

## Institutionalized Images of Womanhood under the *Orde Baru* in Indonesia\*

KIM Ye Kyoum\*\*

### I. Introduction

Scholars have attempted to catch glimpses of indigenous values and ideas in Indonesia in a range of cultural forms such as narrative traditions and customary laws, although they also admit that it is hard to construct ‘purely authentic’ indigenous values and ideas in pre-colonial times by considering the traditions and culture observed in contemporary society (Anderson 1965; Kahn 1993; King 1985: 50; Koentjaraningrat 1985; also see Vansina 1985: 187-192). In line with this, a number of scholars argue that the various indigenous images of Indonesian womanhood were never entirely egalitarian. Nevertheless, they also assert that indigenous narrative traditions and *adat* (customary laws) found throughout the archipelago, primarily presented women as independent agents, but also occupying a position that was complementary to that of men, and as mediating

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\*\* ISEAS/BUFS. yekeyoum@gmail.com

facilitators or coordinators in the context of indigenous cultural values, ideas and expectations (see DPK 1977/8; Geertz 1961; Kim 2015; Kim 2017; Lundström-Burghoorn 1981; van Esterik 1995).

During the colonial period, especially along with the arrival of the *NZG* (*Nederlandsche Zendeling Genootschap*: Dutch Missionary Society) in the 1830s, the indigenous images of Indonesian womanhood encountered a newly-emerged colonial idea of womanhood by the formal regulations of the colonial government. It seems that the colonial government viewed the roles and status of man and woman as hierarchical rather than complementary, based largely on the 'restricted' European middle class 'patriarchal' notions of household. The 'patriarchal' notions of womanhood were also disseminated by the teachings of the *NZG* missions (Andaya 2006; Gouda 1998: 236; Kim 2016; Kroeskamp 1974: 265-274; Kruijt 1907: 43; Tendeloo 1873; van Bemmelen 1992: 191; Zinoman 2014: 47).

As I will describe in detail later on, since Independence, especially under the post-1966 *Orde Baru* regime<sup>1)</sup>, certain images of womanhood were institutionalized under the influence of the state ideology of womanhood ('*ibuism*')<sup>2)</sup> which emphasizes women's roles in the domestic domain (see Aripurnami 1996; Suryakusuma 2011, 2012). This is what Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis would call the 'priyayization'<sup>3)</sup> of Indonesian women (Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis

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1) *Orde Baru* (literally; New Order) refers to the period of Suharto's regime from 1966 through to 1998. The term was coined by Suharto to contrast his rule with that (*Orde Lama*, or Old Order) of his predecessor, Sukarno.

2) '*Ibuism*' is a combination of '*Ibu*' and '*ism*'. *Ibu* is an Indonesian form of address for a respected, married or older women. *Ibuism* means an Indonesian state ideology of womanhood, which emphasizes women's roles in the domestic domain

3) Priyayization is a combination of '*Priyayi*' and '*zation*'. *Priyayi* means Java's

1992: 47). As a matter of fact, as I will mention in ‘II. Constitutional Images of Womanhood’, the *Orde Baru* regime placed considerable emphasis on the preservation and cultivation of traditional forms of Indonesian culture as a source of national cultural identity that paradoxically discarded certain contents of Indonesian tradition in favor of Islamic ideology. In this circumstance, certain images of womanhood were instituted from 1945, but were reinforced considerably during the *Orde Baru* regime. The institutionalized image was propagated largely by governmental organizations such as ‘*Dharma Wanita*’ (Women’s Duty) and ‘*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*’ (Family Welfare Programme: henceforth, *PKK*), and even transmitted through educational text-books and *Televisi Republik Indonesia* (Indonesian National Television: henceforth, *TVRI*). Keeping in mind the institutionalized images, in this paper, I will examine the ‘means’ and ‘contents’ of the state ideology which anchor various ideological norms and values of womanhood during the *Orde Baru*. In doing so, I will explore these images as manifested in the Indonesian constitution, governmental organizations, school textbooks and *TVRI* dramas, thereby developing a detailed discussion on the state ideology of womanhood during the *Orde Baru*.

There have been few studies on the state ideology of Indonesian womanhood (Aripurnami 1996; Brenner 1999; Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis 1992; Kim 1999; Lee 2014; Suryakusuma 2011, 2012). However, they tend to focus specifically on the Javanese society (Brenner 1999; Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis 1992; Kim 1999) or on a ideological debate from a feminist perspective (Aripurnami 1996;

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aristocratic elite, later the administrative upper class.

Lee 2014; Suryakusuma 2011, 2012), and consequently did not develop a detailed discussion on the ‘means’ and ‘contents’ of the state ideology of womanhood. Therefore, this paper is expected to add a significant contribution to comprehending the institutionalized images of Indonesian womanhood during the *Orde Baru*.

## II. Constitutional Image of Womanhood

In principle, the Indonesian Constitution of 1945 guarantees women equal status with men within Indonesian society. Under Chapter IX Article 27 and Chapter XIII Article 31-33, equal citizenship and obligations are guaranteed in politics, law, employment, education and social welfare:

All citizens shall be equal before the law and in matters concerning government [...] Every citizen shall be entitled to such employment and existence as are worthy of human beings [...] Every citizen is entitled to education (The Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945).

Moreover, *GBHN* (*Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara*: Broad Outlines of the Nation’s Direction) of 1993 also declared that:

Women, as citizens as well as human resources of development, are partners equal to men and have the same rights, duties, and opportunities as men in every aspect of development (GBHN of 1993).

Yet, at the same time, the *Orde Baru* regime promoted a state ideology of '*ibuism*' which was in accordance with the Islamic idea of women's proper place. As a matter of fact, Islam puts emphasis on women's position within the domestic domain. For example, the *Qur'an* states:

And stay quietly in your houses, and make not a dazzling display,  
like that of the former Times of ignorance (The Qur'an 33: 33;  
Ali 1983: 1115).

Literally these lines were originally addressed only to the wives of the prophet. Many theologians and legalists, however, interpret the verse by implication to apply to all Muslim women, and this opinion has been widely accepted in a number of Muslim countries where women generally stay at home, only coming out for some overriding reason such as for work or ceremonies (Lemu and Heeren 1976: 26-27). Bearing this Islamic view of women in mind, the post-1966 *Orde Baru* saw considerable ideological and practical emphasis on women's roles within the domestic domain (Hatley 1997: 98; Niehof 1998: 253). In this regard, the dominant trend in government policies for women was to focus on their rights and duties as spouses and mothers, secondary to men. In this context, their citizenship was defined in terms of their wifely and maternal roles (Robinson 1997: 147). What is worth critically noting is that the *Orde Baru* regime placed considerable emphasis on the preservation and cultivation of traditional forms of Indonesian culture as a source of national cultural identity. In this regard, the indigenous images of Indonesian womanhood could have been promoted by the Indonesian regime.

However, certain contents of Indonesian tradition regarding the roles and status of man and woman were clearly discarded in favor of what is immediately relevant to a certain context in which Islamic ideology prevailed in Indonesia.

In accordance with the Islamic idea of women's proper place, the institutionalized image of womanhood became politically still apparent during the first free presidential election on 20 October 1999, even right after the fall of the *Orde Baru* regime. On 20 October 1999, there was the presidential election by the *MPR (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat; People's Consultative Council)* in Indonesia. The Guardian then reported the unexpected result (Brown 1999):

Indonesian legislators have astonished the nation by choosing *Abdurrahman Wahid*, a respected Muslim moderate, to be the next president of the world's fourth biggest country. *Wahid* won a comfortable majority of 372 votes to 313 over the candidate virtually every commentator expected to win, *Megawati Sukarnoputri*.

However, in the first free election by all the Indonesian people since 1955 on 7 June 1999, Megawati's party, the *PDI-P (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan; Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle)*, was the clear front-runner. Megawati won the largest share of the vote (33.7%), leaving *Wahid's* party (12.6%), *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* (National Awakening Party) far behind. The parliamentary election was for the election of 700 members of the *MPR* who in turn participated in the presidential election on 20

October 1999. The majority of the 700 members of the *MPR* elected the unpredictable Muslim cleric and scholar, Wahid, as the President. Part of his success was attributed to the Muslim backlash against the idea of a woman president, while critics of Megawati worried that as a political novice she would be an 'ineffective' ruler over the world's largest Islamic nation (Ressa and Kamimura 1999). In this regard, the *Guardian* reported that 'several Islamic party leaders declared at the weekend that a man should lead Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim nation' (Aglionby 1999). After all this, the *MPR*, worried over the possible national turmoil, elected Megawati as the Vice-President of Indonesia on 21 October 1999, against her rival, Hamsahath, who was favoured by the Muslim parties. The CNN broadcast the inaugural scene of the Vice-Presidency (Ressa and Kamimura 1999):

With Islam's sacred book the Koran held above her head, Megawati Sukarnoputri swore on Thursday to uphold Indonesia's constitution as she took office as the country's first freely elected vice president. Standing before the Peoples' Consultative Assembly (*MPR*) to take the oath of office, Megawati praised the legislature's peaceful work on behalf of 'the nation that I love' and pledged to stand side-by-side with newly elected President Abdurrahman Wahid. 'The victory of my brother, Abdurrahman Wahid, is also my victory and my happiness' said Megawati, daughter of Indonesia's first president, Sukarno.

Soon afterwards, riots by Megawati's supporters, who were disappointed with the result of the presidential election, spread throughout the archipelago. Then Megawati herself appeared on TV

and said, 'For the sake of national unity, I call on all the Indonesian to accept this situation' (Suh and Tesoro 1999).

### III. In Women's Organizations

During the *Orde Baru*, there were two major women's governmental organizations which promoted the institutionalized images of womanhood at the state and grassroots levels: '*Dharma Wanita*' and '*PKK*'. *Dharma Wanita* was formed in 1974. It functioned as an umbrella organization for women's organizations in all government offices. *Dharma Wanita* membership was mandatory for all women working in a government office and for all spouses of government employees (Sunindyo 1996: 124). However, the influence of *Dharma Wanita* was not confined merely to the official echelons, but also penetrated down even to the village level through governmental agencies, thereby contributing to the construction of the state ideology of '*ibuisim*'. This ideology is spelled out explicitly in *Panca Dharma Wanita*, the doctrine of *Dharma Wanita*. They are (Wieringa 2001):

- Istri pendamping setia suami (Spouse as faithful assistance for her husband);
- Ibu pendidik anak dan pembina generasi muda penerus bangsa (Mother as educator for children and guide for the younger generation);
- Pengatur rumahtangga (Coordinator of the household);
- Sebagai pekerja penambah penghasilan keluarga (Supplementary



- worker for the family income); and
- Anggota masyarakat yang berguna (A useful member of society).

From these five doctrines it appears that, at least in the official ideology, the major task of women is expected primarily to be as housewife and mother in the domestic sphere. The first three principles define women's roles as housewives and mothers: companions to their husbands, educators of children, and coordinators for the household. In the fourth and fifth principles, women are acknowledged as economic actors and as members of society. These ideological views imply that activities outside the home are less appropriate for women (Suryakusuma 1996: 99). In fact, the primary goals of *Dharma Wanita* have been to give guidance in promoting and strengthening women's consciousness and responsibility towards national development and to mobilise all women's organizations into serving the nation. At the same time, however, by establishing an *ikut suami* (follow the husband) culture and designating appropriate places for women in society, *Dharma Wanita* epitomized and strengthened the ideology of 'ibuism' (Suryakusuma 1996: 100). In this way, steadily propagated by the mass media and school education, the state-run ideology of *Dharma Wanita* penetrated all Indonesian rural communities (Mulder 1997: 142).

*PKK* was initiated in Central Java in 1957 and expanded into a national programme of the Suharto regime in 1972. In fact, the government put a great deal of emphasis on the activities of the *PKK*. As President Suharto said on 2 March 1981 (Roestam 1985: 1):

I ask that all activities for women in programmes at the national level be channelled through the *PKK*. [...] I hereby instruct all Departments and other government agencies to stimulate and to guide the *PKK*, and always draw the *PKK* into participating in all undertakings to increase family welfare in general.

*PKK* programmes were run under the directives of the *Departemen Dalam Negeri* (Department of Home Affairs). The spouse of the Minister of the Department of Home Affairs officially became the head of *PKK* (Wieringa 2001). Similarly, the wife of the head of a village automatically became the chairman of the *PKK* at the village level. The programmes of *PKK* dealt with a number of tasks that were regarded as specific to rural women, most of them being connected with household and community well-being. However, what is interesting is that these *PKK* programmes stemmed from the state ideology 'ibuism'. In the five points of departure of the *PKK*, which was embedded in *Panca Dharma Wanita*, we may observe the state-run ideology (Sullivan 1983: 148).

<Five Principles of the *PKK*>

- Woman as loyal backstop and supporter of her husband;
- Woman as caretaker of the household;
- Woman as producer of future generations;
- Woman as the family's prime socializer;
- Woman as Indonesian citizen.

Just as in *Dharma Wanita*, in the five principles of the *PKK*, we again find the official view of women's position in their society which was linked to 'ibuism'. Women were expected to contribute to the

well-being of the state-cum-family *tanpa pamrih* (without personal return) (Suryakusuma 1996: 102). Moreover, in the same vein as *Panca Dharma Wanita*, the messages passed down to village women through the PKK were principally concerned with women's reproductive tasks such as breeding, housekeeping, caring and feeding (Postel-Coster 1993: 133). As such, at the grassroots levels, the *PKK* played a role as the primary channel between the state and village women through which the state ideology was filtered, while the official construction of state '*ibuism*' spread specifically through such national organizations as *Dharma Wanita* (Suryakusuma 1996: 101). This view is well illustrated in an interview with the head of *PKK* in an remote village (Tomohon, North Sulawesi), *ibu N. Maleke*:

In fact, *PKK* and *Dharma Wanita* are different organizations. *Dharma Wanita* is an organization for women whose husbands are civil servants. On the other hand, *PKK* is an organization for women in villages. Yet, they usually work together. For instance, I'm responsible for the activities of *Dharma Wanita*. And I'm the head of *PKK* at the same time.

#### IV. In Educational Textbooks

The state ideology of '*ibuism*' was also legitimized and institutionalized in educational textbooks during the *Orde Baru*. We need here to refer to the text books used in primary schools on the grounds that these, organized and edited by government institutions especially, *Departemen Pendidikan Nasional* (the Department of

National Education), to a great extent form the 'ideal' and 'national' images of womanhood for future generations, both boys and girls. In this regard, Logsdon (1985) observed in the 1970s that in the text books for second grade students in primary schools, 'mother' was described occasionally as 'staying at home,' while often 'father' is described as 'going to the office'. The text books clearly implied the state ideology of the social position for men and women: mothers are normally involved in housekeeping, childcare, shopping, and prayer in the domestic sphere; and fathers have occupations, lead children, and support, protect, and head the family. An example is as follows (Logsdon 1985: 248-249):

Heri's father works in an office. He makes his living every day. He fulfils the needs of his children. He pays the children's school fees. He guards the security of his whole family. These are the responsibilities of the head of the family. Heri's mother cooks in the kitchen. She washes the children's clothes. She brings up and takes care of her children. She prays for the children. These are the responsibilities of the mother in a family.

In the textbooks for primary school students, women were expected mainly to be confined to the domestic arena. It was in contrast to the indigenous imagery of Indonesian women as independent agents, but also occupying a position that was complementary to that of men, and as mediating facilitators or coordinators in the context of indigenous cultural values, ideas and expectations.

The textbooks also provided an image of all Indonesian women as having secondary status to men. In the textbooks, the word for mother

(ibu) was never capitalized. On the other hand, the word for father (bapak) was capitalized, even when the two were side by side in a parallel construction. For example (Logsdon 1985: 247):

Pramuka selalu menurut ibu dan Bapak.  
(Scouts always obey mother and Father)  
Di sekolah, Heri dan Eni membantu Bapak dan ibu guru.  
(At school, Heri and Eni help Male (Father) and female (mother) teachers.)

The view of men and women mentioned above continued to be presented in the textbooks during the 1990s. For instance, a textbook for the first class in primary school says the following (Sumarno and Paimin 1994a: 7 & 64):

Ayah pergi ke kantor. (Father goes to the office.)  
Pakaian ayah rapi dan bersih. (Father's clothes are neat and clean.)  
Ibu pergi ke pasar. (Mother goes to the market.)  
Pakaian ibu rapi dan bersih. (Mother's clothes are neat and clean.)

Semua sudah siap (Everyone is ready.)  
Ayah pergi ke kantor. (Father goes to the office.)  
Ibu belanja ke pasar. (Mother goes shopping in the market.)  
Doni berangkat sekolah. (Doni leaves for school.)  
Ibu berpesan pada Doni; (Mother asks Doni;)  
'Hati-hati di jalan'; ('Be careful in the street;')  
'Tidak boleh nakal di sekolah'. ('Don't be naughty in school'.)  
Doni mencium tangan ibu dan ayah (Doni kisses mother's and father's hands.)

The textbook clearly shows the 'proper' places of men and women;

the domestic domain for women and 'working outside' for men. This view becomes clearer in a textbook for the third and fourth classes in primary school (Sumarno and Paimin 1994b: 37 & 58; 1994c: 10).

Semua anggota keluarga mempunyai kewajiban masing-masing. Ayah sebagai kepala keluarga mempunyai kewajiban untuk memenuhi kebutuhan keluarga, bertanggung jawab terhadap nafkah keluarga. Ibu berkewajiban untuk membantu ayah, mengurus anak-anaknya, sebagai ibu rumah tangga. (Each member of a family has their responsibilities. Father as the head of the family has a duty to meet the family's needs and has the responsibility for making a living. Mother has the duty to support father, take care of children, and as a housewife.)

Pekerjaan di rumah yang harus dikerjakan ibu banyak sekali. Ibu harus memasak sayur, menanak nasi, menggoreng lauk, mencuci piring, mencuci pakaian, menyapu halaman dan lantai, dan masih banyak lagi pekerjaan yang lain. Pekerjaan itu dikerjakan ibu setiap hari. Betapa lelahnya ibu bila semua pekerjaan itu dikerjakan sendiri. (Most of the housework should be done by mother. Mother should cook vegetables, rice, and side dishes, wash dishes and clothes, sweep the yard and floor, and so on. This is done by mother every day. However tired she is, the work is done by mother on her own.)

Di rumah misalnya, ayah bekerja keras untuk mencukupi kebutuhan rumah tangga, ibu bekerja mengatur rumah. (In a family for example, father works hard to meet the family needs, mother works to keep the house in order.)

V. In *TVRI* dramas

According to *BPS (Biro Pusat Statistik; Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics)*, by 1997, 78.22 per cent of Indonesian people regularly watched television while 22.83 per cent subscribed to newspapers or magazines (*BPS 2001*). As can be seen in <Table 1>, even people living in a remote area (Tomohon, North Sulawesi) also had ready access to modern communications, especially to television, in 1997/8 and 2000.

<Table 1> Mass Media in Talete II, Tinor I, Rurukan & Taratara I  
(household)

Village	Television		Parabola		Video/VCD	
	1997/8	2000	1997/8	2000	1997/8	2000
Talete II	88	97	20	28	1	23
Tinor I	80	122	18	21	-	19
Rurukan	88	155	11	17	-	33
Taratara I	98	181	21	34	-	8
Tomohon*	2,781	-	418	-	15	-

Source: The data for 1997/8 were taken from Kantor Kotamadya Tomohon while the data for 2000 were collected during the fieldwork.

\* The total data for 2000 are not available

As Hatley (1990: 179) argues, the mass media such as television appear to be an agent for change in the cultural values and in associated social practices throughout Indonesia. In this regard, the modern media have a transforming, modernizing social impact on the ideological images of womanhood. In fact, during the *Orde Baru*, the mode of constructing women’s images in television programmes was characterized as propagating ‘*ibuism*’. Fiske (1987: 37) also argues

that television, as a popular cultural medium, attempts to homogenize the diversity of cultural experiences so that its televisual messages can discursively reach as many different audiences as possible in the broadcasting process. Television is also a home-based medium that filters certain models of cultural life in broadcasting form to an audience in the real world. It is thus a means for enabling viewers to become sensitized to ‘tempting’ televisual images through which the modernized and globalized patterns of life are displayed and formed. In this manner, considering television is fruitful for the exploration of the images of womanhood, because it will help us comprehend the televisual images of womanhood conceptualized and constructed through the broadcasting form.

With this in view, Aripurnami (1996) observed Indonesian television programmes, presumably in the early 1990s, and realized that they did not only broadcast romance and domestic life but also carried certain messages from the *Orde Baru* regime. In this regard, she revealed that several series of the leading Indonesian soap opera called ‘*Sinetron*’ were produced in support of the state. For instance, the *Sinetron* series ‘*Serumpun Bambu*’ (A Clump of Bamboo) was produced in collaboration with the Transmigration Department. The series ‘*Keluarga Rahmat*’ (Rahmat’s Family) was also produced in collaboration with a government agency. ‘*Jendela Rumah Kita*’ (The Window of Our Home) was produced in co-operation with the Department of Social Affairs. ‘*Sartika*’ was a joint production of the Department of Health and *TVRI*. Consequently, she concluded that some of the images of womanhood on television were also related clearly to the national ‘ideal’ type of womanhood promoted by the



*Orde Baru* regime.

Given the frequent production of *Sinetron* in collaboration with the state, we should at least acknowledge the importance of the 'media-disseminated' and 'government-supported' images of womanhood on television (Sears 1996: 38). For instance, according to Aripurnami (1996: 253), in '*Sinetron*', a stereotypical image of womanhood was presented as being most appropriately confined to the domestic domain; women were depicted as naturally irrational and emotional, incapable of solving their own problems and therefore having to be told what to do by men. Considering that the major members of the executive board in *TVRI* were the President, Vice-President, Ministers, high-ranking military officers and state bureaucrats, '*Sinetron*' produced by *TVRI* can be seen as a part of the state ideological apparatus in reconstructing the contemporary image of Indonesian womanhood. *TVRI* was the only television network operating in Indonesia until 1989 (Kitley 1997: 236). What is more, Novaris Arifidiatmo, a *Sinetron* scenario writer, told the prominent women's magazine '*Femina*' in May 1991 that 'the theme is that of the good woman as a domestic person'. That is, as the government persistently sought to establish in *Sinetron*, women were expected to keep their essential nature within the domestic domain, whatever their other roles outside the home (Aripurnami 1996: 252). On this point, a late-1980s *Sinetron* is illustrative of this view: *Apa Yang Kau Cari, Adinda?* (What Are You Looking For, Adinda?).

Adinda is a successful lawyer. She is very involved in her work of defending a group of working-class girls in court. [...] She

eventually fails to win the prosecution. Desperate, Adinda realizes that she cannot neglect her child and her husband.

The *Sinetron* offered a negative portrayal of a woman who wants to fulfil her aspirations and desires as a human being through work. Such a portrayal is clearly of an ideological nature, reinforcing the role of women as domestic beings. The state-ideology based on 'ibuisism', in the case of *Adinda*, appears in the philosophy that a woman's place is at home with her family (Sunindyo 1993: 138). In this regard, as many as half the *Film Remaja* (teenage films or love stories) such as *Zaman Eden* (Crazy Times [1978]) and *Anak-anak Gas* (Children of Gas [1985]) produced in Indonesia, were contained largely within the ideal nuclear family of a mother who stays at home, a father who goes to work and one or two children who go to school (see Sen 1994: 136).

Similar to *Sinetron*, films, as cultural carriers, are also frequently shown on television as well as at the cinema. Based on her research on Indonesian films in the 1980s, Sen argues that Indonesian women were often portrayed as dependent and domesticated (1994: 131-156). Heider comes to a similar conclusion that, in Indonesian films, women were usually shown as dependent on men while men could function independently (1991: 118). She also added that the image of women was often treated as anomalous which must be resolved by the end of the film through 'domestication'. The 1980s film *Rembulan Dan Matahari* (The Moon and the Sun) exemplified these principles (Sen 1994: 143):

One day, Wong Bagus leaves his home town and his childhood sweetheart, Ayu. While he lives in a city, he meets a prostitute, Paitun. During Bagus's banishment from the village, Ayu marries a much older man. After seven years, Bagus comes back. Paitun also follows him. In the village, she is vocal and loud. She questions the norms of quietness and doesn't want to be bound by them. As time goes by, the relationship between Paitun and Bagus becomes unhappy. One night, Paitun rushes out into the darkness crying loudly. She goes to Ayu's. Ayu willingly accepts her and tells the story of her love for Bagus. Then she advises: 'Now you love him. Look after him. Be gentle for that's what he wants of you'. The next day, she is quiet. Her whole personality is altered. The make-up is off her face. She is dressed for the first time in rural Javanese clothes, sitting in the kitchen, stirring a pot!

In the film, *Ayu* and *Paitun* are described as dependent and domesticated, and the story ends in a resolution through the domestication of *Paitun*. It implies that only when women are obedient and domesticated are they valuable in their society. In an interview in Jakarta on 25 April 1981, the director Slamet Raharjo revealed this philosophy that Ayu is the ideal of femininity, representing natural beauty and restraint and the image of the naïve *Paitun* is in contrast to that of *Ayu* (Sen 1994: 144). According to such conceptualizations of women's roles in the cinema, unmarried, career-oriented professional women, tomboyish teenagers and the like either come to change their behaviour and conform, or meet an unhappy end (Hatley 1990: 183-184).

## VI. Epilogue: Beyond the *Orde Baru*

I have examined the institutionalized images of Indonesian womanhood during the *Orde Baru*. In doing so, I discussed these images as manifested in the Indonesian constitution, governmental organizations, school textbooks and *TVRI* dramas. The indigenous imagery of man and woman views women as independent agents, but also occupying a position that was complementary to that of men, and as mediating facilitators or coordinators in the context of indigenous cultural values, ideas and expectations. On the other hand, during the *Orde Baru*, certain images of womanhood was institutionalized in the sense that the *Orde Baru* state-ideology presented women as ‘dependent’ on and ‘secondary’ to men in the domestic domain. Following the establishment of the *Orde Baru* regime in 1966, this institutionalized image of womanhood had ideological and practical impacts on Indonesian women throughout the archipelago. The institutionalized image was propagated largely by governmental organizations such as ‘*Dharma Wanita*’ (Women’s Duty) and ‘*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*’ (Family Welfare Programme; henceforth, *PKK*), and even transmitted through educational text-books and *TVRI* (*Televisi Republik Indonesia*; Indonesian National Television).

Since the mid-1990s, other ‘discursive’ and ‘multi-faceted’ contemporary images of womanhood have emerged through the mass media in Indonesian society. They were countervailing ones, contesting the state ideology of ‘*ibuisim*’ that emphasizes women’s roles in the domestic domain. The contemporary images of

womanhood appear to be conditioned and amplified considerably by the profit-oriented mechanism of capitalism (Waters 1995: 12; Held et al. 1999: 11; Scholte 2000: 23). Particularly since 1995, global film companies have operated commercial distribution in Indonesia and have reached even the remotest areas of the archipelago. The mass mediated images of womanhood appear to be based not only on the state ideology of '*ibuisim*' but also on 'discursive' and 'multi-faceted' contemporary cultures. The investigation of 'discursive' and 'multi-faceted' contemporary images of womanhood may be a topic for other studies.

The penetration of the contemporary mass media, along with the volume of cultural influences on the images of womanhood, increased dramatically during the late 1990s. For instance, as shown in <Table 1>, there was only one VCD in 1997/8 in the remote villages (Tomohon, North Sulawesi), whereas there were around 83 in 2000. Moreover, in one of the villages (Taratara I) alone, the number of television sets nearly doubled to 181 in 2000 compared to 98 in 1997/8. By 2000, the sheer scale and intensity of cultural influences on womanhood in the mass media became more immediate, far-reaching and encompassing than ever before. They allowed Indonesian women to absorb other images of women in a contemporary way. They were exposed to 'discursive' and 'multi-faceted' contemporary cultures as never before, which conditioned an Indonesian woman to be a woman in a brand-new culture. This circumstance is well exemplified in an episode of *Sinetron* in 2000.

‘Terpikat’ (2000) (Sinetron director: Vasant R. Patel)

Teddy (Indra L. Bruggman) is a handsome and creative guy. Teddy lives with his mother and is of a middle-class background. He works in an advertising company in Jakarta. Joya (Wulan Guritno) is a tomboy and career woman who works in the same company as Teddy. Joya’s father, Herman, is a diplomat who comes to see her once or twice a year. Teddy and Joya usually work together as a pair. Yet they very often argue and apparently don’t get along well with each other. However, in fact they care for one another as good friends by heart.

One day, a chaste and modest lady, Dina, visits the advertising company. Dina is a daughter of Teddy’s company boss, Rangga. She is a model who has just come back from France. Teddy, Joya, and Dina soon become close friends. In the end, Teddy falls in love with Dina who appears to be an ideal wife for him, with delicate manners. They begin going out with each other. However, Rangga disagrees with their relationship and instead introduces Tommy, who is a colleague of Teddy, to Dina. Joya is also not happy with their relationship because she realises that she is also in love with Teddy.

In the *Sinetron*, the image of womanhood is not stereotyped. It is discursively depicted. In this example, on the one hand, women (*Joya*) are ascribed primarily as being modernized and independent. In this sense, according to a leading television producer, M. Alkatiri (2000: 8), the Indonesian film and *Sinetron* in particular clearly adapt and idealize contemporary images of womanhood to attract an audience. On the other hand, however, this example still shows a tendency towards the state-directed notion of Indonesian womanhood, ‘*ibuism*’. For instance, it describes *Dina* as a modern lady with an ideal feminine nature. This discursive images of womanhood are also

manifested even in current educational textbooks in 2017, although the state-ideology of womanhood is still visible (Utami and Murti 2013: 34, 49; Ningsih et al. 2012: 76, 120).

Kegiatan Nina di rumah ada banyak. (Nina has many work to do at home.)

Nina rajin membantu ibu. (Nina is diligent to help her mother.)

Namaku Nina Paramita. (My name is Nina Paramita.)

Ayaku seorang arsitek. (My father is architecture.)

Ibuku seorang guru. (My mother is teacher.)

Ibu menyiapkan sarapan. (My mother prepares breakfast.)

Ayah membersihkan halaman. (My father tends the garden.)

Aku dan adikku merapikan tempat tidur. (I and my younger brother make the bed.)

Hari minggu tiba. (Sunday comes.)

Kegiatan membersihkan rumah mulai dilakukan. (Cleaning up the house begins.)

Semua bekerja sesuai tugas masing masing yang telah dibicarakan dalam musyawarah. (Everyone respectively works according to duty that is assigned at a consultative meeting.)

Ani anak yang disiplin. (Ani is a disciplined child.)

Setiap hari Ani tidak pernah lupa membantu ibu di rumah. (Ani never forgets to help her mother at home.)

Semua pekerjaan dilakukan Ani dengan teratur. (Ani regularly works.)

Overall, consequently, it is problematical to argue that, at the ideological level, one or another image of Indonesian womanhood was dominant in Indonesia by 2000 and beyond. Instead, it is appropriate to say that these images – ‘indigenous’, ‘patriarchal’,

'*ibuis*m-based' or 'contemporary' – were somehow contested; they were debated, modified, presented or represented. There was no one overriding or dominant image which guided or was used to rationalize women's roles and statuses in Indonesia, although the state ideology of womanhood continued to have considerable salience at an ideological level at least by 2000 and beyond.

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<Abstract>

## Institutionalized Images of Womanhood under the *Orde Baru* in Indonesia

KIM Ye Kyoum  
(ISEAS/BUFS)

This paper examines the institutionalized images of Indonesian womanhood during the *Orde Baru* (New Order; 1966-1998). In doing so, it discusses these images as manifested in the Indonesian constitution, governmental organizations such as such as ‘*Dharma Wanita*’ and ‘*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*’ (*PKK*), school textbooks and ‘*Televisi Republik Indonesia*’ (*TVRI*) dramas.

Under the post-1966 *Orde Baru*, certain images of womanhood were institutionalized under the influence of the state ideology of womanhood (*‘ibuism’*) which emphasizes women’s roles in the domestic domain. These institutionalized images were propagated largely by governmental organizations such as ‘*Dharma Wanita*’ and ‘*PKK*’, and even transmitted through educational text-books and mess media such as *TVRI*.

In conclusion, it also points out that since the mid-1990s, other ‘discursive’ and ‘multi-faceted’ contemporary images of womanhood have emerged through the mass media in Indonesian society.



Consequently, images of Indonesian womanhood were somehow contested by 2000 and beyond.

This paper is expected to develop a detailed discussion on the 'means' and 'contents' of the state ideology of womanhood. Therefore, this paper is expected to add a significant contribution to comprehending the institutionalized images of Indonesian womanhood during the *Orde Baru* regime.

**Key Words:** Indonesia, Womanhood, Ibuism, State Ideology

<국문초록>

## 여성다움의 제도화된 이미지: 인도네시아 신질서 체제하에서

김 예 겸

본고는 인도네시아 신질서(*Orde Baru*; 1966-1998) 체제하에서 진행된 여성다움의 제도화된 이미지를 고찰해보고, 다르마 와니따(*Dharma Wanita*), 빼까까(PKK), 교과서 및 인도네시아 국영방송에 표상화되어 있는 제도화된 여성다움을 검토한다.

본고는 인도네시아 신질서 기간 동안, 여성다움을 가내적 공간에 국한시키는 국가 이데올로기인 ‘이부이즘(ibuisim)’의 테두리 안에서 특정한 여성다움의 이미지가 제도화되었음을 밝히고, 이 제도화된 여성다움이 다르마 와니따(*Dharma Wanita*), 빼까까(PKK), 교과서 및 인도네시아 국영방송 등을 통해서 전파되었음을 피력한다.

결론을 맺으며 본고는 또한 특히 1990년대 중반이후, 여성다움의 불특정하고 다각적인 현대적 이미지가 대중매체를 매개로 전파되어 왔고, 이러한 현대적 현상으로 인해 신질서체제 이후인 2000년경 인도네시아 여성다움의 이미지는 다소 경합적이었음을 지적한다.

본고는 기존의 연구물들이 심도있게 다루지 않은 여성다움에 대한 국가 이데올로기의 ‘수단’과 ‘내용’에 대한 상세한 논의를 진행하며, 이를 통해서 인도네시아 신질서 체제하에서 진행된 여성다움의 제도화된 이미지를 이해하는데 소중한 자료가 되어줄 것으로 기대

된다.

**주제어:** 인도네시아, 여성다움, 이부이즘, 국가 이데올로기

