* became more than that of a mother who feeds and looks after her children. But also the new Indonesian society called upon the '*kaum Ibu*' to put their shoulders to the task of building a new national state; ... The honour they could gain was that of being a good *Ibu*. Power and prestige remained the privilege of men (Djadjadiningrat, p. 43).

Suryakusumah then attempts to combine the concept of 'housewifization' and '*Ibuism*' in relation to the process of domestication in Indonesia. She formulates the term '*State Ibuism*' to connect with the political construction of the Indonesian women by the New Order government. "State *Ibuism* defines women as appendages and companions to their husbands, as procreators of the nation, as mothers and educators of children, as a housekeepers, and as a member of Indonesian society" (Ibid). In other words, the Indonesian government still view and value woman not as the subject of social activity, but as the object of national development meant to fulfill domestic roles: women are expected not to forget their "natural" destiny (*kodrat*) as wife and mother.

The New Order government tended to employ the concept of women as wife or mother or both as the most convenient gender ideology. Consequently, there is a belief that a wife has to follow her husband. As Sullivan (1991, p.70) states " Women are included in national development, not as fully fledged, responsible citizens, but as dependent assistants of males".

This formulation is crystallised by the state creation of the government official wives' organisation, which is called *Dharma Wanita*² and of which all the wives of civil servants automatically became members. *Dharma Wanita* has a very specific agenda where:

There is the propagation of the nuclear family norm, the segregation of women into gender specific programs, as well as increasingly middle-class images of women in the media. There is the state creation of compulsory wives organizations which mirrors the hierarchy of the husbands, reflecting the notion that women are defined in their capacity for serving their husband, their family, and the state (Suryakusumah, 1991, p.50).

This organisation is like the "umbrella" organisation for women's and wives' organisations in all government departments. The structure of this organisation parallels the structure of the husband's position in the hierarchy of the bureaucratic system. For example, the wife of a minister in one department automatically becomes the chairperson of this association and so on. *Dharma Wanita* is part of the state formation in that it determines the position of women in Indonesia.

It is quite obvious that by establishing this association, the New Order government aimed to encourage the wives of civil servants to support their husbands' careers and responsibilities, secure the loyalty of government employees, increase political stability, and to strengthen a national unity (Sunindyo, 1993, p. 135). It was rumoured that the degree of attendance of the wives in this association was made as an indicator to secure the position of their husbands in the department. This, in turn, fosters a patriarchal power structure and class inequality, making this women's organisation an

² In fact the members of this women's organisation are not only the wives of civil servants, but some of the members are also female civil servants themselves. A similar wives organisation was also created for the military's wives, call *Dharma Pertiwi*. Its members consist of wives of the Army organisation (call *Persit Kartika Chandra Kirana*), wives of the Police organisation (call *Bhayangkari*), wives of the

extension of the bureaucratic apparatus. In addition, the state also disseminates the ideology of domesticity through the creation of the applied family welfare program, called *PKK: Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*. According to this program, the role of women is designed to increase the welfare and health of family.

...But in early New Order autonomous women's organisations disappeared. Women's representative bodies became 'wives' organisations. Wives of civil servants were obliged to join *Dharma Wanita* (literally, Women's Duty), and duty-bound to support their husbands' work. The PKK, the village level institution through which many of government's family welfare measures were implemented, was committed to the five duties of a woman, which started with her role as wife and mother... (Sen, 1999, p. 14)

Thus, the integration of the role of women into the national development in Indonesia is actually the encouragement of functionalist roles for functionaries' wives, like housekeeping, hygiene, children upbringing, and which promoted gender inequality within the existing sexual division of labour in the family and society. That is what the New Order government claimed as a distinguishing concept of womanhood in Indonesia, which differs to the Western's conception (Sunindyo, 1993, p. 136).

The hierarchical order of the bureaucratic system of the state, parallels the major features of male/female relations in Javanese culture. According to Sullivan (1991, p.86), it is clear that in Javanese society there is a hierarchy which is applied in all areas of social life, including the relations between men and women and children, not only in families, but also in public political life. In Javanese society, women play a major role in dealing with household management and the nurturing, and socialisation of children. They bear the responsibility of the physical and emotional needs of family

Air Force organisation (call *PIA Ardhy Garini*), and wives of the Navy organisation (call *Jalasenastri*).

members. Meanwhile, men are defined as the providers, protectors, heads and representatives of the household. As Sullivan argues:

The segregation of roles and spheres of work and influence by sex is not seen as a means by which men gain access to, and monopolize power in, formal structures and processes. Rather, it is acknowledged as a rational way to organize society according to the 'natural' order of things in the process of human reproduction (Sullivan, 1991, p. 74).

This camouflage of the structural inequality which still pervades society arises from the assumption, as Sullivan points out, that as the 'natural' nurturers, women should be protected; while men, as the 'natural' protectors of women from the dangers 'outside', have to gain the means to provide for their dependents. As a consequence, this is perceived to be a mutually supportive situation, and one in which men and women enjoy equal social status from their different positions and roles, as long they are dedicated to the ideal objective of secure and harmonious social life. This is what Sullivan calls "the consensus thesis: Javanese men and women separate but equal" (1991, p. 74).

Furthermore, as in Indonesia women's work is classified according to social class, therefore, a job is an essential as a part of the life struggle for the lower class of women. Consequently, the relationship between wife and husband is egalitarian, but only in term of financial responsibility. Society still believes that the best place for women is at home.

By contrast, for the middle and upper class of women, a job is part of their social status. Many women from these classes are highly educated, and they tend to look for a job in private enterprises rather than in the civil services, mainly because of the

image of the declining social status and economic condition of the civil servant. The civil servants in Indonesia still get paid lower than private employees.

The ideal of male-female relations in Indonesia can also be seen from the articulation of marriage between Islam and *adat* (custom) which are quite different in this respect. According to de Stuers (1960, p. 207), the Islamic marriage, as it is prescribed in the *fikh* (Islamic law), is in principle a contract between a man and a woman as two individuals who are obliged to give their consent. The husband obtains the rights over his wife; while the wife claims appropriate treatment from her husband. In contrast, marriage in Javanese culture means a ritual ceremony where both the man and the woman make a statement in which the two individuals assert they are couple.

All these aspects -- state ideology, religious and customary laws-- complicate our understanding of the ideological construction of femininity in the Indonesian context. Islam, Javanese Hinduism, and Christianity have a different concept of femininity. As Hellwig points out,

Religious convictions and the state are of major significance in the way gender patterns are determined. Islam, Christianity, and Hindu Javanese concepts supply the most fundamental ideas and beliefs about gender differences. Javanese Culture has a notable impact on present day Indonesian society as a whole (Hellwig, 1991, p.198).

Indonesian society tends to emphasis the character of males more than females in many ways (Hellwig, 1991). This phenomenon is implemented in many contexts. However, the economic development strategy of the New Order regime has led to the changing of the sex role stereotypes in the lower classes in several significant ways.

For example, women in lower middle class have to fight with men to get a job in the labour market. Many women from this class become the dominant income-earner for their family. As a result, the gender relationships are relatively balanced. The relationship of power between male and female, however, still operates strongly in an organised and structured way to the disadvantage of women. Mariyah (1995, p.18) says, in relation to Indonesia, "patriarchal power has been internalised in the structures of society and in cultural beliefs and values".

The unequal position of women in Indonesian society can be seen in the major political, economic and social institutions. Indonesian women are still in conflict with men in social, economic and political life. As the process of economic and technological development emerges and consolidates in the New Order Indonesia, the character of women's employment is changing. Cities have become the site of industrialisation where new jobs are created. However, the kinds of jobs available for women are still limited. According to Mariyah (1995, p. 18), 53.62 per cent of women workers are still concentrated in the agricultural sector although these numbers are now decreasing. In the public service only 6.3 per cent of women are in Echelon I in some government departments. On the other hand, in several fields of work, such as education and medicine, the ratio between male and female workers tends to be more balanced.

There is also a small group of successful businesswomen in Indonesia. Mariyah (1995, p.19) claims that almost all successful businesswomen have close relations with power, such as the prominent businesswomen Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, the oldest daughter of the former President Soeharto.

Western Studies on the Representation of Women in Media

Many western feminist critics have focused on the effect of popular media forms on women's consciousness. According to Ang and Hermes (1996, p.110), the popularity among women of specifically 'feminine' genres, such as soap operas and romance novels, often arises from women's subordinate position in society. For Sharpe (1976) and Tuchman (1978), mass media are a major cause of the general reproduction of patriarchal sexual relationships (cited in Ang, 1996, p.111). The mass media imagery consists of transparent and unrealistic messages about women that create a stereotypical model of women as subordinate to men. Ironically, women have absorbed these messages, both passively and indiscriminately, as a representation of real life. Tuchman (1978) writes, "the ideal woman, according to (women's) magazines, is passive and dependent. Her fate and happiness rest with a man, not with participation in the labor force" (cited in Hermes, 1995, p. 2). These notions are meant here as the other side of the debate of this thesis.

Indeed, as Davies (1987) says, women are aware of the way the media (women's magazines) portray women and their responsibilities, which in turn have affected the perception and action of men towards women. Although scholars may have been unable to show a direct relation between any specific case of media sexism and any particular act, there can be no question that "media distortion contributes to a general climate of discrimination and abuse of women" (Ibid, p. 6).

As Hermes (1995) points out, however, analysis of text and sometime analysis of the production process of women's magazines, like the editorial process and the structure

of ownership, has led to a pessimistic and emotional evaluation of these magazines. The focus of analysis, then, is shifting to the study of reading practice. This is to address whether the readers, who are supposed to be socialised by the magazines and directed to see the world according to the magazines' priorities, passively absorb the messages and meanings as a false consciousness about reality or actually read in an active way. Janice Radway, according to Ang and Hermes (1996), is considered as one of the first scholars who recognised the failure of textual reductionism. In her study of *Reading the Romance* (1984), she states " the analytic focus must shift from the text itself, taken in isolation, to the complex social event of reading...(1984, p. 8). In her opinion, textual analysis needs to be supplemented by inquiry into how female audiences 'read' texts, in other words, by an inquiry into women's agency.

As Radway (1984) argues, habitual readers of romance fiction get constant reassurance about their own value by frequently identifying with a female character in the process of sexual awakening, and who determines as a consequence that she is a valuable person and worthy of love. She points out that the story in romance fiction offers a contradiction between the female values of love and personal interaction and the male values of competition and public achievement.

From the study of women's liberation in fashion magazines, Budgeon and Currie (1995, p. 174) argue that most women's magazines reconstitute the conditions for women's existence. The magazines construct the reader as a potential consumer. This construction is necessary because a magazine's profitability not only depends on its income from the subscribers, but also on the ability to sell its audiences to the advertisers. In some instances, the advertisers have more power to control what can

and cannot be included in women's magazines than the editors do. As a result, according to Steinem (1990), women's magazines, like women's products, can never be a medium for serious reporting (cited in Budgeon, et al., 1995, p. 174). This statement implies that capitalists are more powerful in controlling and dominating the content of media than the people who have a capability to set the message of the media.

Parallel to this notion above, McCrackers (1993) attempts to demonstrate how women's magazine content is considered as a pleasure commodity, especially the advertising pages. She states that advertising has a crucial role in the financial survival of women's magazines and in the shaping of magazines' cultural content. According to her (1993, p. 4), women's magazines occupy up to 95 per cent of promotional features in its space. As a result, McCrackers suggests that these publications should be titled as "women's advertising magazines". Moreover, she points out that magazines promote a reifying image of woman as a shopper to attract advertisers. "The key role of women as the primary purchasers of goods and services in the consumer society is the material explanations for the continued existence of this genre of mass culture" (1993, p. 4).

Studies on the representation of women in Indonesian women's magazines

Women's magazines in Indonesia still have a tendency to maintain and sustain the stereotypical roles of Indonesian women in their content. Women's magazines tend to consider as the media for women, different from the media for men. Men/women dichotomy then has been reflected into women's magazines/men's magazines

dichotomy. In other words, women's magazines consider themselves as products, consumed "only" by women; whereas men's magazines are produced for men's consumption.

Women's magazines in Indonesia are identified as the products of the urban middle class women. The way of life of people in this class is reflected throughout the magazines' contents. Generally, they describe the image of the modern Indonesian women from the point of view of a middle to upper class woman, who has a career and desires luxurious fashions, accessories and other materials that are associated with their status.

The Indonesian media have tried to reinforce the position of women in society through content and practices. In many Indonesian movies, advertising, fiction, and other media, the portrayal of women is still as a sex object, devalued, foolish, incompetent, and powerless. Kalyanamitra, one of the women's NGOs in Jakarta, conducted a study of the representation of women in the Indonesian media. The results show that the media contribute to a social belief in the superiority of men and the inferiority of women (Kalyanamitra, 1996). This phenomenon is also represented in advertising, which carries the idea that a woman should aim to be slim, attractive to men, a good homemaker and a supermum. According to Kalyanamitra's survey (Kalyanamitra, 1996, p.5), 55 per cent to 95 per cent of advertising pages in *Femina* offered products such as cosmetics, accessories, fashions, household implements, body treatments, food and drinks, cooking utilities, real estate, banks, education and leisure. Moreover, between April and October 1996 edition, 54,6 per cent of these advertisements employed women as models.

Some previous studies (Siregar (1992), Suratmo (1993), Tamagola (1990), Sunindyo (1996) and Azeharie (1997)) have focused on the representation of Indonesian women in newspapers and magazines and demonstrated similar conclusions. Suratmo (1993) analysed the content of ten Indonesian women's magazines in 1992. He shows that 72.9 per cent of the journals' content covered the role of Indonesian women in a domestic context (cited in Munthe, 1994). According to this study, the Indonesian women's magazines were still portraying the women in stereotypical roles. Five journals analysed covered the relationship of husband and wife as their dominant themes, and the rest focused more on beauty and household matters.

Tamagola (1990) conducted research on the representation of women in advertising in two major women's magazines. He concluded that there were five images of role models of Indonesian women that appear in advertising in women's magazines. The first image represents a woman as a person who is fascinated by her biological body. The second image describes a woman as a person who has a responsibility to take care of her family. The third image is that women are represented as the sexual object of men. The forth image represents women as busy in the kitchen, and portraying women as happy with domestic roles. Finally, images representing women wanting to be "acceptable" and "presentable" in the public were also prominent, so women are described as more concerned with beauty matters than men (Tamagola, 1992).

Azeharie (1997) has attempted to look for the relationship between the ideology of women's magazine, that is *Femina*, and the representation of women in its magazine. She analyses selected articles published in *Femina* in 1977, 1986 and 1991, in order to

know the changes of gender relationships in Indonesia between in the 1970s and in the 1990s. She assumed that traditional representation of women has been influenced by certain factors like the Hindu and Buddhist Javanese tradition, Islam, the New Order government's policy and Western culture (1997, p.164). She questioned whether *Femina* has been more or less influenced by these factors.

Azeharie's research seems to be stimulated by the conclusions reached by Tineke Helwigg, mentioned before, who studied on the representation of Indonesian women in Indonesian literature. She states that *Femina* represents the views of the Indonesian Javanese middle class and concludes that the representation of the 'modern' Indonesian woman promoted by *Femina*, is a woman who maintains *priyayi* values and Islamic norms. She says that the ideology underlying *Femina* remains consistent with the traditional values of women. Unfortunately, she does not pay attention to the interview results with the magazine editors. However, she attempts to show the difficulty in dealing with the senior editors while she conducted the fieldwork in Jakarta.

This study is quite different from that Azeharie's work and this is more comprehensive than her research. It looks at the editorial articles of *Femina* and *Kartini* in order to understand the way the editors expressed their opinion or perception and how they defined the position of women in the process of social changes in Indonesia between 1992 and 1998. The editorial staff in these magazines were interviewed, to obtain their views about Indonesian women and to understand how their perception toward the changes of women has affected their decision in creating and constructing the particular role models of Indonesian women. The study

then proceeds to capture the perception of the readers toward the construction of women in these two women's magazines and to understand the practices of everyday media use among young urban middle class women.

In further studies, it has been shown how the representation of women in Indonesian media is still problematic. Sunindyo (1996) examines why the media give low attention to the matter of gender relationships generally, and analyses the content of some major newspapers in their reportage on the issues of gender relationships, especially in some murder cases. Sunindyo finds that the media highlighted the sensational nature of murders of women not for reasons of gender but because of the involvement of public officials (Sunindyo, 1996, p. 135). She claims that the media have not attempted to "help" a woman as a victim in terms of gender.

Siregar (1992) conducted a content analysis study of the orientation of women's magazines journalism in two women journals, *Kartini* and *Sarinah*. According to him these journals focused more on the activities of women in public space than in domestic place. Siregar found that these two magazines reported the activities of women in public more than 65 per cent of the time, and the dominant theme identified is the social activity of women, such as social services, and criminality (Siregar, 1992). However, Siregar argues that Indonesian women's magazines still pay less attention to politics and economic matters. He says that this can be seen from the editorial contents of the magazine which covered few articles on Indonesian politics and economic events. He claims women's magazines have not yet created a media as the means to encourage women to participate in social and political structures. Women's magazines appear to be different from other types of magazines in coverage

of the issues. It means that the popular magazines will cover the popular or general issues, while women's magazines focus more on gender-specific matters. This is because each magazine has a different category of reader. That is what this study supposed to do: to understand how women's magazines tell about and speak for women.

Referring to the matter of readerships, Hartley in his work *Popular Reality* (1996) states "Reading is a practice – a part of a cultural repertoire of actions that people may undertake from time to time" (p.66). He points out that reading is circulated entirely in the social culture in ways that are relatively free from economic, political and cultural identity. "Reading is a discursive practice by means of which an individual will sometimes be called into being as an audience, sometimes not" (p.67). However, reading is also subject to historical development, such as capital investment, colonisation, division of labour, appropriation, divide and rule, and economic gain. For instance, a reader is constituted not only as the audience of the media, but also as the target group or client for the media or its products. Thus, audiences here are identified as readerships that are consumers of journalistic or fictional texts, but they are also sometimes manipulated for the benefit of some capitalists.

Siregar (1994) also states that women's magazines tend to focus more on personal issues and problem solving. Women are viewed by the magazines implicitly as individuals who have lack self-confidence in dealing with the challenges of everyday life, and it seems that they have to solve this problem for themselves. Women then turn to read the magazine for advice. This phenomenon is seen by Siregar as an attempt by women to help themselves by reading women's magazines. Consequently,

the women's magazines tend to be the psychology-pragmatic media rather than the social-pragmatic media. However, Ballaster et.al (1991, p. 174) argue that the personal issues, which are covered by women's magazines, differentiate women's magazines from other journals and from newspapers as periodical literature. They argue that some major magazines have attempted to cover news and serious features. Moreover, they claim that some articles in women's journals attempt to offer a woman's perspective on the political matters, such as humanitarian issues, individual women's experiences in war time, and political oppression (Ballaster et.al. 1991, p. 174).

Women's Magazines, Modernity, and the Affluent Middle Class in Indonesia: the shifting paradigm in the 1990s

All the above studies show that the contents of women's magazines are still consistent with gender specific matters such as beauty and fashion, health, the problem of relationships, home improvement, food and cooking articles. Moreover, women's magazines still have a tendency to portray women in stereotypical roles. However, Sen (1998) shows the representation of Indonesian women in advertising shifted in the 1990s.

Krishna Sen (1998) argues, in contrast to the 1970s, the discourses about Indonesian women shifted in the 1990s in response to global economic change and political uprising in contemporary Indonesia.

While women were politically reduced to the status of men's appendages, economically they were pushed and pulled out of homes into the work places, largely in the low-paid manufacturing sector, but also in white collar middle class professional jobs (Sen, 1999, p. 14).

These phenomena have affected the construction of representation of Indonesian women in advertising. Sen argues that in some advertising images in Indonesian magazines in the 1990s, the role of working woman has become central, although this is still debated in contemporary Indonesian politics and popular culture. According to her (p. 37), the new paradigmatic female figure is the working woman, replacing the housewife figure in some advertising products. However, this does not mean that the housewife image has disappeared. We can still find this image, as Sen says, but only in “the lower end of the advertising market” (1998, p. 46). She states that images of professional women are common in advertisements for banks, real estate, cars, and computers. Even the beauty products, like a skincare product, have been targeted for the professional woman. The image of the ‘working woman’ in this advertising is defined by the tall office blocks as the background, the diary and the notebook computer.

Robison (1996) argues that the rise of the middle class in Indonesia is a recent phenomenon, and is therefore of considerable interest to the Indonesian media in the 1990s. The emergence of new middle class readers has influenced the Indonesian newspapers and magazines to focus more on “self-congratulatory stories of hard work and talent, or morally disapproving stories of excess and selfishness” (Robison, 1996, p. 84). Sen also points out that advertisements are placed in Indonesian magazines according to the social economic status of the consumer or (more appropriately) the readership of the magazines at whom the products are targeted. According to Sen (1998, p. 53), in *Femina*, for example, the advertisements in the 1990s have been dominated by the image of the professional woman, because the readership of this women’s magazine is the in A-B (upper middle class) socio-economic status category.

On the other hand, the advertisements in *Kartini*, another women's magazine, are still dominated by the image of the woman in a domestic setting, because the readers of this magazine are mostly the from B-C (middle lower class) social economic status category. As a result, the advertisements in Indonesian magazines differ in many ways according to the class status of the reader.

According to Dhakidae (1991), modernisation was proclaimed as the national objective of the New Order government in the 1970s. The idea of modernity has been developed well by the government, but this success can be guaranteed only by developing authoritarian forces to protect the security of economic development, which can be seen through the women's consumption of luxurious things. The glossy women's magazines have reflected the phenomenon of modernisation in Indonesia.

Industrialisation and globalisation seem to allow women an escape from their "boundaries" in the home. Industrialisation then have changed and upgraded the role of women in the household. According to Michele Mattelart (1986), the industrial era has encouraged the paradigm shift in making the domestic activities become the field for financial purposes; "the household was beginning to live and that the home was becoming a market" (p.26). With the development of technology the term 'change', which affects much in women's live, integrates into the term "modern". In other words the arriving of sophisticated technology in the household, such as washing machine, vacuum cleaners, and microwave, direct or indirectly, has affected not only the knowledge of women, but also their lifestyle. Women are considered as become "modern" when they are applying these technologies, which need specific knowledge to operate them, within their domestic work.

The connection of the shifting role of women to the social changes, the integration of women role into a concept of modernity, and how these phenomena are processed by the dominant ideology can be seen through the production of women's magazines. As Mattelart argues,

It is the image of the happy woman, the woman dazzled by the desires and possibilities of consumption, the desires and possibilities of progress, which is the best publicity for modernity, fostering the immersion of technology into daily life: woman becomes the "smile of modernity". Women's magazines cultivate and diffuse this myth of the modern as a universal model – a model founded on a cliché of the woman from a very comfortable socio-economic group in an industrialised capitalist society (Mattelart, 1986, p. 37).

Stivens (1997) also states that domestication and the household (in all various forms) are the important part in producing the middle class and modernity itself. She cites the work of Hall and Davidoff (1987) on the middle class in England in the nineteenth century, who demonstrate that the formation process of the new middle class was very gender specific, especially in the formation of the domestic ideology and the attempt to treat it continuously. Furthermore, Stivens argues that the development of the new femininity is based on the pattern of consumer/wife/mother and consumer/beautiful young women, can be seen as an important part of the massive economic development in Asia (1997, p. 19). The dramatic emergence of a new middle class and a new bourgeoisie identified by Robison and Goodman (1996) as the new rich of Asia is regarded as the economic dynamisers of the twenty-first century. Moreover, they become the potential consumers of the Western products, such as computer software, processed foods, film and television operas, fashions in women's magazines, and many others (Robison, et.al, 1996, p. 1).

Concluding Remarks

This chapter explored some previous studies on the representation of women in the media, especially in women's magazines, both from an Indonesian perspective and some Western studies. The Western studies have been used to make a comparison and also to look for a similarity in the representation of women in women's magazines. It is still doubtful whether it is appropriate to apply the Western perspective in the Indonesian context or not. It is possible we have to consider some circumstances in order to study the relationship between media and social culture in a society, such as contemporary Indonesia. For example, as shown earlier, the concept of womanhood in an Indonesian context is quite different from the Western concept.

All the propositions which dealt with the definition or conception of Indonesian women in this chapter are aimed at understanding which is the portrait of women that has been represented in women's magazines. It aimed also to determine whether contemporary Indonesian women's magazines refer to these kinds of definitions or conception of women in Indonesia, or whether these magazines have created their own definition about the Indonesian women in a modern era of the 1990s.

Another possibility why a Western perspective is unacceptable, is because of the different characteristics of the magazine themselves, especially in the matter of social functions within the social and political atmosphere in Indonesia. For example, studies on women's magazines in Western countries have concerned more on covering sexuality than political matters. McRobbie (1996) states that, in the 1990s, there has

been a tendency to use sex to fill the space of the magazines' pages; "sex sets the tones, defines the pace, and shape the whole environment of the magazines" (McRobbie, p. 177). Sexuality has more space in women's magazines beside fashion and beauty.

Meanwhile, Indonesian women's magazines cover the issue of sexuality in terms of the relationship between husband and wife, and sexuality is not covered in vulgar terms in either its visual or its verbal systems. Although some magazines have attempted to cover the issues around homosexuality and lesbianism, these issues are correlated in the context of disease (AIDS) or sexual deviant behaviour. Moreover, in term of social agents of development, Indonesian women's magazines, like other press publications in Indonesia, are required to promote national development. Thus, besides fashion and beauty articles, the women's magazines also cover events or issues of national importance or designated by governmental programs.

In addition, some previous studies on the representation of women in women's magazines, which have been conducted by Indonesian scholars, focus more on the content of the magazines rather than on discursive formation. Most of them applied a conventional content analysis method in quantitative format. Although some scholars have attempted to use a qualitative analysis to research the content of the magazines, they are considered to lack of attention to the methodological matters as a serious flow.

Moreover, we need to understand the correlation between the media institution and social changes in a society in a comprehensive analysis. The application of media

discourse, especially to analyse the content of Indonesian women's magazines, also needs to be developed. Consequently what follows is a study conducted in order to achieve all these purposes.

CHAPTER THREE

The Political Economy of Women's Magazines in New Order Indonesia 1980-1998

The rapid growth of the Indonesian economy has a correlation in the growth of the country's print media industry. The emerging number of new publications brought a more competitive atmosphere to the women's magazine industry since the 1980s. The survival of the magazines, however, depends on the purchasing power of the reader, specifically the middle classes, advertising income, internal management, and to a lesser extent the political atmosphere.

With economic stability in the 1990s, the emerging new middle classes engaged with a new social discourse everywhere in Indonesia, especially in terms of their lifestyle and their influence in the political sphere. They have become the new economic actors who play in the dense economic traffic, primarily in the metropolitan city of Jakarta. This chapter examines the socio-economic and political changes in the New Order era of Indonesia, especially in terms of gender relationship and how these changes impacted on the social situation of women in Indonesia. Prosperity gave middle class women a new voice previously constrained by Islam, Javanese culture and New Order ideology. Women's magazines then are an expression of that voice.

This chapter also focuses on how the situation above influenced the creation of the contemporary Indonesian women's magazines by exploring the "history" of the business of women's magazines from the 1970s to late 1997. This part will show investment

matters, the economic trend (advertising income) of women's magazines in the 1990s, the role of some individuals such as, Lukman Umar, Widarti Gunawan, and Mirta Kartohadiprodjo, in Indonesian women's magazines, and the role socio-economic and political aspects played in this women's press industry. This topic will be linked to the conflict, originated in *Kartini* magazine, which encouraged the birth of some new glossy women's magazines in the mid 1980s.

The conflict represented a sort of political economy conflict, and became the first such incident in the history of the Indonesian press. The publisher intervened in journalistic work, making it the first conflict to take place in *Kartini*. It was a conflict over editorial policies and resulted the resignation of the female managing editor from the magazine. This incident then ensued more conflict among the members of the foundation which controlled *Kartini* and who were also the shareholders of this magazine. This kind of internal conflict became crucial when the state apparatus became involved in this case. As a result, the capital distribution, which was the starting point of the affair, led to the economic expansion and political conflict later.

The last part of this chapter discusses how all these economic and political aspects have encouraged the creation of readership (Hartley, 1996), especially for urban middle class women. The creation of the readers by the magazines led to heightened competition among the Indonesian women's magazines that began in the mid 1980s and afterward. The emerging of conglomerate or corporate groups for some publications aimed at

women, and the involvement of the presidential family in the women's publication business also encouraged the heated climate of competition in this field.

The Rise of New Middle Class Consumers in the 1990s

The rapid process of industrialisation which started in the mid-1980s transformed the economy in Indonesia. In the early 1990s the value of manufacturing output started to outstrip that of the agricultural sector (Hill, 1994). This phenomenon indicated the starting point of Indonesia's path to industrialisation. One social consequence of this industrial growth is the rise of new middle class in some major cities in Indonesia. Urban middle class Indonesia is becoming a large or mass-market consumer society. Its members are the potential consumers for transnational corporations. In other words, the new urban middle class Indonesia constitutes a potential market for Western products such as processed foods, communications devices like mobile phones, and fashions. This phenomenon has paralleled the mushrooming growth of supermarkets and modern shopping malls, which are full of an array of brand name merchandise, and which have shifted the shopping habits of those new middle class people from shopping in the traditional market [called *pasar*].

The phenomenon of the growing urban middle class Indonesia can also be seen also from the vast changes to consumer spending in almost all sectors of society. The indicators of this phenomenon, for example, are the rapid growth of automatic teller machine (ATM), and the use of credit cards as a new method of payment in many shopping outlets in

Indonesia. The crowds of people in some MacDonalds or Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) outlets also indicate the shifting of food consumption habits of people.

The emergence of vast private commercial conglomerates certainly has created employment opportunities, which it is argued have encouraged the growth of new urban middle class Indonesia. To most analysts it was obvious that most of them had a high-level political connection with the power elite in Indonesia. The connection, between these private actors and the state apparatus, became noticeable in the last New Order era under Soeharto's power. It cannot be denied that this New Order regime delivered increased prosperity to many levels of society, though there was still a large disparity of income and living standard between the rich and the poor. Indeed, the wealthy have always gained more than the poor. As Cribb and Brown (1995, p.51) argue "The Indonesian middle class is very much the beneficiary of the New Order state: its members have reaped the rewards of the economic development and relative political stability Indonesia has enjoyed since the early 1970s". Supporting this view, Robison (1996, p. 81) points out that the state has nurtured the middle classes and the bourgeoisie in Indonesia. These people have been dependent upon the government for job vacancies, careers, and more extensively, as the motor of national economic growth.

The emerging of a new middle class Indonesia is variously viewed as a measure of economic success or as a symbol of globalisation, and as an indicator of the wealth disparities in Indonesia. They are identified as people who have an occupation such as executive manager, lawyer, university lecturer, mid-level civil servant, and engineer. In

1970, the percentage of people who have an occupation in professional, managerial and clerical jobs, was less than six per cent, while in 1990 the percentage increased to 8.8 per cent (Hill, 1994, p. 149). They are mostly people from middle classes. When economic stability condition in Indonesia occurred before the late 1997, working in the private sectors was more attractive than working as a civil servant, especially for those people in this social stratum.

In addition, the number of women at work increased between 1970 to 1990. Hill (1994) identifies four influential factors, which support this phenomenon, such as the trend in marital status, fertility, education, and economic conditions of the family which demand women to work outside the home. Hill states that such factors as the increasing ages at marriage and the downward trend in fertility have contributed to the growth of women in employment. The chance of single women to be occupied in the work force is higher than the chance of married women and for women who do not have a children of pre-school age (p. 153). However, for many Indonesian women marriage, childbearing and education are considered as influential factors in making a decision when taking a suitable job.

Responding to the growth of new middle class the management of *Femina*, for example, applied particular conditions in recruiting its employees. Only people from an upper middle class background can be employed in this magazine. The principle behind this was that the background of family is considered by the management as a decisive factor in influencing the taste of the editor in arranging the magazine's appearances (*Tempo*,

1987, p.29). In other words, this is a reflection of how the middle classes in Indonesia have recognised themselves as distinct to other social classes in society. They feel more comfortable having social interaction with people in the same social level. The management also claims that they cannot provide the reading material for the lower classes without being familiar with their social condition.

Femina conducted a poll of its reader in 1996. From this emerges an understanding of the characteristics of urban middle class readers at the time. As identified by the magazine, urban middle class women in Indonesia are dominated by young women below thirty years of age and married. It has reflected a new trend among young middle class women who get married young between in twenty-two and thirty years of age. Another picture of middle class women that emerges is that more and more women are now occupied in occupational fields outside the home. They work as professionals, as managers, and in many clerical jobs. More than sixty per cent of them work in the high-density business areas in Jakarta and the rest were entrepreneurs who run their own small business.

There is also an indication that both mature women in the thirty-two to forty-six age range and young women in the twenty-one to thirty-one age range have viewed working outside home as for developing their career. Having a job becomes their intention after gaining a particular skill or knowledge, and having a higher education (diploma or university education) is now the concern of many urban middle class people. Whereas only few women consider that looking for a job outside the home is due to economic demand or for supporting the family income. In other words, working outside the home is

viewed mostly by urban middle class women as a form of self-actualisation. In the matter of income, the average income of urban middle class women in 1996 was 750,000 rupiahs per month and over, or AUD\$ 535 (in 1996, AUD\$ 1= 1,400 rupiahs). This contrasts with the situation in 1992 in which the average of income was between 100,000 rupiahs and 500,000 rupiahs. More than fifty per cent of them spend their weekend going out rather than just staying at home.

However, the financial crisis of late 1997 led to the decline of living standards, and to social unrest. When the Indonesian Rupiah lost more than eighty per cent of its value against the US dollar, the impact was felt everywhere. The situation was getting worse when some goods (known in Indonesia as *sembako* an acronym of *sembilan bahan pokok* [nine basic food items] such as rice, sugar, cooking oil, flour, kerosene, salted fish, salt, noodle) disappeared or became unaffordable for most of the people in the country. As a consequence, people were forced to change their lifestyle to conditions different to those before the economic turmoil. The rising prices and declining purchasing power were causing problems for all levels of society, from housewife to the large business concerns in Indonesia. Many mothers could not afford to buy milk for their children. People were forced to queue to get a lower standard cooking oil and rice. The incidence of poverty was expanding.

At the same time, employment opportunities have decreased, and the consequence is obvious in the rising numbers of workers being laid off or unemployed. This situation has

affected to the consumption habits both middle and lower classes. The consumption of luxury items and overseas travel of middle class people, for example, have been reduced.

The economic crisis in Indonesia cannot be separated from the situation of women, especially for the lower class. In Indonesia, the problems of the household are still identified as a problem of women. Women are considered to hold the responsibility for the household budget. Women are the first to feel the crisis which has troubled the household economy. All these phenomena are significant here because the numbers of consumers of print media, including women's magazines, declined dramatically in late 1997 and this trend has continued.

Socio-economic Condition of the Women's Magazines Industry, 1990-1998

In the case of the print media industry, including women's magazines, the economic crisis caused much disruption. The crisis, which began in late 1997, affected the magazine industry with some publications closed down, while others appear in a slimmer format. In the case of magazines, some are changing their circulation period from weekly to fortnightly or monthly. For example, *Femina* became slimmer than before and the number of advertising pages was reduced by about twenty per cent. From 128 total pages of the magazine, advertising pages now occupied twenty-eight pages. On the other hand, *Kartini* not only reduced the number of pages, but also changed its circulation period from fortnightly to every ten days, before it was ceased publication in May 1998.

The women's magazine industry flourished in the 1980s. There were more than ten publications which claimed to be women's magazines. A climb in circulation of the magazines from 1987 was followed by a proportional climb in advertising revenue, which continued through the 1990s. However, the arrival of the private television broadcasting era in Indonesia in early 1990 disturbed the economic condition of the print media industry, especially in terms of advertising revenue.

Table 3.1
Advertising Expenditure 15 Leading Magazines 1991-1995

No.	Magazines	1991		1992		1993		1994		1995	
		Total*	%**	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
1.	Femina	10.4	12.5	11.9	13.8	14.6	15.0	20.0	17.0	27.6	18.4
2.	Kartini	8.6	10.4	7.7	9.0	8.5	8.6	10.0	8.2	12.8	8.6
3.	Nova	2.5	3.0	2.4	2.7	4.6	4.7	7.4	6.1	9.9	6.6
4.	Bola	2.4	2.9	2.3	2.6	2.8	2.9	4.2	3.5	5.0	3.3
5.	Wartek	0.8	1.0	2.2	2.6	2.7	2.7	4.1	3.4	5.0	3.3
6.	Gadis	2.7	3.3	3.6	4.2	4.0	4.1	4.1	3.4	4.7	3.2
7.	Matra	2.2	2.7	2.5	2.9	2.6	2.7	3.9	3.2	4.9	3.3
8.	Swa	2.0	2.4	1.9	2.2	2.5	2.6	3.7	3.0	5.0	3.4
9.	Ind. Business	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3.3	2.7	0	0.0
10.	Dewi	0	0.0	0.8	1.0	1.5	1.6	3.1	2.6	4.2	2.8
11.	Eksekutif	1.6	1.9	1.8	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.9	2.4	4.0	2.7
12.	Sarinah	3.8	4.6	2.3	2.6	2.0	2.0	2.3	1.9	3.4	2.3
13.	Otomotif	0	0.0	0.8	0.9	2.0	2.1	2.7	2.2	3.3	2.2
14.	W.Indonesia	0	0.0	0.9	1.0	1.4	1.4	2.5	2.1	2.9	1.9
15.	Forum Keadilan	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2.6	2.2	0	0.0
16.	Others	45.7	55.3	45.1	52.4	46.4	47.4	44.2	36.1	56.9	38.0
TOTAL		82.7	100	86.2	100	97.7	100	121.7	100	149.6	100

Source: PT. Surindo Utama (PPPI, *Media Scene*, 1994-1995)

*Total advertising revenues in thousand Rupiah

**Percentage from the total revenues of all media for the year

The advertising revenue of women's magazines had shown a massive upward trend in the 1990s, though the situation was chaotic for some publications. Three women's magazines dominated advertising expenditure among the magazine publications from 1991 to 1996

(see table 3.1). It seems that women's magazines were seen as the potential media for the marketers to place their promotions, especially for consumer products like foods, beauty products, and household implements. Almost thirty-five per cent of the total magazine pages were applied to advertising purposes. *Femina* experienced an upward trend in its advertising revenue from 1991 to 1995. Similar to *Femina*, other women's magazines, except *Sarinah*, (*Sarinah* was closed down in 1996, because of the management conflict and financial problems) displayed healthy advertising revenues. However, the situation changed when the monetary crisis disrupted the current economic situation in Indonesia.

The Conflict: how the conflict in *Kartini* had encouraged the rising numbers of women's magazines

The history of *Kartini*, especially on the orientation of the founders in 1974 is an important in discussing Indonesian women's magazines. The conflict of interest among the founders, also played a key role in operating the magazine during its operation, and the conflict became more complex when a particular political elite became involved in the management of *Kartini*. Furthermore, I also examine how this sort of political economic conflict encouraged the arrival of women's publications to create a more competitive atmosphere during the 1980s.

The success of *Femina* inspired Lukman Umar, who used to be a distribution agent for *Femina*, to establish a new women's magazine, called *Kartini*, in November 1974. *Kartini* aimed at a more popular readership than *Femina*, and managed to secure a wider base of readers. This magazine was positioned as a family magazine, and it intended to capture women readers of all classes. *Kartini* was published by the foundation "Yayasan

Pratama Sari" (Pratama Sari Foundation) under the management of PT. *Variasi Jaya*¹. This magazine originally had few full colour pages, but it changed to the glossy full colour format in 1997. According to Dhakidae (1991, p. 416), in the 1980s the business performance of *Kartini* was spectacular. In more than two decades its circulation reached the top position among Indonesian women's magazines. This journal consequently gained the largest income from advertising.

Despite its economic success *Kartini* remained a problematic medium for several reasons. The major problem started from a fundamental conflict between the editorial staff and the company shareholders. In a number of cases editorial staff had taken decisions that contradicted the policy dictated by the owner. Conflict began when the female managing editor, Titie Said, resigned from the magazine management. She was recognised as the 'motor' of *Kartini* for several years, because she made a great contribution to developing the magazine, especially between 1974 and 1980 (*Tempo*, 1980). She was the person who designed and organised almost the whole content of magazine. She was a popular female writer in Indonesia since the 1970s, and had produced some popular novels and other fiction. Titie resigned from her position as the managing editor because of a conflict with the director (Lukman Umar) who interfered with editorial policy in a number of occasions (*Tempo*, 1980). Actually, the conflict between the director and the managing editor was not only a conflict over editorial policies in which the owner intervened into a journalistic work, but also it was a conflict over capital sharing. Management promised

¹ The management of *Pratama Sari* Foundation was: Chairman: Lukman Umar; Vice Chairman: Bram Tuapattinaya; Secretary: Lies Said; Vice Secretary: Mohammad Ashuri; Treasurer: Lukman Umar; Members: Surtaji Tirtosunyoto, Joko Prihatin, Ida Baiduri (Dhakidae, 1991, p. 415). The magazine editor was under PT. *Variasi Jaya*; Director: Lukman Umar; Vice Director: Willy Risakotta; Chief Editor: Bram Tuapattinaya; Managing Editor: Titie Said (Djunaedi, 1995, p. 84)

that shares would be distributed according to an individual's contributions to the magazine, but this had never happened. This situation encouraged the managing editor, Titie, to complain about it to the shareholders, which in turn caused the conflict between Lukman and Titie.

Since the resignation of Titie Said, *Kartini* experienced deep internal conflict over the capital distribution among the shareholders. In October 1981 there was an agreement that the management and the marketing of *Kartini* were transferred from *Pratama Sari* foundation to PT. *Variasi Jaya* (Dhakidae, 1991, p. 418). After the resignation of Titie Said, in March 1982 Lukman Umar was dismissed as the director of *Kartini* by the members² of *Pratama Sari* Foundation, because they found that there was financial mismanagement in the company. Lukman Umar, as the director, was suspected to have taken advantage of the company's revenues for his private use. One of the board members of the foundation, who was also the member of PT. *Variasi Jaya*, Willy Rissakotta, announced through advertising in newspapers that Lukman Umar was a non-active member of PT. *Variasi Jaya* (*Tempo*, 1982).

Lukman protested against this decision and brought a case to the Jakarta lawcourts. While he was waiting for the judge's decision, he founded a new glossy women's magazine, called *Sarinah*, in September 1982. He also succeeded in that effort as the magazine claimed to print over in 120,000 copies only one year after its first edition. *Sarinah* then

² They were known as *Kelompok Tujuh* (the Group of Seven) which consists of Willy Risakotta, Tom D.B.P Goeltom, Djoko Prihatin, Mohammad Ashuri, Surtadji Tr BA, Bram Tuapattinaya, and Karnael Oemar Purba (*Tempo*, 31 July 1982, p. 55).

became the potential rival for *Femina* and *Kartini*. In mid 1983, Lukman finally won the case against Willy Risakotta and other people of *Pratama Sari* foundation. Based on the decision of the Law Court, Lukman Umar organised a new management to establish his *Kartini*, and ordered Willy Rissakotta and his fellow workers to stop publishing their of version *Kartini*. In October 1985, Lukman had the "opposing *Kartini*" (*Kartini tandingan*³), as the contender of the former *Kartini*, which was still published by Willy Rissakotta and his colleagues. As a result, there were two women's magazines which were called *Kartini* in 1985.

The following year, Lukman Umar was faced with another difficult situation. The Department of Information was angry with him, and Lukman had to wait for the Supreme Court's process on the review before publishing his new magazine (Dhakidae, 1991, p.422). Consequently, Lukman's *Kartini* was banned by the government in 1985⁴. Another Lukman magazine, *Sarinah*, was also temporarily banned at the same time. The Department of Information argued that the publisher of *Sarinah* (*Koperasi Karyawan Press Adijaya*) made a private or illegal contract with the shareholder, that is, Lukman Umar. *Sarinah*⁵ was published by using the publishing permit (SIT Surat Tanda Terbit)

³ The opposing *Kartini* used the publishing permit and the name of publisher of *Pratama Sari* foundation with the following management: Chairman/Director: Lukman Umar and Chief Editor: Bram Tuapattinaya; while the editorial staff were Lukman and Bram. This duel between Lukman and Bram was continued until the last edition of *Kartini* in May 1998.

⁴ It was banned by the letter of decision of the Minister of Information No. 07/SK/Ditjen PPG/1985.

⁵ The publisher of *Sarinah* was a labour cooperative named "*Koperasi Karyawan Pers Adijaya*". In the letter of agreement, there was a statement of the distribution of capital shares. The cooperative had 30per cent of shares, Lukman had 50per cent, and the rest 20per cent was agreed for the employ benefits fund including the journalists. When it was published in 1982, *Sarinah* had to cite the sign: "*Sarinah d/h (dahulu) Cerdas*" (*Sarinah* formerly *Cerdas*). This is the agreement between the Department of Information and the publisher; and it was stated on the letter of decision of the Directorate General of Press and Graphics No. 732/Ditjen PPG/K/82 dated 19 July 1982. It was about the changes of name and the format of *Cerdas* weekly newspaper to *Sarinah* women's magazine (Djunaedi, 1995).

of *Cerdas* a weekly paper for children, which could not continue to operate (Djunaedi, 1995).

Ironically, in early 1986, the Department of Information gave the Press Publication Operation Permit (SIUPP) No. 026/SK/Menpen/SIUPP/D.2/1986 to the previous managing director of *Sarinah*, Soegiarso Socrojo and the chief editor Susilo Murti, and not to Lukman Umar. The Department also issued two licenses or SIUPP for Willy Risakotta to publish two women's magazines, which were called *Pertiwi* and *Suasana*. This policy contradicted the regulation of the Minister of Information number 01/1984 chapter II article 5:2, which stated that each press publisher could not obtain two licenses or SIUPP, unless they published magazines with completely different characters.

Finally, in early 1986 there was an agreement, which was made outside the Court, between Lukman Umar, *Pratama Sari* foundation, and the Department of Information. Lukman regained his publication permit⁶, while his opponents (Willy Rissakotta and his friends) received all the assets of *Kartini*. This meant that, on the one hand, Lukman Umar came to have nothing, except the license. On the other hand, Willy Rissakotta and his colleagues used those assets to set up their two women's magazines. Lukman then made a gentlemen's agreement with the Department of Information in which Harmoko – the former Minister of Information— was on the board of advisors (up until the last edition) of *Kartini*.

⁶ SIUPP No. 177/SK/Menpen/SIUPP/D2/1986, dated 17 May 1986. The publisher of new *Kartini* is PT. Sarana Bakti Semesta. Since then, in each edition of *Kartini* there is a statement that said "*Kartini* magazine was published 10 November 1974, Founders: Drs. Lukman Umar-Bram Tuapattinaya" (Djunaedi, 1995).

The conflict in *Kartini* revealed deep pressure in the social fabric of the New Order government. The pressure represented the state's interest, through the Department of Information, intervening in the women's magazine industry. In reality, this pressure represented the private interest of the former Minister of Information, Harmoko, in order to have a capital share in this women's publication because it was profitable. Thus, the reason was more economic than political, although to a lesser extent there was a political interest of both parties.

On the one side, both Lukman Umar and Bram Tuapattinaya (Lukman's business partner) seemed to want to have easy access to the political arena; on the other hand, by having a capital share, the Minister would also have his control to the magazine. The proof became obvious, when Harmoko was appointed to be the chief of the government party (GOLKAR), and these two people (Lukman and Bram) became members in this party. Since 1997 both Lukman and Bram have been appointed Members of Parliament (MPR), as representative members from the *Golkar* party. The involvement of these two important people of *Kartini* in the political system, directly influenced the policy of the magazine's editorial. Detail on the content analysis of *Kartini* will be discussed later in chapter 4.

Unfortunately, when the monetary crisis of 1997, has affected other publications which collapsed like *Kartini* because they could not stand the economic turmoil. As a result, in May 1998 *Kartini* stopped publishing. According to one of *Kartini*'s staff (interview with

Rindang, September 1998), the magazine could not continue operating because the paper price and the printing process costs were rising, and also because of a conflict between Lukman and Bram Tuapattinaya which still continued. The company could not to pay its employees either because of the financial problem. It was said that some of *Kartini's* assets, such as, the printing machines and the building were auctioned in order to pay the severance pay of the employees who were laid off. Moreover, it was rumoured that Lukman Umar had a plan to establish *Kartini* again (but not in cooperation with Bram Tuapattinaya) in his own building by the end of 1998. Unfortunately, Lukman Umar died after an illness of several months.

The Construction of Readership

Basically, while general economic matters are clearly important, the financial ability of a magazine depends on its ability to construct the sort of readership that attracts the right type of profitable advertising. To capture as many readers as possible, every magazine has to fight and compete with other publications, to survive in the market. The management has a distinctive strategy to promote its magazine to specific segment markets. By publishing the everyday life and special events or ceremonies of the presidential family, for example, was one of the attempts of a magazine to attract not only readers, but also the power elite. The profit that will be gained by the magazine was not only the economical profit, but also a sort of political profit, so that the magazine could continue to operate.

From 1996 up to the middle of 1998 there were four glossy women's magazines and two news weekly tabloids for women still operating in Indonesia. In 1996, *Sarinah* one of the glossy magazines stopped publishing due to financial trouble and management conflict. At the end 1997 a new glossy women's magazine, called *Higina Kosmopolitan* which belongs to a transnational women's magazine *Cosmopolitan*, stable was launched. The competitive atmosphere among the tabloid publications was extended when another new weekly tabloid for women, called *Aura*, was established in 1996.

In reality, the women's magazine publishers are also faced with the socio-economic condition similar to those of many Indonesian readers. They cannot expect much from the readers, if they do not have a smart strategy to capture a specific segment of the readers like *Femina* does, for example, which intended to capture the audience from upper middle class from the beginning of its operation. Some women's magazines did not capture a specific target audience and changed their approach to provide more popular articles than those focusing on woman and women's matters like the format of *Femina* and *Dewi* magazines. As a result, those women's magazines which tried not to provide only the woman's specific articles shifted their position from being women's magazines to being magazines for the family. This format was also created as a strategy to resist in the era of press competition in Indonesia. Unfortunately, the changing economic conditions mean that many of their publications had no longer exist.

However, some investors became aware of the situation in which the reader of a glossy magazine could not afford to buy this reading material due to the expensive price. In

order to encourage the magazine industry to come alive, a new tabloid format for women readers was first introduced in 1988. This type of publication had been anticipated as the breakthrough of the women's press and as a counter to the glossy magazines. The glossy magazines, such as *Kartini*, *Femina*, and *Dewi*, for example, have been viewed as elitist reading for many Indonesian women. The reasons are not only because of the magazine prices are unaffordable, but also because the content of the magazines is considered as too glamour and too Westernised in style.

The problem of magazines' prices stimulated Sjamsudin Lubis to create a new format for women's tabloid publication. The new weekly tabloid for women then was first introduced by *Nova*, which was published in 1988 by *Selecta* group. Formerly *Nova* was a glossy women's magazine, but was less in demand. According to Sjamsudin (*Tempo*, 1988), the director of *Selecta* group, *Nova* glossy magazine had a financial loss for the seven years since its first edition. The idea to publish *Nova* in tabloid format was inspired by a Malaysian publication called *Malaysian Post*, which was a news weekly tabloid with a cheap price (*Tempo*, 1988). Sjamsudin later joined his business with Jacob Oetama from *Kompas-Gramedia* group, in order to continue the survival of *Nova*, especially in case of financial problems. The assistance of *Kompas-Gramedia* group for *Nova* tabloid was not only in terms of capital injections, but also in supporting the distribution of *Nova* throughout Indonesia. Since then the demand of *Nova* tabloid has increased.

The economic success of *Nova* has been viewed as a challenge to the more established glossy magazines. Despite the price (400 rupiahs in 1988), *Nova* is positioned for lower

middle class readership. As Evie Fadjari, the former managing editor of *Nova*, claimed, the readers of *Nova* are mothers with two children, they are from the lower middle class, who live in modern but high density housing complexes⁷ (Djunaedi, 1995), in the age range of 20 to 40s. They have a baby and/or children under seventeen years old. These women could be a housewife (*Ibu rumah tangga murni*) and or a working woman, and they have a minimal monthly home loan installment (*Nova*, 1997). Nevertheless, *Nova* is also read by university students and upper middle class women too. Celebrities' lives, profiles of some popular government officials, home and room arrangements, and some articles behind the news stories, are the kinds of articles in *Nova* which attract the readers. When the youngest of former President Soeharto's sons, Tommy Soeharto, married in 1996, it was rumoured that extra copies of the tabloid were printed due to demand from the readers. In only twenty-four hours the tabloid was out of stock. *Nova* covered this moment serially in three editions for three weeks continuously from the preparation of marriage until the big event of the "Javanese King's" ceremony.

This coverage may be seen as a sort of political economy strategy in forming readerships. The demand from readers is evidence that the issues concerning the presidential family always attracted the reader, especially from the lower middle class. As a consequence, the magazine gained more economic profits from the market. On the other hand, politically, the operation of this magazine is considered to be "safe", because the content of reportage was supposed to give an interesting view of the power elite.

7. It is known as '*perumahan BTN*', the housing complexes that are intended for the lower middle class in urban city. The creditors, usually civil servants, buy the house by taking a home loan, which is provided by one of the government banks called BTN (*Bank Tabungan Negara*)

According to the data from Indonesian Advertising Association (PPPI), in terms of media penetration, *Nova* has the largest readership of any magazine in six major cities (Jakarta, Medan, Bandung, Ujung Pandang, Semarang, and Surabaya). The penetration of this tabloid shows a tremendous figure from 1993 to 1997. In 1993 the percentage of people who read *Nova* was only eight per cent, then in 1997 the percentage increased gradually to fifteen per cent (see table 3.2). It means that until the year 1997 *Nova* was read by fifteen per cent of adult people in six major cities in Indonesia. The reason is not only because of its cheaper price, but also the way of this tabloid covers the current affair.

Nova is published to provide reading material for women. The content is designed to look like the glossy magazines, but at a cheaper price (Interviewed with one of senior editor of *Nova*, September 1998). For instance, like other women's magazines, *Nova* has provided its reader with fashion, beauty care, dietary and culinary articles. It also covers the current national events such as national disasters and crimes. The format of these human-interest articles has aroused the emotion of readers, and this is a "trade mark" of *Nova*'s editorial practices. As a consequence, *Nova* claims to be not a women's tabloid, but a news-weekly tabloid for women, with its slogan: "*Siapa bilang wanita tak butuh berita*" (who says women do not need the news).

Table 3.2

Media Penetration Leading Magazines in Six Cities (Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya, Medan, Ujung Pandang), all adult, 1993-1998

No	Population (15+)#	1993		1994		1995		1996		1997	
		12,284 (million)		12,727 (million)		12,930 (million)		13,394 (million)		13,736 (million)	
	MEDIA	,000*	%**	,000	%	,000	%	,000	%	,000	%
1.	Nova (weekly)	981	8.0	970	7.6	1,625	12.6	2,128	15.9	2,058	15.0
2.	Bola (weekly)	793	6.5	945	7.4	1,150	8.9	1,310	9.8	1,227	8.9
3.	Gema Olah Raga (twice/week)	N/a	0.0	n/a	0.0	382	3.0	842	6.3	1,215	8.8
4.	Bintang (weekly)	589	4.8	660	5.2	1,072	8.3	1,205	9.0	1,165	8.5
5.	Femina (weekly)	723	5.9	630	5.0	753	5.8	917	6.8	752	5.5
6.	AnekaRia (fortnightly)	367	3.0	273	2.1	525	4.1	641	4.8	621	4.5
7.	Citra (weekly)	382	3.1	405	3.2	689	5.3	840	6.3	610	4.4
8.	Gadis (10 daily)	721	5.9	600	4.7	713	5.5	771	5.8	609	4.4
9.	Kartini (10 daily)	1,045	8.5	627	4.9	726	5.6	700	5.2	605	4.4
10.	Inti Jaya (twice/week)	n/a	0.0	16	0.1	11	0.1	35	0.3	561	4.1
11.	Gatra (weekly)	n/a	0.0	n/a	0.0	370	2.9	622	4.6	554	4.0
12.	Otomotif (weekly)	262	2.1	347	2.7	374	2.9	509	3.8	506	3.7
13.	Intisari (monthly)	665	5.4	474	3.7	478	3.7	567	4.2	505	3.7
14.	Wanita Indonesia (weekly)	597	4.9	450	3.5	536	4.1	529	3.9	442	3.2
15.	Mode Indonesia (fortnightly)	456	3.7	332	2.6	409	3.2	410	3.1	276	2.0

Source: SRI Media Index (PPPI, Media Scene, 1997/1998)

*Number of circulation in thousand

**Percentage of the total circulation

#Numbers of population over fifteen years old in these six cities

The success of the women's tabloid attracted the attention of the presidential family (Soeharto). In 1989 Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana (known as Tutut Soeharto), established a weekly tabloid for women called *Wanita Indonesia*, which not only provided articles for women, but also devoted articles to her television station TPI's (*Televisi Pendidikan Indonesia*) programs. It was claimed that the circulation of *Wanita Indonesia* was around 240,000 (USIS, 1992 cited in Hill, 1995, p.101). In fact, according to the data of media

penetration from PPPI, *Wanita Indonesia* was popular only in cities outside Java, like in Medan (North Sumatra) and Ujung Pandang (South Sulawesi). In 1993, for example, the tabloid was read by 141,000 individuals or 20.5 per cent of the total population in Ujung Pandang. While in Medan, *Wanita Indonesia* was read by 82,000 individuals (see table 3.3). In addition, according to Hill (1995, p. 103), the involvement of the former President Soeharto clan in the print media business, including this tabloid, represented the move to establish themselves in the print media industry, following their success in the electronic media business. However, the coming of *Wanita Indonesia* has not become critical challenge for other women's magazines.

Kartini was the largest women's magazine read in five major cities, but it missed out the reader in Semarang both in 1993 and 1997. This means that the number of *Kartini* readers in this city were under a minimum quota (see table 3.3 Details on female readership see the appendix), compared to its precursor, *Femina*, which was read by 6.7 per cent individuals of the total population in 1993. In other words, *Femina* was more popular in Semarang than *Kartini*. Moreover, this figure also indicates that the distribution of *Femina* in Java island (Semarang is placed at the central Java) has expanded more than the distribution of *Kartini*. However, in 1993, *Kartini* was leading from *Femina* in the number of readers in metropolitan Jakarta. It was 470,000 or 7.8 per cent people who live in this city read *Kartini*, but in 1997 the situation was reversed.

Femina became the leading glossy magazine, which was bought by 6.3 per cent of the total population in Jakarta, while at the same time only 5.1 per cent bought *Kartini* as

their reading material. People who live in Jakarta became the largest market for *Femina*. The explanation here is, the coverage, the style, the people, and the background, which have coloured the magazine contents, are so "Jakarta minded". Thus, there is no doubt if the readers of *Femina* are dominated by those who live in Jakarta.

Table 3.3

Media Penetration 4 Leading Women's Magazines in Six Cities, in 1993 and 1997

Population (15+)	Jakarta	Surabaya	Bandung	Semarang	Medan	Ujung Pandang
1993	5,989 (million)	1,387 (million)	1,585 (million)	926 (million)	1,210 (million)	687 (million)
1997	6,801 (million)	2,037 (million)	1,810 (million)	1,000 (million)	1,323 (million)	765 (million)
MEDIA	,000* %	,000 %	,000 %	.000 %	,000 %	,000 %
<i>Nova</i>						
1993	382 6.4	97 5.1	218 13.8	122 13.2	96 7.9	66 9.6
1997	1,141 16.8	177 8.7	304 16.8	156 15.6	205 15.5	75 9.8
<i>Femina</i>						
1993	373 6.2	94 5.0	89 5.6	62 6.7	60 5.0	45 6.6
1997	426 6.3	90 4.4	97 5.4	50 5.0	56 4.2	33 4.3
<i>Kartini</i>						
1993	470 7.8	121 6.4	135 8.5	n/a 0.0	187 15.5	55 8.0
1997	350 5.1	65 3.2	73 4.0	n/a 0.0	71 5.4	22 2.9
<i>Wanita Ind.</i>						
1993	n/a 0.0	n/a 0.0	n/a 0.0	n/a 0.0	82 6.8	141 20.5
1997	n/a 0.0	n/a 0.0	n/a 0.0	n/a 0.0	53 4.0	50 6.5

Source: SRI MEDIA INDEX (PPPI, Media Scene, 1997/1998)

*Number of circulation

The readership situation in the 1990s is different from the situation in the 1980s. According to the data from *Swa* magazine (1988, p.21), in the late 1980s *Kartini* was in the first position both in the number of its readers and in its advertising revenue. This magazine was read by 949,000 readers, while *Kartini* gained Rps. 3,104,600 thousand income from advertising. On the other hand, *Femina* was read by 734,000 individuals in

1987. Other women's magazines such as *Sarinah* and *Pertiwi* were read by 680,000 and 310,000 individuals respectively at the same time. In addition, in terms of the advertising revenue, *Sarinah* gained 2,232,000 thousand rupiahs from January to June 1987, and it was followed by *Femina* which gained 1,885,690 thousand rupiahs. *Pertiwi* women's magazine had its income from advertising around 728,500 thousand rupiahs, and the last was *Famili* with 312,925 thousand rupiahs in its advertising expenditure.

Table 3.4

The number of Women's Magazine Reader and Advertising Revenues of Women's Magazines in 1987

MEDIA	Number of Readers 1987	Advertising Revenue Jan-Jun 1987 (in thousand rupiahs)
1. Kartini	949,000	3,104,600
2. Femina	739,000	1,885,690
3. Sarinah	680,000	2,232,000
4. Pertiwi	310,000	728,500
4. Famili	n/a	312,925

Source: SWA *Sembada* magazine, 194/85/88, April 1988

The competitive atmosphere among women's magazines started in the mid 1980s. Each magazine offered luxurious prizes to attract readers. In 1983, *Femina* launched a quiz and offered a *Mitsubishi Lancer*, and many other prizes, such as household implements and other electronic goods. By contrast, *Sarinah* offered a *Daihatsu Charade* to its readers. It was claimed at that time that, by offering these prizes, the magazine's circulation increased by ten per cent, and its advertising revenues rose by thirty-six per cent. *Femina*, however, increased only five per cent in its circulation (*Tempo*, 1983). *Kartini* continued to launch this kind of competition until 1997 in order to maintain readers.

The capital ownership of the women's magazine industry in Indonesia is, mostly, independent of Chinese corporate groups. The indigenous business groups have dominated in the women's magazine industry. These groups, as the new domestic conglomerates⁸ in the magazine business, have expanded their capital into women's magazines, because this business does not represent a crucial political risk and is not too affected by the tight press policy under the New Order government.

The idea to publish *Femina* came from Mirta Kartohadiprodjo, a daughter of Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, a famous Indonesian writer, who graduated from the English literature faculty of University of Indonesia. She was interested in publishing a women's magazine because she found that the Indonesian women's magazines before the 1970s tended to be too didactic and too stiff in providing reading material for women. Mirta and her brother, together with Widarti Gunawan, Tika Makarim, and her sister-in-law Pia Alisjahbana, established *Femina*, which aimed not to "teach" the readers, but to give a new insight to Indonesian women.

When it was published for the first time, however, many articles inside were translated from foreign magazines like *Margrit* and *Libelle*, the Dutch women's magazines (*Tempo*, 1987). In the interview, Widarti, one of the founders of *Femina*, said that when *Femina*

⁸ I call 'new domestic conglomerates' in the magazine industry because they have owned more than one publication for women. For example, PT. Grafiti Press (owned by Alisjahbana's Family the famous Indonesian writer) has *Femina* and *Dewi* women's magazines, *Sartika* health magazine (but it is intended more for women too), *Gadis* a teenage girl magazine, and *Ayahbunda* a family magazine for young parents who have a new born baby and children under 12.

arrived as the first women's magazine in Indonesia, it was in a spirit of high idealism, that is, to provide information to the female audience about the female world. As she claims, "women's magazines mean something for women by the women". Widarti continues to explain:

... We first published a women's magazine to "help" our women to cope with a difficult situation at that time [early 1970]. Working wives, like us [the founders], for example, did not know how to keep breast milk in a bottle at that time, while we were going to the office. When we asked our mothers about this, they had no idea either, because they had never been like us, working nine to five and leaving our baby with breast milk in a bottle. Finally, we found articles from overseas journals that guided us to preserve our breast milk in a bottle and keep it in the fridge. Then we [the founders] considered other working wives who never read these journals. Did they know this technique? That is why we then published *Femina*, in order to spread the information for our women (21 August 1998).

Formerly, *Femina* was a fortnightly journal, but since 1981 it has been a weekly magazine, and the content of magazine is no longer translated from foreign magazines as in its first year editions. The editors created articles applicable to the situation of women in Indonesia, especially the affluent middle class women. When *Femina* was launched for the first time with colourful pages and printed on a good quality paper, it suddenly caught the eyes of the public and became a favorite of the urban middle class readers.

However, according to Widarti, a chief editor of *Femina*, many people were suspicious of the "luxurious" performance of *Femina*. She states those people have concluded that the performance of *Femina* aroused consumerism among its reader, but Widarti has rejected all these views. She argues that all the materials used in the magazine are the same as other magazines used, but they were arranged simply to look expensive (Gunawan, 1997, p. viii). In other words, if more people prefer to read *Femina* than other journals, it is

because the format of the magazine meets the taste of urban middle class readers, not because of the matter of luxury materials.

The focus of attention of the magazine has shifted to career problems and women's specific issues. If in the 1970s *Femina* was identified as a symbol of the reading material of the exclusive upper middle class housewives, in the 1980s, it was designed to meet the practical needs of a working woman (Adiwoso, 1997, p.6). Thus, *Femina* has been becoming the trendsetter for working women who are still carrying on their career, not as a magazine for housewives.

Concluding Remarks

Although many political regulations have been produced and they have become significant obstacles for the Indonesian press industry, women's magazines have shown stability. If there was a ban placed on to women's magazines, it was only for *Kartini* and *Sarinah* in 1985. However, the reason for banning these two magazines was quite obvious, namely the personal interest of the state apparatuses who wanted to be involved in the women's magazine business because of the economic performance of this industry. As it has been shown from the tables, the business performance of women's magazines has been amazing, especially in their advertising income, compared to other publications.

The economic factor is the main reason some women's publications could not continue to operate. Lack of capital and falling demand in the market have become the crucial reason for ceasing to publish. Moreover, the potential income from advertising has diminished

could no longer be relied upon in order to survive, especially in the era of competition. Internal conflict among the management staffs had also led to the closing down of some women's magazines.

The result of the conflict in *Kartini* in the 1980s had been challenging the numbers of contemporary women's magazines to be established. For example, the conflict between the female managing editor of *Kartini*, Titie Said, and Lukman Umar encouraged Titie to establish a new glossy magazine for women, called *Famili*, in 1981. Another example, in 1982 when Lukman Umar clashed with Willy Rissakotta and other members of Pratama Sari foundation, he then founded *Sarinah* women's magazine, which aimed to compete with *Femina* and *Kartini* against Willy Risakotta and his friends. These conflicts in *Kartini* magazine were said to be the most time-consuming conflict in the history of the Indonesian press in the mid 1980s.

CHAPTER FOUR

Editorial Texts: The Construction of a Particular Version of the Modern Indonesian Women in Contemporary Women's Magazines between 1992 and 1998

Both *Femina* and *Kartini* have described themselves as women's magazines which use different approaches to capture the audience. *Femina* describes itself as the only women's magazine which tries to focus on issues involving women and femininity. On the other hand, *Kartini*, which is considered as a women's magazine for the housewife, tends to focus more on popular issues and family matters than on women and femininity. This chapter focuses on the analyses of *Femina* and *Kartini* content between 1992 and 1998. The analysis is limited only to selected editorial articles. The discussion of the magazine content is linked to the discussion of modernity and social relationship embedded in the representation of women in media and the social phenomenon of urban middle class women. Moreover, this study intends to show that the image of women constructed by these magazines is not only a particular image but it also a partial one. This image is an elite Javanese image.

I focus my analysis on the situation of the women's magazines in the 1990s, specifically from 1992 to 1998 for several reasons. Firstly, the emergence of the new middle class parallels the massive trend in the shifting lifestyle of urban middle classes from the beginning of 1990. In relation to the increasing of the magazines' circulation in the 1990s, it was one of consequences on the expansion of a wider commodity market, primarily that of domestic goods and to a lesser extent fashion and beauty items. This

situation was significant with a boom in advertising revenues of women's magazines in the 1990s.

Secondly, following a global economy, in the 1990s the numbers of working women in Indonesia show an upward movement, especially in Jakarta. Many women have been called out of their homes into the workplaces. According to the data from the Indonesian Statistical Bureau (1993), in 1992 there were 4.88 per cent of working women employed in professional, administrative and managerial positions, and these women have been identified as working middle class women. They are mostly from middle class backgrounds and graduates from tertiary education institutions. In responding to this phenomenon, some women's magazines have changed their target audience from the housewife to working woman, *Femina* exemplifies this trend.

Lastly, the recent economic turmoil has affected Indonesia profoundly. The monetary crisis has caused social problems, especially when the Indonesian Rupiah lost about eighty per cent of its value compared to the US dollar. The situation became chaotic when in May 1998 the political situation also changed dramatically, especially after the resignation of President Soeharto, with the student movement and the people rioting and looting in some business districts. In a period of transition, the economic crisis has worsened the suffering of the people, especially when numerous basic goods disappeared from the market, and many workers were laid off. Automatically the purchasing power of people became weak because of this prices suddenly doubled.

Seventy editions of *Femina* and sixty editions of *Kartini* period between 1992 and 1998 have been selected randomly for analysis. As *Kartini* closed down in April 1998, there were only eight editions of this journal published in the year 1998, and none of these eight editions was selected for analysis of this study, due to a change in the editorial format in 1998 editions from a detailed examination of issues to a simple pictorial representation with a heading. Thus, the total number of samples is 130 magazines. The published editorial articles have been selected by considering the relevance of the issue or topic to the main focus of this study.

The editorial content of each magazine is examined in order to understand the magazines' views or opinions toward the position of women in Indonesian society. This is the most important part of this study. In order to understand how the magazines construct a particular image of modern women in contemporary Indonesia, this study analyses the journals according to methodological principles discussed below. As in newspapers, it is traditionally the editorial in magazine which is identified as representing the voice of the editor. It makes a public statement about where the magazine stands on certain issues and about its style in addressing or creating a relationship with the reader. As van Dijk (1998, p. 20) points out an editorial in the media generally is supposed to be the expression of the opinion of media. This opinion is viewed as indicating the ideology of journalist, and this ideology will influence the discursive structures of the opinion articles like editorials. Van Dijk states "at one level of analysis, opinions and ideologies involve beliefs or mental representations, ... On the other hand, the ideologies and opinions of newspapers are usually not personal, but *social, institutional or political*" (p.20).

Sometimes the magazine editorial, especially in *Femina*, discusses several topics, but this thesis only considers the dominant issue, which is emphasised as much by the editor as by other factors. The topics of editorials are categorised into ten themes: gender matters; women and marriage; women and career; household problems; women and their social contribution; women's rights; abuses of women; women, health, dietary and social illness issues; social, politic, and economic issues; and others (see appendix for detail). The analysis of *Femina*'s editorials is placed in the first section, then followed by the analysis of *Kartini*'s editorials in another section of this chapter.

The transformation in *Femina* since 1992 represents a movement toward greater equality of women in society. Women demanded equal rights with men. *Femina* focused its attention more on gender matters than other issues in 1993 and 1994, as the following editorial shows¹:

Since it was published in the last twenty years, *Femina* magazine always tries to meet the readers' needs. When formerly we concentrated on the domestic sector, it was because women were providing support at home at that time. Seemingly, women thought that the support at home must be strong first, so that her husband could concentrate on his career. The articles in *Femina* are the useful references. Meanwhile, a shifting attention from the domestic matters and the entering of women into occupational fields has encouraged side effects, which need to be scrutinised in detail. The pattern of household arrangements and the values in the family has changed. Traditional role distribution between husband and wife is now becoming a responsibility of both. A wife then becomes a real partner for her husband. Unfortunately, not all the people are aware of this shift of value. ... Many husbands feel that their positions are 'threatened', and many wives also still are confused in this situation. ... (Editorial *Femina*, 20-26 February 1992)

Sejak terbit 20 tahun yang lalu, majalah Femina selalu mencoba memenuhi kebutuhan para pembaca. Bila pada awalnya kami lebih mementingkan sektor domestik, ini adalah karena wanita sedang menyiapkan 'garis belakang'. Rupanya wanita pada waktu itu berkiat agar suami bisa tenang meniti karier, garis belakang harus kuat dulu. Tulisan-tulisan dalam Femina merupakan panutan yang bermanfaat. Namun bergesernya perhatian dari hal-hal domestik dan masuknya wanita ke lapangan kerja, telah menimbulkan akibat-akibat sampingan yang perlu dikaji lebih dalam. Pola pengaturan rumah tangga dan nilai-nilai dalam keluarga menjadi berubah. Pembagian tugas tradisional antara suami-istri menjadi tanggung jawab berdua. Istri pun menjadi partner sejati. Sayangnya, tidak semua orang menyadari pergeseran nilai ini. ... Banyak suami yang merasa 'terancam' kedudukannya dan tidak sedikit pula istri yang bingung. ...

The opinions expressed here show how *Femina* has shifted its focus and concentrates on the transition between the role of working woman and the new role of housewife, and where this may cause problems in the relationship with a husband. The more women work outside the home the more this allegedly interrupts the institution of marriage,

¹ All the translations are my own

especially in terms of role distribution between husband and wife. The traditional pattern and value in the family has changed. *Femina* seems to support this shifting pattern in the household when the editor states “unfortunately, not all the people are aware this shift of value... Many husbands feel that their position is ‘threatened’...”.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, there has also been a shift in terms of women’s emancipation in contemporary Indonesia. Working outside the home is seen as a challenge for women giving them freedom, and the equal rights and a greater chance to take an active part in the work force. As *Femina* observes;

Every year [we get] a greater feeling of the spirit atmosphere of our women at work and developing their career. In the big cities, especially in Jakarta, many of them become ‘workaholics’. It can be predicted that they are the women who have succeeded in their careers. There is a manager, an entrepreneur, a lawyer, an executive secretary, an actress, ... Yes, whatever occupations – which are usually dominated by men – now it can be entered by women, as long as, individually, she is able to do that, as a mechanic, a pilot, a sailor? The evidence is there about the women who have succeeded in these occupational fields. We are lucky that we never lived in the last century. We do not need to be R.A. Kartini, who had a spirit and intelligence, but could only dream to realise her ideals, ... with her smooth way she fought to encourage women to become like us now... (Editorial *Femina*, 23-29 April 1992)

Kian tahun kian terasa semangat para wanita kita dalam bekerja dan mengembangkan karier. Di kota-kota besar, khususnya Jakarta, bahkan tidak sedikit yang ‘gila kerja’. Bisa diterka, mereka adalah para wanita yang sukses dalam karier masing-masing. Ada manajer, pengusaha, pengacara, sekretaris eksekutif, artis ... Ya, lapangan pekerjaan mana pun – yang biasa dikerjakan pria – kini bisa dimasuki kaum wanita, selama sebagai individu ia mampu melakukannya. Sebagai montir, penerbang, pelaut? Terbukti, ada wanita yang berhasil dalam bidang-bidang pekerjaan itu. Alangkah beruntungnya kita tidak hidup di abad lalu. Kita tak perlu menjadi R.A. Kartini² yang memiliki semangat dan kecerdasan, namun hanya dapat mewujudkan cita-citanya dalam impian, ... yang dengan caranya yang halus berjuang agar kaumnya bisa seperti kita sekarang ini.

² R.A. Kartini is an Indonesian feminist who struggled to gain women’s emancipation when the Dutch colony was in Indonesia in the eighteen century. She is considered as a national heroin in Indonesia, so that Indonesians celebrates Kartini’s Day on every 21st April (her birthday).

The magazine attempts to show evidence that Indonesian women are now progressing. The magazine tried to convince readers that we (the magazine and its reader) can observe a spirit of the Indonesian women who go to work to develop their career. Widarti also argues in the interview.

Since the 1980s the middle upper class women have gained the economic power [money] by themselves. More women are going out to work and earning their own money. They work nine to five for five [sometimes] six days, and they feel happier to arrange their money [than] before they got a job. Because of that, *Femina* has shifted its target segment to these women (19 August 1998).

This situation is different from the last century when the Dutch colonial system dominated in Indonesia. At that time Indonesian women were not allowed to have an education, women were isolated, staying at home and doing only domestic work. The Dutch were supported in this by traditional Javanese and Islamic males who saw the place of women purely in terms of domestic duties.

Working outside the home is now not only expected of middle class women, but also social conditions have encouraged women to have the same chances in the workplace as men. "Today working woman is not just a symptom. Economic demand and emancipation have shifted women from being a domestic human to become a public human" ("*Kini wanita bekerja bukan lagi merupakan gejala. Tuntutan ekonomi dan emansipasi telah mengubah wanita dari manusia domestik menjadi manusia publik*") (Editorial *Femina*, 7-13 July 1994).

This editorial attempts to describe reality of working women in Indonesia. The economic pressure and a more liberal atmosphere in urban areas become the reason for many Indonesian women to take an active part in the workforce. As Sen (1999, p.15) argues “As the Indonesian economy expanded, vast numbers of women joined the workforce, largely in the low-paid manufacturing sector, but also in white collar middle class professional jobs”. Although there is an alternative for Indonesian women, to consider herself as being a working woman or as being a housewife, this alternative still remains problematic for women themselves. In the following section, this thesis discusses the dichotomous position of women showing it has not yet been resolved in contemporary Indonesia.

Being a working wife or being a housewife

Career or household has always been a dilemma for many Indonesian women to choose between. On the one hand, women are given domestic responsibility. On the other hand, they are also expected to bring in additional income to support the husband's income. Women are faced with these two difficult alternatives. How *Femina* stands on this position can be seen from the editorial below.

The choice is now open for women [they are] allowed to be a career women or allowed to be a housewife. Should this choice be swallowed without compromise? Definitely not. If we choose to be a housewife but we also want to be ‘somebody’ outside the home, that is also the choice. The problem is how to do both running together without disturbing one to the other. There are two arguments which is opposite. ... The first says that it is impossible that the objective will succeed if both of these matters, marriage and career, are going along side by side. The other argues that having a family is not an obstacle to a career. On which point should we hold?... Giving birth and having a family are the instinct of every woman. And this cannot be denied, indeed. However, the experts have special strategies and

advice on how to create the happy family life which women have as an ideal when they are young (Editorial *Femina*, 13-19 May, 1993).

Pilihan kini terbuka bagi wanita, boleh menjadi wanita karier boleh menjadi ibu rumah tangga. Apakah pilihan tersebut harus bulat-bulat dicerna tanpa kompromi? Tentu saja tidak. Kalau kita memilih ingin menjadi ibu rumah tangga tapi juga ingin menjadi 'seseorang' di luar rumah, itupun adalah pilihan. Yang menjadi masalah adalah bagaimana agar keduanya bisa dijalani dengan selaras dan harmoni, tanpa mengganggu satu sama lain. Ada dua pendapat yang bertolak belakang ... yang pertama mengatakan bahwa tidaklah mungkin tujuan akan tercapai dengan baik apabila kedua hal pokok tersebut, menikah dan berkarir, berjalan seiring. Yang lain justru berpendapat bahwa berkeluarga bukan kendala untuk menjalani karir. Pada titik mana kita harus berpegang? Melahirkan dan memiliki keluarga adalah naluri wanita. Dan memang ini tidak bisa dihindarkan. Namun para ahli punya kiat-kiat khusus menyelaraskan kehidupan berkeluarga dan menggapai cita-cita masa muda.

In this case *Femina* did not show where it stands on this crucial choice for women. It is still doubtful as to whether women should follow conventional values by caring for their family and taking a responsibility in managing the household, or disobeying traditional values and just concentrating on their career. There is no clear argument by the magazine on this subject. In addition, being a mother and a working woman at the same time is not an easy role for Indonesian women to deal with, especially when it is necessary to continually switch from one to the other. A mother who works outside the home described as feeling guilty at leaving the children in the house, while she is in her office.

As the editor of *Femina* says,

*It is said that the guilty feeling of a working mother about the children who are left in the home is greater than the guilty feeling about other things. Probably, [it is] because, instinctively, a mother always wants to be close to her children, ... (Editorial *Femina*, 21-27 October 1993).*

Konon, rasa bersalah seorang ibu bekerja terhadap anak-anaknya yang ditinggalkan di rumah paling besar dibanding rasa bersalah terhadap apa pun. Barangkali karena secara naluriah ibu ingin selalu dekat dengan anaknya ...

However, *Femina* has also recognised how hard a position and a situation the role of women as a housewife in the family can be. Women are expected to fill many roles, they are supposed to be able to manage their time, not only for the household activities, but also for social activities and for their own leisure.

It is not a classic, if it is said that the task of woman is burdensome. As a wife, she is considered as the person whose has the greater responsibility for the safety of household [than husband]. If there is a conflict, usually she is the person who compromises to preserve the marriage. If there are sweet and good children, the father will claim proudly, "who the father is?" But if the children are bad and involved in a delinquency, the society claims and questions, "how's the mother?" Nevertheless, to educate the child, to 'educate the husband' and to manage the household is not always considered hard for a woman, especially if everything is going smoothly (Editorial *Femina*, 17-23 February 1994)

Bukan klise, kalau dikatakan tugas wanita berat. Sebagai istri, ia dianggap pihak yang lebih bertanggung jawab atas kesejahteraan rumah tangga. Bila ada perselisihan paham, biasanya dialah pihak yang mengangkat 'bendera putih' demi keutuhan perkawinan. Kalau anak-anak manis dan pintar, si ayah dengan bangga mengkalim, "siapa dulu dong, bapaknya?" Tapi kalau mereka nakal, apa lagi sampai terlibat kenakalan remaja, masyarakat mencibir dan mempertanyakan, "Bagaimana sih, ibunya?" Namun begitu mendidik anak, 'mendidik suami' dan mengelola rumah tangga belum tentu dianggap berat oleh seorang wanita. Terutama bila segalanya berjalan mulus-mulus saja

Expectations placed on women are really never-ending. Generally, for example, women are supposed to fill many roles such as, arranging between for the well-being of household, for social activity, and for themselves. ... (Editorial *Femina*, 2-8 September 1993).

Tuntutan terhadap wanita, sungguh bertubi-tubi. Yang paling umum misalnya wanita diharapkan mampu berperan multi, yakni mengatur waktu antara kepentingan rumah tangga, kegiatan sosial, dan dirinya sendiri. ...

In addition, women also play a significant role in national affairs by virtue of their housewifely duties. However, recently both housewife and career woman must also participate and contribute to the process of national development in Indonesia. As the editorial below states:

Our nation has been independent for fifty years. Have you ever thought what have you done to fulfill this independence? When this question is asked to a housewife, she looks shy, "I have not done anything. I wasted my time in nursing and educating my children," ... Meanwhile, a working woman answers, "How come I have the time to think of the nation. My job is really consumed my time and energy". ...These answers have given a strong indication that you have fulfilled this independence by being active, serious, and full of dedication. A housewife who educates and nurses her children, means she has taken a part in preparing the future generation that is healthy and educated. The role of the working woman is more obvious, that is, contributing ideas and being directly involved in the dynamism of economic and social development ... (Editorial *Femina*, 17 July-23 August 1995)

Lima puluh tahun sudah negara kita merdeka. Pernahkah terpikir oleh Anda, apa yang telah Anda lakukan untuk mengisi kemerdekaan ini? Ketika pertanyaan ini diajukan kepada seorang ibu rumah tangga, ia tersipu malu, "Saya tak melakukan apa-apa. Waktu saya habis untuk merawat dan mendidik anak-anak," ... Seorang wanita bekerja menjawab lain lagi, "Bagaimana mungkin saya sempat memikirkan negara. Pekerjaan saya sungguh-sungguh menyita waktu dan pikiran". ... jawaban-jawaban itu telah memberikan indikasi kuat bahwa Anda telah mengisi kemerdekaan ini dengan aktif, serius, dan penuh dedikasi. Ibu rumah tangga yang mendidik dan merawat putra-putrinya, berarti punya andil dalam menyiapkan generasi penerus yang sehat dan terdidik. Wanita bekerja lebih jelas lagi perannya, yakni menyumbangkan ide dan terjun langsung dalam dinamika pembangunan ekonomi maupun sosial. ...

The pressure placed on the women in modern Indonesia contributes to their fears. They are required to contribute to national development, to the family coffers by the husband and to their children's well being by society. This hierarchy of pressures contributes to the dilemma confronting women in Indonesia and is clearly reflected in the magazine.

The Existence of the Servant

The choice of between being a housewife or a career woman does not appear to be a critical problem for the affluent middle class, who are able to employ staff to handle

domestic work³. In other words, being busy with the career outside the home does not disturb their role as housewife, because the servant has already finished all the household chores when they return home from work.

This social situation has the supported belief within the society that it is impossible for a woman to achieve their dream of being a successful working woman and an ideal housewife without the assistance of someone else in their home. They are not seen as a superwoman, who succeeds in her career and at the same time cares for the family. The magazine has acknowledged this situation in the following editorial.

There is a saying that “behind the success of every man there is a woman”. It means that, certainly, it is impossible that success is achieved by the man himself without the support and cooperation of the wife. This is the old saying, which generally only a man who carries out the success outside the home. Today, can this saying be changed into “behind the success of every woman there is the man”, with the connotation that the man is the husband of the woman? However, probably we can also say another saying, “behind the success of career woman there is the servant”. Yes, certainly, we recognise that it is impossible the woman will succeed outside the home if there is not the assistant who has taken on her jobs in the house. In other words, we can disregard the services of servant. However, in fact, it is hard for women to recognise this thing. It is also hard for them to delegate their household works with full trust into the hands of the servant. As a result, a cooperation between ‘the Madam’ [*Nyonya*] and ‘the Servant’ [*Bibik*]⁴ often clash. It quite often happens, although having a great salary, the servant does not like to stay for along time in her Master’s home. As a consequence, the servants come and go, the household work is unorganised, and ... the success of the career woman is also delayed because her attention is divided. ... (editorial *Femina*, 24-30 June 1993)

Ada pemeo yang berbunyi, “Di balik pria sukses, ada wanita”. Maksudnya tentu, tak mungkin kesuksesan di peroleh sendiri, tanpa dorongan dan kerjasama istri.

³ According to Thomson (1995, p.13) domestic work is “work performed in and around the home, including washing and ironing, sweeping and cleaning, cooking and food preparation, child minding, basic household repairs, serving guests and household members, shopping and rubbish maintenance”.

⁴ The servants in Indonesia are mostly females and come from the villages. Some of them are mature and old women, but mainly they are young women and single. For mature or old servants they are usually called ‘*Mbok*’ or ‘*Mak*’ [the village people usually call for ‘mother’], while sometimes they are called ‘*Bibik*’ [mostly by the people who live in Jakarta] or called ‘*Yuk*’ or ‘*Genduk*’ [by the Javanese], especially for the young servant women. They are in the average age of fifteen years old to over forty years.

Itu pemeo doeloe, di mana umumnya hanya prialah yang tampil sukses di luar rumah. Kini, bisakah pemeo itu berubah menjadi, "Di balik wanita sukses ada pria", dengan konotasi, bahwa pria itu suami si wanita? Namun, barangkali bisa juga kita melontarkan pemeo lain, " Di balik wanita sukses ada pembantu rumah tangga". Ya, memang kita akui, tak mungkin seorang wanita sukses di luar rumah tangga apabila tidak ada seorang asisten yang menggantikan tugas-tugasnya di rumah. Dengan kata lain, kita tak bisa melupakan jasa-jasa pembantu. Namun kenyataannya, berat bagi wanita untuk mengakui hal ini. Berat pula baginya mendelegasikan tugas-tugas rumah tangga dengan penuh kepercayaan ke tangan pembantu. Akibatnya, kerjasama antara 'si Nyonya' dan 'si Bibik' seringkali tersendat. Sering terjadi, walau pun bergaji besar, si pembantu tak betah di rumah majikannya. Akibatnya pembantu keluar-masuk, pekerjaan rumah tangga terbengkalai, dan ... suksesi si wanita karir pun terhambat karena perhatiannya terbagi. ...

The editorial strengthens the view that it is important to keep a servant in the house. Moreover, it becomes obvious now that many these new middle class women, who come from [Javanese] aristocratic (*priyayi*) families, consider having a maid not only a functionary who takes over their home duties, but also as status symbol. As Thomson argues, "A master-servant dichotomy is largely embedded in the contemporary national conscious signifying the survival of some remnants of feudalism in which domestic workers are identified in a social relationship with employers rather than an economic one" (1995, p.13-14).

Modern Women and Their lifestyle

Modern Indonesian women today, according to *Femina*, are portrayed as young career women, with an average age of twenty-four to thirty-five years, educated and from the middle class. These women are portrayed as single, active, dynamic, professionals, looking trendy and modern, mostly beautiful, familiar with the use of the compact

technologies, and always keeping their knowledge moves on track and information up to date.

Apart from the editors' consideration of the shifting paradigm of urban middle class women in the 1990s, they have constructed the role models of these women as being different from the representation of women in the last two decades. A woman who is aware of her personal capability; a woman who makes choices in her life; a woman who is sensitive to social problems; a woman who is aware of the importance of having a healthy life; these are the role models of modern urban women, which have been constructed by *Femina*. As Erlita Rahman, one of managing editor of *Femina*, points out, "[they are] smart [women], self-confident, still keep their femininity, [have] an attractive appearance, and are capable to follow the trends" (September 1998). As the following editorials describe this situation:

Naturally, women are definitely happy, if they themselves always look fresh, pretty, and beautiful, it is a condition, which is normally owned in the young age. ... the youth has become the reference of performance. ... Various efforts have been made by those who have passed their youth to keep looking young, ... (Editorial *Femina*, 3-9 April 1997).

(Secara kodrati, wanita pasti senang bila dirinya selalu terlihat segar, cantik, dan indah, suatu kondisi yang lazimnya dimiliki ketika usia muda. ...kemudaan dijadikan acuan penampilan. ... Berbagai usaha dilakukan oleh mereka yang sudah melewati masa muda untuk tetap kelihatan muda, ...)

Indonesian women of today like to go to the fitness centre, the gym club, or the other sport centres. They also go on diets. Is this trend indicating that they have been 'aware of health' or just because they want to have a slim body, because slimming is becoming a trend? ... (Editorial *Femina*, 14-20 November 1996).

(Wanita Indonesia masa kini gemar ke fitness centre, ke klub senam, atau tempat-tempat olah tubuh lainnya. Juga rajin berdiet. Apakah kecenderungan ini

menunjukkan bahwa mereka telah 'sadar kesehatan' atau karena demi kelangsingan tubuh karena langsing sedang menjadi trend? ...)

...For some Indonesian women now, the content of R.A. Kartini's letters book, ... can be said to really suit. Wanting to go on to higher education or having a career in whatever field they please. Theoretically, our women are equal to men. ... (Editorial *Femina*, 24-30 April 1997).

(... Bagi sebagian wanita Indonesia sekarang, isi buku kumpulan surat-surat R.A. Kartini ..., boleh dikata benar-benar cocok. Mau sekolah setinggi mungkin atau berkarier di bidang apa pun, silahkan. Secara teoritis wanita kita setara dengan kaum pria. ...)

Holidays have become a need which cannot be ignored for those who always move fast. Why? Because generally, the competitive lifestyle has shifted five working days to be six days, even sometimes seven days. ... However, it is like other things in modern life: everything will be success, if it is planned well. So will your holiday (Editorial *Femina*, 3-9 July 1997).

(Liburan sudah merupakan kebutuhan yang tak bisa diabaikan lagi oleh mereka yang selalu bergerak cepat. Mengapa? Sebab umumnya gaya hidup yang kompetitif telah menggeser 5 hari kerja menjadi 6 bahkan kadang-kadang 7 hari. ...Namun, sama seperti hal-hal dalam kehidupan modern, segala sesuatu itu baru bisa sukses bila melalui perencanaan matang. Demikian juga liburan Anda)

The look of young 'Indo' woman

Brightly coloured and glamorous images are especially appealing on the front covers of contemporary Indonesian women's magazines. Although the techniques of photography and the setting of colour in the front cover format are quite different, each functions as an idealised mirror image of the woman. The models show the combination of the everyday and the extraordinary. According to the women interviewed for this study (see chapter 6), the close-up shots of the immaculate, 'Indo' [mixed blood Indonesian-European] and sophisticated faces in evening gowns on the covers of *Femina* attract the reader's eyes more than the middle-distance shots of the *Kartini* models.

The editorial below shows the physical appearance and psychological characteristics of young female models for the front cover of *Femina*.

Who does not like to see a fresh, healthy and beautiful face? Because of that, since eight years ago, every year we arrange the competition for a model for *Femina*'s cover [called "*Pemilihan Wajah Femina*"]. ...We hope that we can show the new faces that are **fresh looking, beautiful and healthy** as the cover of magazine. The contestants of this competition came from all over Indonesian [*Nusantara*]. All of them are young women, beautiful and have an ambition to become a photographic model or a catwalk model or a film actress. This year we received more than 1,500 women. From these numbers, there have been selected 14 contestants. ... As the organiser of this kind of competition, there are some interesting things for us. Firstly, a **good nutrition** has influenced the growing process of these participants. The generation of today is generally **taller**, and has **good body shape**, and **healthy teeth and hair**. ...Secondly, the independent and democratic climate has made them **courageous to speak out about their ideas and opinions**. Lastly, this is the different thing between today generation and the past generation: **women of today are more self-confident, tough and competitive** [than past generations]. ... (Editorial *Femina*, 27 May-2 June 1993)

Siapa sih yang tidak suka melihat wajah yang segar, sehat dan cantik? Karena itulah, sejak 8 tahun ynag lalu, setiap tahun kami menyelenggarakan acara Pemilihan Wajah Femina. ...Kami berharap dapat menampilkan wajah-wajah baru yang segar, canti dan sehat sebagai sampul majalah. Peserta lomba Pemilihan Wajah Femina ini ... datang dari berbagai sudut Nusantara. Semuanya wanita muda. Cantik dan punya ambisi menjadi foto model atau bahkan jadi peragawati atau bintang film. Untuk tahun ini saja jumlahnya mencapai lebih dari 1,500 orang. Dari jumlah besar ini telah terpilih 14 orang finalis. ... Yang menarik untuk dikemukakan adalah pengalaman kami sebagai penyelenggara. Pertama, rupanya gizi yang baik telah berpengaruh pada pertumbuhan peserta lomba. Generasi sekarang rata-rata jauh lebih tinggi, proporsi tubuhnya lebih baik, gigi dan rambutnya jauh lebih sehat. ... Kedua, alam kemerdekaan dan paham demokrasi telah membuat mereka lebih berani mengemukakan pikiran dan pendapat. Dan yang terakhir, dan inilah yang membedakan dengan generasi sebelumnya: Wanita sekarang lebih percaya diri, lebih mantap berkompetisi. ...

For more than ten years the magazine has held a competition for women wishing to be a model for *Femina*'s cover. *Femina* identified the characteristics discussed above as typical of the modern urban Indonesian women in the 1990s. In the 1998 competition,

Femina applied several conditions to the candidates who wished to participate to this kind of beauty competition. The first condition was that the women must be between eighteen and twenty-five years of age. Second, they should be photogenic, attractive, and have good teeth. The third condition is they should have smooth skin and healthy hair. Furthermore, they should be slim, and have a well-proportioned body, and appear fresh. The last condition demanded they should be compassionate, flexible, dynamic, and disciplined (cited in advertising of *Pemilihan Wajah Femina '98*, *Femina* no. 11/xxvi/19-25 March 1998, p. 35). From these conditions, it is clear that the magazine wants to create the image of perfect middle class women both physically and psychologically. However, what is significant in that none of the condition specified by *Femina* addresses the issue of intelligence.

Although it is claimed the contestants come from all over Indonesia, the women are largely domiciled in Jakarta, and they represent the temper of urban middle class women. The phrase "the urban Jakarta" could be used here, because the main values carried on in *Femina* are centred on Jakarta and, to a lesser extent, the West Javanese women, who live around Jakarta in places such as, Bandung and Bogor. These women represent the dominant "ethnicity" of women, who live in Jakarta. They are pale, skinny, beautiful, and of course members the affluent middle class, and beside some of them are Indos. It seems here that the racial stereotyping (Indo preference) involved in the process of selection of the magazine's models. These women are commonly portrayed in *Femina* rather than women from other parts of Java, and in particular, women from outside Java. Consequently, the cosmopolitan lifestyle represented in the magazine seems only to exist

in Jakarta and surrounding areas. Mirta Kartohadiprodjo comments about this and the potential readership of her magazine,

They are simple people with money. They are not *nouveau-riche*, though some are. The set-up of Jakarta society still has the same values. Their intellectual scope is the same (Naipaul, 1998, p. 108).

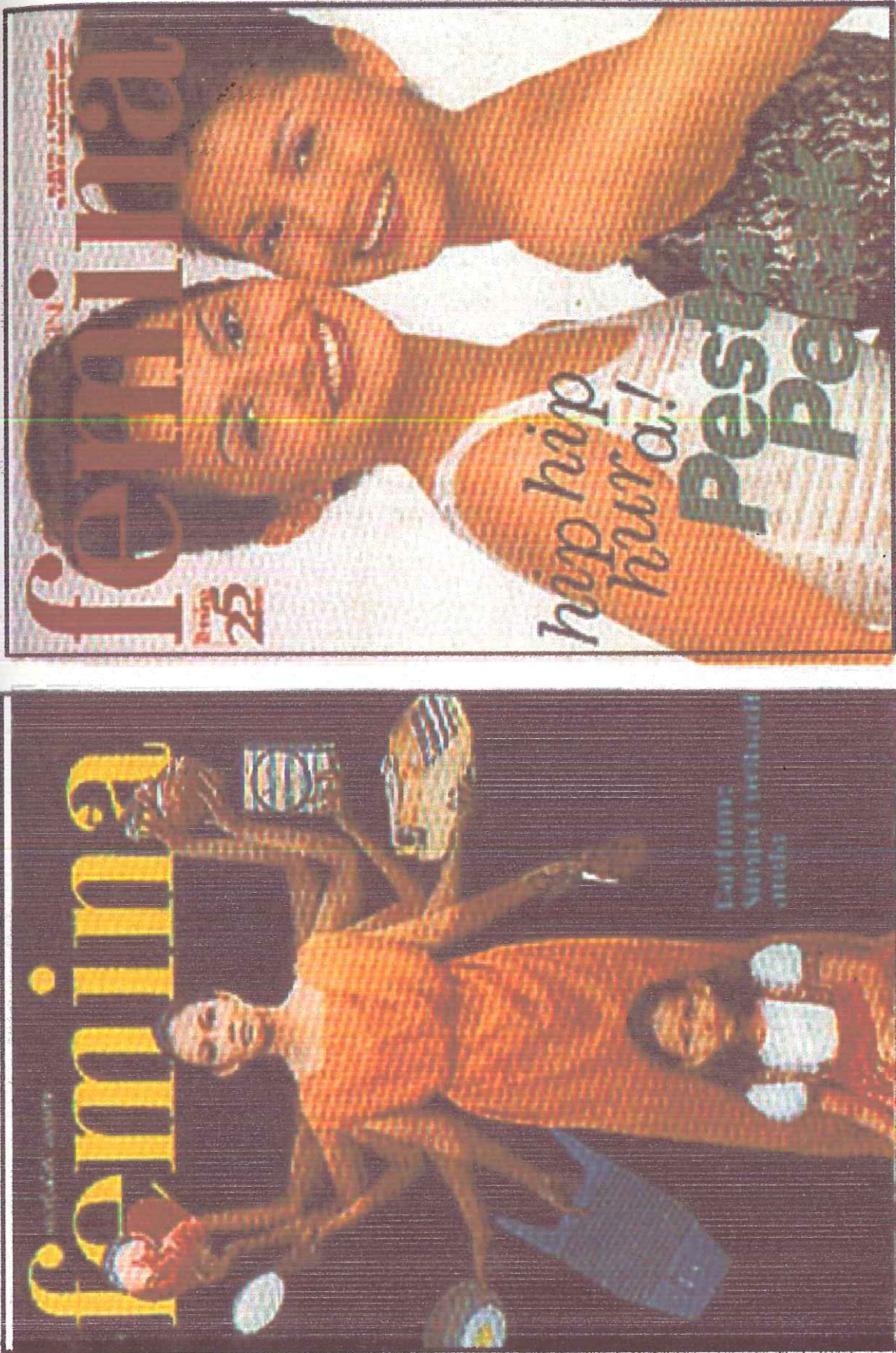
Thus, the values and the ideology of the owner and the editors, as the people who live in Jakarta with a distinct lifestyle (though they are dominantly Javanese), are involved in the creation of a particular version of the modern Indonesian woman in the magazine. Moreover these images of women may be read as exemplifying an elite Javanese cultural imperialism. As Geertz (1960, p.6) argues, the Javanese elite (*priyayi*) factor still plays the key role in shaping "the world view, the ethics, and the social behaviour" of the majority of society in Indonesia. "... the *prijaji* [sic] style of life remains the model not only for the elite but in many ways for the entire society" (Ibid).

The presence of an idealised image of women on *Femina's* covers seems intended to make its potential readers desire, identify with, and expect to get this image through buying the magazine. However, this representation of women has created a 'fantasy' for many Indonesian women who live outside Jakarta. They are affluent middle class women who like to spend large amounts of money just to become beautiful. They spend between 100,000 rupiahs and 350,000 rupiahs per month just for beauty treatments such as hair treatment, facials, manicures and pedicures, and *lulur* [a traditional Javanese skin scrub] at the beauty salons (*Femina*, No.11/19-25 March, 1998, p. 37). Ironically, these amounts



Figure 4.1. These young urban middle class women are the potential target of *Femina*. They are the role model of 'modern' urban Indonesian women in the 1990s (*Femina*, no. 46/1996)

Figure 4.2. These cover pages of Femina represent the transformation of the journal's focus the housewife (picture of the first edition 1972) to young single women (picture of the 1997 edition).



Repro from: Menjurus Arus, Sederajat Abad Femina: Mendorong Kemajuan Wanita Indonesia, 1972 - 1997, 1997, PT Gaya Favorit Press, Jakarta



Figure 4.3 This is the picture of the urban working woman who is shown as being active, energetic, hard-working, and modern looking. (*Femina*, No.16/ 23-29 April 1992)

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Hari itu, tanggal 22 Desember 1996 yang lalu, menjadi hari bersejarah bagi Endah. Ia diangkat sebagai General Manager, di perusahaan minuman ternama, Coca Cola, setelah meniti karier selama 20 tahun. Yang membanggakan, Endah adalah wanita pertama yang menjabat GM di perusahaan yang produknya menyebar di 165 negara di dunia.

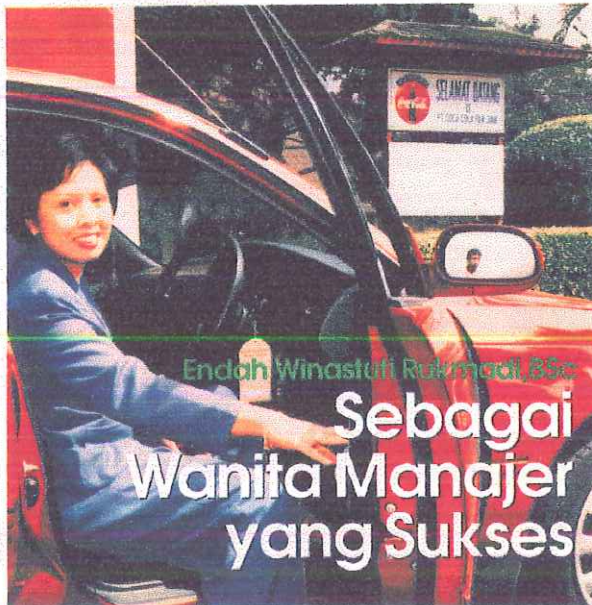
Orang-orang kenamaan dalam bisnis besar di mancanegara telah mengakui kemampuan Endah dalam menangani tugasnya di perusahaan Viti Jawa Kotling Company,

Semarang. "Wanita langka" yang menekuni kariernya selama 20 tahun tanpa pernah berpikir untuk berpaling ini, tanpa diduga telah memperoleh kepercayaan yang luar biasa dari kantor pusat Coca Cola di Atlanta, Amerika

Serikat. Ihwal menantang, kini ia telah memuni hasil.

Perusahaan yang pertama didirikan di kota Atlanta, Georgia, Amerika Serikat pada 8 Mei 1886 oleh Dr. John Pemberton, kini telah mengepakkan sayapnya di 165 negara dunia. Di Indonesia sendiri hingga kini ada 15 pabrik yang tersebar di kota-kota besar. Di antara keseluruhan perusahaan tadi, baru seorang Endah Winastuti, dalam sejarah berhasil dipercaya menduduki jabatan *General Manager*.

"Saya berani memberikan kepercayaan kepada Endah, bukan karena dia wanita, tapi karena dia mampu," itu ungkapan sederhana yang bermakna dalam pada saat terpilihnya Srikauli



Endah Winastuti Rukmadi, BSc Sebagai Wanita Manajer yang Sukses

Endah Winastuti, GM pertama di perusahaan minuman ternama.

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Figure 4.4. This woman is the representation of many urban middle class women in today's Indonesia. As Indonesian women are now progressing, many of them are being appointed to the top positions both in the private enterprises and government department. The picture above is an example the representation of female manager in Indonesia today (*Kartini*, no. 608/18-24 February 1997).

Presiden Soeharto



Kaum Ibu Penentu Kehidupan Keluarga



Pertengahan Hari Ibu ke-68 yang digelar
momen istimewa ini, Kabupaten Karang
anyu, menginisiasi kegiatan ke-1000 orang
Kartu Ibu, sebagai bentuk penghargaan kepada

Itupun dipakai oleh presiden, bahwa tanpa persetujuan pemerintah Inggris akan terjadi, maka kerangka nasional yang telah kita



cepat selama ini adalah lengkap. Tanpa kemajuan sains yang lengkap selangkah ke depan yang kita lihat, lakukan, maka kurang sempurna lah upaya kita

Banyak faktor yang menghambat penelitian untuk meningkatkan pelayanan, diantaranya terhalang mencari bantuan penelitian dan teknik. Maka itu, Ny. Perdiana Pradita, di atasang hampirya menditiriki Pontok Syarif Ibo, guna mengatasi berbagai keterlambatan dalam menolong pelayanan *service* itu.

"Kami berupaya agar ibu hamil yang berisiko tinggi ini transit di Pondok Sayang Uta menjadi sang penanam," ucap ibu Poudjanto di sela-sela perayaan Hari Ibu di Selo.

[illegible]

Menteng Negara UPW, mengungkap dengan Gerakan Sayur Rn dapat diterima angka kemitatan itu dari 900/100.000 tahun lalu hingga menjadi 222/100.000 pada tahun akhir Pelita VI, dan 20/100.000 pada akhir PJP II tahun 2015. Dengan ke-



jumlahnya yakni dua puluh lima orang yang terdapat ke-
profesional, Ibu Mitri opilani dengan pencapaian
target yang sesuai dengan Acazi ini.

"Desain Gevalan, Sapang Btu pada, dapat di-tingkatkan keahluannya sebagai perancang sumber daya manusia dalam pembangunan," tambah Ny. Oemar Sidi, ketua KOWAVERI yang banyak berkecimpung dalam pembangunan kesejahteraan keluarga.

Hari ini tahun 1996 ini diwarisi pada dengan acara ulang ke makam Ibu Tien Soeharto di Astana Giri Bangun, dan pamerkan foto sejarah perjuangan Ibu Tien Soeharto di Museum Jendral (Teb. Gusendana)

Presiden menghormati
Purnawiryo foto perjuangan
Ibu Tien Soeharto di
Jatiro, Karanganyar
(atas).
Bapak Yogie dan Ibu
Soeharto dalam upacara
menghormati Ibu Tien Soeharto
(bawah).

Figure 4.5. The reportage from 22 December 1997 on Indonesian Mother's Day [*Hari Ibu*], which is celebrated officially across the country each year, organised under the auspices of the Ministry of Women's Affairs. This moment is always used for official ceremonies to present government awards to selected housewives who have been considered successful in creating a secure and prosperous family life. This picture describes how the New Order government still positions the role of Indonesian women as housewives or mother who becomes a guardian of the family. As the former President Soeharto stated, "Mothers are the decisive factor in family life" (*Kartini*, no.605/15-24 January 1997)

Demi membuahkan karya yang bermutu, ketiga pasangan muda ini dituntut untuk **selalu kompak** luar dalam. Walaupun ada 'gesekan', apa saja **triknya?**

Kompak di Rumah, Kompak Juga di Lapangan

Membanahi urusan rumah tangga sepertinya tak kerol kata rampung. Begitu banyak hal yang perlu diatur bersama, antara istri dan suami, plus urusan anak yang tak kalah rumitnya. Nah, bagaimana jadinya bila suami-istri itu bekerja dalam satu bidang, dengan kresekéan yang setara pula? Lalu siapa yang lebih banyak terlibat dalam urusan rumah? Kompromikah jadinya? Sementara itu karya-karya bersama harus terus diproduksi, jika ingin dapur tetap mengobor.

Pasangan Soraya Haque-Ekki, Ila Purnamasari-Dewi, dan Elira-Gerakl Item berbagi kisah soal aturan main yang sudah mereka sepakati bersama. "Biarpun suami-istri, untuk soal karjén, kita harus tetap profesional..." begitu kira-kira kesepakatan mereka. Bisa juga disimak untuk memperkaya aturan main dalam rumah tangga Ardi!

1. Ekki-Soraya: Berdua bekerja harus tetap profesional.
2. Elira-Gerakl Item: Wangi busuk hati yang sudah menjadi kakak bagi Ila.
3. Dewi-Har: Sudah kompak adalah 'menger'.

terpau 43

Figure 4.6 These are the portraits of young urban married couples in modern Indonesia, who are represented as having a happy family. On the other hand, the magazine indirectly shows this picture as indicating that the government's campaign about the family planning program seems to have been successful. (*Femina*, No.15/16-22 April 1998)

Keterbukaan Seks, Agar Tak Menginjak 'Ranjau'

Kalau perkawinan sehat, berarti hubungan seksual juga sehat. Tetapi, seks bisa jadi duri kalau tak dikomunikasikan.

Diketahui bahwa seks adalah bagian dari kehidupan manusia. Dalam kehidupan sehari-hari, seks menjadi bagian yang tidak terpisahkan dari kehidupan manusia. Seks adalah kebutuhan manusia yang tidak dapat diabaikan. Seks adalah bagian dari kehidupan manusia yang tidak dapat diabaikan. Seks adalah bagian dari kehidupan manusia yang tidak dapat diabaikan.

Hubungan seks yang sehat

Hubungan seks yang sehat adalah hubungan seks yang didasarkan pada cinta, kasih sayang, dan tanggung jawab. Hubungan seks yang sehat adalah hubungan seks yang didasarkan pada cinta, kasih sayang, dan tanggung jawab. Hubungan seks yang sehat adalah hubungan seks yang didasarkan pada cinta, kasih sayang, dan tanggung jawab.

"Kalau hubungan seksual yang sehat, maka pasangan itu akan bahagia. Kalau hubungan seksual yang tidak sehat, maka pasangan itu akan menderita. Kalau hubungan seksual yang tidak sehat, maka pasangan itu akan menderita. Kalau hubungan seksual yang tidak sehat, maka pasangan itu akan menderita."

Keterbukaan dalam membicarakan masalah seks adalah kunci untuk menghindari masalah. Keterbukaan dalam membicarakan masalah seks adalah kunci untuk menghindari masalah. Keterbukaan dalam membicarakan masalah seks adalah kunci untuk menghindari masalah.

Mereka yang membicarakan masalahnya secara terbuka dengan pasangan

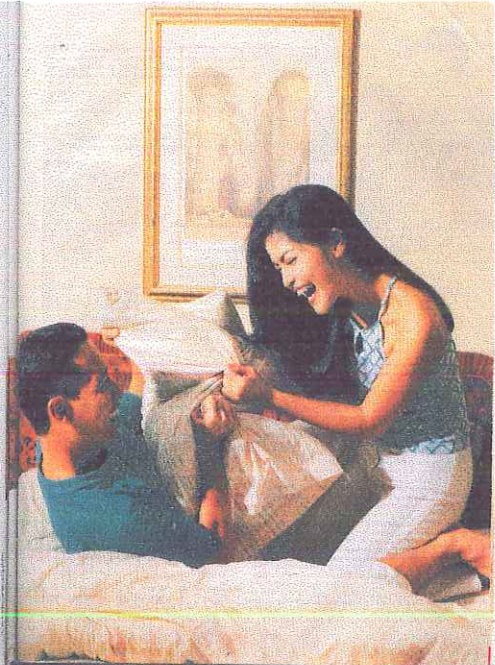


Figure 4.8. The sexual revolution phenomenon does not only occur in the lifestyle of single woman, but it also happens for the sexual relationships of young newlywed couples. As the picture here shows, this couple openly discusses their sexual relations. This picture was rare seen in many Indonesian publications before the 1990s, as discussing matters of sex was considered taboo even with one's spouse (*Femina*, No.15/16-22 April 1998)



Seorang wanita yang sedang membaca buku. Dia sedang duduk di atas kasur, dan suaminya duduk di sampingnya. Mereka tampak sedang berbicara tentang sesuatu yang ada di dalam buku tersebut.

Akan jadi masalah, jika...

Dari data yang tertera di atas, terlihat bahwa sebagian besar pasangan yang menikah sudah membicarakan masalah seks. Namun, masih ada sebagian pasangan yang belum membicarakan masalah seks. Hal ini bisa menjadi masalah jika tidak dibicarakan. Hal ini bisa menjadi masalah jika tidak dibicarakan. Hal ini bisa menjadi masalah jika tidak dibicarakan.

Karena itu, penting untuk membicarakan masalah seks dengan pasangan. Membicarakan masalah seks dengan pasangan adalah hal yang wajar. Membicarakan masalah seks dengan pasangan adalah hal yang wajar. Membicarakan masalah seks dengan pasangan adalah hal yang wajar.

gila, tak mungkin seperti ini. Padahal, ini adalah kenyataan. Banyak pasangan yang mengalami masalah seks. Banyak pasangan yang mengalami masalah seks. Banyak pasangan yang mengalami masalah seks.

Rekomendasi untuk mengatasi masalah hubungan intim dengan pasangan





Figure 4.9 The discussion about sexual relationships is always related to the relationships between husband and wife. These two couples are represented in *Femina* as young, urban, middle class, newlyweds, and are described as romantic couples. They are also represented as the shifting phenomenon in which young urban women in Indonesia prefer to marry between twenty-first and twenty-fifth years of age, and in which they are more freedom to choose their partners than their parents did in previous decades. (Above, *Femina* No.16/23-29 April 1992. Below, *Femina* no.01/2-8 January 1997)





Sebagian pemenang & finalis bersama Martha Tilaar

itu ditarik ke muka pentas dan Linda Ramadhanty, pemenang I Wajah Femina '96, mengalunk selempang kemenangan padari. Malam itu memang acara puncak pemilihan Wajah Femin '97 yang sekaligus menobatkan Mira Yuliani Ekasari sebagai pemenang II, Lonny Juanita sebag pemenang III, Lola Amaria mer jadi pemenang busana nasional terbaik dan Nareswari Dyah Wijayaningrum pemenang favorit pembaca Femina. Mereka telah menyisihkan 15 finalis lain untu



Gadis-gadis Beruntung '97

Dalam kemasan acara yang meriah, 20 gadis-gadis bertarung memperebutkan tempat dalam pemilihan Wajah Femina '97.



Seikat bunga yang digenggam Yana Julio tiba-tiba ia berikan pada salah seorang gadis yang mengenakan gaun hitam rancangan Sebastian Gunawan, segera sang gadis yang memakai nomor 19 itu menutup wajah dengan kedua telapak tanoannya. Tebuk tendan

mendapatkan kemenangan. Beruntunglah mereka, beta tidak! Pemilihan itu merupakan jalan mulus dalam mencapai sukses dalam dunia modelling seperti yang diperoleh para pendahulu mereka sebelum ini. Sebut saja beberapa nama yang kini laris menjadi model baik dalam ikla

Figure 4.10. This is the image of young urban beautiful women, who dominated the cover page of women's magazines in the 1990s. They have been selected in the 'beauty contest' arranged by Femina, which is called "Pemilihan Wajah Femina".

of money are significant compared to the monthly income of civil servants in Indonesia, especially those at the lower levels, and recent university graduates.

The Sexual Revolution

The transformation era and social changes in Indonesia in the 1990s seem also to have affected the changes in marriage values. For example, some married couples consider not having children and/or adopting a baby. In the last two decades, if a married couple did not have children, society, automatically, pointed to the woman as infertile. Today, the modern technology of medical science has improved the chances of having a baby for a married couple, who are facing a fertility problem. On the other hand, there are also married couples who decide not to have children. They are what Western people call “double income no kids (DINKS)”. The following editorial describes this situation;

In the last decades, if a married couple has not had children yet, the wife is the one automatically, accused of infertility. Gossip about her from the outsiders makes as if she is ‘cursed’ and feels as though she is like in hell all her life. With modern medical technology, at least, it can be known ‘who is wrong’. ... In fact, up until now the society still believes that having a descendant is essential for a happy marriage. Nevertheless many couples live happily together with their adoptive children. ... How about the couples who choose to not have children? In Western countries the term ‘double income no kid’ [sic] (working husband and wife without children) is more popular. ... (Editorial *Femina*. 23-29 May 1996)

Beberapa dekade yang lalu, bila pasangan suami istri tidak mempunyai anak, maka tuduhan mandul otomatis jatuh kepada istri. Gunjingan orang luar membuat wanita malang itu seolah-olah ‘terkutuk’ dan sepanjang hidupnya seperti berada dalam neraka. Dengan teknologi kedokteran modern, paling tidak bisa diketahui ‘siapa yang salah’. ... Ternyata sampai sekarang masyarakat masih tetap menganggap bahwa memiliki keturunan merupakan syarat perkawinan bahagia. Padahal tidak sedikit pasangan suami istri yang hidup bahagia bersama anak angkat mereka. ... Bagaimana pula dengan pasangan yang memilih untuk tidak punya anak? Di Barat istilah double income no kid (suami istri bekerja tanpa anak) semakin populer. ...

Despite the change of orientation among these young married couples toward the need to have children in their family, there is also a new tendency in some modern educated women to have an illegal marriage. It means they marry without the acknowledgement of their parents and the authorised institution which ratify the marriage as required by convention according to the state's regulations and *adat* [custom] in Indonesia.

For every woman, marriage is certainly a special occasion that cause both happiness and nervousness. For the bride's parents, marriage is the important moment for the family that has to be celebrated, ... The important thing of marriage is it has been noticed that the girl is declared officially married with the man. However, in fact, there are some people who do not follow this classic custom. It means they are married privately, without invitation, without announcement, even without reporting to the authorised institution (KUA *Kantor Urusan Agama* is the institution for Muslims that verifies marriage, divorce, provides the notification services for Muslim couples, and other problems of households). While for Christians, there is the Civil Office (called *Catatan Sipil*) which functions like KUA). The popular term is 'illegal married', and it has been pointed out that many educated women, who certainly understand the negative consequences of this illegal marriage, did it ... (editorial *Femina*, 25 April – 1 May 1996)

Bagi setiap wanita, perkawinan tentu merupakan peristiwa yang mengesankan dan mendebarkan. Bagi orang tua sang wanita, perkawinan adalah peristiwa penting keluarga. Karena itu tak mengherankan kalau perkawinan dirayakan, ... Yang penting telah diberitakan bahwa si gadis resmi berpasangan dengan si bujang. Namun ternyata, ada beberapa pihak yang tidak menjalankan kebiasaan klasik itu. Dalam arti kawin diam-diam, tanpa undangan, tanpa pemberitahuan, bahkan tanpa melapor pada yang berwenang (Kantor Urusan Agama maupun Catatan Sipil). Istilah populernya 'menikah di bawah tangan'. Dan, disinyalir hal ini makin banyak dilakukan oleh wanita-wanita berpendidikan, yang berarti paham betul konsekuensi negatif menikah dengan cara itu. ...

Following the trend in Western society, some single women are now facing the problem of establishing and conducting sexual relationships outside of marriage in Indonesia. A single woman who has sex with her boyfriend before they are married, is considered to be committing adultery by the traditional system. In Indonesia, in which Islamic values are strongly emphasised as a norm for the behaviour and attitude of people, a single woman

must stay in her parent's home before somebody (a man) proposes to marry her. While, for some modern Muslim families, the daughter is allowed to have a boyfriend, she still cannot have a sexual relationship before marriage. However, some urban single women seem to have a 'liberal' attitude toward sexual relationships before marriage. They view having a sexual relationship with their boyfriend as permissible. *Femina* pronounces on this matter.

We are now living in two different [era]. On the one side, we are still tied up by the Eastern norms which strongly stick to a religion. On the other side, we start to follow the Western values which affirm liberalism. The bad thing is, this matter (sex before marriage) makes the people become ambivalent in their attitude. They have sex before marriage, but what they say is rejecting this attitude... (Editorial *Femina*, 20-26 March 1997, p. 28).

Kita sekarang berada pada dua sisi. Di sisi yang satu kita masih diikat oleh norma-norma Timur yang kuat memegang agama. Di sisi lain kita mulai mengikuti nilai-nilai Barat yang menganut paham kebebasan. Jeleknya, hal ini membuat orang bersikap ambivalen. Melakukan seks pranikah, tetapi yang keluar dari mulut pengakuannya menolak sikap ini.

The women portrayed by *Femina* also represent a new social phenomenon among modern urban women in which many single women occupy a house by themselves. Previously, if a single woman, who owned her house and lived alone by herself, was considered to be either, a prostitute or a rich man's mistress. This is no longer the case, especially in the major cities in Indonesia like Jakarta and Surabaya. Many urban single women are now well off, and more independent in terms of income than before. That is why many of them concentrate on their career in order to be self-fulfilled. They spend their money without the control of somebody else like husband or parent. This tendency has also stimulated another consequences in which many of these urban single women make a decision not to marry, because they think of they will not be independent any

more. In other words, these women feel that if they are married, their husband will control them. This notion then has stimulated the shifting view of many single modern women toward the existence of the marriage institution.

The shift toward the orientation of sexual relationships not only occurs among the single women, but also among the young newlywed couples. There has been a tendency among these couples to be free in expressing their love to their spouse, and more open to discuss their sexual relationship publicly than their parents did two decades ago. Discussing a sexual relationship was considered taboo, even with their spouse, but for the young married couples of today it seems permissible. As one of the managing editor of *Femina* states in the questionnaire that the traditional values have become blurred since urban women started to adopt the values of Western women into their everyday life. "The values of Indonesia started to shift by adopting the values of Western women. The sexual life of [women of today] is more brave [than ever before], and [they] find it easy to take a decision to divorce. ... Talking about sexual life is now not a taboo subject for public discussion" (Erlita, September 1998).

Apart from the response to the atmosphere "freedom" in relation to sexual attitudes and behaviour of middle class working women in the late 1990s, the editors have made some decisions that related to their perceptions of change. They provide some controversial articles, especially in 1997 and 1998 editions, about the trends in sexual attitude among the urban middle class women such as premarital sex, lesbianism, and sex for singles. When asked about the idea behind the editors' decision to cover lesbianism as the topic

of reportage. Widarti examines, "this social life (lesbianism) has increasingly become a public issue. There is the open "gossip" (issue) about lesbianism around us, although it might not be done yet. We can see the reality, but the people still do not want to talk about it" (21 August 1998). As the following editorial describes about this phenomenon:

Love is a mystery. So, seemingly, logical thinking does not suit discussion about the problem of love. It is the more impossible, if it is used to understand the love which happen between two mature women. Lesbian, people call this kind of love, and the women who profess it also agree with this identity. In the last years of this millenium [sic], it seems that lesbian women become courageous to show themselves more [than before] (Editorial *Femina*, 30 July-5 Agustus 1998).

Cinta memang misteri. Jadi, tampaknya, logika tidak tepat untuk membahas masalah cinta. Lebih mustahil bila digunakan untuk memahami cinta yang terjadi di antara dua wanita dewasa. Lesbian, orang menyebut jenis cinta itu, dan wanita penganutnya juga menyetujui identitas itu. Menjelang akhir millenium ini tampaknya para wanita lesbian semakin berani menunjukkan diri.

This is what *Femina* identifies as the sexual revolution in the late 1990s in Indonesia. The independent climate and open sky policy of the government toward the information flows in Indonesia has encouraged the shifting attitude and behaviour of these young single women. The other thing is a tendency among the 'Generation X' in Indonesia to imitate or to adopt the lifestyle of Western people in their daily life. The use of drugs, sexual freedom, and a "Western" oriented lifestyle, are examples of the shift in the conditions of the young affluent middle class in Indonesia.

Kartini Editorials

Kartini and *Femina* differ in a variety of ways, including the format and themes explored in many of the editorials. *Kartini*'s editorials are aimed at discussing current national issues, like a new government policy, social and political events, or sometimes presidential activities. If there is an issue about woman and/or femininity written in an editorial, it is discussed in a context such as celebrating the Indonesian women's emancipation day (known as "R.A. Kartini's Day" on every 21st April) or when celebrating the "Mother's Day" (22nd December).

As I picked randomly ten magazines each year and I could find only one editorial in *Kartini* in 1995, that discussed the topic of women's emancipation. The rest of the magazine's editorials were interested in the social and political events of Indonesia such as 'Supersemar', the government policy on national development, the President's [Soeharto] birthday, the memory of the Indonesian first lady (Tien Soeharto), or the success of Army (ABRI) in the Irian Jaya operation under the command of Prabowo Subianto (Soeharto's son in law), or a congratulations to the new President (Soeharto) and his Vice President (Habibie) in 1998. Since 1998, the format of an editorial in *Kartini* changed to a picture, and did not follow the conventional editorial format in newspapers or magazines.

Table 4.2
Categories of Editorial Themes
KARTINI
1992 – 1998

Categories of editorial themes	1992		1993		1994		1995		1996		1997		1998	
	00	%	00	%	00	%	00	%	00	%	00	%	00	%
1. Gender Matters							1	10						
2. Women's Right														
3. Women and Marriage														
4. Women and Career														
5. Household Problems														
6. Women abuses														
7. Women, health, dietary and social illnesses issues														
8. Women and their social contribution														
9. Social, politic, and economic issues	10	100	10	100	10	100	9	90	10	100	10	100		
10. Others														
TOTAL	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100	10	100		

When discussing the position of women in Indonesia, the opinion or the orientation of *Kartini* magazine relies on the state's concept of womanhood. This is demonstrated in the magazine's following editorial which comments on a statement of the Minister of Women's Affairs. *Kartini* recognised that Indonesian women are the equal partners (*mitra sejajar*) of men, but as the magazine says, the essential nature of woman is to be a mother who serves her family.

Is it true [that] today Indonesian men are not ready yet be subordinated to women? We [the magazine and the reader] must believe that this believe is true, because it is said by the Minister of Women's Affairs, Mrs. Mien Sugandhi. We

also have to suggest [that] it is not only true, but also the facts are often like that [men do not want to be subordinated]. We say it often, because there are many cases which give an impression that the Indonesian men still do not want to be subordinated. ... As the Minister of Women's Affairs, Mrs. Mien Sugandhi suggests that according to her instinct, woman will keep to service her family, whatever high the position it could be. ... *Kartini* women's magazine as the reading text of the whole family members of course supporting the opinion of Mien, these are all the evidence that the destiny of women plays the leading role in the household (Editorial *Kartini*, 15-24 November 1995).

Apakah benar, pria Indonesia kini belum rela menjadi bawahan wanita ? Kita harus percaya bahwa itu benar, karena yang mengatakannya adalah Menteri Negara Urusan Peranan Wanita, Ny. Mien Sugandhi. Hal itu bisa kita tambahkan, bukan hanya benar, tetapi juga kenyataannya sering begitu. Kita katakan sering, karena banyak sekali kasus-kasus yang memberi kesan bahwa pria Indonesia belum rela menjadi bawahan wanita. ... Sebagai Menteri Negara Urusan Peranan Wanita, Ny. Mien Sugandhi menegaskan, sesuai dengan nalurinya, wanita akan tetap melayani rumah tangganya, bagaimana pun tingginya jabatan itu. ... Majalah wanita Kartini sebagai bacaan seluruh keluarga tentu mendukung pendapat ibu Mien, ..., naluri wanita adalah tetap melayani rumah tangga. Dan semua itu membuktikan kodrat wanita yang berperan utama dalam rumah tangga....

According to this editorial, the fate of women in Indonesia is obvious; no matter how high their position in the workplace, they have to come back to their "destiny" as being housewives and mothers. Moreover, as a housewife, a woman is also supposed to be a loyal partner of husband and should support the husband's career, this is what the Indonesian people like to call 'being a good wife who provides companionship for the husband'.

Women are also reminded by the magazine not to become tempted easily by the high positions and promises of men. Women are supposed to be able to control their emotions and behaviour toward men. If they do not exercise restraint many women become the subject gossip of in society as they are seen as easily tempted by men into a sexual

relationship. As *Kartini* argues, there has been a phenomenon in which more women now, either married or single, have an affair with a married man. As the magazine states in Indonesia polygamy is not allowed according to the government regulation (PP No. 10/1983 and it was renewed by PP No. 45/1990), especially for civil servants. This contradict to Islamic norms and the marriage constitution of 1974 (UU No.1/1974), which state that polygamy is permissible. A man may take more than one wife under certain conditions, that is, he must have the consent of the existing wives, and must have the capacity to provide adequate economic support and education for his all children. Moreover, this man must treat his all wives fairly.

As polygamy is prohibited by the law, the situation arises here a male civil servant prefers to have extramarital affairs rather than take an additional wife. First, it is not against the law, and second, the woman, with whom the man has the affair, has no protection or formal status, so she cannot demand or claim her right as a “legal” wife, if there is a problem later in their relationship. How does *Kartini* stand on this situation, especially on the position of the woman? The following editorial describes it;

Nowadays, there is gossip everywhere, about the existence of mistresses, extramarital affairs, the other woman, and so forth. ... These news items of course come to the attention of *Kartini*, which is the reading of whole family members. We [the magazine] are strongly interested in this issue to help give women the moral strength to avoid doing things which they might regret the next day. ... These events could be happening because women have not made themselves strong yet. Women should protect themselves, using both religious faith and logic and common sense, against being trapped by false promises from men. ... As religious and moral people, let's do the right things,... (Editorial *Kartini*, No. 593/1997)

Sekarang ini, di mana-mana sedang ramai dibicarakan, digunjingkan mengenai wanita-wanita simpanan, istri gelap, istri muda dan semacamnya. ... Berita-berita

semacam ini tentu menjadi perhatian pula bagi majalah wanita Kartini, yang menjadi bacaan seluruh keluarga. Kita sangat memperhatikannya sebelum kita menjadi prihatin di kemudian hari. ... Peristiwa-peristiwa ini bisa terjadi karena wanita-wanita masih belum membentengi diri. Pembentengan diri merupakan hal yang teramat penting bagi wanita, baik dengan benteng iman agama, juga benteng otak yang mampu memisahkan kebaikan palsu yang sering ditawarkan lelaki kepadanya. ... Sebagai orang yang beragama, tempuhlah jalan yang wajar-wajar saja, ...

Women are still blamed in the case of a sexual affair or extramarital affair. The woman who is involved in an affair is blamed for not exercising strong moral or spiritual behaviour. The religious or spiritual guidance is strengthened here by the magazine in order to prevent women from becoming the “victims” of men.

Concluding Remarks

The transformation from being traditional to becoming modern in Indonesia affects the position of women in society in contradictory ways. Although the behaviour and the attitudes of the new ‘baby boomer’ generation have changed, the position of women still remains problematic. The dichotomous position of women between housewife and working wife has not been resolved. As the situation has continually changed, an Indonesian mother of today is not only busy caring for children and acting as ‘a gatekeeper’ in the home, but she is also busy with a career outside the home. Although there have been many discussions about the dual role of women and the issue of ‘woman as an equal partner of man (*wanita mitra sejajar pria*) in Indonesia, the conclusion seems consistent: “Never forget the children and your husband, while you concentrate on your career”.

Meanwhile, the portrait of modern Indonesian woman is defined by *Femina* as looking young, immaculate, confident, dynamic, beautiful and attractive, trendy and fashionable in everyday activities. The journal has transformed itself to focus more on the young and single professional woman, primarily members of affluent middle class in Jakarta, than on the housewife. According to *Femina*, these young women are exemplify the shifting paradigm in terms of their values and attitudes toward sexual relationships and the existence of the institution of marriage in modern Indonesia.

Although *Femina* and *Kartini* have encouraged the shifting role of women from mainly housewife to career woman, there is still a contradiction in the ideological work of these two journals. The values of *Femina* in representing the existence of Indonesian women are more “radical” than *Kartini*, which tends to be “conservative”. In other words, *Femina* always try to challenge the traditional notions or perceptions about women in society. This is achieved by always showing the portrayals of ‘modern’ women accompanied with ‘modern’ settings, in order to shape the “image” that women of today are progressing, modern in their lifestyle, liberal in their way of thinking, independent, and equal with men. What cannot be denied by *Femina* is that the Indonesian society still expects women to conform to their “destiny”, and therefore to play the leading role in the household. Because it operates in the context of this society, which is still in transition, *Femina* then has to conform with the existence of traditional values. The attempt that has been made by this journal to be not too radical in relation to those traditional values, is transforming the content of the magazine to provide more articles for young single women than for married women or for housewives.

This is in contrast to what had been done by *Kartini*. The ideological work of *Kartini* toward the concept of womanhood remains conservative, although sometimes we can find images of modern women. However, modern women are, no matter how high their positions in public, still considered as the “caretakers” of the family. It seems here that women’s magazine, which is controlled by male editors, aims to maintain the position of women in traditional roles.

It seems here that the dominant image shown in contemporary Indonesian women’s magazines, especially *Femina*, is influenced by the dominant Javanese viewpoint, which also exist in the social and political discourses in Indonesia. They are also intensely patriarchal. This Javanese hegemony is shown in the viewpoint of the magazines toward the problems and issues concerning the representation of women in Indonesia. The Javanese influence can be seen in the way the editors of the magazines form their editorial articles in discussing and explaining the role and the status of women in Indonesian society. As Javanese hegemony has been emphasised much in the era of the New Order regime, the Indonesian media, including women’s magazines, seem unable to escape from this dominant value in the socio-political context of Indonesia.



Figure 4.11. These are examples of the format of *Kartini*'s editorials for the 1998 editions. Socio-economic and political issues always become the focus of the magazine editorials, rather than issues on woman and femininity. (*Kartini*, No.644/April & 645/May 1998)



Hip Hip Hura... 26 Tahun femina !

Wejeh-wajah para cover femina yang muncul pada tiga halaman ini adalah para "foto model" dadakan, yang sehari-hari adalah kru majalah kesayangan Anda ini. Mereka digarap dan digambarkan oleh tim pengarah gaya dan fotografer femina yang biasanya menahangsi para foto model profesional. Kami sengaja tampil dengan gaya khas pada kesempatan berulang tahun ke-26 ini, demi kecepatan kami kepada para pembaca setia.



Figure 4.12. These are the pictures of editorial staff of *Femina*. They are dominantly female editors. The picture of six women on the left side consists of the owner, the founders and chief editor, and the managing editors. (*Femina*, no.37/17-23 September 1998)

CHAPTER FIVE

Advertising and Images of Women in Contemporary Women's Magazines

This chapter examines some features of advertisements in *Femina* and *Kartini*, which appeared in the editions between 1992 and 1997¹. My argument is that these advertising features in women's magazines seem to correspond to the paradigm shift of the role of urban middle class women from mainly housewife to a working woman in the 1990s. The pictures of working women are shown more frequently than the pictures of housewives in this period. The modern active professional woman's image is defined by a woman in formal office dress, with office blocks as the background, and holding diary, mobile phone, or lap top computer. As Sen (1998, p.37) argues, "The working woman is one of the icons around which Indonesia's position as a modern nation in a global economy and culture is legitimised. This iconic figure is premised (explicitly and implicitly) on the professional rather than the proletarian woman".

In this chapter, the quantitative data about the category of product items is also shown in order to understand what products have appeared frequently in *Femina* and *Kartini* between 1992 and 1997. This section also reproduces some of the pictures used in advertising to show the changing portrayals of modern women and trends in the use of language in advertising in modern Indonesia.

¹ I do not include 1998 editions in this analysis due to small number of *Kartini* editions. Only eight editions were published in 1998. Another reason is that the economic crisis had caused a decrease in the number of advertising pages in these two journals for the 1998 editions.

Further, this chapter examines some images of “modern” Islam in order to show a new tendency of the magazines to appropriate Islamic values for women, but only at special times of the year. All these advertisements and images are analysed here in order to understand the paradigm shift of lifestyle of new urban middle class women in Indonesia in the 1990s and its relationship with cosmopolitanism.

The Trend of Consumption of Urban Middle Class Women

Billions of U.S. dollars have been spent on mass media advertising in Indonesia in the 1990s (see table 5.1), all aimed at the affluent middle class encouraging them to consume everything from perfumes to personal computers. The rapid movement of multinational business activity into Indonesia has resulted in a transformation of consumer behaviour, as the country shifts from traditional to mass-market consumption, and advertising is positioned at the center of this change.

Table 5.1
Advertising Expenditure by Type of Media from 1990-1995

Total (billion Rupiah)							Growth (%)				
Media	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Newspaper	256	360	393	484	743	1012	40.6	9.2	23.7	53.5	36.2
Magazine	82	91	96	108	155	205	11.0	5.5	12.5	43.5	32.3
Radio	105	105	101	113	139	170	0.00	-3.8	11.9	23.0	22.3
Cinema	8	9	10	10	11	12	12.5	11.1	0.00	10.0	9.1
Television	51	212	318	613	1062	1503	315.7	50.0	92.8	73.3	41.5
Outdoor ad.	61	58	60	53	176	211	-4.92	3.45	-11.7	232.1	19.9
Total	563	835	978	1381	2286	3113	48.6	17.1	41.2	65.5	36.2

Source: PPPI (*Media Scene* 1990-1991 and 1994-1995, cited in Oetama, 1997, p.10)

The result is reflected in the massive increase in advertising of transnational perfumes and cosmetics, fashions, bags and shoes advertised in Indonesian women's magazines, especially in *Femina* (see table 5.4), which has come to exemplify the alleged taste of middle class women. For example, advertisements of international brand perfumes and cosmetics in twelve editions of *Femina* in 1997 appear more frequently than local brand names i.e. 71.6 per cent to 28.4 per cent (see Table 5.2).

Only five local brand cosmetics, *Sari Ayu*, *Mustika Ratu*, *Ristra*, *Citra White*, and *Biokos*, were advertised in *Femina* in 1997. At the same time, there were more than twenty international brand products, such as *Estee Lauder*, *Clinique*, *Elizabeth Arden*, *Gucci*, *Yves Saint Laurent*, *Avon*, *Tommy*, *Giorgio Armani*, and some other multinational cosmetics products advertised in this journal. This suggests there is a new trend among the middle class women in Indonesia to consume beauty products with international brand names instead of local products at a time of great prosperity. This tendency, it seems, is also "supported" by the editors of the magazine to encourage affluent middle class women to consume these "elite" products. For example, the first page of the supplements in *Femina*, which is named "*Info Kita*" [our info], has always displayed features on branded products, such as perfumes, make-up, handbags, and other women's accessories, together with the prices and the characteristics of products. With the use of words such as "the packaging [of YSL lipstick] is luxurious", "this [*Sisley*] cosmetic is known as an exotic product", or "the collections are always up to date and the designs always become the trendsetters, that is why *Gucci*'s handbags always attract women"², this sort of "hidden" advertising article shows how the journal has "pushed" upon consumers the desire for these

² Cited in "*Info Kita*" in *Femina* No.4/xxv/23-29 January 1997 and in *Femina* No.5/xxv/30 January-5 February 1997 (see Figure 5.1).

'global products'. This has led to the claims that *Femina* has encouraged consumerism for women by offering vision of a luxurious lifestyle.

Table 5.2

Comparison between International Brand Products and Local Brand Products Advertised in twelve editions of *Femina* in 1997 (Categories: Perfumes and Cosmetics)

Brand Name Products	000	%
<u>International Brand Products:</u>		
1. Avon	4	2.99
2. Christian Dior	4	2.99
3. Clinique	4	2.99
4. Cacharel Paris	2	1.49
5. Estee Lauder	4	2.99
6. Elizabeth Arden	10	7.46
7. Excell	7	5.22
8. Gucci	1	0.75
9. Givenchy	1	0.75
10. Guerlain	1	0.75
11. Kenzo	1	0.75
12. Kanebo	2	1.49
13. L'Oreal	6	4.49
14. Lancome	8	5.98
15. Nina Ricci Paris	3	2.23
16. Nivea (multinational)	11	8.21
17. Orlane Paris	3	2.23
18. Ponds (multinational)	7	5.22
19. Revlon (multinational)	3	2.23
20. Rochas Paris	1	0.75
21. Shisedo	4	2.99
22. Tommy	2	1.49
23. Ultima	3	2.23
24. Yves Saint Laurent	4	2.99
<u>Local Brand Products:</u>		
1. Biokos Martha Tilaar	2	1.49
2. Citra White (moisturiser	3	2.23
3. Mustika Ratu	12	8.95
4. Ristra	9	6.72
5. Sari Ayu	12	8.95
Total	134	100

In addition, the advertisements of *Estee Lauder*, *Elizabeth Arden*, and some other international brand name products communicate a sense of Western luxury and romance, taste and class. On the other hand, Indonesian brand products simply communicate functional or utilitarian qualities and cultural attributes rather than a taste of class. Affluent middle class women therefore like to consume international branded products rather than local branded products. In these women's view, the label of a product indicates status. The feature advertisement for *Sari Ayu* (Figure 5.2) and *Mustika Ratu* cosmetic products (Figure 5.3), for example, show two beauty items that emphasise Indonesian origins and communicate an image of Indonesian mystique and traditional, but look glamorous and beautiful.

However, the cultural attribution featured in these advertisements apparently does not encourage middle class women to consume these local products. The reasons are, foremost a tendency of new affluent middle class Indonesia to consume products which have a "reputable" name and quality internationally, rather than "unknown" local one. This reflects a tendency of middle class Indonesia to act globally, following Western trends. As critics say, "the emergence of a global mass culture signals the homogenisation of culture around the world" (With et.al, 1998, p. 195), and the new affluent middle class Indonesia seem willing to be part of this homogenisation process. Furthermore, these local brand products are still affordable for, and used by, C1/C2 class of women or middle lower classes (see appendix for the categories of status socio-economic). By consuming international branded items, the affluent middle class women propose to distinguish themselves from the lower middle class symbolically through the creation of a taste culture. Finally, these affluent middle

class women seem still to question, or be dubious, about the quality offered by local products.

Table 5.3

The Comparison between International Brand Products and Local Brand Products Advertised in twelve editions of *Femina* in 1997 (Categories: Fashions, hand-bags, shoes, watches, and eye wear)

Brand Name Products	000	%
<u>International Brand Product:</u>		
1. Bally	3	3.90
2. Bulgari	2	2.60
3. Braun Buffel	6	7.79
4. Cartier	5	6.49
5. Charles Jourdan	3	3.90
6. Donna Karan	1	1.30
7. Elle	2	2.60
8. Etienne Aigner	6	7.79
9. Emporio Armani	1	1.30
10. Esprit	3	3.90
11. Guess	3	3.90
12. Guy Laroche	1	1.30
13. Givenchy	1	1.30
14. Louis Vuitton	2	2.60
15. MCM/ Versace	5	6.49
16. Manolo Blahnik	1	1.30
17. Oscar de la Renta	3	3.90
18. Prada	2	2.60
19. Philippe Charriol	2	2.60
20. Rolex	1	1.30
21. Will Walk [USA brand]	4	5.19
<u>Local Brand Products:</u>		
1. Prima Gold	6	7.79
2. Country Fiesta	5	6.49
3. Executive 99	4	5.19
5. Kenzo [Great River Indonesia]	3	3.90
6. Batik Keris	2	2.60
TOTAL	77	100.2*

*Total does not come to 100 due to rounding

International brand name products for the product categories of fashions, hand bags, shoes, and accessories, such as *Gianni Versace*, *Etienne Aigner*, *Gucci*, and *Charles Jourdan*, have been advertised more frequently, than local brand products (see Table 5.3). The ratio between the advertising of local (Indonesian) products and the international brand products in *Femina* is approximately 4:10 on average per edition in 1997. This means that for the same product category, there were four advertisements for local brand products, compared to ten advertising features of international branded products.

It was not only the numbers of advertisements of international brand products that increased in the women's magazines. There was also a progressive trend in the number of product categories. For example, in the 1992 editions the advertisements for products such as credit cards, mobile phones, pagers, washing machines, and microwave ovens, were rare both in *Femina* and *Kartini*. In the 1997 editions these products featured frequently, as can be seen from Table 5.4 and 5.5. Moreover, the beauty products designated and targeted for women, such as fashion, shoes and bags, jewellery, perfume and cosmetic products, and body lotion, were also advertised frequently in *Femina*. These account approximately for one-third of the total advertising expenditure in women's magazines (Sen, 1998, p. 47).

Robison (1996, p. 80) indicates that the rise of the new middle class in Indonesia in the 1990s can be seen from the boom in the real estate industry which corresponded to the increasing numbers of the huge shopping malls in some cities, especially in Jakarta. Other evidence of the rise of consumer spending can be found in some indicators such as the rapid growth of credit card and ATM use, the use of mobile

phones among the young urban people everywhere, the increasing numbers of vehicles in use in the streets of Jakarta, Surabaya, Medan, and other urban centres in Indonesia.

Table 5.4
Categories of Products Advertised
FEMINA
1992 and 1997

Category of Products	1992		1997	
	000	%	000	%
1. Fashion & Accessories (incl. Shoes, bags, textiles)	17	7.5	34	9.1
2. Food and Beverages	20	8.9	33	8.9
3. Home appliances	6	2.7	19	5.1
4. Perfume & Cosmetics	26	11.5	62	16.6
5. Lotions	9	4.0	18	4.8
6. Jewellery, Watches, spectacles	14	6.2	28	7.5
7. Hygiene Products	19	8.4	21	5.6
8. Baby's & Children's Goods	16	7.1	25	6.7
9. Toiletries	16	7.1	9	2.4
10. Detergent	0	0	2	0.5
11. Leisure (Restaurants, hotels, shopping malls, tours & travels)	14	6.2	27	7.2
12. Banks	8	3.5	10	2.7
13. Real Estate	2	0.9	2	0.5
14. Contraception	0	0	0	0
15. Communications and office equipment	1	0.4	8	2.2
16. Health & dietary products	8	3.5	8	2.2
17. Courses & education	6	2.7	10	2.7
18. Cars	6	2.7	8	2.2
19. Media & books	6	2.7	9	2.4
20. Credit Cards	0	0	10	2.7
21. Furnitures	1	0.4	9	2.4
22. Airline	1	0.4	4	1.1
23. Tobacco & Cigarettes	0	0	0	0
24. Drugs & other vitamins	18	8.0	6	1.6
25. Electronic goods (VCR, TV, Radio Cassette, CD player, etc)	3	1.2	0	0
26. Others	9	4.0	11	2.9
TOTAL	226	100	373	100

The quantitative data shown in Tables 5.4 and 5.5 can help us to understand the increasing amount of consumer spending, which was reflected throughout the

advertisement features in women's magazines. These tables show the dominant products advertised in *Femina* and *Kartini* in 1992 and in 1997. The data was collected from twelve editions of *Femina* from January to March 1992 and 1997. Because *Femina* and *Kartini* have periods of circulation in each month (*Femina* is a weekly magazine, while *Kartini* was a biweekly magazine in 1992 and ten daily magazine from 1994 until the last edition), two *Femina* magazines were selected in each month; for *Kartini*, all editions (two magazines) in each month were selected.

The chief editor of *Femina*, in the interview said that the management never selected the kinds of promotions placed in the magazine. According to her, the advertisers seem to have identified the market segment of *Femina* well, that is the upper middle class women. However, there is a policy at the magazine of not allowing some particular products to be advertised in its pages, like MSG products, cigarettes, kinds of beers and alcohol, and products which are considered to sexually harass women (interview with Widarti, 21 August 1998).

Unlike *Femina*, *Kartini* showed a decline in the numbers of product categories advertised in its 1997 editions. While, the number of advertising pages in this magazine was constant, the number of products placed in the magazine fell. Thus, while some advertisers still used two to three pages for promoting their products, the actual number of products advertised declined. In the 1992 editions, for example, from 200 magazine's pages, 75 pages or twenty-five per cent were used for commercial promotions.

Table 5.5
Categories of Products Advertised
KARTINI
1992 and 1997

Category of Products	1992		1997	
	(000)	%	(000)	%
1. Fashion & Accessories (incl. Shoes, bags, textiles)	16	6.7	5	2.6
2. Food and Beverages	20	8.4	29	14.8
3. Home appliances	13	5.4	15	7.7
4. Perfume & Cosmetics	19	7.9	22	11.2
5. Lotions	10	4.2	7	3.6
6. Jewellery, watches, spectacles	23	9.6	5	2.6
7. Hygiene Products	19	7.9	13	6.6
8. Baby's & Children's Goods	10	4.2	2	1.0
9. Toiletries	15	6.3	4	2.0
10. Detergent	5	2.1	7	3.6
11. Leisure (Restaurants, hotels, shopping malls, tours & travels)	14	5.9	4	2.0
12. Banks	10	4.2	8	4.1
13. Real Estate	0	0	0	0
14. Contraception	1	0.4	0	0
15. Communications & office equipment	0	0	2	1.0
16. Health & dietary products	8	3.3	4	2.0
17. Courses & education	2	0.8	0	0
18. Cars	1	0.4	0	0
19. Media & books	17	7.1	41	20.9
20. Credit Cards	0	0	3	1.5
21. Furnitures	0	0	6	3.1
22. Airlines	0	0	0	0
23. Tobacco & cigarettes	1	0.4	0	0
24. Drugs & other vitamins	15	6.3	9	4.6
25. Electronic goods (VCR, TV, Radio Cassette, CD player, etc)	1	0.4	0	0
26. Others	20	8.4	10	5.1
TOTAL	239	100.4*	196	100

*Total does not come to 100 percent due to rounding

In addition, the image of women as belonging in a domestic environment was a significant feature in *Kartini*, and was reinforced by the frequency with which domestic product categories, such as food and drink, dominated the advertising. This is because *Kartini* targeted the housewife, or more generally the family rather than the new middle class woman who constitutes the *Femina* market. As a result, the

percentage of domestic products advertised, besides jewellery items, was high, especially in 1997.

The Shifting Portrayals of Women in Some Advertising Features

In general, advertising cannot be separated from art, politics, economics, or any other factors in society (Phipps, 1991). Advertising reflects the picture of social reality that currently exists in a society, and encourages the necessary changes for improving society. As it has been suggested in most studies on the representation of women in advertising, there is much complaint and disapproval about the stereotyping of women (Phipps, 1991, p. 15). It is quite often that “the stereotypes in advertising are seen to be negative, limited and completely unrelated to anything in the consumer’s world whether real or aspirational” (Ibid). Meanwhile, some advertisers redefine their stereotyped image to keep pace with changes in society. As well as updating the traditional images of women, there is a great change in the portrayal of women at work.

However, this new aspect of women’s lives does not mean that women are no longer responsible for all domestic activities. The increase in the proportion of working women in Indonesia in the 1990s stimulated women to re-evaluate their role in the society. Since the 1980s middle class Indonesian women have been striving for independence, equality, and success in the workplace while still caring for their families.

As can be seen in Figures 5.4 and 5.5, a young active woman appears in these advertisements, pictured as an urban middle class woman in Indonesia today,

working, for example, as an account executive, or a secretary in the central business district in Jakarta. The image of these women becomes the dream for many young Indonesian women, especially those who are in the lower middle classes. The desire is to be like them, skinny woman working in skyscraper buildings with air conditioning and wearing a blazer or jacket, mini skirt and high-heeled shoes. The written text of "*Softex Ultra*" (Figure 5.4), for example, starts thus " Women are only in the kitchen and taking care of the household. Aren't they?! Together with the change of era, the woman of today has more roles than before, spending her time in her destiny and at the same time keeping herself up with the dynamic modern rhythm of life".

These images, however, have not replaced the image of the housewife and mother, which occupy many advertising pictures. Images of women in domestic and maternal roles continue to be employed in advertising features, especially for everyday consumer products such as food and beverages, toiletries, household cleaning products, and baby product advertisements, while men only rarely appear in food, detergent and baby products. Although men appear in some pictures, they are portrayed as professionals. For example, there is a man in the advertising of dairy products (see Figure 5.6), but the image shown is of a professional chef who is showing a dish, not a man doing women's work such as cooking, and cleaning.

In contrast to that image, a woman, shown advertising "*Kecap ABC*" (Figure 5.7), is represented as a housewife who is serving a meal for her family. The written text shown starts, "Ketchup ABC, the secret for being more loved by the family. ... My children and my husband always say "Hurry up Mum"... after I have finished, I serve my cooking. They are impatient to eat that meal soon", while the mother brings the

cooked meal for her children and husband. These messages indicate how the stereotypical image of women is still featured strongly in advertising for food and beverages, household cleaning products and toiletries (Figure 5.8) in Indonesian women's magazines.

In another example, (the advertising series for *Nivea* baby products, Figure 5.9) a man (the father) is shown taking care of a baby. Although the picture suggests the man is bathing the baby, other pictures show clearly the man is only playing with the baby. If these pictures are compared to others advertising for "*Cuddle*" baby products, where a woman (the mother) is bathing the baby, we see a message that addresses people in such a way as to suggest that only mothers are responsible for determining the choice of baby care materials. The written text on the top of the picture says "... Mother always knows the best for me" (see Figure 5.10).

Images of professional women are increasingly common in advertisements for cars, pagers, mobile phones, banks, computers, beauty and hygiene products for women, despite the endurance of images of women in domestic and maternal roles in women's magazine advertisements in the 1990s. These products are almost always addressed to the professional women exclusively. However, in some sophisticated technology product advertisements in women's magazines, like personal computers, it seems that the shifting role of the housewife is beginning to be acknowledged. Advertisements now show that women not only manage the household income, but have also become decision-makers in determining a technology product for the members of family. For example, in the advertisement for "*Orca*" personal computers (Figure 5.11), a modern mother looks confused in choosing a personal computer, which meets the needs of all

GUCCT



Kelompok ini akan melakukan Rancangan Riset yang berjudul "Pengaruh Kualitas Pelayanan Terhadap Kepuasan Pelanggan".

LANVIN

Tanpa meratai ini, ganyang yang di penuhi panganan
mending Ciciar Mawakun. Buruknya heposokl banyak
feminin dalam niger. Tawakul dalam ngal batin, batin awak
dan dingo. Sedangkan wongnya batin, paku, batin
melay yang di lindung di batin. Kall untuk awak
Sis lincis lincis batin, batin batin. Dengan ngal
antara Rp2.500.000—Rp3.500.000—Rp4.000.000

PALOMA PICASSO

Tas Paloma Picasso bergaya Miki, dengan logo Kiki (K). Bahan ini sebagian besar dasarnya bergaya simple dan berwarna warna netral hitam, biru gelap, dan cokelat kupa. Seri geometri yang langka seperti lingkaran, segitiga, dan kait kencana muda. Seri Pyramid.

SI DI TONT

Tas wanita ini juga terbuat dari kulit sapi yang telah dibersihkan dan berdebu. Tas ini juga terbuat dari bahan tekstil (kain) berwarna hitam. Warna tas ini adalah hitam, dan tas ini memiliki dua bagian, yaitu bagian atas dan bagian bawah. Bagian atas tas ini terbuat dari bahan tekstil (kain) berwarna hitam, dan bagian bawah tas ini terbuat dari bahan tekstil (kain) berwarna hitam.



yang harus di
malam hari ter
chaper harus be
vinnis. Tas yang
peroleh di Plaza
yang ini cukup kate
tipe ini dipa
harga Rp. 100.000
atau Rp. 150.000

daftar isi
trend - 1
kamudi - 2
dari hati ke hati
uang & kenangan
seks & perkawinan
patologi - 7
klub diet feminin

info
kita

Piemonte No.8/XXV • 27 Febbraio • 5 Marzo 1992

Wewangian
untuk Pria & Wanita



FERRARI

Ketertarikan mobil Ferrari monstah maha kanya Enzo Ferrari telah melonggoda di seluruh penjuru dunia. Kehadirannya diidentifikasikan dengan kejayaan seorang pria. Untuk melonggoda prestasi ini terdapatlah wewangian bersuara mewah The Hot Ferrari Parfum Dengan harga dan Rp75.000,- hingga Rp169.000,- www.ferrari.com

5th
AVENUE

Tahun ini Elizabeth dan memperkirakan 500 orang akan datang ke acara ini. Elizabeth dan suaminya berniat datang ke acara ini dan menikmati setiap momen. Di dalam oleh gedung gedung pencakar langit di North Manhattan New York, mala diresmikan 50 Avenue, rumah ini telah paling populer di kota tersebut. Wow yang ini luar biasa di counter Elizabeth Acton dengan harga 99.000 - normal Rp165.000 -»



Subjektive Wahrnehmung

Sekolah Alam ini dibangun selama beberapa minggu oleh mahasiswa dan dosen dari berbagai universitas di sekitar Jakarta. Sekolah Alam ini memiliki luas lahan 1 hektar, dengan berbagai fasilitas yang mendukung proses belajar mengajar. Sekolah Alam ini juga memiliki berbagai fasilitas yang mendukung proses belajar mengajar, seperti lapangan olahraga, gedung pertemuan, dan lain-lain.

JEAN PAUL GAULTIER

Setelah sukses dengan parfum wanita lengkap dengan botol berbentuk torso wanita, Jean Paul Gaultier menampilkan parfum berbotol pria berbusur pedang dan dengan kemasan dalam kotak, dengan nama *Le Male* Menyembat (Hai) Waktunya bulan 1 tahun ini, setiap pembelian parfum JPG untuk pria (edf spray 125 ml) hanya Rp175.000... Jatah JPG wanita



Rp225.000,-)
 akan mendapat
 hadiah sebuah
 miniatur yang
 berisipatun. PG
 wanita dan pra
 yang unik. Ikon
 diolah terbatas.
 hanya bisa diper
 oleh di tasaba
 Indonesia.

MISTERI DAYAK *TREND WARNA SARI AYU 1997*

Alam rimba. Adat Budaya. Serta kecantikan wanitanya. Kelahiran masyarakat Dayak yang penuh warna dan misteri ini terungkap melalui brand warna SARI AYU 1997.

MISTERI DAYAK. Sebuah koleksi tata rias yang diilhami gaya pelesenan dan gemerlapnya masyarakat DAYAK. Dengan formula labu luyu, dam kemasan baru non mewah. Untuk memperindah wanita Indonesia.

KOLEKSI APOKAYAN untuk penampilan alami dan esotis

KOLEKSI MAHAKAM untuk penampilan anggun non mewah

SARIAYU
MARITIA TILAK
KEMENTERIAN KULTUR DAN KEMASYARAKATAN
KEMENTERIAN TRADITIONAL NAT MODERN

Figure 5.2. The advertisements for “SariAyu” cosmetics are always promoting the picture of the beautiful Indonesian nature and culture which is accompanied by the portrait of typical beautiful Indo woman as the model (*Femina*, no.3/16-22 January 1997 & *Kartini*, no.446/5 January 1992).

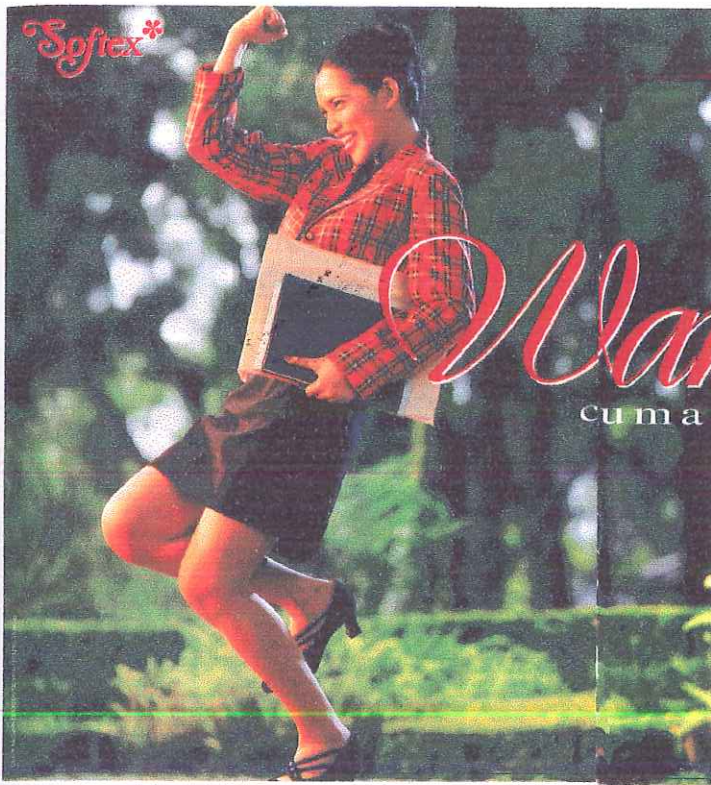
RIMAYAT ASMAT *Rangkaian Warna Rias Terbaru Persembahan Sari Ayu*

Rahasia emas tanah harapan, kreasi kreasi Asmat nan istimewa. Terpahat dalam Koleksi Rimayat Asmat. Tata Rias terbaru persembahan Sari Ayu untuk memperindah mata, pipi, bibir dan jemari Anda.

SARIAYU
MARITIA TILAK
KEMENTERIAN KULTUR DAN KEMASYARAKATAN
KEMENTERIAN TRADITIONAL NAT MODERN



Figure 5.3. This advertisement for “*Mustika Ratu*” cosmetics never entice the affluent middle class women to consume the cosmetic products from this local Indonesian brand name. These kinds of features are considered inferior compared to the features of advertisements for international branded products such as, *Estee Lauder*, *Elisabeth Arden*, and *Clinique* (*Femina* No 13/3-9 April 1997)



Wanita

cuma di dapur
dan urus rumah.

Apa itu?

Sejalan dengan

perubahan jaman, wanita masa
kini punya lebih banyak peran,
menjalani kehidupannya sekaligus
mengikuti ritme kehidupan
modern yang dinamis.

Itulah mengapa Softex
menciptakan Ultra, beragam
jenis pembalut wanita yang
didesain khusus agar wanita
merasa aman, nyaman, dan
bebas melakukan kegiatan
sehari-hari.

Dirunjang dengan
pengalaman 20 tahun lebih,
Softex memiliki teknologi
dan keahlian untuk
mempesembahkan hanya yang
terbaik bagi wanita.

Softex
Ultra

SOFTEX MEMAHAMI WANITA

Figure 5.4. As images of working women are now becoming commonplace in Indonesia, the advertisers seemingly like to employ the portraits of young urban working women for their products. (Above: *Femina*, no.16/24-30 April 1997. Below: *Femina*, no. 30/31 July-6 August 1997).

NYAMAN dan BERSIH ala WANITA AKTIF

Lucu juga kalau ingat Mira, teman kosku. Wanita
talin urung-urung kalau pas hari 'H'-nya datang, dia
malah sebaliknya. Urung-urung bila hari 'H'-nya sudah
lewat. Yang katanya lembab-leh, nggak pede-leh.

Memang sih aktivitas Mira yang cukup padat di kantornya
menghantarkannya dia untuk selalu tampil percaya diri. Sebagai
arsitek, ia banyak ketemu klien. Belum lagi harus memimpin
timnya dalam menyelesaikan proyek. Badan pasti cepat lembab.

Ya, ternyata masalah 'area tubuh paling pribadi' memang
paling sering bikin pusing para wanita aktif. Mira bilang, setiap
habis menstruasi, dia merasa belum bersih benar. Makanya seban-
tar-bentar ia ke toilet untuk membersihkan diri. Ia mengeluh ke-
capatan dan tidak nyaman dengan keadaan seperti itu. Nan susah
cari kamar kecil diproyek?

Aku pernah mendengar ceritanya. Habis, walaupun sudah
jadi wanita karier yang sukses, ternyata masih kuper juga. Aku juga
sering kok mengalami keadaan 'lembab' pada saat menjelang atau
sudah menstruasi. Malah kalau terlalu capek dengan pekerjaan
di kantor, sering juga aku mengalami keputihan. Aku sempat frus-
trasi seperti Mira. Kalau sudah begitu, mau mengerjakan apapun
rasanya malas.

Aktivitasku sebagai *account executive* sebuah agency juga
cukup banyak. Aku harus selalu tampil rapi dan percaya diri.
Maklum sering ketemu klien. Sepulang kantor pun, di hari-hari ter-
lentu aku punya jadwal fitness, berenang, nonton, dan lain-lain.
Tapi, bagaimana jika sepi kalau pakai dalam sebentar-
bentar basah. Untungnya aku banyak bertanya sebagai masalah
'pakai dalam yang lembab' tidak
berlanjut-lirid. Dari hasil tanya sara-
sini aku tahu, sekarang ada cara prak-
tis untuk mengatasi persoalan area
peremp-
an seperti
itu.

Saat itu juga kubertahu
Mira tentang Laurier Panty-
liners, pelindung pakaian
dalam wanita yang kupakai
setiap hari untuk melindungi dari
rasa lembab karena keputihan,
keringat atau sehabis dari toilet.
Memang ada juga sih, produk
sejenis. Namun bagiku, Laurier
Pantyliners mempunyai nilai
plus. Selain permukaannya sa-
ngat lembut, bentuknya juga
ideal dan tipis, mengikuti paka-

ian dalam. Laurier Pantyliners juga mempunyai pori-pori yang
cepat menyerap lembab, sehingga aku senantiasa merasa nyaman,
kering dan bersih setiap hari.

Harum lagi, karena Laurier Pantyliners
ada yang berjenis *perfumed*. Bagi Mereka yang
bikin siha wewangian, bisa saja memilih yang
non perfumed. Yang penting bagi wanita aktif,
Laurier Pantyliners praktis dan higienis karena
dikemas dalam kemasan sekali buka. Jadi,
mudah diselipkan dalam tas.

Mira tidak mau menun-
da lagi. Saranku langsung
diikuti lho! Keesokan harinya,
dalam-dalam kuintip tas ternyata
sudah ada Laurier Pantyliners
yang karesponnya muncul, pas
untuk kebutuhan wanita aktif
seperti kita-kita ini!

"Hari-hari Nyaman, hari-hari Laurier"

Advertorial PKP'97 Terbitan Majalah Femina, Wink, Lente, Glos, Lohat Kiba Pessing, Dineke STEFEL



Vaseline
&
Wanita
Bekerja

Bagaimana meraih sukses dalam karir ?

Jikalau karir teramat penting artinya, tidaklah seharusnya Anda terus menyiapkan upaya meningkatkannya?

Mempersembahkan

'Vaseline dan Wanita Bekerja', tayangan istimewa yang disiapkan oleh Vaseline khusus bagi wanita bekerja.

Menampilkan aneka topik masa kini dengan ulasan pakar yang ahli dan berpengalaman di bidang karir dan kewanitaan.

'Vaseline dan Wanita Bekerja' ditayangkan setiap Sabtu pagi, pukul 9.00 WIB di program Jelita, saluran Indosiar, mulai Mei hingga September 1997.

Ikuti juga melalui majalah Femina dan program Ida-Krisna Show, radio Femala, setiap Kamis pagi selama periode yang sama.

Vaseline Intensive Care

Dari Penelitian Intensif Hadir Perawatan Intensif

Figure 5.5. Images of career women become more frequent in some advertisements in Indonesia in the 1990s. Like these two images of young career women, they live in urban centres and look busy; the diary and the mobile phone are the two symbols which are never ignored in the picture of modern working women. (Above : Femina, no. 26/3-9 July 1997. Below: Kartini, no. 627/25 August-4 September 1997).



Kini Anda bebas beraktifitas di luar ruang

...Parasol SPF 15 melindungi kulit Anda dari terik matahari. Untuk kegiatan Anda sehari-hari, kini tak perlu cemas lagi. Parasol Sunblock Lotion serta Cream akan menjaga kulit tubuh serta kulit wajah Anda dari pengaruh buruk sinar UVA dan UVB. Parasol adalah tabir surya yang memiliki kadar SPF (Sun Protecting Factor) yang cukup untuk melindungi kulit tubuh dan wajah Anda sepanjang hari. Dengan tabir surya Parasol kulit Anda mendapat perlindungan yang efektif dan aman.

Parasol
SUNBLOCK LOTION
SPF 15
PAAR 20g

SDM Dedicated to dermatology

Dari rumah tangga... sampai hotel berbintang lima



Cocok! dengan aroma
dan lezatnya **ORCHID BUTTER**
GRATIS
1 Piring Kue*)

Untuk Pembelian 1 Kaleng
Orchid Butter 340gr atau 2 Pak
Orchid Butter Kemasan 227 gr.

Selamat Idul Fitri 1 Syawal 1412 H



*) sebagai pengganti minyak atau lemak

INDOMILK
Kalsium Sifat Kaleng RINDOMILK

Untuk keterangan lebih lanjut, hubungi:
Bagian Promosi PT. INDOMILK
PO BOX 2551 - JAKARTA PUSAT
Telp. (021) 8710433, 8710211, 8710212, 8710213

ORCHID BUTTER
Pelezat hidangan, bergizi tinggi.

Figure 5.6. The image of the man shown in advertisements for food and beverages is always portrayed in relation to the image of profesional chef, while a woman is portrayed as a housewife who is busy to cook for her family. (Kartini, no. 453/30 March-14 April 1992).

Figure 5.7. This is the portrayal of a housewife who looks happy to serve her family by cooking meals. It seems here that women deserve to serve the family members with their "domestic skill" like cooking (Femina, no. 17/4-10 May 1995).

" Anak-anak dan suami saya selalu bersemangat 'Cepas Bu! ... Pagi ini saya sudah masak hidangan spesial untuk mereka, tak sabar segera menikmati hidangan itu. Mau tahu rahasia saya bu? Sejak saya menambahkan kecap manis ABC pada masakan saya, hidangan menjadi istimewa dan memiliki ciri khas tersendiri sehingga hidangan menjadi lebih berlezat. Benarkan, kata saya! "

**Kecap ABC
Rahasia Untuk
Lebih Disayangi
Keluarga**

Ini karena kecap ABC terbuat dari biji gandum pilihan, kacang kedelai yang berprotein tinggi, gula Jawa, serta rempah-rempah terpilih yang menjadikan kecap ABC lebih berbeda kecap biasa. Jadi, jika "selera" adalah hal terpenting buat ibu... gunakan kecap ABC.



ABC We Perfect Nature

Swallow & Bagus[®]

Rangkaian Kamper Terbaik Bagi Rumah Anda

Swallow & Bagus, rangkaian kamper terbaik dan dibuat dari bahan-bahan yang bermutu tinggi untuk menghalau ngengat sekaligus mengharumkan ruangan serta akan menjadikan pakaian dan buku Anda terpelihara dengan baik. Gunakan selalu kamper Swallow & Bagus untuk pakaian, buku, kamar mandi dan toilet atau keperluan lainnya.



PT SURYAMAS MENTARI

SURYAMAS
2, Pusat Raya No. 12, Blok A1-A2, Jember Utama - Jember
Telp. 031-4817940 (Surabaya) • Fax. 031-4817940, 0317941 • Tele. 42318 SURYAMAS UK
P.O. Box 4565 JKT 11649 • Cebu: SUPT JKT • E-mail: sm4565@indosat.net.id • http://www.suryamas.co.id

Figure 5.8. The image of the housewife also remains as the mainstay in the advertisements for toiletries and house cleaning products (*Femina*, no. 7/20-26 February 1997).



Figure 5.9. Series of advertisements for *Nivea* baby products which employ a man with his baby as the model. This ad is also considered as presenting the shifting role of the father in taking care of children in the household (*Femina*, No.13/3-9 April 1997 & No.26/3-9 July 1997)



"Brrrl... brrrl... brrrl..."
 ("Eh, ibu kan selalu tahu yang terbaik untukku.")



Karenanya ibu memilih Cuddle, yang formulanya khusus diciptakan untuk merawat kulit bayi. Cuddle Baby Soap begitu lembut serta mengandung *Natural Oil*, yang memberikan dan menjaga kelembaban serta kelentutan kulit bayi. Membuat bayi merasa segar, gembira dan nyaman sepanjang hari.

CUDDLE
 Sentuhan Kasih Ibu

Terdapat juga Cuddle Baby Powder, Baby Oil, Baby Lotions, Baby Shampoo dan Baby Cologne, untuk perawatan lengkap bayi Anda.





Figure 5.10 Mother always knows the best for deciding about baby material products
 (Femina No. 26/3-9 July 1997, No.33/21-27 August 1997)

"Ah da... da... da..."
 ("Eh, ibu kan selalu tahu yang terbaik untukku.")



Karenanya ibu memilih Cuddle, yang formulanya khusus diciptakan untuk merawat kulit bayi. Cuddle Baby Powder begitu lembut serta mengandung *Natural Oil*, yang menjaga kulit bayi tetap halus dan tetap kering. Membuat bayi merasa nyaman, gembira dan nyaman sepanjang hari.

CUDDLE
 Sentuhan Kasih Ibu

Terdapat juga Cuddle Baby Soap, Baby Oil, Baby Lotions, Baby Shampoo dan Baby Cologne, untuk perawatan lengkap bayi Anda.



Intel Inside
 Celeron
 333 MHz
 100MB/s
 70-80 MB/s



Hea Yuli, 35 th.
Dari Bandung, Jawa Barat.

**" IAYA BINGUNG MEMILIH
KOMPUTER KELUARGA ..."**

... yang bisa untuk
SUAMI BEKERJA di
rumah, lalu
MENJELAJAH
DUNIA INTERNET.
Bisa buat si KAKAK
BIKIN PR, si ADIK
MAIN GAME dan,
pada waktu santai saya
bisa BERKARAOKE,
..... kan tidak
gampang !"

Selain memenuhi
kebutuhan keluarga
kamu, ORCA PC juga
DESIGN bukan
bijaksana. MANDAL
Gagal di sarung apa
MUDAH
DIGUNAKAN dan
TERJANGKAU
Harganya.




 PT GALVA TECHNOLOGIES CORPORATION
 Gedung Wajana Lt. 5, Jalan Bina Lest 5, Kav. 03, Caring, Jakarta 13140, Indonesia
 Telp. (021) 837 1150 - 52, 837 1033 - 33 - Fax. (021) 830 8521, 830 8522, 837 1034
 ORCA is a registered trademark of PT Galva Technologies Corporation
 The Intel Inside logo and Pentium are registered trademarks and MMX is a trademark of Intel Corporation


 ORCA.
 making waves

5.11. This woman is represented as a modern housewife who confused trying to determine the computer brand name for her family (*Femina*, no. 29/24-30 July 1997)

of the family's members. The written text starts, " ...I am confused about selecting the family PC... that is for my husband to work at home, for exploring the internet, for my oldest child to do homework, and for my youngest to play games, and in my leisure time, for me to use for *karaoke*... isn't it easy?." This image of a mother is very new rare for Indonesian families, even for the modern family. A mother or a woman is not supposed to make a decision in selecting a personal computer for her husband and children.

The Use of English Language in Advertising

Middle class Indonesia seems to have a distinct lifestyle in comparison to other social classes, and this has been reflected in the way they speak and act. Middle class people like to use the English language to express their feelings in everyday conversation with people from the same social class. Until the last two decades there were still many bourgeois Indonesians who spoke Dutch in addition to Indonesian. This was a mark of education and cosmopolitanism, as well as being a legacy of colonialism. It has long been stated by Geertz (1960) that petty-bourgeois in Indonesia, who benefited from education provided by the Dutch before war, like to act as Western [Dutch] people and this phenomenon is still relevant in modern Indonesia.

Prijaji [sic] at the middle and higher levels tend to speak Dutch instead of Javanese; and the higher levels do so to the point where, except for the low Javanese they use to command their servants, they are nearly unable to speak their native language. ... Out of all this came a new model for the Javanese aristocracy and for the commoners patterning themselves after them, a model based on white-collar Western education emphasizing Dutch language, history, and literature and Dutch manners and values. ... (Geertz, 1960, p. 236).

Today, the new middle classes, largely descended from aristocratic (*priyayi*) families choose to speak English in addition to Indonesian. This social phenomenon is

reflected in the creation of advertising copy in the Indonesian media. The creative people in advertising agencies have created many advertising features using an English language term together with Indonesian. This can be considered the language of cosmopolitanism.

In modern Indonesia, the use of English is everywhere, from everyday conversation to the names of brands, and in the language of advertising for many products. Looking at some advertising features in women's magazines, the evidence that middle class people have a different way of speaking and acting is obvious. The advertising of "*Indosat SLI 008*" (Figure 5.12) exemplifies the trend. In this ad, there is a woman holding a laptop computer and a mobilephone with Big Ben in London as the background. At the fax machine on the top of picture there is a message written in English, "I miss U, Love Amy", while in the written text accompanying the advertisement there is also the English term "Happy anniversary" to express what happened at that time.

In another advertisement for a drink product "*Sustagen Vitness*" (Figure 5.13), a man and woman are presented as a young energetic professional couple, who like to start their activity on Monday, while many people do not like to start to work on Monday. With the written text saying "I love Monday!", this ad exemplifies the spirit of modern young working people in Indonesia.

Another advertisement for "*Motorola pagers*" (Figure 5.14), is set up with the background of a notice board full of message notes written in English (for example, "Congratulations! Just heard the good news. Keep up the good work! David"), and

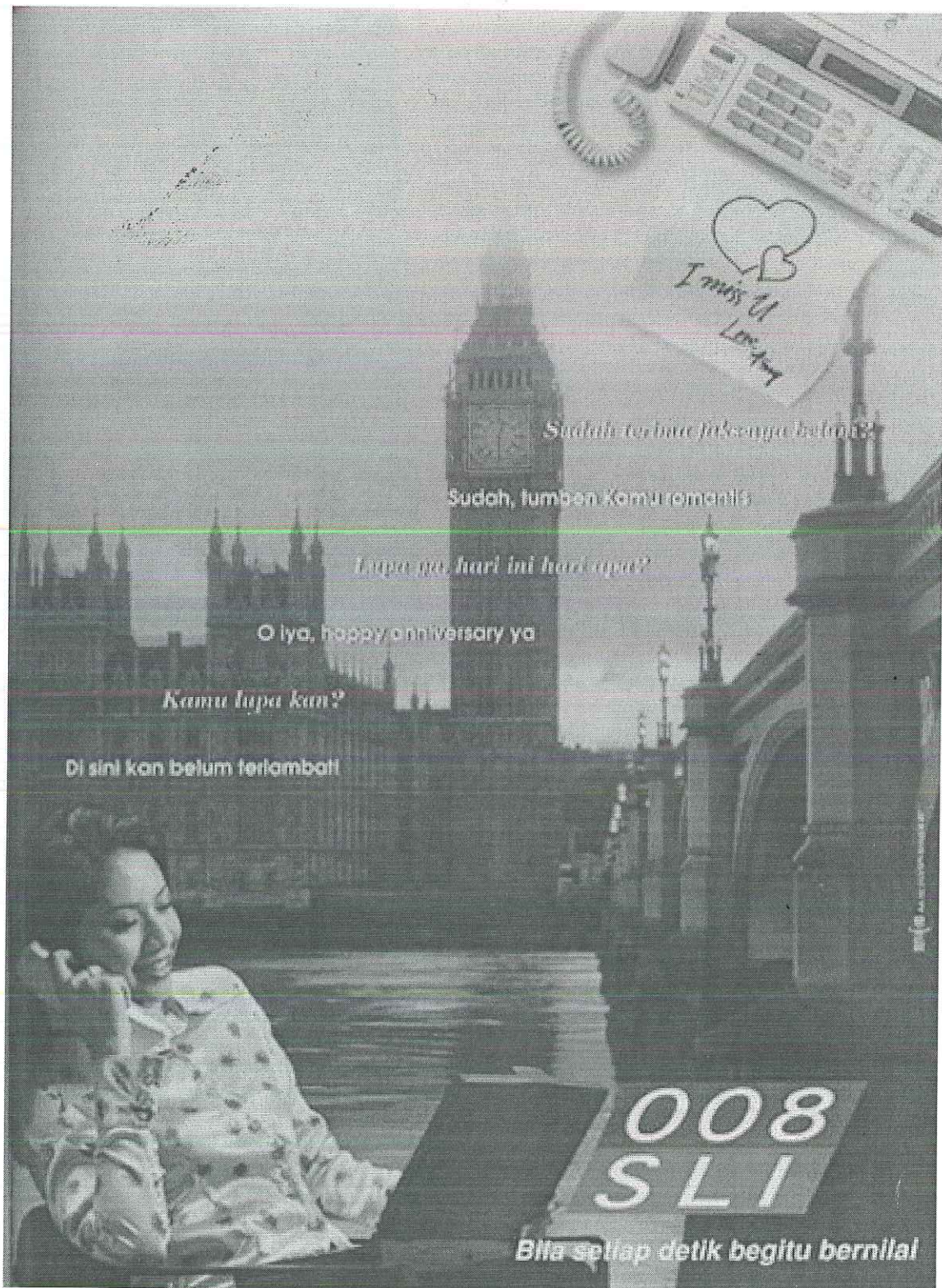


Figure 5.12. The picture shows the cosmopolitan image of Indonesian women today, with laptop computer, fax machine, telephone, and the background of Big Ben in London. On the top of the paper there are English terms ["I miss U, love Amy"... and "happy anniversary") in addition to Indonesian language (*Femina*, no. 44/6-12 November 1997).

"I LOVE MONDAY!"

Nah, ini baru luar biasa !

Biasanya, orang bilang Senin - hari yang menyebalkan, habis enak-enak libur, mesti menghadapi jadwal kegiatan yang padat ! Tapi, kini dengan Sustagen Vitness*, hari Senin akan menjadi hari baru yang menyenangkan!

Anda akan mendapat vitamin dan mineral penting serta zat-zat gizi dan energi dari Sustagen Vitness*, dengan kadar lemak kurang dari

1% per gelas ! Formulasi tepat untuk menjaga stamina dan penampilan. Pokoknya, minumlah Sustagen Vitness* secara rutin setiap hari, dan tak akan ada lagi hari-hari yang menyebalkan. Stamina Anda tetap tinggi, penampilan pun lebih meyakinkan !

Pasti karena minum

**SUSTAGEN
VITNESS**



Mead Johnson
A World Leader in Nutrition

Figure 5.13. They are the example of the new trend among young working couples who like starting work on Monday morning, as it is identified as following the trend in Western countries (*Femina*, no. 26/3-9 July 1997).

with a mix of Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*) and English (“Thanks untuk makan *malamnya* [thanks for the dinner] I love U. Vera”, or “*Didi*, review *besok jam 2 siang*. *Boss kayaknya sih happy*”.[*Didi*, tomorrow review at 2pm. Boss seems happy...], or “*Jam berapa kamu bisa internal review besok? Ady*” [What time can you do the internal review tomorrow?]). These are the forms of cosmopolitanism of language applied in everyday conversation among urban middle classes in modern Indonesia.

The tendency to use English terms in the some cultural discourses in Indonesia seems to be a reflection of the paradigm of modernisation. Modernisation is still interpreted by many Indonesian people as Westernisation, because the notion of ‘modernisation’ is viewed as “a social change originally initiated by the West” (With et.al, 1998, p. 197). According to this view, it seems to the urban middle class women and to the community in general, that being ‘modern’ means to become like the Western world. The image of cosmopolitanism then becomes “perfect” as the companion of the image of being ‘modern’ Indonesian. Therefore, their orientations, attitudes, and behaviour, are oriented in favour of Western ideas, including the use of Western [English] language as well. However, in order to not lose the Indonesian image, the English terms are used together with *Bahasa Indonesia* and some Indonesian ethnic terminology, such as Betawi-Jakarta idioms and Javanese terms.

The following section discusses about how image of contemporary Islam addressed in women’s magazines through the construction of fashion (Muslim gown) for middle class Muslim women. The discussion is significant here to show how the image of wearing *jilbab* or *kerudung* (Muslim headscarf) for urban middle class women is not

determined by the magazines as backward (*kolot*) or as conservative, but rather presented as the recent fashion trend among urban Muslim women. The pictures shown here were selected from some fashion page both in *Femina* and *Kartini* in their special editions for *Ramadhan*.

Images of Contemporary Islam

Islam is the religion supported by the majority of people in Indonesia, including the new wealthy people. Contemporary Indonesian women's magazines have also recognised this inescapable fact of social reality of Indonesia. Like other capitalist media, women's magazines do not want to lose their readers, so they have to conform in the magazines with the issues relating to moral and religious values found in the wider culture. For example, in every *Ramadhan* event, or in the holy month of Muslim "*Idul Fitri*", both *Femina* and *Kartini* arrange the content of magazine to cover issues on Islamic matters, from their fashion pages, articles, and fiction stories, to the cooking page. However, all the issues are directed to the 'modern' view of Islam, women and femininity. This is an attempt by the journals to challenge the conservative values of Islam towards women of today. It is also an attempt to re-interpret Islam through the lens of modernity.

In the special edition for *Ramadhan* in 1997, for example, *Femina* used Islam and the reproduction right of women as the central issue in its magazine, and provided some articles about how to maintain harmonious relationships between husbands and wives according to the values of Islam.

...Specifically for the Muslim readers, this is an exclusive edition of *Lebaran* [a holy Muslim day after *Ramadhan*]. We provide articles specifically about Islam. One of the articles discusses the rights of a Muslim woman concerning her sexuality. In fact, Islam is very emphatic about women's rights.

Unfortunately, the understanding of religion has become biased, because the majority of the 'interpreters' are men... (editorial *Femina*, 30 January-5 February 1997).

In its fashion pages, the magazine showed "modern" styles of fashion for Muslim women. This fashion was a combination of conventional Muslim woman's dress and the modern ideas of fashion. As it is prescribed in Islam, it is a requirement for Muslim woman to wear a dress with a long headscarf, but not all women like to wear this dress. As one of Muslim women, name Mahdiah, comments, "It is a requirement to wear *jilbab* [headscarf] but not all women do. Maybe they think that it makes them look old, or maybe they like European or American clothes" (cited in Williams, 1998, p. 277). This comment is typical of the attitude of those women who are devout Muslims, but who accept modernisation and global social change in Indonesia. She represents also the figure of Muslim woman who remains essentially conservative, but who has a modern insight to their thinking, and who can tolerate modern liberal ideas. One influential Muslim leader, Abdurrahman Wahid, who also has "democratic" view concerning the issue of Muslim women's dress, comments:

We are conscious of the threat of being uprooted by modernisation and rapid social change and one way to go back to our roots is by wearing clothes that are as close as possible to what is prescribed by the prophet. But that doesn't mean women want to accept domination by men. Even some men have adopted this Muslim garb like a tunic because they want to be identified as Muslim (cited in Williams, 1998, p. 278-279).

However, nowadays, there is an interesting phenomenon, in that every *Ramadhan* month, urban middle class women like to wear the Muslim dress [in Indonesia known as "*Busana Muslim*"]. This Muslim dress occasionally becomes the fashion for them, but ironically only for *Ramadhan* or *Idul Fitri* events. Arguing the rise of this social phenomenon among middle class women, Wahid stated that,

At one level the interpretation of a woman's image seems to have polarised: on the one hand skimpily clad girls are gracing all kinds of consumer goods in advertisements splashed across billboards, but on the other hand more and more women are choosing to wear the *jilbab*. ... (cited in Williams, 1998, p. 278).

In order to challenge the notion that, by wearing *jilbab*, Muslim women look old or ugly, as it was claimed by Mahdiah above, the look of fashionable Muslim dress, as shown in women's magazines, is now given a trendy and contemporary look by providing a modern accent. For example, in the conventional Muslim dress, a woman's entire body must be covered, whereas in the new fashion creation, part of the woman's body like the neck and hair remain uncovered. For some Muslim fundamentalists, this model of fashion is extremely controversial, but for the modernist this model is acceptable. Thus, by creating the 'new' look of Muslim women's dress, the magazines seem to wish to promote the notion that wearing this kind of Muslim dress does not mean that the image of 'modern' women is diminished.

The wear of 'modern' *jilbab* (it is also called '*kerudung*' [long headscarf] in Indonesia) became popular when the youngest Soeharto's daughter, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana [Tutut] wore '*kerudung*' in her official dress. This "politics of dressing" is promoted nationally by the New Order regime as becoming for official dress Muslim women, and this is one of the attempts of this regime to gain the support of the majority Muslims in Indonesia.

Muslim women fundamentalists quite often confront the pictures or images of modern women shown in women's magazines where models are shown wearing a swimsuit or bikini costume. For example, *Femina* had been criticised by a group of students who

came to its office to protest against the magazine showing a lady wearing a white bathing suit (Naipaul, 1998, p. 115). However, one of the editors' comments on this protest seems controversial. She tends to blame the protesters, who criticised the picture, because they could not be like the models in the magazine and because they (Islam fundamentalist women) are not allowed by the religion to wear that suit. This editor's comments were considered provocative, "Maybe -this is a guess- they like it, seeing the girls in the swimsuits, but they know it's forbidden by religion. Their anger is they are forbidden, we are not. We have the liberty they don't have" (Naipaul, 1998, p. 115). This comment indicates that the values of *Femina* concerning the issues of 'modern' women's dress seem to contradict the values of some Islamic fundamentalist women. The magazine tends to be liberal and it prefers to apply Western values in its ideology rather than to fulfil the requirements of Islam toward the behaviour of women in public.

This view of *Femina* seems to represent the view of modernist people toward the wearing of such controversial swimsuits in public. In May 1996, there was a controversy over the Indonesian woman's representative at the Miss Universe contest. This case, known as "Alya Rohali's case" (Alya Rohali was Miss Indonesian who sent to this International beauty contest sponsored by *Mustika Ratu* cosmetic company), became controversial because of her pose in a swimsuit (*Kartini*, no. 583/5-14 June 1996). Her appearance in Las Vegas was said to degrade Indonesian women, as it was claimed she was exposing her body in public. This case angered the Minister of Women's Affairs who claimed that the contest was aimed only at exploiting the woman's body. She countered, "The winner is measured by the size of her breasts, I am sure of that" (cited in Williams, 1998, p. 275). This exemplifies the

rigid view of small numbers of Indonesian people, who pretend to be moralist, but tend to be liberal in their attitudes. They disagree and criticise this kind of beauty contest, but they like to watch the Western programs on television and other overseas media every day, which show many images of women wearing swimsuit and bikinis.

Unlike its competitor, *Kartini* seems more conservative than *Femina*. Much of the contents of the magazine are coloured by Islamic values. According to Naipaul (1998, p.108) the case of *Femina* above has never happened at *Kartini*, because the magazine knew the situation of the world outside. In other words, unlike *Femina*, *Kartini* seems to try to cope with the situation of Muslim women who remain conservative when viewing the performance of modern Indonesian women. The attempt to compromise with the values of Islam fundamentalist women is achieved by Lukman Umar, the chief editor of *Kartini*, by never showing controversial pictures of women wearing a swimsuit in his magazine. The founder of *Kartini*, Lukman Umar, who comes from an Islamic fundamentalist family and grew up around Islamic religious society, and has not tried to follow or imitate the successful format of middle class papers.

Concluding Remarks

Some advertising features, shown in this chapter, are evidence of the phenomena of cosmopolitanism and modernity among the new urban middle in Indonesia in the 1990s. The representation of the housewife in advertising has shifted to the look of the young career or professional women. They are portrayed more frequently in product items such as communications and information technology, beauty products, and in the products of banks, credit cards, and cars. However, the portrait of the

housewife is still used for product items such as foods and beverages, toiletries, and other household cleaner products.

The rise of new wealthy people in urban centres of Indonesia has been significant in deciding the dominant category of products appearing in advertising. Item products, such as credit cards and ATM, for example, frequently occupy the advertising pages in contemporary women's magazines, especially in the editions of 1997. Modernisation and globalisation have also led these women to prefer to consume product items with international brand names to the local Indonesia products. Consuming these branded products is considered as part of the symbol of status for these middle class women.

The look of contemporary Islam in women's magazines can be found in the creation of the fashion pages and articles provided. Islamic conservative or fundamentalist features do not really appear in *Femina*, but the nuance of Islam with modern views and looks is commonly shown in this journal. Meanwhile, there has also been a contradiction confronting *Femina* for showing pictures of models in swimsuits, as the majority of Muslims in Indonesia desire to see Indonesian women in the "permissible" dress as prescribed by Islamic norms and Indonesian customs. However, the attempt of the *Femina*'s editor to defend the magazine by calling its opponents with "hypocritical" seems controversial, as can be seen from the way the editor comments on the issue of swimsuit matter. By contrast, *Kartini* is seemingly stronger than its contender, *Femina*, in applying the Islamic values in the magazine content. It seems here that the religious life or background of the owner and/or the founders is certainly involved in the creation of the magazine's content.



Figure 5.15. When Ramadhan and holy Muslim days are coming, the front covers of the magazines are always representing the look of Muslim women in wearing a Muslim dress and head scarf. Only for one month per year the features of apparently devout Muslim women shown in women's magazines, after the magazines have previously shown many features of modern women in Western gowns and dress



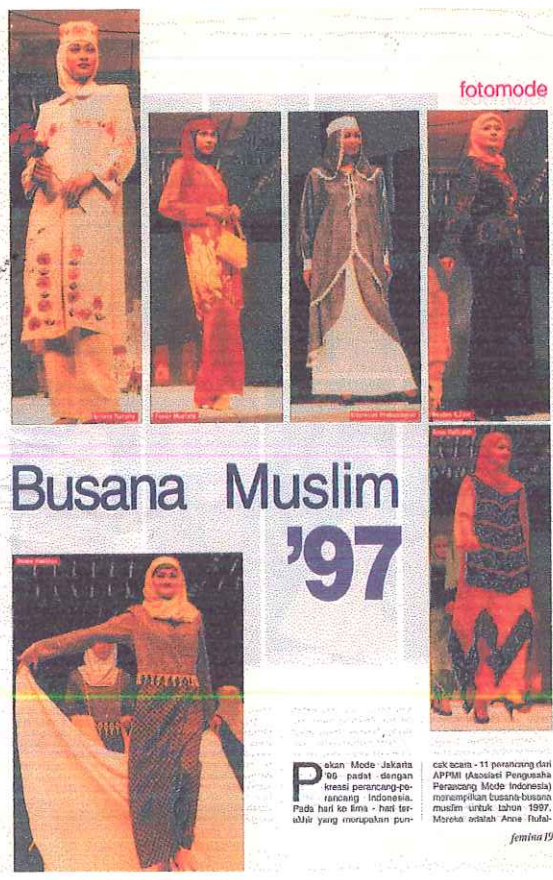


Figure 5.16. These are the examples of the look of modern Islam shown in contemporary Indonesian women's magazines. The creation of Muslim clothes is not only for women, but it also for men and children





Figure 5.19. The look of Muslim women's dress for praying (*sholat*), which is called *Mukenah* or *Rukuh* and other *sholat*'s accessories, are directed to the modern look. Therefore, modern women who want to wear this kind of Muslim dress and headscarf will not feel as though they look old and ugly (*Femina*, no. 6/6-12 February 1997).



CHAPTER SIX

Reading Practice: Readers' views about the representation shown in contemporary women's magazines

Women's magazines are supposed to encourage women, as the readers, to become familiar with their rights or their limited responsibilities in a patriarchal system. Women's magazines are also supposed to change and to improve reading preferences from only the entertainment and sensationalist media to thoughtful and meaningful reading. In order to understand what women's magazines mean for the readers it is necessary to study reading practices of the magazine reader. As it is stated by Ang (1989), a text has its meaning only if it is read. "Only in and through the practice of reading does the text have meaning for the reader. ... A reader has to know specific codes and conventions in order to be able to have any grasp of what a text is about" (p.27).

This chapter deals with how middle class women readers perceive and respond to the representation of modern women in contemporary women's magazines. It also discusses the everyday life of media (women's magazines) used among these audiences. There are several themes identified here, such as the new trends in consumerism, women's magazines as the trade mark of women, and the representation of modern women, which is still questioned as representing the identity of "others". This chapter focuses first on media use in everyday life: how women's magazines are read by the urban middle class women.

The aim, in focusing on, everyday life is to explore the ways in which users or consumers of media operate in the Indonesia context. As study of everyday practices will examine not only on “ways of operating” of the users, but specifically the systems of operational combination that create a “culture” (de Certeau, 1984, p.xi).

Since the work grew out of studies “popular culture” or marginal groups, the investigation of everyday practices was first delimited negatively by the necessity of not locating cultural difference in groups associated with the “counter culture” – groups that were already singled out often privileged, and already partly absorbed into folklore- and that were no more than symptoms or indexes (de Certeau, 1984, p.xii).

According to de Certeau, the importance of research on everyday practices is firstly, to make clear the relationships between the modes of behaviour of users, groups or individuals, whose status as the dominant factor in society is camouflaged by the euphemistic term “consumers”, and the representation of a society. Secondly, this approach has been used to determine or discover the procedures of everyday creativity of users. “... ‘Ways of operating’ constitute the innumerable practices by means of which users re-appropriate the space organized by techniques of socio-cultural production” (de Certeau, 1984, p.xiv). Thirdly, this focus on everyday practices is important to understand the formal structure of practice, by which users have to conform to the certain rules that of course contradict the mode of usage they constitute and causing a lack of ideology of their own. “There must be a logic of these practices” (Ibid, p. xv).

To find out how women’s magazines become meaningful in everyday life and what meaning can be taken from these media, fifteen women were interviewed separately and

this was then followed by focus group discussion. However, only nine women participated in this discussion. All the data analysed here and the information are from the discussion with these women. They were all young urban women between twenty-two and thirty-five years of age, middle class, some of them university students, career women, working wives, and business women who run a small business in their home (for details about the identity of respondents and this field work see appendix 5).

There is a contradiction value judgement among these readers in relation to the content of contemporary women's magazines. The readers, on the one hand, said that women's magazines are used for pleasure, because these journals provide "entertainment" articles and are only about fashions, beauty, and other women's issues. On the other hand, they claimed that they benefited from these magazines. Indeed, the articles provided in the magazines are more complex than the readers perceived. In addition, there is a variety of attitude among these urban women. Some of them are very impressed with *Femina* and/or *Kartini*, are very familiar with everything to do with the magazines, and sometimes send their contribution to the journals. On the other hand, other readers turned to other glossy magazines, because they felt bored with the articles provided, which were sometimes repeated from previous editions. In fact, these women readers are also very knowledgeable, not only about the changes in socio-economic and political issues, and even global trends, but also about the situation of women today.

The “history” of reading women’s magazines

Reading women’s magazines historically seems to be “hereditary” from mother to daughter. Almost all the respondents, especially the young women, explained that they had read women’s magazines since they were teenage girls, even only to leaf through the pages. Their mothers used to be loyal subscribers to *Femina* and/or *Kartini* for more than ten years. Most of the readers interviewed said that they had read women’s magazines when they were in primary school. They became familiar with this kind of publication, because their mothers had read the magazine for many years. All the respondents, except one, used to read a teenage-girl magazine, either *Gadis* or *Mode*, and some of them had read both these kinds of publications.

Since I was in high school I have never read *Gadis* or *Mode*... I have read *Kartini* since I was in secondary school, because my mother and my sister used to subscribe to it. Now, since I work and I can afford to buy magazines myself, then I buy *Femina* and *Dewi* (Respondent AN).

Mostly the respondents started to read *Femina* and/or *Kartini* when they were in the second or third years at university. However, they still hesitated to read these magazines in public. According to them and their peers, *Femina* and *Kartini* are categorised as women’s magazines only for women who are sexually mature. Even when they have been in university, reading *Femina* and/or *Kartini* is still embarrassing. Their peers would describe them as mature or adult women and this seems to have become unwelcome label for them. They do not like to be called mature women. As a consequence, they read these magazines only in their home, and even in the home they read the magazine in private. As one of the respondents said, when she read the articles in *Femina*, especially on the

article about love or about relationships, she felt embarrassed whenever her mother saw her reading it, even though she was about twenty-third years old.

You know, there are many consultation articles on the family (husband and wife relationships) matters, so whenever I read these articles I feel ashamed, ... If Mum saw me read them, then I closed the magazine. ... I also like to read more on beauty articles, fashions, and cooking ... (Respondent ES).

Femina is an adult women's magazine, isn't it?, I used to be a loyal reader of other women's magazines for teenage girls like *Gadis*, *Mode*, ... and I have read *Femina* since five years ago, since I was in university... (Respondent IV).

... [as far as] I know, in the average, they (female university students) start to read *Femina* when they are in the second year. When I brought *Femina* on campus, I was called as a mature woman or an adult woman by my peers, because the magazine is seen as being for adult women (Respondent FE).

These are the examples of how women's magazines are still connoted as the reading material of adult women. Many university students in Indonesia, especially in the first or second year of study, still read *Gadis* and *Mode* teenage magazines instead of *Femina* or *Kartini*. A problem arises from this practice is whether the teenage-girl magazines have focused not only on the issues around teenage girls (from thirteen to eighteen years old), but also issues around adolescence, who is sexually mature and in the age of between nineteen and twenty-two years old, or have women's magazines such as *Femina* and *Kartini*, now become suitable reading material for adolescent. However, what is most obvious here is that teenage girls are viewed by the magazines as another potential target market beside adult women. As the readers say about this matter,

... Nowadays, high school students are starting read *Femina*. [I think] because there is a problem-solving article on love affairs [for boyfriend and girlfriend relationships]. ... [Moreover] the fashion pages not [only] provide a formal dress for going to office, but also sometimes there are the fashions for casual wear, even for going to campus (Respondent IV)

...This may be my feeling only, [I think] from the beginning [*Femina*] is aimed at [women] over 25 years, [but] now the layout and the colours have been created like *Gadis*. ... So, it seems for me [*Femina*] is becoming [a magazine] for 20 to 24 year women, not for women over 25 years anymore. While, as far as I am concerned, the last 1990 [edition], I feel was still for *grown-up* [sic. English originally] (Respondent LE).

... I think teenage girls now tend to become grown up too early, so they look more mature than their age, and they might feel able to wear the fashions already shown in those magazines. ... I know that the models shown, either in the front cover or inside the fashion pages, are high school students, and some of them are still in secondary school (between year seven and year nine). It may be, because their bodies look grown and tall enough, so they are seen appropriate to become the model of the magazine like *Femina*. Thus, [I think] the young teen audiences, who are familiar with the models that usually appear in teenage girl magazines, start to read *Femina*. They will think "these models look good wearing this fashion, why I don't do so" (Respondent IR).

Why do women read women's magazines? Obviously, they find that reading women's magazines is enjoyable. They read them for pleasure and to kill time. They tend to read news magazines instead of women's magazines, whenever they want to seek news or serious information, which cannot be found in women's magazines. According to the readers, women's magazines only provide "light" specific articles about femininity and feminine issues. Consequently, they treat women's magazines as reading material for entertainment. In fact, women's magazines provide complex information not only about gender matters, but also about social issues and religion [Islam] topic. The research on content analysis shows that contemporary Indonesian women's magazines have focused more on the progress of modern Indonesian women. The magazines have also attempted to "empower" women and to reduce their subordination to men.

According to one of the managing editors of *Femina*, Erlita Rachman, *Femina* has contributed to the improvement of Indonesian women in many ways, such as encouraging

their reading habits and their self-confidence, in order to raise their social and legal awareness. The magazine is also trying to develop the political sense of women in Indonesia. This is also what *Femina* is attempting to do, in arguing against the opinions which claim that women's magazines are products of consumerism and glamour, and not models of "serious" publication. As Widarti claims in the interview,

Femina has raised the prestige (*derajat*) of women to go out for working. We had tried to improve the image of the secretary [as the profession]. Even now many mothers have encouraged their daughters to become a secretary, so that they can earn money soon (21 August 1998).

Widarti also points out that the editors' decision to cover the controversial issue of prostitution was another attempt of *Femina* to improve the image of women. As she says,

We had reported on prostitution from the point of view of women. Whereas *Matra* (Indonesian men's magazines), for example, reported the appearance of the prostitutes as wearing a mini skirt and sexy. *Femina* is not like that. We examine how these women work to gain money for reasons of economics. Prostitution is the first occupational field of women where it is easy to get money (21 August 1998).

However, some of the respondents considered that these journals were becoming boring to read. The information provided has been repeated and/or "recycled" either from overseas journals or from the last editions of the magazine itself. This seems to make sense because they are mostly loyal subscribers of women's magazines for more than five years, so that they remember what the magazines have been reported in their previous editions.

I read *Femina* since five years ago since I was in university. But recently, because of the topics [in *Femina*] are not varied anymore [or] tend to be repeated, so I consider stopping to subscribe to it. I had subscribed to [it] for long time, now I tend to choose the topic first before I bought it, so I am more selective... If the topic is interesting than I buy, ... (Respondent IV)

When I started to study at university, I began to buy *Femina* frequently. But since two weeks ago I stop buying it. I feel bored [with] this magazine and I now try to look at another journal. I think *Kosmopolitan*¹ is more solid, though its price is far more expensive [than *Femina*] (Respondent F1).

There is a variety of attitudes and responses of readers to the magazine. The arrival of new transnational women's magazines in Indonesia like *Higina Kosmopolitan* has attracted some of the loyal readers to leave *Femina* and/or *Kartini*. However, there are still some others who remain loyal to *Femina*. They still like to buy *Femina*, because they feel that they have been part of *Femina*. They like to see the women portrayed there, the lifestyle and the new trends shown, and other information provided in *Femina*, rather than other glossy women's magazines.

One of respondents here is an example of the attitude above and of loyalty to the magazine. Problem solving articles were the favorite of this woman. She said that she had learnt much from the articles such as a "Husband and wife" article. This article had provided information and suggestions of how to maintain a harmonious family and how to understand the husband's attitude or behaviour. This respondent liked also to read human-interest articles and personal experience articles. She used to send her personal experience to *Femina* more than once, but they never published it. Her job as a librarian in one of the foreign cultural centres, gives her a chance to read other overseas journals,

¹ *Higina Kosmopolitan* is a new women's magazine, which is published in Indonesia since September 1997. This journal is part of a transnational women's magazine *Cosmopolitan*, but in Indonesian version. This magazine uses the Publication Permit (SIUPP) of *Higina* magazine that used to be a health magazine in Indonesia. The cover models are frequently a Western model, only few are Indonesian models. The articles blend between Western issues and Indonesian one, but the Western articles seem occupied more than local articles.

so she can compare Indonesian magazines to some Western publications. She can even determine that *Femina* looks like *Elle* from Britain in terms of its stylistics. She is a “heavy” reader of *Femina*, she knew one of the founders and senior editor of *Femina* often traveled to France three times a year!

... I like *Femina*, I like it very much since a long time ago. ...Honestly, for me, *Femina* is good. I got many benefits, especially now when I am married. I like the article for husband and wife and it is very helpful. ... I read *Femina* not for one hour or two hours only, sometimes I read for seven days until the next edition is published, especially now when the price is very expensive and the magazine becomes thinner than before. I read carefully one by one article either at my office or at home. I bought it for 7,000 rupiahs and I think it is a pity if I read [the magazine] only one hour or two hours then I finish. My friends like to borrow *Femina* from me, but I really don't like this... (Respondent AN).

Reacting to the response of readers who claim that *Femina* has become a boring journal, the editor of *Femina* realised that *Femina* sometimes looked at some overseas women's magazines, either those from Singapore like *Female* and *Her World*, or other women's magazines from Holland, Germany, Britain, and America. “When there was no women's magazine which was trendier than *Femina* (especially in early 1970), the only better way to learn was by looking overseas” (Gunawan, 1997, p. x). However, as Widarti stated, *Femina* has never adopted completely the style and the content of the Western journals, and is different to other Indonesian journals. She says, “ ... The other magazines imitate the Western papers 100 per cent, ...” (Naipaul, 1998, p. 112).

The new trend of consumerism in the 1990s among young middle class women

There has been a new trend among university students, especially among the middle class in the 1990s, in which many of them started looking for job while they were studying. The preference is for part-time work, such as customer service, guest relations or

receptionist in either hotel or other elite clubs, or in promotions at exhibitions. They look for work, sometimes, just for having extra money, or for buying a "Big Mac" or dining in at a "Pizza Hut" restaurant, or wearing "Esprit" top or "Benetton" T-shirt or "Levi's 505" jeans, or "Nike" shoes, and many more branded products that are expensive and prestigious as a symbol of class status. This situation is used by *Femina* to expand its readership to include these university students who are becoming wage earners for themselves. The assumption behind this is that these people are becoming independent in economic terms, and are viewed as mature enough to make a decision to purchase the magazine and of course the products advertised in the magazine. This notion is probably significant to a lesser extent, as the respondents say,

I started to read *Femina* once I got a job [while she is still studying at university now]. Since 1995, when I got a job for the first time, [I] wondered where I could find dresses or clothes that suit for going to the office, [then] I read *Femina*. I buy it from my salary or my own fees now, ... (Respondent ES).

Unlike this woman, another respondent reads women's magazines like *Femina* or *Kartini* because of her business. She is in the situation where her role requires her to understand the needs of a woman in terms of beauty matters and dietary treatments. She runs a small business offering a beauty treatment service, especially for women who are preparing for their wedding. By applying traditional Javanese elite class' beauty manners, such as using a traditional Javanese medicine [called *Jamu tradisional*] and other traditional beauty aids, the woman's business has prospered.

I read women's magazines since 1992, [and] since the last two years (1996/1997) I read almost all women's magazines because my business deals with the services for women. Therefore, in order to meet the need of women, I must read all women's publications even though they are expensive. Usually after I read [the

magazines], then I put them in the lounge room for my customers (Respondent FE).

Buying women's magazines, for most of these readers, is because informed about trends in fashions and lifestyle both locally and globally. The discussants explain that women's magazines are important for enriching their knowledge, or as information source, especially to keep up with the changes or the new trends of the urban fashions. In contrast, the lifestyle shown in the magazines is completely different from the reality of the daily life of these women. Respondent FI, for example, explains that by reading women's magazines she has enriched her knowledge about health, sexology, and career strategies, but it is the trends fashion and new cooking recipes that really interest her.

For me women's magazines are important, because I think the magazines understand what we (women) really want to, or the magazine can identify the needs of women. Indeed, women's magazines are the suitable media for women, at least they have become our information source, and obviously they are our trendsetters for mode (Respondent IR).

...For me women's magazines are very important, very useful. Because of my business in make-up artistry and special occasion services, I have to keep up with the trends in make up, the trends in wedding fashions, and also the new cooking recipes. I also get knowledge about law, tax, and other social life problems that appear in problem solving or consultation articles (Respondent VC).

It is clear that reading women's magazines is not only about pleasure, but also about the personal relationship of the readers to the magazines. For example, the readers need women's magazines because they have to keep informed about the trends in fashion due to their business or their work. In other words, the information provided in the magazines is connected with the social situation the readers are in, or with the individual life

histories. Therefore, this is a contradiction of what the readers first perceive about the content of women's magazines, which they have gained from the magazines' articles.

Women's Magazines are the Trade Marks of Women

According to the respondents, the readers of women's magazines such as *Femina* and *Kartini* are dominantly housewife and career women, but at the same time many of the readers are aware that it is a more complex situation than this simple binary suggests. "... They are the productive women, who are also active career women and sometime female university students. They are in the average of age between twenty and thirty-five years" (Respondent FE). This opinion seems parallel to the polling result of *Femina* in 1996 which found that the percentage of women readers in the age of under thirty years was about 64.67 per cent and 35.1 per cent they were over thirty years (*Femina*, no.45/1996). Another woman also comments, "they are [the readers] the young mothers who newlywed (they are called "*Ibu muda*"). I think a man is rare reading *Femina*, because *Femina* is a "trade mark" [sic] of women" (Respondent IV).

However, compared to *Kartini* and other magazines, *Femina* is viewed as a 'neutral' journal, because according to these women, it sometimes reports about men. In fact, *Kartini*, sometimes reported about men in its editions.

I think *Femina* is very neutral women's magazine compared to others. It is good that the magazine provides an article about men, so we can understand what men really want from a woman; how do men choose their partner; how is the quality of man, ... Probably the men read *Femina* not because they really want to read it, but because they want to know about the women's [world]. Like us, for example, if we want to know about men's [world], we then read *Matra* (the popular Indonesian men's magazine)... (Respondent IV).

The reason why *Femina*, for example, provides some articles about men is that harmony and togetherness of the relationships between men and women can also be achieved if women are willing to understand the people around them, especially the men. As it was stated in one of the editorial articles of *Femina*.

A harmonious relationship can be really maintained if we [women] are willing to make a little effort to being well known with the people around us, for example, [with] the men, they are as both [our] husband, colleague, [our] boss, even our children. [We need to know] their emotions, the way they think, their libido, and so forth. Indeed, if we sometime stare at these men throughout the specific articles inserted [in this magazine], is "legal" enough, isn't it? ... (Editorial *Femina*, 17-23 June 1993).

Another reader argued strongly that men like to read women's magazines, because actually they wish to see the pretty women shown in the magazine, not because they wish to know about femininity and women's issues. "If men read women's magazines, this must be because they see the models are beautiful... They must want to look inside the magazine, because they think that there should be many more beautiful women, then they open it" (Respondent IR). This notion seems to have strengthened a dichotomy between women's magazines and men's magazines, in which women's magazines are the media aimed at women only and which strictly, differ from men's magazines that are intended to be bought by men only. In fact, almost all these nine women have read men's magazine like *Matra*, although they do not read it as routinely as *Femina* and/or *Kartini*. "If I read *Matra*, I just look at the physical performance, or the pictures only of the magazine. It is different when I read *Femina*, I read all through the magazine" (Respondent IV).

By contrast, three respondents argued that men and women have different motives for reading women's magazines. Women like to read articles about men because the curiosity of women to understand about the men's world is greater than the curiosity of men to understand feminine issues. In other words, women always want to know about the men's world and their interests, while men do not explore or seek the women's matters or interests. "Women like to learn how to maintain a good relation with men, but men do not care about this matter... (Respondent FE).

Women's magazines themselves have acknowledged the phenomenon of men reading their magazine. They argue that the motive behind the man's interest is because he wants to understand woman's world in detail. *Femina*, for example, recognised that there were a few men reading its magazine from the letters they received from the men.

It is not rare that we [*Femina*] received the letters from the men who claimed themselves as the readers of *Femina* women's magazine. Many aspects about women can be learned [from the magazine], [and] it has supported a positive [aspect] for their relationships with the women, especially with a close woman of them. We [*Femina* and readers] have to respect the man who has tried to understand deeply our world (Editorial *Femina*, no.23/xxi/17-23 June 1993).

By reading women's magazines, women are supposed to become more progressive and cleverer than before. These are the ideal aims of women's magazines according to the respondents. However, from the business point of view, they perceived that women's magazines are published in order to meet the needs of their target market. It means women's magazines present the pictures of a small number of women, especially urban upper middle class. Moreover, as several readers stated, as a business institution,

women's magazines aimed to capture the women who are viewed as a potential target market for the consumer goods advertised in the magazines.

From the business' viewpoint, women are perceived as consumers. If we see the new products, we suddenly want to purchase them. Women's magazines know this situation... (Respondent FI)

The attitude of women that like to compete with others, especially in terms of keeping up their appearance and their fashion, is used by women's magazines to target them as being the potential market. However, women's magazines have also supported women to become progressive women without denying their destiny [as mother or wife]. ... There are many articles in women's magazines to help women to become a good manager both in the household and in the office. Thus, on the one hand, women are the "victims" of the magazines, on the other hand, they become progressive women (Respondent FE).

...Indeed, it should be acknowledged that women's magazines have affected us a lot. For the readers, especially, women's magazines are the "mirror", at least for the fashions and the way of thinking of women... (Respondent AN).

Susan Douglas (1994, p.13), however, argues that the media has urged a contradictory image for the readers. She states that the media on the one hand drive women to be "flexible, cute, sexually available, slim, and so forth". On the other hand, the media suggest women should be dissident, tough, and energetic.

Along with our parents, the mass media raised us, socialized us, entertained us, comforted us, deceived us, disciplined us, told us what we could do and told us what we couldn't. And they played a key role in turning each of us into not one woman but many women... (Douglas, 1994, p. 13).

This is a part of false consciousness of women readers toward the existence of women's magazines that have been valued as their "mirror" on the world outside themselves, which sometimes, and perhaps, is far more than, or contradictory to, their social reality. Adiwoso (1997, p.12) also states that the lifestyle offered in *Femina* is quite different from the everyday life of the most its audience.

The Image of 'Jakartaism' in Women's Magazines

As it has been discussed in the previous chapter, *Femina* has a tendency in presenting a "picture" of the social condition or the lifestyle of middle class women in Jakarta, rather than middle class Indonesian women in general. This phenomenon seems significant here, as one of respondents claims,

Women's magazine [*Femina*] for me is to keeping up myself with the movement in the central mode and beauty matters of Jakarta. It is because we live in Surabaya and it is said that our mode is left behind or old fashioned from Jakarta. Whenever I want to see what the new trend is now occurring in Jakarta, I look through the magazine, so I knew that the fashion is not "in" anymore (Respondent ES).

If Paris is viewed as the central point of world's fashion for many women entire the world, Jakarta is seen as the "barometer" for the majority of Indonesian women to see the changes in fashion trends and lifestyle. For example, to find the new model of women's handbag which is shown in *Femina* is easier in "*Blok M*", one of the big shopping centers in Jakarta, rather than in "*Tunjungan Plaza*" a big modern shopping mall in Surabaya. In other words, women who live in Jakarta are always up to date in their fashion, compared to women in Surabaya, who have to wait for several months to wear the same thing as Jakarta women.

There has also been a tendency in the Indonesia of today, in which the popular culture of "*Jakartaism*"² has been widely applied in the lifestyle of young people in some central

² In Jakarta there is still the original ethnic that is called "*Betawi*". In the modern era of Indonesia, this ethnic has become the marginal ethnic who lives at the peripheral of Jakarta. The migrants who come from entirely Indonesia have blended their original language with the *Betawi*'s accent and jargons. The result is the use of contemporary Indonesian language (*bahasa Indonesia*) with the mixture of *Betawi*'s slang. For example, the use of suffix like "*nih*", "*deh*", "*sih*" is commonplace in everyday conversation instead of the use of suffix "*lah*", "*kah*" as it occurs in the rule of *bahasa Indonesia*. For example, the words "*sudahlah*" [it's over] in formal rule has been being "*sudah deh*" in Jakarta slang. Today, this kind of language has been used widely or more popular than the use of formal Indonesian language.

cities in Indonesia. Not only the fashion trends, the hair styling, and the attitude of the people in Jakarta, has been practiced in everyday life of those young urban middle class in Indonesia, but also the use of Jakarta language is commonly heard from either their everyday conversation or from the language of the radio presenters.

Femina, for example, tends to use the popular language for its journalistic language, especially the use of slang or jargon and popular idioms of Jakarta, and sometimes of course the use of English expressions. The way the respondents in the focus group discussion speak was also influenced by this popular Jakarta language, although, many of them are originally from Surabaya, which has a specific dialect (identified as a rude or coarse, loud, and specific east Javanese accent).

“They are not us...”

The different focus between *Kartini* and *Femina* has become the concern of the readers who perceive the portrait of Indonesian women represented in the different magazines is significant. *Kartini* is viewed by the readers as more realistic in presenting the portrait of Indonesian women than *Femina*. According to the respondents, *Kartini* was consistent in reporting the social reality of Indonesian women. For example, the magazine quite often reported about village women, lower class working women, and the indigenous women who are suffering from serious disease like cancer, but who, because of the poor social and economic condition, had to fight this disease by themselves. These kinds of articles were actually intended to encourage a social concern among the middle class, and this was perceived as important by the discussants. However, some respondents considered

that because those [village] women shown in *Kartini* are not public figures, readers were not willing to read the articles about them.

By contrast, this kind of journalism model cannot be found in *Femina*, because it tends to focus on the ideal concept of modern woman, that is, a working woman who is active, dynamic and flexible in responding to social changes, and the women are mostly the public figures. However, as it has been stated by the editor, from the beginning *Femina* has consistently concentrated only on urban middle class women. The chief editor of *Femina* has claimed that they cannot focus the magazine's attention on the situation of lower class women without being involved in this class, or because they (the editors) are not from this class status (*Tempo*, 1987).

Kartini always reported the village women... and women who live far away in one of Indonesia's islands and who have a serious illness... but I couldn't find this in *Femina*. *Femina* tends to cover modern women [like] working women, urban housewives, ... However, sometimes, especially in "*Kartini's* day" (Indonesian women's emancipation day), *Femina* reported the figures of Indonesian women [in general], not only modern women ... while *Kartini* concentrates more on village [regional] women (Respondent AN).

Femina has a tendency to focus on the public figures that have been familiar or popular in Indonesia, but *Kartini* ... we do not know who are they. We do not have the emotional link with them, so it makes us displeased to read it, indeed (Respondent FE).

By contrast, none of the respondents, the urban middle class women, liked the style of journalism in *Kartini*. What *Kartini* has been telling the women has not impressed these women enough for them to scrutinise the magazine's content. They read *Kartini* mostly while they are in the doctor's waiting room, or in the beauty parlour.

I read *Femina* because I feel close [to] what has been represented [in the magazine]. However, lately, I feel bored [with *Femina*], because what it has been written in *Femina* does not suitable or match our situation... We feel that we are not involved anymore with the lifestyle presented [in the magazine] (Respondent VC).

... I feel what it has been reported in our women's magazines now is far from our culture. For example, the reportage about affairs, ... It was said that all the Indonesian working women tend to have [sexual] affairs. This is far from our life, ... it was not really true. Having an affair is legitimised by the magazines... I wonder why it is only the reality of the minority of those women whose have the affairs that has always been reported... *Kosmopolitan* magazine is specifically [on this case]... (Respondent ES).

The respondents have recognised that today contemporary Indonesian women's magazines have a tendency to focus on the social reality of the cosmopolitan minority. They have argued that the representation of this class does not represent the real model of Indonesian women as they (the respondents) have done in their everyday life.

If there are ten women who have specific problems which differ from fifty women, for example, the magazines tend to concentrate their focus on the problems of these ten women rather than those fifty women. ... Ideally, it should be fifty-fifty. [It means] the percentage of the problems of ten women is presented as much as the percentage of the problems of the majority of women. Therefore, all women's problems are covered... (Respondent VC).

Critics also said that the lifestyle represented in contemporary Indonesian women's magazines is far from the reality of many of the magazine readers. As Adiwoso (1997, p.12) claims, *Femina* has directed both its articles and advertisements to the nuance of metropolitan lifestyle, especially the lifestyle of the upper class society, which commonly becomes the reference group of the audience. *Femina* provides the alternative that offers women readers a more glamorous life than what they have in everyday life.

The readers also felt they were not involved with what the magazines reported in their current editions. This feeling is different from before, especially before 1997, when contemporary Indonesian women's magazines were still focused only on the real situation of "indigenous" Indonesian women. According to these readers, women's publications in Indonesia, both glossy magazines and tabloids, tend to adopt, or sometimes closely imitate the style of Western women's publications. These readers acknowledge that Indonesian journals seem to be offering new breakthroughs or trends to readers, but they are adopted from Western values.

I see *Femina* as more futuristic than other women's magazines. It has offered something new for us, but it comes from overseas (Western), it does not come from our society's life. For example, in the trend of make up, *Femina* has presented the new trend of eye shadow like dark blue or silver, looks like outer space's people...first time, it probably looks bizarre, but later it becomes commonly used...but this is not our original ... (Respondent ES)

The attitude of these readers seems ambiguous. On the one hand, they reject the role models represented in women's magazines; on the other hand, they have a tendency to follow the models of women portrayed in the journals. The evidence is obvious, as stated by one of the readers above, although she did not like the model presented in the magazine in terms of make up used, she has tried to adopt this new trend in make up. Moreover, the readers tend to follow the image of modern women as it has been represented in the magazine. They feel that they become the women shown by the contemporary women's magazines.

For me, the magazine (*Femina*) shows the picture of optimist modern woman, modern housewife, modern career woman, and modern university student!... They are expected to become stronger, clever, and to dare to speak up ... Although, these portrayals are not suitable, at least these portrayals become the role model for women. Though, we cannot be like these portrayals, we are willing to be like them, indeed (Respondent IV).

How have the portrayals of women been changed? The contemporary Indonesian women's magazines are considered by the readers to have shifted. They now focus on working women who seem not to want to deny their destiny as mother or wife, who are succeeding in organising the dual roles housewife and working woman. Modern Indonesian women are encouraged by the magazines to become stronger, especially in making a decision like divorce, for example. One of the readers claimed that the portrait of today's women seemed to voice women's opinions whereas previously, they were afraid to do so.

...Even now, women's magazines have supported women being able to decide their attitude by themselves. Even when there is a consultant in the magazine who suggests a woman divorce her husband. This may be taboo for Indonesian women... whatever happens in our family, we should maintain our family as it has been prescribed by our culture. I feel *Femina* has encouraged us as modern women to divorce, if we are not happy with our marriage anymore. This is very extreme for us, but probably it is good from a physiological standpoint or it is allowed by the religion... So, there is the shift [in] our magazine now... (Respondent IV).

...The limitation of taboos has now become blurred, or almost disappeared. If it was not allowed previously, now it is permitted. This has been reflected also in women's magazines. If I am not wrong, I remember there was a story from *Femina* that in its first editions, the appearance of the model (woman) was considered taboo when she wore a dress which her underarm shown. To camouflage it, a big rose was put near her underarm, so it looked decent. Whereas now, you see the front cover showed a woman wear a dress which partly open up over her chest. This is the representation of womcn.. that ignores the taboo values...(Respondent IR).

The portrayal of a woman as identified above is perceived by the readers as the representation of the Indonesian woman of today. *Femina* for them has been identified by the readers as the journal that has represented or described the portrayals of Indonesian

woman who is considered “modern” by society compared to *Kartini*. “I think seventy per cent of Indonesian women now are like the portraits shown in *Femina*, and only thirty per cent of them look like the portraits represented in *Kartini*. Many women are now wearing fashion as it worn by the female models in *Femina* rather than the fashions shown in *Kartini*” (Respondent LE).

The image of a housewife in contemporary women’s magazines has also shifted portraying them as productive women in a domestic setting. Women’s magazines urge housewives to “empower” the domestic or feminine activities such as home cooking, and hand sewing, to gain an extra income to support her family. As a consequence, the housewives’ role in the household has been upgraded. Indeed, since the economic turmoil has widely affected people everywhere in Indonesia, women are the first to feel the crisis, as workers, as consumers, and especially as wives. Various efforts have been made by the people in order to sustain daily life, especially for the workers who have lost their job. Many families have tried to run a small business like a small café-tent on the street or in the Parking Park, or sell food hampers for special occasions. In these businesses women certainly make a significant contribution. The phenomenon has also been recognised by a small number of women’s readers. As one of the respondents argues:

The picture of urban women who are willing to accept the global changes is frequently shown in women’s magazine like *Femina*. The portrait of a woman who just stays at home with nothing to do has changed. Nowadays, many women are becoming active or productive in the home... (Respondent FE).

The shifting portrayal of the figure of housewife is also indicated by the readers as an impact of a global social change. According to the respondents, many housewives are

now becoming modern mothers or wives. They do not want to stay at home with nothing to do. They also seem not to want to be left behind in the modern era of Indonesia today.

What is the indicator then?

I think housewives have now changed. I saw frequently some housewives with mobile phones and other modern things, although they have no job. They act as if they are working women. ... This is the shift, I think, in which housewives want to become modern like a modern career woman... not only working women hold a mobile phone now, these modern housewives are doing so... (Respondent AN)

The respondents also acknowledge that women's magazines have encouraged women to become aware of the unfair or unequal treatment in terms of gender relationships and/or marital relationships, both in the office and in the home. However, all these women agree that although their husbands have also contributed to or shared the domestic work with them, they [women] should give their respect to him.

I think wives should have an equal position with their husbands, and I saw many husbands and wives now have shared the household work. Modern women are now allowed by their husbands to go to work, because they (women) have shown the evidence that they still able to manage household work and have children, though they are working outside the home. They also dare to argue or sometimes disobey the husband's order, but they still respect their husband... (Respondent FE).

We have to give our respect to our husband, though we work and are active outside the home. Although we do not like the old generation, there are still the things that we have to maintain as it prescribed our traditional culture and norms. We still have to be like the old people to respect with our husband... (Respondent FI).

What is described in *Femina* about women, for me, is right, because *Femina* helps in learn to become modern women. The magazine also provides features on modern women and men. This can be a guide for women in everyday life, and in the future. ... We do not deny that men have responsibility for providing an income for the family, but there are things about which we still have the right to make decisions. If we want a job, it is because we want some money of our own. If we are cooking, it is not because we [as women] are ordered to cook, but it is because we wish to cook, that's it... (Respondent IV).

According to these women, *Femina* has covered all these issues discussed. This journal has had a contribution in shaping the image of modern Indonesian women that differs from the old generation. On the contrary, the portrayals of women shown in *Kartini* seem not interesting for these readers. This magazine tends to represent or portray the figure of mothers in over forty years old (or they call as “*Ibu-Ibu*”[housewives]). The readers said that *Femina* has portrayed the ideal figure of women, according to them, and these readers mostly like with the portrayals shown in this journal. Some of them even want to follow or to adopt the guidance from the magazine to become modern women in the manner shown. These following comments of some respondents give a clear explanation for the phenomena above.

“If I am married, I want to be like that [the role models of young newlywed housewives represented in *Femina*]...” (Respondent IV)

“I will be like what *Femina* has been telling about the married women, if I am married next...” (Respondent FI)

“... I agree with the portrayals of women shown in *Femina*, ... Probably, if we are married, we will be like them...” (Respondent IR).

What attracts the reader to buy the magazine?

The physical performance of *Kartini* is quite different to *Femina*. The readers feel less interest in reading *Kartini* because the layout of this journal does not attract them. Moreover, the use of journalistic language in *Kartini* is valued as more formal and complicated than *Femina* which uses popular everyday language. *Femina* is simple in its reporting style, while *Kartini* tends to be too long, with the reportage sometimes occupying more than four or five pages, and the readers do not like this style of

journalism. Furthermore, the way these two magazines report the issues is also different.

As the readers say about this matter:

Kartini tends to report from the position of the victim, for example in the case of sexual violence. However, *Femina* is different. For example, in reporting the case of mass rape or serial rape, the magazine was not only reporting the tragedy, but also providing some solutions and strategies to women... (Respondent AN)

Yes, I agree with AN, modern people like us need solutions and strategies. I think when *Femina* reported the issue of women's violence like the current case of rape in Jakarta, the magazine also gave the readers suggestions on how to prevent themselves from becoming the victim of this sexual violence...but the style of its reportage is not like a conventional reportage... [However], the issues covered in *Kartini* is not up to date... (Respondent FE)

Unlike *Femina*, *Kartini* does not follow the social changes or the new era of the women's world, so that is why the magazine had collapsed... (Respondent ES).

The physical appearance of the front cover of *Kartini* does not also attract the readers to read it. "Look, the woman in *Femina* looks "fresh" and young, different from the woman shown in *Kartini*, who looks mature and tend to be an adult, though both of them are beautiful" (Respondent AN). Indeed, the same lady portrayed in *Femina* and *Kartini* magazine looks different in her appearance. For example, the young woman who is about twenty years old looks nice, neat and trendy in *Femina*. By contrast she is shown like a woman over thirty-five years old in *Kartini*. "From its front cover, *Kartini* looks like a gossip magazine and the impression is traditional..." (Respondent FE). If there is a street trader offering both *Kartini* and *Femina*, readers prefer to buy *Femina*, because the cover is more attractive.



Figure 6.1. These are the picture of front cover of *Femina* and *Higina Kosmopolitan* in 1997. The pictures are shown here to see how *Femina* is compared to this transnational publication, and this comparison is intend to show how *Higina Kosmopolitan* has now attracted the attention of young urban women. The picture shown in the front cover of this journal is a Western celebrity Jennifer Aniston (the star of US TV serials "Friend"), while *Femina* represents the picture of two young Indo women in Western gowns.



Concluding Remarks

Research on the everyday practices of women's magazines among urban middle class women is bringing to light the models of action of users in their everyday activity, the patterns of consumption they constitute and how these practices influence perceptions of society. This approach also gives an explicit understanding of the system of consumption of users in relation to the socio-cultural aspects of the contemporary Indonesian society, especially among young urban women. This has been achieved by exploring the "history" of media usage among them, and how these practices have helped these readers to make the media become meaningful for them. Women's magazines seem to mean nothing for the readers, except for the fashion pages, cooking and beauty articles. Reading women's magazines frequently, especially for the loyal subscribers, makes these readers bored. The articles provided tend to be repeated or recycled from previous editions of the magazines.

The image of modern women shown in women's magazines is perceived to be the imitation of Western women. This is viewed as being different from the reality of Indonesian women: they are not "us". This is because they are considered as modern women who have forgotten their roots or their origins. They are viewed as women who like to ignore the traditional values, even the religious norms, which should be maintained. Although, the identity of the women called "modern women" is still in dispute, they are kept still as the reference group of many Indonesian women. Ironically, these women's readers like, and are willing to adopt, this representation, so that they will

not lose the identification as being modern women. In effect, this leads to a contradiction, in that, while the magazines are used for leisure purposes, or as a form of escapism, they also provide a means whereby readers are able to gain an understanding of modernity.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

This study investigates how changes in the representation of women are specifically related to the socio-economic changes in Indonesia during the 1990s. The primary question is whether contemporary Indonesian women's magazines construct a particular version of the modern Indonesian women, and this study seeks to identify or determine what version of woman is constructed by these magazines. Magazines like *Femina* and *Kartini* purport to speak for all Indonesian women. This research challenges this claim. In constructing a particular version of Indonesian women the magazines speak to and for a limited number of Indonesian women. These are the younger urban middle classes principally in Jakarta and some other major urban centres in Java like in Surabaya and Bandung. Their world is not the world of the majority Indonesian women, both the urban women who live outside these cities and of course the rural women. By deconstructing the means by which this version of Indonesian women has been constructed, this thesis can show what a partial version this is. This goal has been achieved through the analysis of editorial content, interviews with editorial staff, and discussions with the readers of the two magazines.

The representation of women in Indonesia is still problematic. There are still few women who are represented in the Indonesia discourses, who consider themselves primarily as workers or as wage earners. They are mostly represented primarily as mothers and wives and secondarily as workers or wage earners. A woman who does household work,

educates the children, and provides the husband with companionship is called a housewife (*Istri/Ibu rumah tangga*), who plays the role as a mother (*Ibu*) and a wife (*Istri*). The other woman who works outside the home and who does no household work is called a working woman. For example, a working woman who is busy with her career and quite often absent from the home and less involved in caring her children and husband, will not be considered as the ideal woman by traditional society. In other words, if a woman chooses to concentrate on her career, then she cannot expect to be accepted as an ideal mother for her children or as an ideal wife for her husband. The choice then becomes a dilemma for women. All these issues are discussed in chapter 2.

The women's magazine industry in Indonesia has shown a fluctuating trend since the 1980s and afterwards. Chapter 3 examines the socio-economic and political aspect of the women's magazine industry in Indonesia. The political situation has had a significant influence on the women's magazine business as it can be seen from the arising conflicts in *Kartini*. The conflicts then became the first model of incident in the history of the Indonesian press. However, the conflicts had encouraged the arising numbers of women's publications in Indonesia.

The transformation era of Indonesia, from being traditional to becoming modern, has affected the position of women in Indonesian society. Modernisation appears to have improved the position of some Indonesian women of today, but the issues confronting women in terms of the role expectation is whether they behave in a traditional manner or become modern. Women face a dilemma; on the one hand, traditional women follow the

ideal norms of traditional Javanese culture and [mostly] the tenets of Islam. On the other hand, the magazines suggest modern women follow global trends and adapt to modernisation according to the values of Western culture. In reality, urban middle class women in Indonesia are constantly negotiating the two extremes, filling a middle ground where they are both traditional and modern at the same time. The research on editorial content, in chapter 4, shows how the ideology of women's magazines (*Kartini* and *Femina*), in shaping the role models of women, works on the situation described above.

This phenomenon is clearly represented in *Femina*. In contrast to its competitor *Kartini*, *Femina*, which claims to be the only modern Indonesian women's magazine, has attempted to oppose to the conventional portrayals of Indonesian women and has tried to challenge "traditional" notion about women. This can be seen from the transformation of this journal into three different "phases" during over twenty-five years of its operation. Each phase has different characteristics. If in the 1970s this journal was aimed mainly at the housewife, in the 1980s the orientation shifted to the working woman. In the early 1990s editions, the journal tried to mix the portrayal of women, representing them as both the working woman who also plays a role as housewife. *Femina* took its position at that time as a breakthrough to promote the notion of the "working wife" to have it accepted widely. This magazine attempted to argue that women should be granted the right to work outside the home. This attempt was achieved by promoting the notion that working outside the home would not badly affect family life, especially the relationship between husband and wife. *Femina* urged husbands and by extension society to accept this transition era of women, from being domestic figures to becoming public figures.

Meanwhile, at the same time, *Femina* gave advice and solutions for women on how to create and maintain a harmonious family, though they were busy with their career, in order to create the image that working outside did not really mean forgetting the family life. The same approach was followed by *Kartini*. In its articles profiling successful women, for example, *Kartini* focused on the figure of the working wife, considered successful in her career, but still able to care for her family. This woman was presented by the magazines as the perfect amalgam: an idealised figure of the working woman, and also a loyal wife and an ideal mother. However, the owners of *Kartini* positioned their magazine in such a way as to legitimise the State's creation of the representation of women in Indonesia, which placed the primary value of women as a wife and a mother. It is also clear from its editorial edition that much attention was paid to social and political issues and to the special occasions of presidential family of Indonesia than to issues concerning gender and femininity.

However, the "battle" of *Femina* to challenge the traditional notion about the working wife was discontinued because it seems its business orientation is more important than its idealism. As a result, since the middle of 1990s, *Femina* has shifted its focus more to the young urban middle class women and the single working women, as a response to the emergence of the modern young generation of Indonesia. They are the group now valued by the magazine, as the potential market of the magazine.

There has also been a shift in the attitudes and behaviour of urban middle class women in Indonesia in the 1990s. This group is identified as the trendsetter for women in the modern era of Indonesia. They are not quite strict with traditional values and are quite cosmopolitan in outlook. The way they dress up to go to the office and the attitudes and behaviour they display toward the cultural norms are considered as a new trend for Indonesian women's lifestyle of today. These women are acknowledged as young, but mature enough to make a decision. They are between the age of twenty-five years and no more than forty years in age. These 'generations X' live in the major urban centres of Indonesia, and they are, relatively, independent in terms of economic behaviour because they have their own income.

These developments have been significant to the representation of women in magazine advertising, as this phenomenon is examined in chapter 5. Some advertising features shown in this study reflect the fact that the figure of the housewife has become less common. Meanwhile, the pictures of young career or professional women commonly appear in advertising. The quantitative data on the products advertised in these two magazines, shows that beauty products and jewelry items dominate the advertising pages of the magazines. This indicates that the economic stability in Indonesia before the late 1990s stimulated the middle class women to become consumers of these products. This situation caused allegation to be leveled at women's magazines. Critics claimed they encouraged consumerism among women. The implication here is that the magazines encouraged women to dispense with their traditional roles. As *Femina* focused specifically on "class", this leads the magazine to encourage its readers to conceive of

themselves as members of a distinct group linked to certain modes of consumption, especially in fashion and beauty. Consequently, this creation of class audiences, implicitly or explicitly, creates also class audiences for advertisers.

The arrival of new wealth young women is now the central figure in many Indonesian institutional discourses, and has also become the focus of the women's magazines. *Femina*, in this case, has revised its position in the market to target these women. The evidence was clear when in the 25th anniversary (1997) editions, this magazine reaffirmed itself as the magazine of young, urban, middle class, and active professional women. The problem of single women in terms of sexual relationship, for example, becomes commonplace in the late of 1990s (1997/1998) magazine's editions.

The editors, indeed, have recognised this trend by acknowledging the lifestyle of modern Indonesian women, especially in terms of sexual life, tends to shift from fundamental to liberal values. They argue that has occurred because of the influence of Western values that have spread through television programs, the internet, and other media in Indonesia. However, to avoid the image of being a vulgar magazine, discussion of sexual relationships have always been embedded in the relationship of the married couple. Moreover, discussing sex matters openly is considered taboo by Indonesian society, which is overwhelmingly Muslim in its composition.

Modern Indonesian women, according to *Femina*, should be portrayed as career woman, young, slim, immaculate, confident, energetic, beautiful and very concerned with keeping

up their appearance, trendy and fashionable in everyday activities both inside and outside the home, these women like to wear branded fashion products as part of the symbol of their social status. They tend to be liberal in their behaviour and are also mostly the generation of what in Indonesia is commonly called, “*Indo*” or “*blasteran*” [mixed blood of Indo-European or Eurasian]. In addition, *Femina* itself has created the ‘language of middle class women’ with an exclusive identity. This differentiates these women in the magazine from the other social classes through the way they speak and act.

However, this exclusive identity of women does not represent the portrayals of modern Indonesian women in general, the set-up is mainly Jakarta. In other words, the portrayals shown in *Femina* do not give a wide the representation of urban middle class Indonesian women. The representations are exclusively for Jakarta women and consequently, this has implied that the term ‘modern Indonesian women’ relates only to women who live in Jakarta. Thus, the values of the ideology of the owners together with that of the editors have strongly influenced the construction of a particular version of modern Indonesian women today that bears little resemblance to the lived reality of the vast majority of Indonesian women. .

Being a modern woman does not mean ignoring the traditional values and religious norms, which prescribe that women continue to stick to their destiny, or essential feminine nature. The opinions and arguments of the editors reflect the notion that urban middle class women are not either modern or traditional, but are in constant flux between these two. In other words, being a modern woman is fine, but they should recognise that

they still have to uphold the norms, the roles and behaviour as the Indonesian women, which are considered ideal by the community in the context of a woman's prime vocation of wife and mother.

This situation has also been acknowledged also by the readers, as discussed in chapter 6, who argue that the portrayals of modern Indonesian women as represented in *Femina* today does not really represent the social reality of readers. They view that the shifting attitude and behaviour of young urban middle class women as shown in *Femina* do not all really happen in the readers and their peers life. The shift is not as radical as it has been presented in the magazine. However, there has been a tendency of them to adapt the role models shown in the magazine. The evidence is clear here. One of the reasons women readers who live outside Jakarta in cities like Surabaya, read women's magazines like *Femina* is to keep their eyes on the shifting trend of fashion and lifestyle of women in Jakarta. As they want to follow and adapt the lifestyle of those women, women's magazines, especially *Femina*, are valued as trendsetters for these Surabaya women readers. The way young women in Surabaya dress and behave, for example, appeared to be a mirror to those of young middle class Jakarta women.

What can be noted in this study is that the process of modernisation has transformed the existence, attitude and behaviour of urban middle class women as represented in contemporary Indonesian women's magazines. The creation of modern women in contemporary women's magazines tends to establish the image of modern women who have access to consumer goods that defines Indonesia's new middle class. They are less

likely to represent as portrayed as middle class those who have, for example, intellectual capital.

The shifting orientation, interest, attitudes and behaviour of the new middle class women in the 1990s, seem to have challenged women's journals. They have been required to transform their format in response to the demand of this socio-economic upheaval focused in this important group in contemporary urban Indonesia. For example, the portrayals of women in contemporary women's magazines have shifted from domestic affairs to office setting. Furthermore, the rise of the 'generation X' in the late 1990s has also created the age gap situation between the 1970s generation and generation of the 1980s and afterwards. What is obvious from this situation of age gap is there has been a shift in orientation and attitude of these young modern women toward sexual relationships, traditional values, norms and customs. Living in a global world and the independence atmosphere of Indonesia in the 1990s, has encouraged a "liberal" orientation of this group to give meaning to their lives in modern era.

These are the kinds of themes identified that have emerged from the research on content analysis and reading practices in this study. By analysing the themes, this study suggests that there is a significant difference between the shifting portrayals of modern women represented in the journals and the social situation of contemporary urban life in Indonesia. However, the shifting paradigm seems only to have occurred for a minority of society, that is, the women who live in metropolitan Jakarta, and less for Indonesian

women outside this city. This is what this study argues here that *Femina* and *Kartini* are influential, but in complex and surprising ways.

More research is necessary to this field in response to the arrival of transnational women's publications in Indonesia like *Cosmopolitan* magazine, in order to determine or define their possible influence in shaping the identity of Indonesian women. There is a tendency, identified here, for the readers, who used to be the potential readers of *Femina* and *Kartini*, to have turned their attention to this kind of transnational journal.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Media Penetration

FEMALES

Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya, Medan, Ujung Pandang
1994 ~ 1998

Media	1994		1995		1996		1997		1998*	
	,000	%	,000	%	,000	%	,000	%	,000	%
Population (15+)	6,409	100	6,537	100	6,761	100	6,933	100	7,120	100
Newspaper										
Daily	2,608	40.7	2,669	40.8	2,921	43.2	3,028	43.7	3,205	45.0
Weekly	1,997	31.2	212	3.2	323	4.8	96	1.4	94	1.3
Magazine										
Weekly	1,829	28.5	2,311	35.4	2,622	38.8	2,451	35.4	2,830	39.7
Fortnightly	991	15.5	1,049	16.0	1,116	16.5	967	13.9	911	12.8
10 daily	813	12.7	1,032	15.8	1,084	16.0	909	13.1	1,139	16.0
Monthly	636	9.9	696	10.6	699	10.3	730	10.5	643	9.0
Cinema										
Past Week	168	2.6	139	2.1	150	2.2	180	2.6	144	2.0
Television										
Yesterday	4,293	67.0	4,548	69.6	5,325	78.8	5,506	79.4	5,866	82.4
Radio										
Yesterday	3,306	51.6	3,218	49.2	3,301	48.8	3,656	52.7	3,538	49.7

*Projected

Sources: SRI Media Index, Demographic 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997 in *Media Scene*, 1998, PPPI, Jakarta

MEDIA PENETRATION

AB EXPENDITURES GROUP*

Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya, Medan, Ujung Pandang
1994 - 1998

Media	1994		1995		1996		1997		1998**	
	,000	%	,000	%	,000	%	,000	%	,000	%
Population (15+)	3,685	100	4,484	100	4,736	100	4,551	100	4,501	100
Newspaper										
Daily	2,748	74.6	3,207	71.5	3,287	69.4	3,165	66.8	3,229	71.7
Weekly	2,273	61.7	218	4.9	313	6.6	115	2.4	112	2.5
Magazine										
Weekly	1,714	46.5	2,289	51.1	2,525	53.3	1,998	42.2	2,251	50.0
Fortnightly	865	23.5	1,099	24.5	1,164	24.6	907	19.2	847	18.8
10 daily	612	16.6	789	17.6	807	17.0	584	12.3	724	16.1
Monthly	822	22.3	919	20.5	1,009	21.3	894	18.9	810	18.0
Cinema										
Past Week	238	6.5	251	5.6	262	5.5	221	4.7	161	3.6
Television										
Yesterday	2,865	77.7	3,437	76.7	3,887	82.1	3,730	78.8	3,806	84.6
Radio										
Yesterday	2,048	55.6	2,420	54.0	2,616	55.2	2,659	56.1	2,517	55.9

**Projected

Sources: SRI Media Index, Demographic 1994-1997, in *Media Scene*, 1998, PPPI, Jakarta

*The advertising industry divides the consumer into categories of income or expenditure figures (called Status Economy Social (SES)), which are based on monthly Rupiah expenditure of the family. This category below valid for 1997:

SES A1	900,000 rupiahs - over
SES A2	600,000 rupiahs - 900,000 rupiahs
SES B	400,000 rupiahs - 400,000 rupiahs
SES C1	300,000 rupiahs - 400,000 rupiahs
SES C2	200,000 rupiahs - 300,000 rupiahs
SES D	150,000 rupiahs - 200,000 rupiahs
SES E	below 150,000 rupiahs

(Source: SRI Media Index, Demographic 1994-1997, in *Media Scene*, 1997, PPPI, Jakarta)

Appendix 2

Method of Research Stage I: Content Analysis of Editorial Articles

This study applies two stages for its content analysis. The content analysis of the editorial articles of *Femina* and *Kartini* was intended to produce a quantitative base for qualitative analysis. The first stage involved counting the topics or issue themes, stated in each editorial article, then grouping it into ten categories of themes. Hensen, et.al (1998, p.112) states, "the classification of what topics or themes or issues are covered within a general area of coverage chosen for analysis is of course a common starting point for studies of media content".

However, the editorial articles sometime covered not just one topic or issue, but two or three. To consider this matter, the topic that has been stressed by the editor, or the one which is dominant in the editorial (usually it can be identified from the length of words or sentences in the article), was considered. For example, in the editorial of *Femina* no. 11/xxv/20-26 March 1997, two topics were discussed. The first topic discussed was about sex for single women and the second topic was about the friendships among women. The first topic was occupied 3/4 in its length in that article, and the second topic was discussed only 1/4. This format is only occurred in *Femina*. While in *Kartini*, the editor put the title on the top as the topic of the magazine editorial in that edition. The numbers of samples in this study are 70 editorial articles of *Femina* and 68 editorials of *Kartini*. However, for the editions of 1998, *Kartini* formed its editorial in visual or picture format. All the pictures were shown as a form of a national campaign program. Therefore, eight editions are not considered and only 60 editorials counted for *Kartini*.

In many, perhaps mostly, content analyses, the classification of themes or sub-categories of the coverage within a general area of investigation is a key objective of this approach. The categories for quantitative content analysis in these editorial articles emerged from a preliminary qualitative probe. This approach applied in this study is inclusive rather than exclusive, and it conforms with “objectivity” and “systematic” as stated in the broad definition of content analysis, “Content analysis is any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of message” (Holsti, 1969, p. 601).

As the second step, this study counted the advertising features of these two journals and grouped the advertising material into twenty-six categories of product items. These categories are applied from or refer to the category created by PT. Surindo Utama, one of the survey research agents in Indonesia. These categories are used to determine the categories of product items and services of advertising.

These are the categories of theme in editorials of *Femina* and *Kartini*.

1. *Gender matters*: all editorial content which deals with the topic of relationships between men and women, e.g., in workplace, and other social relationships. It also deals with the topics of the representation and/or the position of women in society, woman as objects, definitions of femininity, and female roles.
2. *Women and Marriage*: this category is used to classify topics such as sexual relationships between husband and wife, spouse's affairs, problems with the personality of the spouse, like bad attitude and behaviour, problems with other people which can stimulate a potential conflict in the household like parents, sister and/or brother in law, spouse's close friends, problems with family's background

and custom, the meaning of marriage, the perception of marriage among single women, and other phenomena concerning women and sexuality in terms of sex before marriage.

3. *Women and Career*: e.g. image of career women, working wife, topics around the relationships between management and staff, topics about career problems, the situation around working woman, conflict in the workplace, prospective careers or professions for women, attitudes and behaviour in the office, strategies to improve women's skills and knowledge, self-control, self-help, and personality.
4. *Household problems*: e.g. topics about role distribution between husband and wife in the household, strategies and tactics for creating a happy family, child care, children's education, the arrangement of family income.
5. *Women and their social contribution*: e.g. women and politics, the involvement of women in social charity actions, wife's organisations, the family welfare program (PKK), women and the national development.
6. *Women's rights*: e.g. the rights of women over reproduction, women and abortion, the right of education for women, the right not to have children, the freedom for women themselves to make a decision or make a choice, the rights of women in marriage.
7. *Abuses of women*; e.g. domestic violence, sexual harassment, mass rape.
8. *Women, health, dietary and social illness issues*: women and AIDS, anorexia, bulimia, women and diet, women and sport, women and recreation, women and food.
9. *Social, politic and economic issues*: issues or topics concerning social, economic, and political actions in Indonesia, e.g. national development programs, national

days events, national disasters, presidential and ministerial activities, the general election, ABRI, the monetary crisis, and social issues.

10. *Others*: all topics or issues discussed outside these nine issues above such as, the special occasions on the magazines, the magazine anniversary, the accidents of editorial staff, and social events organised by the magazine.

Appendix 3

Method of Research Stage II: The Interviews Process

This fieldwork was aimed at understanding what the editors say about their magazines and the social changes in Indonesia, and how these changes have been reflected in the creation of the magazine. Interviews with the editorial staffs of both *Kartini* and *Femina* were conducted in Jakarta. However, the situation was absolutely different from what was anticipated.

It was not realised that *Kartini* had closed down in May 1998. A call to the magazine's head office in Jakarta in June 1998, resulted in permission to do research on *Kartini*. The situation was different in Jakarta in the middle of August 1998. *Kartini* was bankrupt. Consequently, the editors who used to work in this magazine were not able to be interviewed. The only person available was the personnel manager, who was also a general affairs manager, and some administration people. They said that all the editors had been laid off, because the director could not pay them any more. The hard economic crisis at that time had caused to the owner to close the magazine. Only general information about *Kartini* was to be had from this personnel and general affairs manager. It was even not possible to enter *Kartini*'s resource room, because it was locked and all the documents there were protected, with no access to this room, except by the owner.

It was still in negotiation at that time to see Lukman Umar, the chief editor and the owner, when *Kartini*'s office in Pulo Gadung industrial estate in Jakarta was visited. He was sick, and it was promised that one of his staff would call for confirmation to interview Lukman. Unfortunately, the interview was never done because Lukman

died on the last week of September 1998. Some *ex-Kartini*'s editors were called. However, some of them refused to be interviewed, and only two editors agreed. However, when the time was set up, they did not come to the place agreed on before. I interviewed one of them via telephone, but she could not give accurate data or complete data. She always said "actually this is not my responsibility to answer this question" or "you might be better ask to the right person (but she could not give the name)".

The chief editor of *Femina* was interviewed twice in her office at Rasuna Said, Jakarta. Unfortunately, other editors could not be interviewed, because of busy reason. However, some of them agreed to fill in the questionnaire instead of having direct conversation. The chief editor advised that I could not ask about the role or the job description of the editors could not be discussed, because they would not answer those kinds of questions. She said that her editors probably would not want to be asked about their jobs as it is considered personal and private, "If you ask about our magazine they will please to answer it, but if you ask about their job here, I guess, they will refuse it". Therefore, all the interviews done in this work are related to the issues around women's magazines and the social phenomena of Indonesian women of today.

Appendix 4

Method of Research Stage III: Focus Group Discussion

The focus group discussion here was conducted to understand reading practices and media use in everyday life, especially women's magazines around the middle class women in Indonesia. This research has never been done by any scholars in Indonesia. Many studies have been done in television reception, but this kind of study is also rare in Indonesia. There were two stages to this work. Firstly, interviews with fifteen women individually were held in Surabaya, due to the personal knowledge of and of the character of the people there. Secondly, these individual interviews were followed by a focus group discussion. In the individual interviews, the questionnaire covered some general questions of demographic data and general information on media use everyday life like how they got the magazine; when they read it; how many women's magazines and other media they read; and how long they read women's magazines. These were intended as the filter questions before the focus group discussion.

As a method of studying media audiences, this focus group discussion was done to understand how the reader makes sense of media through conversation and direct interaction with peers or with each other. Focus group discussion is a method for studying audience research in in-depth conversation or qualitative approach, but it is considered more efficient in cost and time than individual in-depth interviews.

The renaissance, in the last fifteen to twenty years, of the focused group interview as a method for media and communication research relates to the turning away from the traditional effect paradigm, and variations thereof which include such predominantly survey-based approaches as cultivation analysis, agenda-setting, and uses and gratification research. ... For many of the audience 'reception' studies of the 1980s the choice of focus group discussions, participant observation, and related ethnographic methods marked

a deliberate and conscious rejection of traditional quantitative approaches (Hensen, et.al, 1998, p. 259).

Thus, considering time and cost, this study applied the focus group discussion as a method of gathering qualitative data about media audience research, especially about reading practices of middle class women in relation to women's magazines.

Previously, all these women agreed to follow the discussion, and were told them that they would be picked up to go to the discussion place (a meeting room of one of three stars hotels in Surabaya was used, because I assumed that they were the upper middle class women who would like an exclusive place to participate in this discussion). Unfortunately, only nine women came to this focus group discussion, and no confirmation from the rest of them, even up until the last minutes the discussion began, they were still confirmed via their mobile phones, but they never came until the discussion was finished.

They are, like ex-editors of *Kartini* and some editors of *Femina*, typical of middle class people in Indonesia who are not willing to participate in interviews or conversations with academics or scholars for research purposes. The words such as, "research", "survey", and so forth have made them worried and nervous. This situation has made many Indonesian scholars or academics ignore or leave behind the audience survey research. If they do, they will employ other people to gather the data directly from the audience rather than by themselves. Therefore, many Indonesian scholars prefer to do a quantitative research for media audience study rather than to study audience reception or other qualitative study on media audiences.

Appendix 5

Identity of Respondents

These nine respondents are the participants of a Focus Group Discussion. All respondents had been advised that they would be quoted, and no one had any objection. All their names here are initials. On the average, these single working women earn an income from up to 500,000 rupiahs to over 1,000,000 rupiahs¹. Most of them have graduated from university.

1. AN (23 years) She is married and has not had children yet. She is a librarian, and has subscribed to *Femina* for more than four years. She also used to read *Kartini* in the last five years, but stopped reading it frequently. She reads *Kartini* only if she was in a hair dressing salon or a doctor's waiting room. She likes to read true stories, and husband and wife articles in *Femina*. She has tried to send her personal experience to this magazine, as *Femina* provides a space for its reader to send his/her unique personal life experience to be published in the article called "*Gado-Gado*", but she said that her articles have never been published.
2. DE (20 years) She graduated from senior high school and has not continued to study at university, because she has already got a job in one of the three star hotels in Surabaya. Actually, she still likes to read a teenage magazine, and she is starting to read *Femina*, because she saw that the magazine has been suitable to be read by young woman of her age.

¹ According to the standard of Status Economy Social (SES), these women are classified as SES B and SES A1 and A2, whose have the gross income in the range of 400,000 rupiahs to over 900,000 rupiahs (equivalent with AUD\$ 80 to over \$ 200 in which AUD\$1=5,000 rupiahs in 1999)

3. ES (22 years) She is a university student who is also a part timer in private enterprise. She reads *Femina* and *Higina Kosmopolitan*. Fashion, beauty, and cooking articles are the most interesting articles for her, rather than other stories from the women's magazines.
4. FE (26 years) She is still single. She is a businesswoman who runs a small business in her home. Part of her house functions as an art gallery, while the other part is a small gym. Her business mainly deals with the services of beauty treatment for affluent middle class. She offers a traditional technique of massage, milk bathing, and other traditional Javanese palace women methods for keeping up appearance and body shaping. She reads almost all women's publications, both glossy magazines and tabloids for women. She hold a BA degree from one of the reputable universities in Surabaya, and also often travels overseas. She is originally from Jakarta, but does not really look like young Jakarta woman. Having been in Surabaya for more than five years seems to have shifted her attitude and behaviour to be more a typical east-Javanese woman than a cosmopolitan Jakarta woman.
5. FI (26 years) A radio host who is still studying in one of technology institutes in Surabaya. She is in the last year of her study and is preparing her final academic project. She is still single, and independent in financial terms. She reads *Femina*, *Higina Kosmopolitan*, and *Sartika* (a health magazine for modern woman), which is under the same group as *Femina*. Since last May 1998, she has not read *Femina* regularly, and has only bought it sometimes because she was bored with the topics provided. She is turning to read *Higina Kosmopolitan* and *Sartika* in order to find a new perspective on contemporary Indonesian women's magazines beside *Femina*.

6. IV (24 years) She is a businesswoman who has a mobile phone shop in one of the elite shopping malls in Surabaya. She used to be a subscriber to *Femina* for more than five years. Since the magazine's price has been doubled from May 1998, she has decided to stop subscribing and only buys the magazine whenever she reckons the topic is interesting.
7. IR (22 years) A university student who has read *Femina* since she was in junior school, because her mother was a loyal subscriber to it for more than ten years. The articles in *Femina* that she likes to read most are fashion and beauty articles.
8. LE (24 years) She works at an advertising agency in Surabaya, as a copywriter. Beside *Femina*, she also read *Swa* (a business magazine), and *Sartika*. She started to read *Femina* when she has got a job a year ago, but she used to read *Nova*, which has transformed its format to become the tabloid for women for a long time, because of her mother had subscribed to it. She is quite pleased that she can afford to buy the magazine with her money. As a result, she will spend her money carefully to purchase the magazine, only when the topic is attractive for her to read it.
9. VC (24 years) She is a single woman, who used to work as a radio host in a leading FM radio in Surabaya, while she was studying at university. Since then she has read *Femina* magazine. She is now a manager in her family's business and has read *Femina* for three years. Before the economic crisis in Indonesia in late 1997, she bought the magazine frequently, but since May 1998 she has bought *Femina* casually, only if she has the money or if the topic is interesting.

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