

5-16-2014

Femininity and Masculinity in Indonesian Popular Music Videos

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FEMININITY AND MASCULINITY IN INDONESIAN POPULAR MUSIC VIDEOS

by

HANNAH CARSWELL

Under the Direction of Dr. Megan Sinnott

ABSTRACT

This work fills a gap in research on Indonesian popular culture by delving into the presentation of femininity and masculinity in Indonesian music videos. Through a textual analysis of four videos, a survey of the video YouTube comments, and interviews with Indonesians about these videos, the author examines the presentation of Order/Chaos and other Male/Female binaries in the music videos and their relationship with the current pop culture and political environment.

INDEX WORDS: Southeast Asia, Popular culture, Music videos, Indonesia, Femininity, Masculinity

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by

HANNAH CARSWELL

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2013

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2013

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May 2014

DEDICATION

To my husband Nyoman Saptura and his family for their willingness to answer my many questions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to my thesis chair Megan Sinnott for her comments and encouragement.

Thank you to my committee members Amira Jarmakani and Julie Kubala as well. Thank you to Virginia Evans for her enthusiasm for my research and willingness to proofread several drafts.

Thank you to Nyoman Saputra for the late night diet coke runs and the willingness to double check my translations.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Indonesian popular music videos depict femininity and masculinity in ways that are still connected to the strict gender binary promoted by Suharto as part of his New Order government. Music videos are particularly popular with prominently featured programs dedicated to providing a forum for viewing and discussing music videos and band/singer performances on television throughout the country (Barkin 92). Since Indonesia is an extremely large and diverse nation, media images are one of the few similarities across the archipelago. Years of gendered government rhetoric have permeated all aspects of Indonesian popular culture including these music videos. The government explicitly manipulates which images are seen by the public through an inconsistent and vaguely defined censorship board. Rather than simply presenting gendered images that replicate Suharto era ideas about gender though, these video images are part of a complicated conversation about what it means to be masculine or feminine in modern Indonesia. Sometimes the images extend New Order ideas about gender. At other times, the images push against the rigid boundaries of state ideas about gender.

Indonesian film studies and gender studies have both embraced a conversation about the chaos/order binary that can easily be connected to the images in popular Indonesian music videos as well as Indonesia's political history. Femininity and some versions of pop culture masculinity are connected with chaos while traditional Suharto era ideas about proper masculinity are connected with order (Mulder 62; Nilan 332; Tiwon 65; Blackwood 33; Heider 29). The gendered binary, chaos/order, also reflects the contrast between Suharto's extremely ordered and gendered administration and the chaos that has rocked Indonesian politics and gender roles since the end of the New Order. This gendered binary also reflects traditional Javanese ideas about

proper masculinity as ordered and controlled (Mulder 62). The order/chaos binary reinforces the male/female binary in order to present images of proper Indonesian masculinity and femininity.

Indonesian music videos exist in a complicated space as part of the programming of a national television system that is inundated with television images from all over the world. Since there has been very little English language research on Indonesian popular culture and even less on pop music videos in particular, my research fills some of this void by exploring the way that gendered images in popular music videos challenge, complement, and extend state discourses about gender. I investigate what kinds of masculinities and femininities are presented in popular music videos as well as how they fit into the historical evolution of ideas about gender in Indonesia. Even though the government has shifted and changed, these images continue to expand and extend Suharto era ideas in some ways. However, the images also complicate the New Order gender binary by challenging and contradicting traditionally held ideas about gender. In turn, the examination of these complex images provides valuable insight into the environment in which they exist. Although women's roles have expanded to include a more varied set of characteristics over the last few decades, these images still flow from New Order gendered norms. I mainly compare the images in music videos to the presentations of gender in *Sinetron*, short television programs that are comparable to soap operas. In *Sinetron* programming, women are continually represented as connected to emotionality, dependence, passivity, and domesticity while men are presented as the independent and strong heads of households (Aripurnami 254). In particular, I explore and interpret how these ideas connect with the gendered images that appear in four Indonesian music videos (Peterpan's "Tak Ada Yang Abadi, Kotak's "Kecuali Kamu," Nidji's "Save Me," and Oppie Andaresta's "Single Happy") as well as how Indonesian audiences respond to these images.

Although the government still maintains some control over the television images that Indonesians see, the interviewees and YouTube commenters included in this study resisted government rhetoric just as often as they embraced it. In the interviews and YouTube comments, a complicated conversation about what it means to be masculine or feminine in modern Indonesia unfolded. Throughout the videos, gendered binaries such as order/chaos appeared as they do in much of Indonesian media. Some of the videos attempted to shift the conversation around these binaries by presenting them in a fresh way; however, some of these attempts had the effect of reifying New Order ideas about gender. Overall, the interviewees and YouTube commenters' reactions to these shifts ranged from optimistic to very skeptical. Through this study, it became clear that the images around gender in Indonesian popular music videos have begun to shift. However, some of these changes are not as radical as they appear at first because they reinforce previously accepted ideas about appropriate masculinity and femininity.

1.1 Background on Television in Indonesia

Over the past few decades, access to television in Indonesia has vastly expanded. In the 1980s, president Suharto's New Order government recognized the unifying potential of television and distributed television sets and satellite dishes to rural villages, so that more Indonesians could access TVRI, the government owned and controlled television station (Barkin 9). In 1989, the New Order government began to allow private television networks to broadcast; however, no one outside of the capital of Jakarta could access these new channels until 1993 (Olken 4). Currently, eleven television networks, not including local province specific channels, are broadcast. Accessibility varies throughout the country, and there is very limited data on how far each channel transmits. One national survey revealed that Indonesians in major cities can

usually view six of these eleven channels (24). When I studied in Indonesia from 2008 to 2009, I continually encountered the ways in which television was becoming more accessible and available in the province of Bali. Pak Made, the father of a family I stayed with, loved to tell the story of how his family became the second family in his village to own a television set in the 1980s. The family who owned the first television refused to share the pleasure of evening television broadcasts with their neighboring villagers and even went so far as to cover their windows and keyhole in order to keep peering eyes away from their television set. After being denied access to this technology, Pak Made was determined to earn enough money to buy a television set that he could share with his family and neighbors. His entire village would visit his home to communally watch the television that he had worked so hard to afford. During my time living in Bali from 2008 to 2009, most of the middle-class and upper-class family homes that I visited prominently displayed television sets with antennas to access many of the national and local channels. When I most recently visited Bali in 2012, I immediately noticed a drastic difference in television access. Prepaid satellites with access to all of the national and local channels, as well as many international channels, had become more popular. While these satellites were by no means accessible to everyone, many middle and upper class families had at least sporadic access to this buffet of television programming. A website called Mivo.tv now streams several national channels as well as its own material in real-time for viewers all over the world. While the wide variety of channels available is a fairly new development, Indonesian television programming has quickly expanded within and beyond the borders of the nation.

A censorship board still holds real power over what viewers actually see on television. While most people will readily admit there is a censorship board, no one has clear information on what the exact regulations are. Although there is very limited information about the

ensorship board and the processes it uses to reach decisions, there has been some research on the role it plays in shaping Indonesian films. In *Indonesian Cinema: National Culture on Screen*, Karl G. Heider describes the film censorship process as “a system of prior and early constraint,” noting that the government film censorship board has to approve a script before shooting begins, and the board continues to advise the creators throughout the process (22). There is very little information about the censorship board, but it most certainly plays a role in what images are seen on Indonesian television and how audiences, including the interviewees in this study, react to these images.

1.2 Background on Indonesian Politics

Prior to 1942, Indonesia was colonized by the Dutch until the Japanese arrived. In contrast to Dutch colonialism’s complete disavowal of Indonesian nationalism, Japanese forces encouraged Indonesian patriotism as a tool for garnering support for World War II. Sukarno, who later became the first president of Indonesia, was one of the nationalist leaders who Japanese leadership recruited to promote the war effort (Vickers 93). After the war ended and the Dutch returned to Indonesia in 1945, this sense of nationalism that the Japanese had cultivated was vital to the revolution that forced the Dutch to leave Indonesia again in 1949. Sukarno quickly became the leader of this new government and continued travelling around the country giving inspiring and patriotic speeches to stoke the nationalist sentiment of the citizens of this new nation.

One of the foundational elements of the new government was *Pancasila* or Five State Principles. When Sukarno made this ideology public in a speech in 1945, he was building upon the foundation of the ideology that he and other leaders had used to push the revolution against the Dutch forward. These five principles are: “belief in the one and only God, just and civilized

humanity, the unity of Indonesia, democracy guided by inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives, and social justice for all the people of Indonesia” (Vltchek 21). During his time as president from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, Sukarno was firm in his resolution that the West was imperialist and not to be trusted, so he carefully guarded Indonesia from much of Western culture and rhetoric (Vickers 130). He was well known for his anti-Western speeches and was especially hostile towards the World Bank and IMF (Vltchek 23). In response to increasing pressure from the United States in regards to his policies and the local political response to this pressure, Sukarno declared the government a Guided Democracy and began to lean more and more towards an authoritarian style of government. He also set about installing the original constitution as “sacred and unchallengeable, identical to the Five Principles of the nation” (144). Under this system, the president was the center of power and the military was used not only to protect the nation but also to maintain society by intervening in the government when necessary (145). Another very important part of this period of history was the Sukarno administration’s creation of a national history that claimed ancient kingdoms as predecessors for the modern state and the uplifting of “national heroes” to uphold this version of history (147). During this time period, a group of military officers launched a “Movement” that they claimed would protect Sukarno’s leadership. In actuality, this “Movement” would eventually overthrow Sukarno and lead to the slaughter of at least half a million (and quite probably more) people (Vickers 159; Lane 48).

Due to the power of the constitution, Sukarno was still the acting president even though the leaders of the “Movement” were actually leading the country. However, in 1966, Sukarno transferred most of his power over the military and the government to Suharto. Eventually, Suharto, who had been involved in the “Movement” from the beginning, was named as Acting

President in 1968. In 1971 he organized an election to legitimize his position. Suharto's new government was labeled the New Order to emphasize that *Pancasila* was its ideological foundation (161). The New Order government quickly institutionalized a version of this coup that placed the blame squarely on the PKI or communist party. Throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, the New Order government periodically waged campaigns to rid the country of "Communists," or anyone the government suspected to be a leftist (171).

Throughout the New Order, the government attempted to repress strong Islamic identity because it was viewed as a threat to the political system. However, some of these attempts backfired and solidified religion as a major cornerstone of Indonesian identity. Since Indonesians without a clear religious identity were apt to be labeled communists, all Indonesian were required to carry identity cards that listed one of five government recognized world religions (Bertrand 74). To this day, each Indonesian citizen must officially register as a member of one of these religions. As a consequence, religious affiliation is often emphasized as a very important part of personal, social, and national identity.

In the 1980s, Suharto's administration emphasized development as a state goal and embraced international capitalism as an official policy called "Openness" (Vickers 198). Initially, this policy was successful. In the mid 1990s, the economic tide turned, however, and Indonesians began to suffer major economic problems. The government was blamed for the crisis and protestors began to call for Suharto to step down.

While Suharto's government was marked by control and order, the succeeding governments have been overwhelmingly marked by chaos and disorder. In 1998, Suharto resigned and was succeeded by the vice-president B.J. Habibie (205). While the figurehead of the government had been replaced, almost all government positions were still held by New Order

politicians. Although Habibie was only president until 1999, he separated himself from Suharto by basing his presidency on *Reformasi* or Reform. The next president Gus Dur was plagued with political crisis after political crisis as he pushed for a less authoritarian form of government and issued an apology to the victims of the 1965 massacres. This angered powerful members of the military and government who had been involved in the New Order administration and the killings. They forced him out of power within two years, and Sukarno's daughter Megawati Sukarnoputri was elected to replace him (211). In 2004, the current president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, or SBY, was elected president. He had been very active in the New Order government just as all of the political leaders since Suharto had been (223).

Although there have been many superficial changes to the government since Suharto stepped down, his ideology and legacy are still part of the foundation of the Indonesian presidency. In an interview ten years after Suharto resigned, President SBY commented,

Pak Harto [an affectionate nickname for Suharto] was a leader of this nation. His contributions to this nation are not small. As a human being, however, like other people, Pak Harto has weaknesses and mistakes (Vltchek 143).

This is the closest he has come to offering any criticism of Suharto or his government. In *Unfinished Nation: Indonesia Before and After Suharto*, Max Lane emphasizes just how successful Suharto was in creating his own brand of Indonesian nationalism that wiped out the earlier system. He writes,

It is in the area of ideology where the process of winning back the gains made by the popular classes appears to be advancing the slowest. This rests on the massive suppression of the left in 1965, including the physical elimination of over a million

people. It also rests on the systematic destruction of the collective memory of struggle that was implemented during most of the Suharto period (247).

Although Suharto has not been active in the government since 1998, his impact on the Indonesian government and consciousness cannot be overstated.

1.3 New Order Discourse Surrounding Gender and Sexuality

From the years 1966 to 1998, Suharto's New Order government capitalized upon the idea of man and woman as separate and distinctive categories. As he integrated Indonesia into the global capitalist economy, he built upon preexisting norms and the structure of the Indonesian language to create a rigid system of gender ideology to reinforce and justify his powerful government. In *Falling into the Lesbi World*, Evelyn Blackwood describes how this ideology often focused on moving Indonesia from a "developing" nation to a "modern" nation (39). Suharto drew upon the fact that there are no separate words for "sex" and "gender" in the Indonesian language because gender is thought of as the inherent nature of biological sex. The word *kodrat* (character) is used along with *laki-laki* (man) or *perempuan* (woman) to refer to the inherent nature of men or women. Blackwood states, "This relationship means that in the dominant Indonesian sex/gender system, one's gender attributes are seen as naturally and indivisibly part of one's sex" (40). Suharto's administration used these ideas about gender and sex to create gendered ideas about citizenship.

Throughout the Suharto New Order, the government endorsed rigid roles for wives and husbands. Women were urged to protect the morality and virtue of their families through following *Panca Dharma Wanita* (Five Responsibilities of Woman). These responsibilities included supporting her husband, providing children, raising children, keeping house, and guarding her community (Sunindyo 125). These state ideologies and the related policies which

promoted nuclear families and motherhood were deeply interwoven with Western economic planning ideas. Women were constantly inundated with messages centered around these ideologies (Blackwood 41). Women were also encouraged to take part in the economic development of Indonesia through working outside of their homes. In the section of Suharto's 1998 autobiography entitled "Concerning our Women," he declared,

In relation to development, women who have a positive role to play are those who are aware of their function as women and as good citizens. That is why I always remind women of their dual roles, as housewives and as citizens who want progress. They are free to enter careers but at the same time, should not sacrifice family responsibilities. They are perfectly justified to demand equal rights with men, but they should not abandon their inborn capability to create a good, healthy and happy family life. Ideal women are those who can function well in both roles" (258).

In this statement, Suharto lays out the ideal female citizen as a woman who embraces her *kodrat perempuan* while simultaneously contributing to the economic wellbeing of Indonesia.

The government also instated a national school curriculum based upon state ideology that delineated strict gender roles through both explicit statements and the subtle presentation of gender roles. In one study of educational texts in the 1970s, Martha Logsdon found that *ibu* (mother) was never capitalized, but *bapak* (father) was always capitalized. The *ibu* was described as staying at home while the *bapak* went to work. Therefore, within these school texts, women were situated as sources of reproduction and domestic work while men were situated as providers who were allowed to move outside of the private sphere (42).

Suharto's gendered ideology builds upon a tradition of Javanese masculinity and femininity that situates men as ordered and distant and women as chaotic and warm. In *Inside Indonesian Society: An Interpretation of Cultural Change in Java*, Niels Mulder writes,

The father, being the elder and the progenitor, is entitled to the highest honour, and is hierarchically far away. In contrast to the approachable and emotional mother, the symbol of warmth and homeliness, who earns her honour because of self-sacrificial care, the father seems to embody prestige per se. In that position, he needs to be dignified, in charge without much to do, somewhat remote from his children, and often from his wife, too. He especially represents life outside the home, the world of work and male affairs, and the family prestige. Whatever respect his children and wife may earn for themselves, their main honour in life lies in belonging to him (62).

In the Javanese tradition, proper masculinity is distant and reserved while proper femininity is warm and open. Traditionally, men embrace control, order, and the public sphere as a way of properly expressing their masculinity. In turn, this positions the association of women with warmth, openness, and the home as chaotic and uncontrolled. The representation of women as chaotic and men as ordered impacted the foundational gendered ideas of Panca Dharma Wanita and eventually the Suharto administration.

Through identifying himself as the *Bapak Pembangunan* (Father of Development), Suharto positioned himself as the ultimate *bapak* or father figure. In "Contemporary Masculinities," Pam Nilan further explores the role of *bapak*,

In principle *bapak* always rules over the family; but often also over the business, the town, the nation-state. He is entitled to exercise dominance because of his God-given

wisdom, self-control, and mastery of emotions. These qualities grant him authority over women, children, and male underlings (332).

As the ideal *bapak*, Suharto reinforced his power as natural through feminizing the nation and its citizens as the complementary *ibu*. The concept of *azas kekeluargaan* or family principle takes this idea even further by constructing the state as a family with paternalism at its heart (Suryakusuma 95). By building the national structure on top of heteronormative ideas about kinship and family, the New Order government clearly took the position that the heterosexual family, “development,” and “modernity” were the building blocks of the nation.

New Order rhetoric also positioned reproductive heterosexuality within the confines of the family as a national and familial duty. According to Suryakusuma, a New Order government official went so far as to directly state,

The family household is the smallest unit of the nation... The (nation) state can only be strong if it is made up of strong families. A just nation can only be achieved through a just arrangement of families. For that reason, building a family implies participation in the building of the foundation of a nation (97).

Through discourse such as this, one’s role as a husband or wife in the heterosexual reproductive family unit is emphasized as vital to the mission of the nation-state.

Another way that the Indonesian government enforced this new gender code was by linking it to historical figures such as Kartini, an aristocratic Javanese woman who has been adopted as the “mother of the nation” (Blackwood 42). Kartini, who lived in the late 1800s, is most famous for her correspondence which advocated for women’s rights including access to education and freedom from polygamy and child marriage (Cribb and Kahin 214). Although Kartini struggled for women’s rights during her lifetime and suffered through an unwanted

marriage to a man with three wives, Kartini's image has been converted from that of a bright, independent thinker to that of the ideal Indonesian wife, mother, and female citizen. Her legacy has been harnessed for the service of the state's goal of presenting motherhood and the performance of femininity as the duty of every good Indonesian woman. In a chapter of *Fantasizing the Feminine* entitled "Models and Maniacs," Sylvia Tiwon compares the words of the original Dutch letters that Kartini wrote to her friends to the translations that have been widely publicized in Indonesian books, ceremonies, songs, and speeches. She finds that some of the wording has been altered to fit the accepted gender dynamics of the Suharto era. For instance, in one of her original letters, she speaks of female singleness as an ideal state and expresses her desire never to marry. However, the Indonesian translation situates her desire to never marry as the desire to never be forced to marry and even goes on to clarify that this freedom is the "freedom to learn and study" rather than freedom from men (56). According to Tiwon,

The transformation of Kartini from young woman rebelling against the shackles of marriage and family is significant, for she stands as the officially sanctioned model of behavior not for what she says but rather for what is said about her (57).

As Kartini is rearticulated as a national hero through her motherhood, she becomes an icon of proper Indonesian womanhood during the New Order.

Tiwon further argues that any consideration of Kartini as the female ideal must take into account the negative images with which she is contrasted. She references the story of six Indonesian generals who were supposedly kidnapped, mutilated, raped and murdered by the women of Gerwani, the Communist-affiliated women's movement. Official descriptions and news accounts of the event describe these murders as gory and sex-fueled. Tiwon argues that in

the Kartini/Gerwani complex, stories of Gerwani women were molded to present a negative counter to images of Kartini. She explains,

Kartini/Gerwani: the model/the maniacs. The model woman is the individual, her femaleness sequestered from other females by rank, by age, by social status. Her definition as *ibu* controls her and fixes her within a hierarchical web of ties and responsibilities. The converse of this model is women in a crowd in which all rankings fall away, as do age, family ties, and social status; their femaleness thus augmented, they become channels for power (65).

The Kartini/Gerwani complex is also tied to the binary of Order/Chaos. When women follow the norms of the role of *ibu*, they are nonthreatening and even the models of proper citizenship. However, when women are in the chaos of a crowd and order is not maintained through hierarchies of gender and family, these women become dangerous and uncontrollable. While Kartini is recognized as the ideal Indonesian female citizen, the women of Gerwani are presented as the result of the failure of women to properly restrain themselves to the confines of *kodrat wanita* and *Panca Dharma Wanita*.

Since the New Order ended in 1998, images of working women have become more prevalent. Despite that fact, professional women or *wanita karier* are still expected to fulfill feminine roles by presenting a feminine image through dress and make-up. They are also still responsible for the majority of household and caretaking duties (Blackwood 43). Although the idea of the *wanita karier* has slightly shifted discourses surrounding gender, Indonesian ideas about proper womanhood and manhood are still very affected by New Order gender ideologies. Blackwood comments,

Contemporary Indonesian discourses create an image of innate gender difference in which modern women are oriented to domestic and wifely tasks, while men are encouraged to be heads of households and active leaders in the public domain [...]

Contemporary Indonesian gender discourses coalesce around a binary in which men and women are believed to have different and contrastive bodies and natures (33).

Women and men are still expected to fulfill their proper roles which are considered to be intrinsically linked to their sexes. While women have taken on more duties and roles in the public sphere, men have not been expected to assist with traditionally feminine tasks.

1.4 Background on Indonesian Music Videos

Music videos made their first appearance in Indonesia when national television began to feature MTV in 1995, three years before the end of Suharto's New Order government. In *Modern Noises, Fluid Genres; Popular Music in Indonesia 1997-2001*, Jeremy Wallach explains that the first videos that were broadcast were Western. While Sukarno led from 1945 to 1967, there had been very few opportunities for Indonesian musicians and consumers to be influenced by Western music since he equated Western music with "social disease" (17). By contrast, Suharto's very capitalist administration embraced MTV along with other Western icons. Indonesian artists quickly began to produce their own videos in order to promote their music.

Record companies currently label music and customers on a scale of A to F with A representing the most profitable and Western-influenced music and customers. F is reserved for customers who are too poor to buy music and who enjoy the most "traditional" forms of music (73). Therefore, Western music and music videos are placed at the top of a hierarchy while the most traditionally regional forms of music are seen as having little if any commercial value. The Indonesian pop music videos that are most common, which I will be exploring through my

project, rank high on this scale. Although music videos are a fairly new development, they fit into this already existing commercial hierarchy based upon class and region.

Another interesting component of Indonesian music videos is the way that the visual images often bear no resemblance to the scenes of everyday life in Indonesia. Some incorporate scenes that are recognizably “Indonesian” through scenery or traditional clothing and items. However, the vast majority feature places that do not seem “Indonesian” or even “Asian.” In fact, the spaces seem unanchored. They could be anywhere or nowhere. Wallach makes the claim that audiences receive these videos as authentically Indonesian because they are performed by Indonesians even though they often do not take place on sets that look distinctly “Indonesian.” He argues that the spaces seem global, but they have a sense of “Indonesian-ness” as well. He comments,

Yet the fact that the song in the video is sung in Indonesian and performed by visibly Indonesian musicians influences the responses of Indonesian viewers, for whom the clip’s global images are recontextualized by their appropriation by an Indonesian rock band (36).

Quite often the viewers whom I interviewed and whose YouTube comments I read expressed pride and appreciation for the “Indonesian-ness” of the clips or scorn for the clips that were considered too “foreign.” Since strict gender roles played such a huge part in the New Order government and the development of Indonesian culture, it is not surprising that these viewers and commenters often remarked about the ways in which the gender roles diverged from, reinforced, or extended traditionally held ideas about proper gender presentation. My research further investigated and complicated this claim through a discussion of how the gender roles presented in videos are related to viewers’ perceptions of what presentations of masculinity and femininity

are part of “Indonesian culture.” The presentation of Order/Chaos in relation to Indonesian masculinity and femininity in music videos reflects popular concepts of masculinity as ordered and femininity as chaotic.

1.5 General Background on Music Videos

In *Music Video and the Politics of Representation*, Diane Raiton and Paul Watson argue that there is very little research on current music videos because many people consider music videos to be disposable advertisements that are quickly replaced by newer and flashier videos (6). Although there was an explosion of research on American music videos in the 1980s and 90s after the creation of MTV, there has recently been less research that focuses on music videos and the research that exists clusters around certain performers such as Madonna (4). There is surprisingly little research that explores contemporary videos or non-English videos.

However, research from the 80s and 90s created a framework that can easily be applied to exploring recent videos. In “Music Video as Communication: Popular Form and Emerging Genres,” Joe Gow notes that earlier research was merely concerned with classifying music videos. Scholars often refer to music videos as fitting into two basic types: “performance” videos include shots of the band self consciously performing the music for the viewer while “conceptual” videos are not related to the actual performance of the music (45). The most common type of conceptual video is the narrative in which the viewer is presented a story over the course of the video (45). Most current music videos can still be classified into these types.

Gow argues that the characteristic that most sets apart music videos from other forms of visual media is the way the image is produced after the musical soundtrack has already been created rather than vice versa. He writes,

Because the music in these promotional clips is created long before any other material is

considered, it is the dominant formal element. Visual imagery and other formal components (sound effects, for example) are used to enhance the musical soundtrack rather than the other way around (45).

Through Gow's survey of the most popular videos of the 1980s, he concludes that performance is the main focus of most videos, presumably as a method promoting the album on which the music appears. He suggests that the other formal structures of music videos exist in order to help the viewer interpret the performance aspect of the videos (46). All four of the videos I considered in my research have performance aspects. Although I agree that the musical soundtrack plays a prominent role in shaping the visual images that are presented in music videos, my research primarily explored the images while relying upon the music and lyrics as suggestions for how to interpret the images. Since these images dominate Indonesian television and do not necessarily have a strong relationship to the lyrics that accompany them, I was interested in exploring how they fit into the long history of media images that have been permeated by state goals in Indonesia.

Previous research on gender and sexuality in music videos has found that gender stereotypes are often reinforced in these videos. According to Julie Andsager and Kimberly Roe in "'What's Your Definition of Dirty, Baby?': Sex in Music Video," content analysis reveals that the number of men shown in music videos is much higher than the number of women across genres and time (81). Sexual innuendo was also extremely common in videos shown on MTV in the 1990s. Gender stereotypes often play into this expression of sexuality with men holding dominant roles while women hold subservient roles. Gender roles also affect the portrayed occupations of the actors in MTV music videos with men most likely holding stereotypically masculine occupations and women holding stereotypically feminine occupations. Men also act

in more “neutral” roles than women do. According to Andsager and Roe, “In other words, female characters were afforded less flexibility in the types of occupations they could portray. Further, female roles were generally grounded in sexuality [...]” (83). Gender stereotypes presented in the videos are also connected to gendered ideas about sexuality.

Andsager and Roe make the interesting observation that even acts that seem explicitly nonsexual actually create an atmosphere of sexuality. For instance, a video that portrays concert footage in which the audience goes wild for the band is still reinforcing how sexually attractive the performers are. They write,

Thus, sex in a music video may not directly involve an artist, but the association of sexuality via imagery in a video or the audience’s reaction to the artist/song connotes sexual feelings that naturally transfer to an artist. It is often impossible to disentangle these components (83).

While there are no explicit sex acts, the sexuality of the performers is still on full display.

My research builds upon this research in order to examine how the conversation unfolding around Indonesian popular music videos fits into Indonesia’s unique and very gendered political history. I argue that gendered images in Indonesian music videos cannot simply be seen as either accepting or rejecting political and historical ideas about gender. Rather, these images reflect how Indonesians are grappling with the ways in which Suharto era gender roles are being complemented, extended, and contradicted daily in Indonesian culture. Additionally, these gendered ideas are tied to the order and chaos of political and social current events such as the high turnover of presidents and the extreme public and government reaction to a sex tape scandal that is discussed later in this paper.

1.6 Representations of Gender in New Order Media (1966-1998)

Popular television during the New Order also promoted aspects of these gender ideologies. Women are represented as emotional citizens of the home while men are presented as reserved members of the public. In “Sinetron Presentation of Women,” Sita Aripurnami explains how pervasive this representation was in New Order television when she writes,

The meaning is plain: women must devote most of their energy and activity to cooking, cleaning, and taking of children, even if they already have other responsibilities outside the home. It is precisely this view of women that whatever their other roles, they must never forget their essential nature as homemakers-that the government has persistently sought to establish [...] (252).

Popular television during the New Order promoted these gender ideologies as a way for men and women to properly fulfill their roles as spouses and citizens.

The creation of a unique Indonesian culture has been the prominent focus of the promotion of many of these gendered ideas. In his book, *Television, Nation, and Culture in Indonesia*, Philip Kitley translates article 32 of the 1945 constitution which creates a call for “national culture:”

National culture is an outcome of the thinking of all Indonesian people. Ancient and original culture is taken as the height of regional cultures throughout Indonesia and added together as national culture. Cultural efforts must be directed toward the advancement of civilization, culture, and unity and should not reject new things from foreign cultures that can develop or enrich national culture itself and raise the humanity of the Indonesian people (4).

This article of the constitution reveals just how invested the Indonesian government is in ensuring that television images, as well as all other aspects of society, reflect the dominant ideologies in the ideal Indonesian culture. As Kitley notes,

Under the New Order, “Indonesian Culture” is a discourse of policy and power that interpellates its subjects across many aspects of their lives, such as religion, language, their roles as women or men, their involvement in development, their relationships with state authorities, their attitudes toward foreign culture, and their understanding of national history (7).

In fact, the government’s response in the early 1990s to Kitley’s entire project about Indonesian television reveals just how closely television and government ideology have been intertwined. He continually encountered difficulties getting people from inside the industry to talk to him as well as attempting to bring his television recordings out of the country. Very few government officials or industry insiders would speak to him on record. Indonesian customs would not permit him to bring recording equipment into the country. No one in a position of authority at TVRI would certify that his television recordings were part of an official and approved research project, so he encountered difficulties leaving Indonesia with the recordings (10). The television industry and the Indonesian government’s secrecy about television programming suggests that the state recognizes the criticism that some of these images may receive outside the borders of the nation. Perhaps television industry employees and government officials were hesitant to admit that there was any link between the government and television programming because they felt that it could be viewed as explicit propaganda.

Sinetron programming, short television shows comparable to soap operas which promote government-endorsed morals, is perhaps the most researched example of television as

government propaganda in Indonesia. The New Order government began to produce these shows in the 1990s. In a typical Sinetron program, the ideal man is presented as a strong provider and the head of the household while the ideal woman is “domestic, dependent, irrational, emotional, passive, and obedient” (Aripurnami 254). The programs usually include at least one character who does not properly embody womanhood or manhood. This character often experiences the negative consequences of his or her inappropriate actions and behavior. Since Sinetron programs have proven to be extremely popular and lucrative, some private companies have also begun to producing them. The current government still provides grants to companies that produce Sinetron programming that endorses government values (252). Television companies can show new and different images of men and women today; however, they are only funded by the government if they reinforce current government rhetoric. Since there is already a fairly large body of research on gender roles in Sinetron programming, I will use these gender roles as the main example of how gender has operated in media in Indonesia.

1.7 Representations of Gender in Post New Order Media (Post-1998)

Much of the recent research on gender in Indonesian media has focused on how men have been portrayed in the last years of the New Order as well as the first years of *Reformasi* or Reformation. According to Marshall Clark in “Men, Masculinities and Symbolic Violence in Recent Indonesian Cinema,” images of men and masculinity in contemporary media are extremely mixed. He argues that some present very stereotypical ideas of the model of ordered and controlled heterosexual masculinity that dominated the New Order era while others present that version of masculinity as under attack (125). In his analysis of the presentation of masculinity in *Kuldesak*, one iconic Indonesian film that was released just as Suharto fell from power, he states,

With masculinity the battleground on which this battle of identity is fought, dominant male heterosexuality is depicted as the victim as much as the aggressor (123).

Although the images of masculinity in current popular media are mixed, some of the new and different images have the effect of reinstating the old, simply by reinforcing that version of masculinity as preferable. In her article “Contemporary Masculinities and Young Men in Indonesia,” Pam Nilan explores three general masculine archetypes that are often present in Post-New Order media: the devout young Muslim, the cool and sensitive young man, and the gang member. She builds on Clark’s argument to state that all three profiles are heavily influenced by hypermasculinity (329). She writes,

However, not only do these three kinds of youthful masculinity in themselves all suggest hegemonic principles of patriarchal praxis, all three refer implicitly to older men, who still constitute the authoritative expression of patriarchal/paternalistic control of Indonesian civil society. Post-1998 the state certainly lost much of its formal authority to control the operations of patriarchy through a single hegemonic ideal of progressive obedient secularity – *kodrat pria* (340).

She claims that these new versions of masculinity still support the New Order idea of *bapakism*. Through my research, I complicated this claim by examining new images of Indonesian masculinity in a more complex way that acknowledges the ways in which they also extend and challenge *bapakism* as well as the ways these masculinities are deemed desirable. These images of modern masculinity are inevitably compared to the New Order era image of masculinity as reserved, rational, and orderly. However, rather than simply reinforcing the single hegemonic ideal of *kodrat pria*, these images expand what masculinity means in modern Indonesia. Through their portrayal as desirable, these images extend the reach of masculine control. They

also challenge what this masculine control looks like by embodying it in a contemporary and less traditional manner.

1.8 Methods/Methodology

I supplemented textual analysis of four Indonesian popular music videos with three one-on-one interviews with Indonesians and YouTube video comments to create a nuanced exploration of what kinds of ideas about gender and sexuality surround Indonesian music videos. Although I used a textual analysis to discuss the images that are presented in the music videos, I believe that including the viewpoints of Indonesians who are more familiar with Indonesian culture and the discourses surrounding gender was vital to creating a project that appropriately considered Indonesian culture. Therefore, my research was based broadly in the field of cultural studies and positioned as a feminist collaborative effort rather than a traditional audience studies project.

Audience studies is a section of cultural studies that focuses on how audiences receive and understand the messages produced by media. In “Encoding, Decoding,” Stuart Hall characterizes media as consisting of five distinctive yet linked moments: production, circulation, distribution, consumption, and reproduction. By positioning this process as a “complex structure of dominance,” he complicates existing ideas about how audiences decode these encoded messages (508). In “Audience Studies: Studying How Television Gets Watched,” Gillian Rose states that other cultural studies methods such as textual analysis have only focused on how messages become encoded in media rather than focusing on how audiences decode these messages. Methods such as discourse and content analysis provide valuable insights into popular culture; however, a researcher can only understand what messages may have been encoded into

the media (197). Audience studies attempts to fill this gap by providing methods that allow researchers to understand the ways that audiences decode media.

Although some researchers argue that audience studies simply reverses the problem that other cultural studies methods encounter by ignoring the actual images that audiences view, cultural studies offers scholars the opportunity to mix methods in order to overcome methodological concerns (Rose 212; Saukko 6). According to the authors of “Remaking Methods: From Audience Research to Studying Subjectivities,”

Methodologically, this suggests that it is crucial to hold on to the *two-fold* nature of the moments in the circuit. – *both* their specificity *and* their interdependence [...] Specificity points to the need for *different methods*, while interdependence points to the need to *integrate and rework* them (Johnson et al. 246).

Researchers should not just use more than one method but also find ways to join together and overlap those methods. I mixed textual analysis of the videos, audience studies interviews, and analysis of YouTube video comments in my work to combat some of my methodological concerns. By centering the images as objects of study and the audience members as research participants, I overcame some of the criticism that each of these methods individually ignores the larger picture. Through interspersing the interview responses with a textual analysis of the actual images, I gathered a multifaceted and nuanced view of the meanings encoded into the images of Indonesian music videos and how the audiences may decode them. My triangulation of methods was vital to ensuring that my research was culturally aware and relevant.

Audience studies researchers struggle to define audiences as the subjects of study. According to Gillian Rose,

Clearly, 'audience' is not a simple category: how it is defined, how its social position relates to its interpretive practices, how it might be changing and how best to access its activity are all debated (211).

This means that researchers do not have any one clear roadmap of how to relate to and access the views of audience members. They must consider how all of their audiences affect their research results in order to gain a larger picture of how to interpret their results.

Researchers who use one-on-one interviews assume that their participants decode popular culture and are able to express their thoughts and opinions either explicitly or implicitly. Unlike participants in one-on-one interviews, some participants in group interviews may dominate the conversation and others may simply agree with them. Although these group dynamics can be very interesting and helpful in gaining insight into how popular culture is decoded, they may be very difficult to understand and facilitate (204). One-on-one interviews access the specificity of each participant's experience while allowing the researcher to sidestep the tricky issues of facilitating and understanding complex group dynamics.

Reflexivity has increasingly become an important part of audience studies projects. Some of the early projects positioned the interviewer as an authority figure who could access the actual hidden meanings encoded in the images better than the audience members (Rose 213). This positioning almost certainly influenced the interviewers' interactions with those whom they were interviewing. More recently, audience studies researchers have included reflexive comments on their positionality. However, this reflexivity can be used to either confirm or destabilize authority (Rose 214). For instance, some researchers use reflexivity to position themselves as experts or authentic members of the community with which they are working while other researchers question their results by pondering how their position may have affected

the interviewees. Both of these deployments of reflexivity may be relevant to my research. On the audience studies side of my research, I was very aware of how my position as a white middle class American woman certainly affected the responses that I received from my participants. However, my position as the wife of an Indonesian man gained me access to participant interviews that I may not have otherwise obtained. As I viewed the music videos in the context of the ideological discourse surrounding gender in Indonesia, I understood could never experience or understand these discourses in the same ways that Indonesians do; however, my varied positions in relation to this community allowed me to survey the images, interviews, and YouTube comments from several vantage points.

Since I am taking a reflexive position in which I understand that I will not be able to comprehend and experience the ideological discourses surrounding gender in Indonesia in the same ways that Indonesians do, I positioned my interviewees as co-researchers who will provide me with invaluable information about the ways that these discourses are understood and circulate in their communities. Although my project was not a participatory research project, some of the principals that guide these projects were useful in helping me engage interviewees as active participants in the research process. According to Patricia Maguire in “Feminist Participatory Research,”

[...] ordinary people are rarely considered knowledgeable, in the scientific sense, or capable of knowing about their own reality. They are excluded from the increasingly more specialized research industry, barred by requirements of the ‘scientific method,’ and intimidating concepts and jargon, money, time, skills, and experience. In addition to being excluded from meaningful participation in knowledge creation processes,

oppressed and ordinary people are subjected to research processes which treat them as objects and things (420)

Through situating my interviewees as subjects who are active in the knowledge production process, I tried to overcome the researcher/participant gap which situates the researcher in a position of authority over the participants. In “Research as Praxis,” Patti Lather notes,

Dialectical practices require an interactive approach to research that invites reciprocal reflexivity and critique, both of which guard against the central dangers to praxis-oriented empirical work: imposition and reification on the part of the researcher (59).

Since I was methodologically concerned about avoiding imposition and reification, I felt that situating interviewees as subjects who have an important role in my research guarded against this concern. I was particularly interested in taking this methodological approach because I am a community outsider who does not have the knowledge of reality to which these “ordinary people” have access.

Part of my research will focus on audience readings of four music videos through interviews. In order to find the three men whom I interviewed, I first asked my contacts to participate in this research. I then asked them to provide my contact information to other people who may be interested in participating in interviews with me. Since I met most of my Indonesian contacts when they were students interning in the United States, this affected the demographics of the participants. In turn, these demographics reflect gender dynamics in Indonesia. I was only able to recruit men to participate in the study because most of the student workers I knew were young men. The three respondents whom I interviewed were all Balinese Hindu men in their late twenties and early thirties. Two of them were currently living in the United States and one was living in Indonesia and had spent time working in the United States.

They were all English speaking and from middle or upper class backgrounds. After each of my interviewees viewed the four music videos, I conducted a brief semi-structured interview with him. I was only able to conduct one of these interviews in-person due to logistics. Since these respondents had extensive knowledge of Indonesian culture and/or Indonesian popular music videos, I consulted them as experts with valuable and interesting insights about how the images of gender and sexuality in these videos intersect with present and historical cultural and national discourses about gender and sexuality.

I initially intended to interview six Indonesians who were either living in Indonesia or the United States about their perceptions and opinions about these music videos and the popular culture environment that surrounds the videos; however, as I began my interviews, I realized that in order to discuss the issues in which I was interested, I needed to spend more time building trust with the interviewees. My interview respondents were hesitant to talk to me about pop culture news and politics. Additionally, the three men I interviewed were particularly uncomfortable talking with me about gendered and sexualized images. They also seemed hesitant to say anything to me that could be considered a negative portrayal of Indonesian culture or the Indonesian government. As a result of these difficulties, I decided to discontinue interviews and expand my research to include a survey of YouTube comments on the videos. The YouTube video comments in conjunction with the information I received from the participants were very helpful in shedding light on the conversations happening around these four videos. All of the YouTube comments referenced in this paper were translated into English from Indonesian unless otherwise noted.

I selected Kotak's "Kecuali Kamu," Peterpan's "Tak Ada Yang Abadi," Nidji's "Save Me," and Oppie Andaresta's "Single Happy" as the foci of this project because these videos were

widely viewed and presented gendered discourses and themes in a manner that is also representative of what one would see in a sampling of the videos that appear on the numerous music video shows that dot television programming in Indonesia. All of the research participants whom I consulted agreed with my assessment of these videos as fairly typical and representative of Indonesian pop music videos. In fact one participant named Made commented on Nidji's video by saying, "The video just feels standard. It feels the same with other videos," and then spent a few minutes trying to recall if he had seen a video just like it before. In order to ensure that these music videos have been or are being widely viewed, I have selected videos that have appeared on the many Indonesian music video shows and have most likely been widely viewed throughout the nation (and even beyond the borders of the nation). Although these videos are fairly typical and do have some similarities, each of them addresses gender and sexuality in a unique way. All of the participants had seen most of the videos before except for one man who has been living in the United States for the past few years; however, this same participant had heard each of the songs many times. These videos are all well known and have been widely viewed.

I investigate the relationship between the propaganda produced by the Suharto administration and current portrayals of gender and sexuality in Indonesian pop music videos. The survey of a combination of a textual analysis of the videos and the opinions of three Indonesian viewers and numerous YouTube commenters explored whether or not this aspect of the cultural and communications apparatuses (and potentially others like them) continues New Order era ideology of gender as a binary through fresh images and/or complements and extends this ideology in certain ways. In collaboration with my interviewees, I investigated what points

of continuity and divergence exist between Suharto era ideas about gender and recent popular music videos.

Although I relied upon textual analysis and audience reception as methods for investigating my research subject, I firmly positioned this project as a feminist collaboration with my interviewees. Since they have expert knowledge of the subject matter, my research simply would not have been possible without them. Although my methods differed from those of the Sangtin Writers who penned *Playing with Fire: Feminist Thought and Activism through Seven Lives in India*, I created a project that echoes the collaborative spirit captured in their methodology. The seven women collaboratively wrote a book about their work for social change in India while carefully considering issues of hierarchy, privilege, race, and socioeconomic status, along with many other traits that affected each of their positions in relation to the project (7). I asked my Indonesian collaborators to consider how their unique backgrounds affected their cultural expertise in relation to the videos. I then wrote my thesis with these diversities of experience in mind while also struggling to fairly represent my collaborators and their ideas and opinions. Receiving my participants' feedback on how I have included their knowledge in this project was an important part of this process. After deciding how the participants' interviews fit into my argument, I provided each of the participants with a summary of how their comments would be used. I encouraged them to give me feedback as well as clarify any misunderstandings I had about their comments. In this manner, my research differed from most audience reception studies because I relied upon the experiences of my interviewees in order to form conclusions about the gender ideologies presented in these music videos.

Since this was a feminist collaborative research project, I did not intend to shape the data from my respondents to form a particular conclusion. Rather, I sought patterns or divergences in

the participants' and commenters' responses that spoke to the unique history and culture of Indonesia in the context of the textual analyses that I have completed on the four music videos. In the spirit of collaborative research, each of the participants' responses were analyzed for similarities and differences to the other participants' responses and the textual analyses of the music videos.

1.9 Ideological State Apparatus Framework

Louis Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) and Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs) framework provided an interesting lens through which to investigate the influence of government rhetoric on Indonesian popular music videos. In "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," Althusser builds upon a Marxist critique of capitalism by considering RSAs and ISAs. According to Althusser, the state is an RSA which holds state power and uses force to impose its goals upon the citizens of the state. Althusser positions ISAs as more plural and insidious in the ways that they interpellate citizens (144). For instance, someone who is being interpellated by an arm of the RSA will most likely recognize the power that it wields through its use of force to achieve its goals. However, the permeation of state goals into ISAs is much more hidden from view. Since ISAs make up everyday aspects of life such as religious, educational, family, legal, political, communications, and cultural institutions, their influence is not easily recognizable much in the same way that the gendered influence of the Indonesian film censorship board is not easily recognizable (143). Many ISAs are actually private institutions; however, they act in ways that reinforce and continue the objective of the state primarily through ideology and secondly through repression (145). According to Althusser, this positions ISAs as both the "stake" and "site" of class struggles for power (147). In her book

Dramas of Nationhood: The Politics of Television in Egypt, Lila Abu-Lughod expands upon the relationship between ISAs and the media when she writes,

Most radio and television around the world has been state controlled or in the hands of culture industry professionals who, as Stuart Hall (1980) has argued, tend to share the “dominant codes” of the nation-state. Censorship and anticipatory self-censorship are the norms. Whether to create loyalty, shape political understandings, foster national development, modernize, promote family planning, teach privatization and the capitalist ethos, make good socialists, or innocuously entertain, mass media have been viewed as powerful tools for social engineering (12).

Althusser’s concept of media as an important ISA which is constantly indoctrinating its viewers proved useful in unraveling the connection between Suharto era gender ideologies and recent Indonesian popular music videos. Throughout the New Order, the RSA enforced strict gender roles and sexual norms. Suharto also deployed cultural institutions such as media to influence national opinions about these issues. Even though the government has shifted and transitioned, these ISAs continue to deploy state goals.

The music videos that I analyzed are part of the cultural ISAs which still function to deploy state goals through the presentation of certain gendered and sexualized norms. Accordingly, some versions of femininity and masculinity were placed as superior and more culturally appropriate than other versions. Additionally, the female/male binary was aligned with other gendered binaries such as chaos/order.

1.10 Research Implications

The small amount of research that has been done on Indonesian music videos has not focused on Indonesian popular music videos in particular or the ways that the gender binary and

other gendered binaries such as traditional/modern and order/chaos are portrayed in the music videos. Since popular culture both influences and is influenced by music videos, the way that gender is represented in pop culture reveals important insights about Indonesian culture. By exploring the binaries of Order/Chaos and Kartini/Gerwani, my research provides new insight into how ideas about masculinity and femininity are evolving in Indonesian culture. New images of masculinity are affecting what masculine characteristics are deemed desirable and proper. While images of masculinity are expanding, they also point to the failure of some men to properly embody *kodrat pria* in order to maintain order. Similarly, when women fail to restrain themselves to *kodrat wanita*, chaos becomes a part of the image of femininity. All of this supports previous research that connects images of Indonesian femininity and masculinity with chaos and order respectively. However, my research finds that new versions of masculinity and femininity expand and challenge older versions. In particular, under the right circumstances some versions of femininity can become agents of order through their connection with the local and the nation. Since Indonesian music videos are widely viewed, an understanding of how gender is expressed in these images is essential to an understanding of current popular culture and gender roles that are already culturally accepted as well as the kinds of gendered images that are circulating.

2 MUSIC VIDEOS AND INDONESIAN POP CULTURE

2.1 The Peterporn Scandal

Right now, one cannot mention the wildly popular Indonesian band Peterpan without delving into the details surrounding the scandal that has been dubbed “Peterporn” by the local media (Lewis 11). Nazril “Ariel” Irham, the lead singer of Peterpan, was sentenced to three and

a half years in prison and fined approximately \$25,000 U.S. dollars after two videos showing him engaging in sex with female celebrities were posted on the internet.

He was tried under the Anti-Pornography Law that was passed in 2008 which forbids revealing clothing and “bodily movements that could incite lust” (Lloyd 32). This law declares that pornography as well as “pornoaksi” or indecent behavior is illegal. However, neither of these terms is clearly defined in the law. For example, residents of some regions of Indonesia felt that their traditions and the habits of tourists potentially could be categorized as pornography or pornoaksi under the law. After they began protesting the law, the High Court ruled that traditional and cultural customs cannot be deemed pornographic (Hoffstaedter 9). However, the vague definitions mean that most Indonesians are not entirely sure what is legal and what is not.

Despite the fact that this case was heralded as a way for the government to set an example of what sexual acts may be charged, the inconsistent manner in which the people involved in the scandal were charged has led to confusion and skepticism among the public (Gale 2). This case is seen as such a legal precedent that three of the judges involved in the case even wrote a 300-page book detailing the trial and their opinions about it. One of the judges, Syahrul Machfud said, “I hope the book will serve as jurisprudence for judges and legal practitioners in a criminal case” (Dipa 1). While some supporters of the law expressed outrage that he was not sentenced to the full 12-year term that was allowable, his fan base has positioned him as the victim of a government quest to make a display of power. Lloyd writes, “Hundreds of female fans waiting outside the court in the city of Bandung wept after the verdict was announced, and gasps and sobs were heard in the courtroom” (32). In fact, the government deemed it necessary to deploy nearly 1000 police officers to the location of the sentencing to maintain order (“Police to Deploy 1,000 Officers to Guard Sex-tape Trial Hearing” 1). This

highlights just what a contested and polarized subject this case has become within the Indonesian public.

Although the Peterporn videos were created in 2006 and 2007 before the law was even passed and Ariel claimed that he did not actually upload the videos to the internet, he was still charged with creating the opportunity for pornography to be distributed. Since the distribution was deemed to have occurred after the law took effect, this was decided to be in violation of the law (Saragih 1). One of the judges commented, “The defendant is legitimately and convincingly guilty of giving chances for others to spread, make and provide pornography” (Lloyd 32). The act of retroactively enforcing the law has further blurred the lines of what is punishable and what is not.

In contrast to the harsh treatment that Ariel has received, the government has not pressed charges against either of the women implicated in the scandal. Instead, they have been treated as witnesses and victims (Hoffstaedter 9). Cut Tari, a model and Sinetron actress, could have been tried for adultery since she was married at the time of the video, and Luna Maya, a model and music show host, was held by police “for her own safety” (Fitzpatrick 22). Reza “Redjoy” Rizaldy, who was Peterpan’s music editor and was accused of uploading the videos, was sentenced to two years in prison as well as fined approximately 25,000 U.S. dollars (Tri Suwarni and Dipa 1). The gendered contrast in the way the parties involved has been treated has only increased the public skepticism about the 2008 Anti-Pornography Law and this case in particular.

The public and government reactions to the videos deeply reflect Althusser’s notions of RSAs and ISAs. All three of those featured in the videos have complained about losing jobs due to these allegations. Unilever stopped airing an ad with Luna Maya and Ariel in it very shortly after the scandal broke (Widhiarto 1). All of the stars have been dropped from TV appearances,

and Peterpan had to delay the release of its new album (Wockner 74). In this manner, the cultural ISA has reinforced the state's goal of setting a powerful precedent for those who violate the laws of Indonesia. Additionally, the RSA has also mobilized a show of force to reinforce these goals. For instance, there were also accounts of police raiding internet cafes and high schools to check students' mobile phones for these videos (Wockner 74). Irwan Martua Hidayana, an expert on gender and sexuality at the University of Indonesia, proclaimed this as just another way for the government to exert control over the private lives of its citizens in the Post-New Order political environment. He compared the Anti-Pornography law to the equally controlling family planning campaign that originated during the New Order and still continues today (Sabarini 2). The family planning campaign embraces Western family planning models and encourages citizens to have fewer children. Both measures continue to attempt to control the private lives of citizens. While the government reaction to these videos is more documented and obvious, the cultural reaction is also a powerful indicator of just how powerful state control of sexual expression is.

Before the Anti-Pornography law was passed, the nation was already polarized in the debate over whether or not the bill was too restrictive. The official government rhetoric surrounding the bill has been that it was designed to protect women. However, one of the most widely believed theories is that the bill was an attempt by Muslim extremists to include Muslim law in the constitution of a state that is officially secular (Allen 103). This opinion is in line with the concerns about the potential implementation of sharia law that interviewees in this study expressed. While the Anti-Pornography law does not directly incorporate sharia law, opponents worry that it is a step towards a government that officially embraces Islam as the national religion. Other Islamic rhetoric in support of the bill has warned against the negative effects of

overly sexualized Western culture on Indonesian culture. Allen argues that “there is a widespread view among Indonesian women (including many Muslim women) that the Bill is part of a growing tendency to introduce systematic state discrimination against women” (106).

Women’s groups argued that the bill will increase violence against women and posits women as the cause of moral indecency in Indonesia (106). Additionally ethnic and religious minorities expressed concern that the bill represented the rise of Islamic-influenced law and will suppress their traditions and religious beliefs which may be classified as pornographic or pornoaksi.

In “Challenging Diversity?: Indonesia’s Anti-Pornography Bill,” Pam Allen argues that the polarized rhetoric surrounding the bill more adequately reflects a deep concern for the future of the nation rather than simply sexual politics. The concept of *Pancasila* has often been used to protest the law because Pancasila declares that Indonesian citizens must believe in “one God” without specifying which “one God” (111). Allen argues that Indonesians who spent years exposed to *Pancasila* as part of Suharto’s top down tactics for controlling the government are now claiming *Pancasila* as a method of grassroots protest against Islamic rhetoric in the government.

The three men whom I interviewed had varying opinions about the sex scandal, but all expressed a concern for youth who had been exposed to the video. One named Kadek very firmly stated,

This scandal embarrassed [the] people who [were] involved in it. They must be ashamed because they let themselves be fool[s] of [a] sex game. As a public figure they should give positive role model not a porn scandal which [is] able to [be] watch[ed] by all ages. Indonesia feel[s] so disappointed [about] many of [the] sex scandal[s] being circulated in public, especially actress[es] and politicians.

He went on to say that all of those involved should be given another chance to redeem themselves and their careers. Another participant named Made responded that the situation was very unfair because only Ariel was punished. He claimed,

All three made mistakes. All should be punished – not by going to jail. It does seem like Ariel is a bad guy, but this was consensual. They were all adults.

He continued to express concern that children may have seen this tape, but emphasized that many people are doing the same things but are not charged because they are not famous.

Komang also emphasized the role that fame played in this case and expressed concern about young children who could have easily accessed this video. He noted that religious extremists have put pressure on the government to pursue prosecuting the case. The national discourse's focus on the effects of the scandal on children reveals a deep concern for the uncertain future of Indonesia as a nation. In stark contrast to Suharto's three decades of strict and orderly rule, the years since the New Order ended have been characterized by short, chaotic presidencies. In this context, the focus of the interviewees and the government on the scandal's effects on children seem linked to concern about creating a stable national future.

YouTube comments on Peterpan videos (and newer videos that have been released under the name NOAH) also cast Ariel as a scapegoat and blame Redjoy for distributing the video. Many commenters also express general good will towards Ariel and Peterpan as well as wishes for continued success. For instance, YouTube user LENTERA KECIL wrote, "However, I still appreciate Ariel's work. Hopefully he will always have success and take better steps towards the future. Keep on with enthusiasm, Ariel" (Peterpan). Her comment does not even directly mention the scandal because it is so widespread and well known that most people reading the

comment will immediately recognize what her reference to the word “however” means. Another commenter named Ridha Nurwicaksono wrote,

I don't care about the people with ugly words towards Ariel! What I see from Ariel is not his past problems, but his work. I will always support Ariel until whenever! Even though he rises and falls, I will keep supporting Ariel and his band NOAH! (Peterpan).

A commenter with the username Lidenko BlusterBlade wrote

Truthfully, we are the true fans of PeterPan/NOAH, who don't care about that case, why is everyone blaming Ariel? The fact is the guilty one is the one who spread the video. Is it forbidden to play around with girls? In Islam, they allow a man to have four wives. The person who spread the video is the one who is guilty. Ariel considered that a personal action. Whereas, it was spread by a person who tried to give him a bad name, use your brain, mas [mister]! (Peterpan).

Yet another commenter with the username Phantasymfonia Amano prefaced the body of her comment with “I can't concentrate because of how people comment about Ariel” (Peterpan). In fact, commenters seldom leave comments of more than one or two lines on Peterpan or NOAH videos without disclosing an opinion on Ariel's legal troubles. By far, commenters mostly express support for Ariel or proclaim that he should have a second chance to prove himself. However, some also express concern about the impact of this kind of high profile scandal on the citizens of the nation. For instance, a commenter with the username fiyantnobintang wrote one comment that exemplifies the latter type of comment. He writes, “Tak Ada Yang Abadi is extraordinary music, whether the name of the band is Peterpan or NOAH, Ariel always exists, creating a certain kind of charisma, but don't let the individual tragedy be an example for society. There has to be change” (Peterpan). By and far, these comments are representative of

most of the YouTube comments on the “Tak Ada Yang Abadi” video. Commenters may express minor disapproval of Ariel’s actions; however, they usually conclude that his career and music should be separated from this scandal. This suggests that the state has not been entirely successful in its attempts to appropriate the ISA in service of its goals.

The disparity between the government and the public reaction to this case highlight how the government functions in the aftermath of the end of the New Order as well as just how contested issues of sexuality and gender are in Indonesia. Since transitioning out of a very centrally controlled government, Indonesian politics has been plagued by this kind of chaos. For instance, in his article, “Continuity and Change: The Changing Contours of Organized Violence in Post-New Order Indonesia,” Ian Douglas Wilson explains how centralized state violence has shifted to more dispersed forms of organized violence. Now that Indonesia is a multiparty system, almost all political parties have an active paramilitary wing as well as other associated supporter groups (269). Therefore, organized violence is now less centralized and more chaotic. The prosecution of this case and the efforts to keep the sex tape out of the hands of citizens are scattered rather than focused and intentional. In addition, judging from a survey of articles as well as the comments of my participants, the actions of the government did not resonate with a majority of Indonesians.

2.2 Peterpan’s “Tak Ada Yang Abadi”/“Nothing is Eternal”

This music video, which was released before the start of the Peterporn scandal, opens with a shaky view of the gloomy Jakarta skyline. The camera cuts to a calm young woman who is wiping her tears away with a bloody hand. She has very light skin and the exotic look of being from “somewhere” in Asia. Although she is recognizably Asian, she also has many facial characteristics such as round eyes and sharp features that are also recognizable as “white.” As

she begins to walk at a relaxed pace through the desolate city, a pink bunny shaped float blows after her. Bodies are strewn everywhere. A balloon vender slumps beside his machine with colorful balloons tied to it. An older couple lie face up on the ground. Their hands almost touch and display golden wedding bands. A man slumps in his chair as a cigarette continues to burn in his hand. The lone woman seems to be looking for someone as she playfully hops in puddles and jumps over the bodies that block her path. The viewer realizes that she is the cause of this scene of destruction when she encounters a living person whom she quickly pushes down a flight of stairs. The video is interspersed with shots of the band Peterpan singing the song “Tak Ada Yang Abadi” or “Nothing is Eternal” atop a building situated against a nighttime skyline. Other shots show the band listlessly hanging out together in a room that displays 1960s American posters that feature bands such as the Beatles and artwork featuring Japanese characters. The woman makes her way through the city to this room. She calmly stares down the lead singer and pulls a gun out of her purse. She begins screaming and firing her gun while the band members frantically flee. Eventually she kills all of them and turns the gun on herself. The camera pans to a “War is Over” poster. “War” has been crossed out with blood and replaced with “CIRCUS.” It now reads “CIRCUS is over” (Peterpan).

2.3 “Tak Ada Yang Abadi” Analysis

The band Peterpan and this song are widely recognizable and respected. One commenter with the username abshar aryun writes, “This is what I call an insanely perfect song composed from the heart. It’s high quality and has class [...] The video clip is not ordinary...insanely cool.” (Peterpan). Another commenter with the username itayani declared, “This song is very good, it’s true. There is nothing eternal in this world except God who rules over everything. That’s why you shouldn’t waste this life. Make this life more meaningful.” (Peterpan). This

song “Tak Ada Yang Abadi” and the band Peterpan were by far the most widely respected of any of the four songs on which I focused. In turn, this band is considered extremely influential in pop culture and the Indonesian music scene.

Although the woman and men are portrayed in a slightly different light in this video than in *Sinetron* or other forms of media, these characters are reminiscent of the flawed characters in *Sinetron* because they carry a moral message about the proper behavior for which women and men should strive. The typical *Sinetron* portrayal of the main female character as childlike, hysterical, clingy, and crazy is an archetype in the videos. In “Tak Ada Yang Abadi,” the woman does not embody dependence, passivity, or domesticity. She moves freely and independently through the city in search of her goal. She even carries a gun in a country where ordinary citizens cannot access guns. She embodies the *Sinetron* ideal female characteristics of irrationality and emotion. The images of masculinity in this video are the opposite of the traditional type of masculinity that is presented in *Sinetron* programming. The men are defenseless against the woman. As she shoots each of them down, they run, overturn furniture and try to hide. She eventually kills all of them without much effort. In her exploration of the most common types of masculinity portrayed on Indonesian television, Pam Nilan argues that less powerful versions of masculinity still reinforce the patriarchal and paternalistic New Order ideology of masculinity through highlighting it as preferable to other modern forms of masculinity (340). In the video, the version of masculinity that the men are performing is shown to be lacking and inadequate, especially if the viewer contrasts it with earlier New Order ideas about masculinity.

All of the respondents resisted my comparison of the gendered images in this video to the portrayal of gender in *Sinetron* programming, claiming that this video was very different and

much better made than Sinetron programming. Two of the respondents said that they had little to no knowledge of Sinetron because they found the programming so distasteful. Made joked, “Music videos are much better than Sinetron. If you pay me, I won’t refuse to watch [Sinetron]. But I think it[‘s] boring, too much drama.” Since Sinetron is such a cultural phenomena, I was certain that he simply could not have watched television in Indonesia without having some knowledge of Sinetron. I pressed him for more details and he finally said, “This [video] is more like a movie than Sinetron” and wanted to move on to another topic. All Kadek would say about Sinetron is that “Nowadays [it] is not an educated program. [There is] materialism and too much drama.” The men’s resistance to discussing Sinetron could likely be linked to the programming’s reputation for being quickly and poorly made as well as attracting mainly female viewers.

Komang was the only interviewee who wanted to compare the way the woman in the video acted to how women in Sinetron programming act. He said that both the video and Sinetron programs copy Western culture and do not entirely represent Indonesian culture. Instead, all of these images focus on modernity, the quest for fame and fortune, and metropolitan settings that do not reflect the reality of day-to-day life for most Indonesians. He declared that Sinetron programming was much worse in this aspect and quoted an often heard criticism that Sinetron programs “sell dreams” to people who cannot afford them. He agreed that the woman in the video possessed some common feminine Sinetron traits, saying that in Sinetron programs it is much more likely that women are “over-obsessed or cuckoo in the head” than men. However, he felt that despite the video’s failure to completely represent Indonesian culture, it is much more authentic and believable than a typical Sinetron storyline. This response highlights the interviewees’ pattern of preferring realism in the videos. They often based their approval or

disapproval of the presentation of gender roles in the videos based upon whether or not they perceived the versions of femininity and masculinity presented to be realistic.

Throughout the video, the men are shown as stuck in both global and local spaces while the woman is shown traveling through local space searching for the global space. She moves freely through a city that is marked by Indonesian characteristics including Indonesian style buildings and vehicles and people who are recognizable as Indonesian citizens. She searches for the room where the band is which is marked by a fusion of global qualities including Japanese artwork, American pop culture paraphernalia, and Western furniture. She is free to move between these spaces; however, the men are trapped in the spaces in which they are being filmed. In fact, they do not even attempt to leave the room when they are being gunned down by this woman. The woman takes on the role of the aggressor and is free to move about the public sphere while the band members take on a more domestic and passive role in the video and eventually become her victims.

While the men do not completely embody ideal images of male power, they still possess some male power. They literally provide the soundtrack for the woman's actions. While the viewer's focal point is her behavior, the viewer only hears the lead singer's words along with the male band members' music. The men's failure to adequately defend themselves points to the superiority of previous idealized images of patriarchal masculinity which were widely produced during the New Order and are still often seen on television. There is an implicit critique of modernity and modern masculinity as falling short of previously idealized models. However, the version of masculinity that they present is also idealized and seen as desirable. This is evidenced by the woman's obsession with them in the video as well as the band's long lasting popularity. This presentation of masculinity is not simply nostalgia for the *bapakism* of the past. Rather, it is

the extension of already-existing ideas about masculinity in a new way. While this version of masculinity is presented as desirable in everyday pop culture, the video presents it as attractive and global, yet lacking and passive.

As in other Indonesian media, this video features “agents of order” and “agents of disorder” rather than “good guys” and “bad guys.” In *Indonesian Cinema: National Culture on Screen*, Karl G. Heider proposes that Indonesian films usually align their conflicts with an order versus disorder model rather than the Western good versus evil model (29). Through her improper performance of *kodrat wanita* and *Panca Dharma Wanita*, the woman becomes an agent of disorder who causes major chaos wherever she travels. The band members function as storytellers who get caught up in her chaos. The conflict of order versus disorder is resolved when the woman shoots all of the men and turns the gun on herself. The final shot of the “CIRCUS is Over” poster reinforces the notion that order has been restored through the death of the inadequate men and woman. Since the lead woman’s femininity became a chaotic force that could be compared to the atmosphere of a circus, this final scene becomes a signifier that order has been restored. Both in the interviews that I conducted and in the YouTube comments, the words “CIRCUS is Over” were a sticking point. The interviewees lingered on this aspect of the video. Komang commented, “All of the things that men have been through are over. Now that they are dead and the woman is dead, everything is okay.” The other two interviewees were impressed with this use of English, but did not think that it had much of a relationship with the content of the video. Instead, they believed that the use of English was simply a tactic to make the video seem cooler and more in touch with the perceived modernity of the West. However, the resolution of the video with the “CIRCUS is Over” poster resonated deeply with many YouTube commenters. Several simply repeated these words in their comments on the video

(Peterpan). The words “CIRCUS is Over” and their connection to the death of the inadequately feminine woman and the inadequately masculine band members signifies an end to the chaos which has been caused by their improper performance of gender. These defective versions of masculinity and femininity have been destroyed and order has been restored. In turn, the future of the nation has been secured from the threat of gender disorder.

The concern that YouTube commenters and research participants expressed again and again over how the violence in the video would affect children reveals a deep concern for the future of the nation. This can easily be tied back to Allen’s argument that the debate surrounding the Anti-Pornography Law was representative of an Indonesia that is very concerned about the uncertain future of the nation state. Kadek says, “It show[s] violence and all ages can access [it], might be followed by people, especially kids” (Peterpan). Made commented,

Too [many] dead bodies, too much shooting. That’s the downside of Peterpan, but overall it’s still good.

Later when we were discussing the lead actress’s role in the video, Made commented,

I don’t see any relation. She’s just walk[ing] around and suddenly shoot[s] Peterpan. I don’t know how she got there. There’s no storyline, it’s out of the blue. I don’t get it. Probably she should be there, but not shooting.

YouTube commenters expressed similar sorts of mixed reactions. For instance, user daiyan husain wrote, “This video clip is good except when there is a violent scene. That could be replaced with a different scene. Go Ariel!” (Peterpan). Beneath the surface of these responses, there is worry about how audiences and especially younger or more vulnerable audiences will receive these scenes of violence. The concern that commenters and interviewees express over

this potential moral influence on the people who will be the future citizens of the state reveals a nation struggling to maintain a stable and orderly future in the face of the recent political chaos.

After sharing my initial analysis of the video with Komang, he responded that he felt that the video showed how Indonesian people think that it is important for men and women to have ground rules about how to behave because if they follow the customs or ways of life of other countries without these unwritten rules, they may become “wild and free” like the woman in the video. He also noted that the men in the video maintain their masculine coolness even when faced with dying at the hands of the woman. The other respondents Made and Kadek did not want to spend much time discussing how the gendered images might be interpreted. They both commented that the men are portrayed as cool and the woman is portrayed as crazy; however they both felt that these roles were simply an exaggerated version of how men and women naturally react to everyday events.

While Sinetron videos are no longer directly funded by the state, state goals have permeated the video and viewers’ responses to the video through the use of chaos and order as points of reference for how well citizens are fulfilling their duties as men and women. Chaos becomes linked to the woman as she spreads disaster throughout the local space. Eventually, order is restored to the space through the elimination of these inadequate gender performances through the death of the characters.

2.4 Kotak’s “Kecuali Kamu” Description

Kotak’s “Kecuali Kamu” (“Except You”) opens with the lead singer lying on the floor in minimalist surroundings. As she begins to sing, handwritten letters and envelopes flow through the air. As she walks through scenes that are frozen in mid action, flames and plumes of smoke float around her. While she continues singing and moving through time normally, some of the

smashed objects around her pull back together into complete pieces. Intermittently, the scenes begin to rewind to reveal how the action unfolded. The viewer watches as the lead singer walks into an outdoor world in chaos. Cars are frozen in mid air as they smash into objects. A man flips backwards away from a falling piano that is shattering as it falls. When she leans against a rusty and leaf covered car, it becomes shiny and new again. The scene cuts to a female guitarist whose body and guitar are smashed into pieces. These pieces magically reassemble, and she begins playing and singing along with the lead singer. The lead singer continues to walk through frozen scenes of people interacting in interesting ways. She walks past a policeman raising his baton threateningly at a graffiti spraying skateboarder and a woman whose groceries are spilling through the air. The singer raises her hand and the groceries return to the woman's bag. She continues to encounter and interact with scenes like this. What most stands out from these scenes is the presence of the English language and American paraphernalia. For instance a newspaper headline reads, "We all just want to skin her and roll her in salt." A wall displays circus posters from the 1880s. A crate reads, "Bottling Co, Toledo, Ohio." A man falls out of a window as he grasps for the US one hundred dollar bills surrounding him. Finally the scene begins to run in real time again. The singer walks through the street as all of the characters we have seen before mill around her. While singing passionately, she begins to circle the one figure that is still frozen in motion, a young man with an outreached right arm and hand. Snow begins to fall as she clutches him in front of a glass window painted with the English words "Vintage Store" (Kotak).

2.5 "Kecuali Kamu" Analysis

Even though Kotak is a popular band that skyrocketed to fame after winning an Indonesian singing competition, only the participant who was living in Indonesia had seen the

video before. The other two participants had heard the song and were very familiar with the band but had never seen the video. Like many of the YouTube commenters, Made and Kadek focused on how cool the video and the special effects in the video are. One commenter with the username dani haidir wrote in English, “Amazingggg proud to be Indonesian” (Kotak). Another with the username agung wahyu similarly commented, “semangat buat kotak Indonesia” or “Kotak builds enthusiasm in Indonesia” (Kotak). User eki fitriansyah simply wrote, “Extraordinary” (Kotak). User dini mujiasih mujiasih commented,

I listened to this song until I didn't feel the cold. There are plans for me to come back from Canada. I'm going to get this band to my village celebration. Good for kotak (Kotak).

These comments suggest not only that the band is well regarded but also that something about the band is considered profoundly Indonesian.

Tantri, Kotak's lead singer and the lead character in this video, takes small actions to restore order to her chaotic surroundings. She walks calmly through catastrophic scenes while singing about how only one person has ever been able to really hurt her. She has some control over her surroundings and is able to restore order in some small ways. For instance, her touch makes the rusty car new again and a motion from her hand pushes groceries back into the young woman's paper bag; however, she does not tackle any of the larger forces of chaos in the video such as the car wrecks or the exploding piano. Although she does have some power to control the chaotic surroundings, she is either unable or unwilling to tackle the bigger issues. This failure is particularly obvious at the end of the video when everything has returned to normal except for the man who is the object of her affection.

The Western objects that dominate the video connect this chaos with the influx of outside cultures. While there are touches of Indonesian culture throughout the video, the absence of a concrete setting lends itself to the chaotic feeling. In addition, the video creates a nostalgic atmosphere because many of the Western objects such as the car, the circus posters, and the vintage record store, are linked to the past. These objects are randomly scattered throughout the video in bewildering combinations. Tantri, as the lead Indonesian character in the video, becomes an agent of order as she solves some of the minor issues in the video. Through her small gestures to restore order, the order is eventually returned to the entire setting of the video. As the lead feminine and local character in the video she becomes symbolic of how the local must protect Indonesian culture from the chaos of the influx of Western cultures.

Tantri is enacting *kodrat wanita* properly in many ways. The entire video is focused on her quest to set things right with the man for whom she is searching. Although she is acting independently in her pursuit of the man, her actions still center around finding him and changing their relationship. She does have agency because the viewer hears her voice and her side of the story, and she is able to control some aspects of her otherwise chaotic environment. Ultimately though, she is not able to control her interaction with the man. He is frozen in motion and no matter what she says or does, she cannot change his behavior. In this way, she is passive and dependent. Throughout the entire video she is very calm and never channels the Sinetron image of a hysterical woman. Komang commented that her outfit of combat boots and a feminine white dress is both masculine and feminine at the same time and further reflects this ambivalence in her behavior. However, she is primarily positioned as a proper woman with some attractive and traditionally masculine traits. Through her proper adherence to the feminine role, she

becomes representative of the positive impact that the local and the feminine can have on a politically chaotic Indonesia.

My discussions with the research participants centered mostly around the foreign objects that are visible throughout the video. All three of them agreed that these touches were used to make the video seem more modern, cool, and enjoyable. Komang noted,

She's wearing a white dress and rocker boots. It reminds me of the first time I saw Indonesian music videos. In the old days, we saw lots of foreign stuff [in the videos].

Put in 'strange foreign objects' and English writing and the cool factor is going up.

However, Komang commented that after spending time in the United States, he sees the video differently. He thinks that he would have previously understood all of these effects as very cool, but now he sees them as a silly attempt to infuse the video with American culture. Made echoed this sentiment,

[I] think it's like many other videos – to me just try to bring viewers. [I] don't think they care about lyrics and image. [They] just want viewers to see it's cool, [so that they] watch and buy.

When I suggested that the chaotic influx of Western objects was symbolic of how the once ordered Indonesia is being inundated with chaos in the form of foreign interference, all three participants were adamant that these were simply attempts to make the video seem cool and did not represent anything else. While watching the video, Komang even joked, "What? Did your [Tantri's] boyfriend run away to the United States?" He continued to point out many more ways that the video referenced the West and the United States in particular. Both Komang and Made also said that the older items were simply a way to relive a positive part of history that the viewers would not have had a way to experience in real life. Komang also argued that all of

these foreign objects have more to do with the influence of foreign music on Indonesian music than anything else. He explained,

[We] just try to understand lyrics, history, autobiography [of foreign music]. We want to know more. I don't think this is post-colonial. If I'm a musician, I'll put [references to] my favorite band in my videos too.

He read the Western touches as nods to a culture that has really impacted Indonesian music. Although all of the participants were quick to point out even more ways that the video could not possibly be set in Indonesia, they were very sure that the use of English and foreign nostalgic objects were only an attempt to garner more viewers and attention rather than an attempt to criticize the chaos that Western cultural elements have brought to Indonesia.

When I shared more of my initial analysis with Komang and Kadek, they both separately maintained that I was overanalyzing the video, and it was meant to only represent the relationship between the man and the woman. They both said that chaos dominated the video, and they were not certain exactly how the lyrics tied to the images. For instance, Komang stated,

I don't like how confusing the video is. I don't feel like watching it because it has nothing to do with the lyrics.

However, they were sure that the video should only be read as representative of the relationship in the lyrics. When they asked to compare the video to Sinetron images, Komang commented,

She is still pictured as a typical Asian woman. She follows somebody, desperately in love.

The woman hurts the most when it's over in Sinetron, and that's what's happening here.

Kadek also mentioned that the storyline would work well in a Sinetron program. Later Komang noted that this image of femininity is new and different because "now women can chase men when they couldn't before." He also commented that Tantri is able to speak her mind in this

song in a way women have not always been able to do. Ultimately, the participants seemed to agree that the video could extend some parts of the image of femininity that is typically present in Sinetron while challenging others.

Although my interview participants did not see this video as containing any kind of political applications, the combination of Kotak's status as a very Indonesian band and the use of the lead female singer to combat the chaos surrounding an influx of foreign objects into the video's environment is simply too interesting to ignore in an analysis of the video. In this video, Tantri embodies a new kind of Indonesian femininity that is also linked to the triumph of order over chaos and the success of the nation state. While she does exhibit some of the classic feminine markers from Sinetron and the New Order era, her femininity is supplemented by some of the same positive characteristics that have marked Kartini as a national heroine. She is able to properly restrain herself within *kodrat wanita* and *Panca Dharma Wanita*, and therefore, her femininity becomes a force of order rather than the forces of feminine chaos that viewers see in many other videos.

2.6 Nidji's "Save Me" Description

In the band Nidji's recent music video for the song "Save Me," the male lead singer dons a bright pink suit as he pleads, "Save me dari cintamu yang posesif" or "Save me from your possessive love" again and again. Throughout the video, he is surrounded by six female dancers in short blue dresses, complete with matching blue shorts underneath them, and knee high white socks. As the singer describes this "possessive love," the women giggle and alternate between dressing him in sunglasses, hats, and scarves and playing human tug-of-war with his body. After the women pull on bars attached to the side of the walls, the room begins to close in. The lead singer and his band look worried; however, the women continue giggling, dancing, and stroking

his face. The video flashes to a scene with the singer lying on the floor on his back. He squirms as the women tug on chains that are attached to his arms and legs. One of the band member's guitars begins to give off brightly colored sparks as this scene unfolds. Finally, the video quickly switches to a scene in which the female dancers are absent. The lead singer now wears a more conservative black leather jacket and all of the band members wear dark colored clothing. Blue and purple sparks fly around the entire room as the band passionately finishes the song (Nidji).

2.7 "Save Me" Analysis

Although Nidji is a well known band, this video and song are not as well liked as much of their other work. A YouTube commenter with the username agwdesi wrote in English, hahaha...What my friends talk about the video just right... I close my ear first... But they true...good idea but wrong way...I still love you guys.. (Nidji).

Another user named igusti ngurah Budi simply commented, "Wow, the music of Nidji has become very weird. It is not on track like it used to be" (Nidji). Another person with the username Hana Sambur wrote in English,

what the HEO nidji-[...]-this is below downgrade okeh [okay]. DONT FOLLOW THE CONFORMIST INDO MUSIC TRENDS GOSH HHH YOU'RE YOUR OWN BAND!

Many other YouTube commenters also expressed the opinion that this video and song was an attempt by Nidji to imitate the lighthearted pop sound and image that has been successful for other popular Indonesian bands. All three of the men whom I interviewed reacted very negatively to this video. They cited an inability to relate to the lead singer as a major part of this reaction. Made stated, "I don't like the singer. He's acting like he's gay, wearing red [pink]. It's too colorful." He continued to explain that this video and song would be good for a guy "with a soft heart who is mellow and romantic." Both Komang and Made commented on the

singer's overblown style, saying that he overestimated his attractiveness and did not act naturally. While Nidji remains a popular band and has enjoyed a lot of success, this song was less well received by their fan base.

When I questioned the research participants about why Nidji chose to use English in this song, they all attributed this to globalization and how recognizable some English is in Indonesia.

Made stated,

[It's a] good idea. I heard most of it in Indonesian language. Some words were in English. It's okay. If you look at people in Indonesia, we do speak mixed up. [We] speak Indonesian and put a little bit of English [in]. It's cool.

Komang also connected this use of English to the influence of foreign music on Indonesian music. He commented,

[It's] more catchy. English is seen as cool. Western culture, including language is very dominant. The reason this whole group got into music is probably from listening to foreign bands.

He sees the inclusion of English in Indonesian songs including this one as a very natural outcome of the way that foreign music has been so popular in Indonesia. Kadek scoffed at the idea of not using English, commenting, "It's globalization. Music is universal. You can use any language if you want it." The interview participants overwhelmingly viewed the use of English in this song as simply a side effect of a very connected world.

One of the video's most obvious and complicated connections to New Order ideology is the relationship between the female dancers and the male lead singer. The women embody many of the ideal characteristics of Sinetron women; however, they fall short of the ideal. They are certainly dependent, irrational, and emotional, but these qualities are not tamed by their

passiveness and obedience. Their behavior suggests that it is not good enough for women to embody most of these characteristics because there is an important balance in this particular mix of traits. Their aggressive behavior can be read as masculine and out of place. Even their outfits suggest that they are not properly embodying their roles as women. The short girlish dresses and knee socks highlight their immaturity while the light blue tone suggests a masculine quality. While they are not explicitly punished for their behavior, they disappear at the end of the video as though they never existed or are simply part of a bad memory. Through the video's images and the song's lyrics, the women are presented as possessive, imbalanced, obsessive, and unstable. Although this image is slightly different than the Sinetron image of women as embodying all of these qualities in addition to passivity and obedience, the women are still portrayed in a negative light. When these women do not properly perform *Panca Dharma Wanita* and *kodrat wanita*, they are quickly labeled as insane and out of touch with reality, yet powerful in their ability to control the men. However, this power is dissolved, when the men are able to make the women disappear in the final video scene.

Rather than modeling the behavior of the archetype of Kartini, these women are presented as the Gerwanis of Tiwon's Kartini/Gerwani complex. The women work together to form one larger and even more unstable woman whose desire for the lead singer is wreaking havoc over his life. Perhaps separately they could embody the model ideals of womanhood; however, they are the maniacs due to their close relationships with each other. Since the dancers do not embody *kodrat wanita* or *Panca Dharma Wanita* properly, they become dangerous, uncontrollable, and a threat to the men around them.

The women's behavior becomes particularly interesting when contrasted with the lead singer's passive and obedient behavior. While the women preen, primp, and push him around,

he makes facial expressions that range from disgusted to scared but do not challenge the women's authority. In the context of the women's outfits, his bright pink suit signals this failure of masculinity. Once the women have disappeared, he wears a more traditionally masculine leather jacket and dark clothing. He does experience some punishment for his passive and obedient behavior in the form of being pushed to the ground while the women pull his chained limbs in different directions while he sings about his inability to escape from their "possessive love." The roles of *kodrat wanita* and *kodrat laki-laki* are reversed in this scene because the women take a position of power and authority while the man is passive and unable to escape.

This vision of the men in the video as defenseless against the aggressive and rebellious behavior of the women is certainly different than the version of masculinity presented in Sinetron programming. The men's failure to adequately defend themselves points to the superiority of previously idealized images of patriarchal masculinity. While past versions of masculinity were the strong rulers of the household, the men in this video are not able to control the female characters in the video.

However, this version of masculinity is also held up as desirable. The women are literally fighting over the lead singer. Although the men in these images are emasculated in some ways, they still hold male power. Throughout the video, the men literally provide the soundtrack for the women's actions. While the viewer's focal point is their strange behavior and actions, the viewer only hears the lead singer's words along with the male band members' music. Even when the lead singer croons, "Mengapa aku selalu salah?" or "Why am I always wrong?" the viewer only hears his side of the story. Although he positions himself as a victim, he does have the power to speak to the viewer. Even though he departs from traditional Suharto era ideas of masculinity, he still presents a version of masculinity that is held up as one of the ideal ways

to be a man. Rather than simply reinforcing New Order era ideas about masculinity, this video expands the acceptable forms of masculinity.

Just as Althusser proposes, this video acts as a part of the communications ISA. Rather than primarily enforcing its purpose through repression, it works primarily through ideology and secondly through repression (149). The video continues the Suharto era ideology of gender as a strict binary through its presentation of the behavior of the lead singer, band members, and dancers. The women's exaggerated performance of the stereotypically feminine traits of domesticity, dependence, irrationality, and emotionality mark these traits as essentially feminine in themselves. Their performance of the masculine traits of aggressiveness and rebelliousness mark these traits as unnatural and even dangerous when performed by women. Similarly, the male's performance of the stereotypically feminine traits of obedience and passivity mark these traits as unnatural to men because their performance by a man seems silly and even ludicrous. These traits are further reinforced as feminine and unnatural to men through the man's dress in a bright pink suit. Even through interrupting the New Order ideology of gender as a binary, this video continues that very ideology.

The video simply reproduces the New Order ideology in a fresh way. In "Young Women and Consumer Culture: An Intervention," Angela McRobbie uses Judith Butler's theory of the performativity of gender to argue that some shows which initially seem to be discontinuing dominant ideology are actually reinforcing it. She argues that *Sex and the City* destabilizes traditional ideas about femininity only to actually reinforce them through participating in more normative cultural practices. She claims, "The performative here has the effect of seeming to reinstate the 'original'" (542). By applying McRobbie's argument to Nidji's "Save Me," one can

see that the video in fact re-establishes traditional gender roles through the excessive performance of some aspects of femininity and masculinity.

Nidji's video continues to act as part of an ISA because it establishes femininity as a chaotic force which must be controlled through patriarchy and the appropriate balance of gender roles. By showing women imperfectly enacting *Panca Dharma Wanita* on a man who is not their husband and outside of a monogamous relationship, the video underscores *Panca Dharma Wanita* and *kodrat wanita* as the appropriate way for women to act. The obsessive and possessive behavior that the women shower upon the man shows how dangerous feminine characteristics uncontrolled by Suharto era patriarchy can be. Although the video may genuinely be an attempt to show women and men in new and more interesting roles, it has the effect of reinforcing earlier ideas about femininity and masculinity through portraying modern gender roles as less than ideal and even dangerous.

Another interesting aspect of this video is the tension between male and female space. The space that the band occupies by themselves at the beginning and the end of the video is marked as masculine in appearance. Although the band is dressed in bright fashionable clothing at the beginning of the video, the space that they occupy resembles an old factory. The walls and high ceilings are covered in metallic material and seem industrial. While the band members are not dressed in a masculine way, the space which they occupy is marked as a space in which masculinity and order thrives. Although labor in factories is often feminized, the basic operations of factories are built upon order and rationality which are characterized as masculine in the Indonesian context.

When the women appear, this masculine space is thrown into chaos. After they tug on bars attached to the walls, the room becomes smaller and smaller as they gleefully dance around

the lead singer. As the space closes in, they dominate the room more and more. The singer is crowded and completely surrounded by the women. Eventually, they gain complete control over him by throwing him to the floor after they chain his arms and legs. What is at first a masculine space becomes a feminine space as the women take control. Interestingly, these women do not perform domesticity in stereotypical ways. However, they bring the domestic into this industrial space through the way that they overtake the room by performing domestic acts such as dressing and intimately touching the singer. This domesticity combined with their other feminine and masculine characteristics throws the space into chaos until they vanish at the end of the video. The space is then reclaimed as masculine and ordered by the band members.

This transformation of the space from female dominated back to male dominated seems to begin when sparks begin to fly from the lead guitarist's guitar as he performs a solo. The band is suddenly thrown into this larger, darker, and more traditionally masculine space. Corrugated steel walls still surround them; however, the room is now dark without any windows. As blue and purple sparks surround the band, they finish their song without the women anywhere in sight. The singer and the rest of the band have been saved from these women's feminine space and domestic chaos through the band member's masculine initiative.

This video portrays women as a chaotic force that overcomes an industrial and masculine space due to their improper adherence to *Panca Dharma Wanita* and *kodrat wanita*. These women appear in the video as sexualized yet girlish. They do not fulfill the five responsibilities of *Panca Dharma Wanita* that have been assigned as women's duties. There are no husbands, children, houses, or communities for them to care for in this video. However, their desire to care for someone manifests as an obsession with primping, dressing, and controlling the lead singer. They do not completely embody *kodrat wanita* and this rebelliousness and aggressiveness spills

into the environment around them. Their image even deviates from the more lax attributes of a *wanita karier* (career woman) since they do not appear to have occupations other than obsessively stalking the singer and do not perform femininity in a modest way. Since they have traveled into the industrial space, their uncontrolled feminine attributes spill into the space and corrupt it. The men reestablish the space as masculine, public, and ordered when the guitar solo vanquishes the women.

When I described my prior analysis to the three research participants, two of them agreed that the women were presented aggressively. Made maintained that the female dancers were presented in a primarily positive light because they were acting naturally as women normally act. The other two emphasized how controlling and extreme the women were. They agreed that they brought chaos to the video. Kadek commented, “Feel[s] like the TV isn’t enough for them all.” Komang laughed as he said, “What kind of woman chains a man? They are psychopaths. They were laughing while they chained that guy. It was pretty hardcore.” They both could agree that the women were not presented in a desirable light. However, Komang extended this analysis by pointing out that the women were dressed in a way that mimicked Asian animation. He described them as “childish in a way, [there is a] connection with cartoon characters, all to look cute.” While the dancers are portrayed as uniquely feminine in their aggression, this aggression is still under the control of the version of masculinity presented in the video.

Made and Komang both saw similarities in the deployment of masculinity and femininity in this video and *Sinetron* shows. Made only commented that the storyline could be very similar to something used on *Sinetron*, but Komang expanded by commenting that the way the band and dancers act could easily be compared to a *Sinetron* program. He declared, “If he was the main character in *Sinetron*, women would always chase after him like that.” He continued to explain

that Sinetron plots quite often feature two or three women competing with each other for the affections of one man. He saw the way that the dancers and Sinetron characters act out femininity as negative.

Even though Komang did not like the way the lead singer acts in the video, he admitted that in some ways the way he acts is seen as showing off his masculinity, superiority, and high confidence. He saw this as similar to the way male characters on Sinetron programming show off their masculinity. He felt that the lead singer and his band were not emasculated at all. Rather they were showing off their superior masculinity by bragging about how many women were obsessed with them. He explained,

In Asia, I don't know, some people are proud of girls fighting over them. Just more self-pride. The chaining is not emasculating. He's just thinking 'Man, I'm a player. The girls love me so much they want to chain me for themselves.'

He resisted any analysis of this video as reversing traditional gender roles. He thought that my analysis did not fully consider Asian ideas about gender.

Komang was also adamant that the women were acting "over feminine" rather than exhibiting any masculine traits. He explained,

[It's] more like feminine aggressive rather than rebellious. Nothing [is] masculine. [They are] just showing true femininity because every girl tried to take the guy for herself. That's part of what's feminine. If [they] are masculine, they are gonna kick his ass, doing violence or chain his neck instead of arms. Instead, they are showing aggression in a feminine way. Trying to keep person for herself and compete with other girls.

Rather than seeing the women's behavior as a combination of feminine and masculine traits, Komang viewed it as enthusiastic over exaggeration of the typical feminine aspects of Indonesian women. As McRobbie argues in a different context, this exaggerated performance of femininity serves to reinforce traditional ideas about the proper performance of femininity in Indonesia.

When we discussed the way that the women's domesticity is overwhelming and chaotic, Komang was quick to respond that he believed this part of the video reflected Indonesian and Asian women accurately in some aspects due to their cultural background. He emphasized that everyone is different, but he believed that Indonesian women feel a great deal of pressure to act out femininity through domesticity in an excessive manner. Although things are shifting, he felt that the video and Sinetron programming in general represents the way women feel that they need to act in order to be "real Indonesian women." Komang commented,

Uncontrolled domesticity is part of what's cultural in Asia. Women are like that. [I'm] not stereotyping. Women are born into that culturally. Women do that in some parts of their lives. [They are] doing feminine gestures. In some part, this represents women there [in Indonesia]. Some of it is true.

He went on to explain that this is shifting because there is a "new generation, a new way of thinking" now. While Komang agreed on some aspects of my analysis, he thought that I was reading too far into the images and not adequately considering Indonesian culture as a factor in the images.

In this video, the binary of chaos/order becomes very linked to the masculine and the feminine as well as the domestic and the industrial. This video takes associations that already exist and reinforces them through the excessive performance of femininity and chaos. The

women provide an example of how femininity can become uncontrolled and chaotic when not placed within a hierarchy as it was during the New Order.

2.8 Oppie Andaresta's "Single Happy" Description

The opening of Oppie Andaresta's "Single Happy" features a woman strutting down a city street while a group of men watch her. The scene then cuts to a shot of Oppie Andaresta as she begins to sing while walking down the same city street. As she passes women in the street, some of them join her in singing and dancing. The women walk past yellow taxi cabs and red London-style phone booths as they continue dancing. Their journey is interspersed with shots of a woman busily working on her laptop and the woman from the first scene as she continues to sexily strut down the street. Eventually, even the men in the background of the scenes begin to slightly sway their arms to the tune of the song. As she continues to recruit women to join her, a man wearing a purple hat and pink shirt begins to prance along with a few women who have joined the impromptu sing along. He stops to expressively sing along and displays very exaggeratedly feminine mannerisms. Two women flank him and pause in their sexiest poses. Oppie is so shocked to see him dancing along that she does a double take, stops singing, and mouths the word "WHAT?" The women begin to open brightly colored umbrellas and twirl in the street as they sing. In the course of the video, the woman who worked at her laptop and the woman who strutted down the street have joined the singing and dancing. Oppie is shown strumming her guitar, and in the background, a female newscaster high fives two men whom she has been interviewing. Throughout the video, the city streets are presented as more Western than Indonesian through a mix of Western signifiers such as a phone booth, a fire hydrant, and the yellow taxis. The video ends with every single person in the scenes wholeheartedly singing and dancing along including the men. One man even excitedly turns a cartwheel in the street

while everyone dances around him. The closing scene is a festive celebration of the lyrics of the song (Andaresta).

2.9 “Single Happy” Analysis

Oppie Andaresta is a fairly popular Indonesian singer and songwriter. All of the men whom I interviewed had heard her music, and two of them had already seen the video. Komang commented, “She is not too mainstream. She has a message too. She is criticizing stuff and is empowering for women too.” Oppie has a reputation for creating politically conscious music and even had a song banned by the Attorney General’s Office during Reformasi (“Still Rocking” 3). Her music has become more mellow and less direct in its criticism of Indonesian social issues than it was in the past. She remarks, “I am easily angered by what I read in papers or watch on television. But now I write songs to calmly motivate people. In the old days, I just shouted and cursed” (4). Although Oppie Andaresta creates music that stands out from much of the music in Indonesia, this video was very popular, appearing widely on Indonesian television when it was released.

In a sea of music and videos centered on relationships, this song repeatedly states, “I am single and very happy” (Andaresta). The video even prominently displays a *wanita karier* who quickly abandons her work to join the group of singers and dancers proclaiming their happiness over their freedom from relationships. However once one delves deeper into the video and song, she can see that this explicit message of joyful singleness only underscores heterosexuality and traditional notions of gender roles within these relationships. Even though the women proclaim their status as “Single Happy,” gaining the attention of men is still a focal point of the video. As one woman struts sexily down the city street, the viewer can see several men in the background standing slack jawed as they stare at her with desire. Although women sing and dance about

how happy they are to be single, the background of the video is filled with men watching them. The subtext becomes that if you are happy about being single, you will attract the attention and stares of men. In turn, this seemingly fresh message about relationships still reifies heterosexuality and the sexual binary.

The lyrics of this song also have the effect of reinforcing some stereotypical ideas about heterosexual relationships. For instance, Oppie sings “Bebas lakukan yang aku suka, bertemas dengan siapa saja” or “Free to do whatever I want, to be friends with anyone” (Andaresta). The subtext is that men in heterosexual relationships stop women from freely enjoying their lives. In another line, Oppie sings, “But I’m convinced that I’ll find my soulmate at the right moment and in a wonderful manner” (Andaresta). Although she is declaring that she is single and happy, the end goal is still a monogamous partnership. Even though the title and chorus proclaim a unique message of happiness as a single person, the lyrics actually reify the idea that traditional gender roles will always exist in heterosexual relationships.

The one exception to the almost complete absence of homosexuality in Indonesian music videos and television in general is the sometimes prominent presentation of homosexual men as nonnormative, feminine, and Western. For instance, in the video “Single Happy,” Oppie beckons ordinary women to join her in singing and dancing about their relationship status. Some of the other men in the background sway slightly or lift their arms in the air. Although no homosexual relationship is shown, this one man is presented as a very feminine presumably gay man who can understand these women’s complaints about men. He becomes “just one of the girls.” Interestingly enough, this presentation of gay men seems to be ripped straight from a Western sitcom. The man is presented as an anomaly who provides comic relief throughout the video. He presents himself as a very commercialized and Westernized version of the gay man.

This is particularly interesting when considered in the context of the Indonesian government's explicit statement that homosexuality is not a part of the Indonesian culture that it has been so carefully constructing. Although a glimpse of an alternative to heteronormativity is being shown, it still reinforces the Indonesian government's narrative of heteronormativity as a part of Indonesian culture and vital to the success of the nation.

This video presentation of a gay man also supports Alison Murray's assertion that "If sexuality is perceived as male and people are defined in relation to men, then it follows that gay men are hypervisible and lesbians are invisible" (145). In the Indonesian music video context, this certainly appears to be the case. The man in the "Single Happy" video is hypervisible and flamboyant, and the same amount of attention (or any attention at all) is not given to lesbians. However, his sexuality is also invisible because he is presented as a homosexual person due to his exaggerated presentation of feminine rather than masculine traits. In this context, even the portrayal of someone who is considered to be presenting nonnormative sexuality becomes a buttress for normative sexuality and gender roles.

Both Komang and Made seemed uncomfortable talking about the presumably gay man who dances with the women in the video. Made commented, "I hate that guy [who is] dancing. He act[s] like a girl. I don't know if [he's] gay or fake." Komang said that this image of a man acting in a feminine manner also shows how Indonesia is changing. He commented, "He is portrayed like [an] independent gay man. He's not openly accepted, but [is] proud to represent himself as a gay man in this video. You can tell from [his] attitude and body language." He continued to talk about how gay men are usually used as the punch line in jokes on television and in movies; however, he felt that this video was a more positive portrayal of a gay man. He mentioned that there have been some images of lesbians in independent movies since the New

Order ended; however, these images are not nearly as common as the comedic representations of gay men.

Although the representation of a gay man in the video is problematic, it is more positive than most other images on Indonesian television. By embracing a man's performance of femininity, Oppie invites viewers to expand their notions of femininity and masculinity in Indonesia. While his behavior does reinforce some stereotypical notions about homosexuality, it also opens up a conversation about sexuality and gender performance.

The men were also very interested in talking about this video as a display of how modern Indonesia is becoming with regards to gender and marriage issues. They all interpreted this video as pertaining to both men and women as the pressure to marry young eases. Kadek commented, "Single woman can be happy, so [can single men]." In addition, Komang drew my attention to the fact that the wording of the song responds to some traditional sayings. He envisioned the lyrics as a direct retort to an elder person's words of advice telling a younger person that it was time to get married, settle down, and have children. He felt that many young people in Indonesia would be able to relate to this aspect of the song. He commented that he had noticed a bird in a bird cage and a fish in an aquarium in the background of the song and thought they probably symbolized how much more freedom women in particular now have. Both of them emphasized that this song is not just about relationships; it is about getting out from under the host of unwritten rules that Indonesian young people feel as though they have to follow.

Komang also resisted my reading of the video as reifying traditional gender notions in heterosexual relationships. He mentioned that the men in the background of the opening scene of the video seem to be looking jealously at the women rather than with sexual desire. He chalked this up to the men's intimidation over the reversal of what has been seen as the natural

order of things. Rather than seeing the men's stares as sexual, he saw them as looks of envy or worry because women's positions in Indonesia are changing in a positive way.

This video juxtaposes traditional New Order era ideas about femininity with newer trends in how Indonesian women are choosing to live their lives. While some commenters were dismayed that single life could be considered a desirable status, many others responded enthusiastically to a new kind of presentation of the realities of everyday life for young Indonesians. The interview participants' comments about how the video and song is a response to traditional sayings about marriage underscore just how different this presentation of femininity and masculinity is.

Roughly half of the YouTube commenters enthusiastically embraced the song as an anthem for singles in Indonesia. User papamana936 used a mixture of English and Indonesian to write, "I have more time to hang out with family and am free to do what I like, I am single and very happy..." (Andaresta). Bonny Dhartico chimed in, "I totally agree with this song...Don't sink because of our single status...one day we will certainly find [partners]" (Andaresta). Yet another user angga khoerul umam wrote, "happy is the most beautiful word for a single person, because single is a choice and not destiny" (Andaresta). Still other users expressed regret that they are no longer single. A user named Anna121589 sadly commented, "Single is much happier...then having a husband or boyfriend...I want to be single again..." (Andaresta). In response to a commenter who believed that there can still be happiness if one has a partner, another commenter argued, "That means your partner has a big heart, you are allowed to make friends with whoever. Lucky you...most of them are not allowed to freely make friends if they're in a couple. At least we are saving our partners' feelings" (Andaresta). While these comments approach the song as a truthful and positive representation of single life in Indonesia,

most of them also reinforce gendered notions of what heterosexual relationships should look like. The commenters find typical relationships to have more pitfalls than benefits. Some of the commenters have decided to remain single to avoid having their independence stifled by a partner.

Other users based their approval of the song on its perceived modernity. TheHerijantoify commented, “OPPIE HAS VERY ADVANCED AND MODERN THINKING. ONE OF THE CAUSE[S] OF POVERTY IN INDONESIA IS GETTING MARRIED YOUNG” (Andaresta). Danish Anwar agreed in English, “single life rocks...marriage is a natural system and so typically sadistically depressing and boring...remove oneself from such old traditions,,,,,,if one could...its bliss believe me...” (Andaresta). These comments, along with the other positive video comments, embrace nontraditional ideas about single life in Indonesia. This video breaks with tradition by promoting singleness as a respectable and valid choice for young Indonesians.

However, another significant portion of commenters argued that the lyrics of the song are not true to reality. User dwichagi wrote, “Hahahaha. Songs to entertain ourselves. What’s stupid is a lot of people believe it. For the sake of entertaining yourself, single and very happy? The singer is already married and have kids :D :D :D” (Andaresta). User yusufsanto commented in English, “trust me, none of those pretty girls on this clip is single...n thats irony” (Andaresta). Still other users dwelled on the perceived untruthfulness of the video. Botakxuw wrote in a mixture of English and Indonesian, “I’m fine, threw away my life forever, my life is depressing. I’m single and I wanna die! XD” (Andaresta). One user named tholex84 lamented, “[...] I always try to cover myself. And I’m always lonely in the crowd. I need someone who will love and accept me the way I am” (Andaresta). These commenters reject Oppie’s narrative of singleness as a desirable and fun status. Instead, they dwell on the difficulties of being single.

This video challenges the Gerwani/Kartini complex that is illustrated in Nidji's "Save Me." "Single Happy" repurposes traditional ideas about femininity for a new purpose. The crowd of women is still a channel for feminine power; however, their power is positive and focused on individual goals. The dancers in Nidji have a power that is chaotic, uncontrollable, and very much in line with notions of Gerwani. The women in "Single Happy" are powerful, but their power is backing the goals of the nation state through their alignment with the ideal of Kartini.

While "Single Happy" attempts to overthrow other versions of femininity presented through the cultural ISA of media, the message still enforces the goals of the nation state. The women are able to postpone marriage and pursue individual goals including careers. However, Oppie emphasizes that they will eventually find the right partners. These women are still modeled after Kartini because they are productive citizens who will most likely eventually combine their successful individual pursuits with marriage and motherhood.

3 CONCLUSION

Indonesian popular music videos are an important part of media in Indonesia because they are widely viewed and discussed throughout the country. Current popular music videos present Indonesian masculinity and femininity in a way that is unique to this period of time. Although the images of masculinity and femininity differ from Suharto era images of masculinity and femininity, some of them still extend New Order ideas through presenting the older images as preferable in contrast to the newer and less desirable images. For instance, a theme in the videos surveyed in this project was the failure of modern masculinity to protect itself against naturally chaotic femininity. Recent images often portray men as possessing

traditionally feminine traits such as dependence and passivity. They often do not project authority and order as New Order era images did. These same images often present women as embodying a variety of traditionally feminine and masculine traits. This unbalanced combination leads to several chaotic and disastrous scenes. These attempts to present gendered images in a new manner still reify older versions of masculinity and femininity. While the more recent images of gender did look different than the characteristics outlined as desirable during the New Order, they still presented previously idealized gender norms as preferable to recent changes.

In Peter Pan's "Tak Ada Yang Abadi" and Nidji's "Save Me" proper adherence to *kodrat pria* is marked as an orderly state of masculinity while the women in the videos are shown to be forces of feminine chaos. These images of femininity contrast with the Sinetron ideals of femininity because the women are unable to properly restrain themselves within *kodrat wanita*. As a result, these images reinforce ideas of masculinity as linked to order, and uncontrolled femininity as linked to chaos.

Some video images such as Kotak's "Kecuali Kamu" mimic earlier images with a new twist. In this video, Tantri becomes a force of order due to her ability to properly embody *kodrat wanita*. As a representative of proper Indonesian femininity, she is able to halt the chaos in the video, which is associated with the influx of foreign items into the traditional Indonesian space. In these images in particular, controlled femininity is linked to the stability of the nation state.

Oppie Andaresta's "Single Happy" works with recognizable images of femininity and masculinity to create new versions. A very alternative version of masculinity is presented as a possibility, and a group of women who are not fully embodying *kodrat wanita* are presented as slightly chaotic but not destructive. While the images are not entirely new, they break free of

some traditional ideas about Indonesian masculinity and femininity and begin to display new ways to express gender in Indonesian pop culture.

One of the major themes that ran throughout the interview responses and YouTube comments was a concern for the effects of images and pop culture events on the future of the nation. As citizens of a fairly new nation that has struggled through years of political chaos since the end of the very orderly New Order government, Indonesians express concern about how pop culture presentations of violence and sexuality will affect the future of the nation through Indonesian youth. Since the proper performance of femininity and masculinity has a history of being linked to good citizenship in Indonesia, it follows that many Indonesians will also be concerned about the ways that shifts in gendered images affect viewers and the future of the nation.

This concern for the future of the nation is naturally connected to the ways in which the videos advance state goals through Althusser's concepts of ISAs. While the images and some of their content has shifted, the videos still put forth ideal and undesirable versions of masculinity and femininity as examples of proper and improper gender adherence in Indonesia. Further research is needed into whether the themes and patterns I uncovered in my limited survey of videos, interviewees' responses, and YouTube comments are also found in response to other Indonesian popular media.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

One-on-One Interview Questions

1. How often do you watch Indonesian music videos? What kinds of music videos do you watch?
2. Why do you enjoy (or do not enjoy) them?
3. Can you remember the first music video you watched? What was it? Why do you remember it?

About “Tak Ada Yang Abadi”- Peterpan

4. Had you seen this video before?
5. What did you like about this video?
6. What did you not like?
7. How do you think the band is presented in this video?
8. How is the lead female character presented?
9. Why do you think that they are presented in these ways?
10. How does this video compare or contrast with other television images? What about Sinetron images in particular? Which do you like better?

About Peterpan Scandal

11. Do you know about the scandal that the lead singer of Peterpan (now Noah) was involved in? What did you think about this scandal? Did the people involved (Ariel, Luna Maya, Cut Tari) get punished too harshly or not enough?
12. Do you think that this scandal affects their careers? Why? Should it?

About Hudson (contestant on “Indonesia’s Got Talent”)

1. Are you familiar with Hudson from the show “Indonesia Mencari Bakat”? If yes, what do you think about him?

About Kotak’s “Apa Bisa”

1. Had you seen this video before?
2. What did you like or not like about this video?
3. How do you think the lead singer is presented?
4. What about the main characters?

5. Why do you think that they are presented in this way?
6. How does this video compare or contrast to other videos/images? Sinetron?

About Nidji's "Save Me"

1. Had you seen this video before?
2. What did you like or not like about it?
3. How do you think the lead singer is presented?
4. How do you think the female dancers are presented?
5. Why?
6. How does this video compare or contrast to other videos/images? Sinetron?
7. Why do you think the band uses English in this song?

About Oppie Andaresta's "Single Happy"

1. Had you seen this video before?
2. What did you like or not like about it?
3. How do you think the singer is portrayed?
4. What about other women in the video? Why?
5. What about men? Why?
6. How does this video compare or contrast to other videos/images? Sinetron?
7. Why do you think the singer uses English?

Appendix B

Georgia State University

Women's Studies Institute

Oral Informed Consent

Title: Femininity and Masculinity in Indonesian Popular Music Videos

Principal Investigator: Megan Sinnott

Co-Principal Investigator: Hannah Carswell

- I. Purpose: You are invited to participate in a research study. I am doing this study to learn about gender in Indonesian popular music videos. You have said that you have watched Indonesian music videos and know about Indonesian culture, so I have asked you to talk to me about this. I am going to talk to 6 people. If you would like to participate, talk with me as long as you feel comfortable.

- II. Procedures: If you decide to participate, I will ask you to watch three Indonesian music videos. I will then ask you questions about your experiences watching these videos. I will also ask you questions about your knowledge and experience with other elements of Indonesian popular culture. If you are comfortable with me recording our conversation, I will record our conversation. If you are not comfortable with that, I will take notes. If taking notes makes you uncomfortable, we can just talk and I will not take notes. I want to be sure that I do not misunderstand what you say to me. If you will be participating in this interview through Skype or email, I encourage you to find a private place where you can answer the questions.

- III. Risks: In this study, you will not have any more risks than you would in a normal day of life.
- IV. Benefits: Participation in this study will not benefit you personally. I hope to learn about the representation of gender in Indonesian popular music videos.
- V. Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal: Participation in this research is voluntary. You do not have to participate in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you have the right to leave the study at any time. You may skip questions or stop participating at any time. Any decision you make is fine.
- VI. Confidentiality: If you are willing, I will cite you by name in the study. You have expertise on this subject, and I want to be sure to give you credit for your contributions. If you are not comfortable with having your name cited in the study, I will use a nickname if I refer to your comments in the study.
- VII. Contact Persons: Contact Hannah Carswell at hcarswell@gmail.com if you have any questions about the study. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a participant in this research study, you may contact Susan Vogtner in the Office of Research Integrity at 404-413-3513 or svogtner1@gsu.edu.
- VIII. Copy of Consent Form to Subject: I will give you a copy of this consent form to keep. If you agree to be in this study, please continue talking with me.
If you are willing to volunteer for this research and are willing to be recorded and cited by name in the study, please say “I agree.” If you do not agree, please say “I do not agree.”