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The Compromise of Sex *a la Hai* Magazine (The Critical Discourse Analysis of Male Sexuality in Articles and Rubrics of Sexuality in *Hai* Magazine during 1995-2004)

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Sexuality is a fluid entity, defined by certain historical period, space and time. As a discourse, the power/knowledge relations determine the definition of sex. This research revealed on how the sexuality is understood and constructed in Indonesian context by the different regimes: New Order and Post New Order. Both regimes were controlled by the different groups, in different political, social and cultural contexts, and resulted the different discourses of sex. Hai magazine becomes the relevant object of this research to understand sexuality as the arena of power/knowledge practice. This research-using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis-also focused on the articles and rubrics of sexuality, which published during 1995-2004 as the analyzed texts. From the analysis of text, discursive and social practice, this research explained that Hai constructed the ambivalence discourse of sexuality. The discourse of male sexuality produced in Hai magazine becomes the compromise of the sexual conservatism and sexual liberalism.

Keywords: Discourse, male sexuality, power

1. Introduction

Hai magazine is established in 5 January 1977 and still exists in Indonesian magazine industry. It mainly focuses on teenage boys and offers latest teenage lifestyle in each edition. *Hai* magazine is a unique product, since it is the only teenage boys' magazine in Indonesia. At times some lifestyle magazines for men launched, e.g. *Men's Health*, *FHM*, *Esquire*, or *Popular*, *Hai* magazine still sticks in its segment, the teenage boys.

As a teenage boys' magazine, *Hai* has described and defined its segment in Indonesia. It plays an important role in offering masculinity images to teenagers through its articles. Hence, *Hai* magazine is a proper medium to see the way masculinity is being introduced to teenage boys. In addition, *Hai* magazine is also a significant cultural product and cultural context. As a text, magazine is a reference for social structure, relation, and process (Fairclough, 1995:208). *Hai* magazine represents the concept of young men, the relation between men and women or between men, and the way masculinity is understood as a part of continuous and dynamic culture. To understand the concept of masculinity in *Hai* magazine as a cultural text, it necessarily needs to include social, political, and cultural context.

Masculinity is frequently related to men's sexual development process. Sexuality is not only on erotic matters, but also on the whole aspects of life and human's existence with its erotic characteristics, like, passion, practice, relation, and identity (Jackson, 2006). In the context of masculinity, sexuality discusses the relation between men and women. Men's sexuality explains the practice of the abovementioned relation.

Teenage boys' sexual discourse has dynamically shifted in *Hai* magazine. This shift is mainly caused by refining flow of information about sex, shift in gender roles, and better acceptance on the concept of sex for recreational purpose (Negara, 2006). On various articles about sex in 1990s, *Hai* magazine defined sexual behavior as a relation between men and women after marriage. However, in its special edition on March 2002, *Hai* magazine made a special report on premarital sexual behavior. Since then, *Hai* magazine started to offer a discourse on premarital sexual behavior as a common or normal behavior.

The shift in discourse of men's sexuality constructed by *Hai* magazine was strongly related to social, politics, and economic condition in Indonesia around 1990s–2000s. The regime's shift was not only about politics, but also impacted in a broader scheme. The transition from New Order to the Post-New Order government had caused substantial ideological change; it also included gender ideology. In addition, the development of communication and media technology and also the process of Islamization happened in that period also implicated in the discourse of masculinity and sexuality.

Therefore, this research focuses on *Hai* magazine issued on 1995–2004 to analyze how the discourse of teenage boys' sexuality produced by *Hai* magazine at that time. *Hai* magazine as a product of history, which has existed for over 40 years, cannot be free from the influence of dynamic change of gender ideology. Masculine ideology sees how men are ranked in dynamic structure, relation, and social position; it influences the performance of *Hai* magazine's editorial board in presenting texts on sexuality.

2. Social Construction On Sexuality And Masculinity

Masculinity is normally related to men's sexual development. Sexuality is a relation of men to women. This relation is not only restricted on physical things, but also on actions which contain pleasure, sensation, intimacy, affection, mutual care, and dependency (Sprecher and McKinney, in Pearson, West, and Turner, 1995:8). As an action, which involves relation between genders, sexuality controls the sexual roles between men and women.

Similar to masculinity, sexuality is a social construction. Sexuality is not merely biological drive. It is defined by specific socialization process based on certain time and culture (Kimmel, 2005:141). Consequently, sexuality becomes a fluid entity, which can always change from time to time.

As a social construction, sexuality is defined by gender. For men, the concept of masculinity and cultural definition of manhood define the construction of sexuality. Through an understanding of masculinity, sexuality is constructed. And then, through sexuality, one's gender identity will be confirmed. Thus, gender informs sexuality and vice versa.

As a construction, sexuality is shaped and produced within discourse. The problem of power relation can happen when the discourse is shaped (Foucault in Hall, 1997: 44). The existence of

domination and control has caused unsettled definition to answer the question of 'what' and 'how' on sexuality. The discourse is never stable and always situational. The aforementioned explanation has pointed out the way the sexuality discourse is shaped through a set of rules which determines the practice of the discourse. At this point, the discourse on sexuality is closely attached to system which determines what is proper or improper, right or wrong, and normal or deviant; all are defined through significances operated in the discourse.

Sexuality discourse operates under heterosexual norm system. Heterosexual norm classifies men and women in a particular relation, which is strictly constructed by patriarchic culture. Heterosexual norm works as a norm that regulates sexual relation between different genders (men and women) and it creates the notion that masculinity is similar to power. Masculine men are dominant. Also, it is considered normal. On the other hand, homosexuality or same sex attraction that involves individuals from the same gender (men and men, women and women) is considered uncommon sexual orientation. Homosexual men are weak and abnormal; consequently, they are excluded and labeled not masculine.

Sexuality discourse above has created, as defined by Ken Plummer (2005), a hegemonic male sexuality. His penis physically and metaphorically defines what and how a man supposes to be. Penis is not only a biological symbol for man; it is also a symbol of strength and male domination. Some problems created by penis, like, its size, ability, and sturdiness, has become a standard of man's sexuality.

Based on the hegemonic perspective, man should be sexually active. Patriarchal system legitimizes men's domination practice to women, which then leads to an imbalance relation, including uneven sexual roles. Sexually, men have bigger role as the doer; on the other hand, women play the role of the gatekeeper. This disparity has created a construction in which men are more sexually appealing than women. Men will always increase his sexual capacity to prove his manliness. Nevertheless, women have to control her desire in order to avoid humiliation (Kimmel, 2005:5). The aforementioned construction legalizes men's behavior as sexual consumers, for example, on pornography, striptease show, prostitution, etc. (Plummer, 2005:179).

3. The Complexities of the Discourse of Sexuality in Indonesia

According to Blackwood (2005:227), dominant sexuality discourse is produced by the state, religious groups (Islamic groups, in this case), and ethic leaders. Problems related to sexuality during New Order and Post-New Order era show that sexuality is an arena for individual interest, state's interest, religious interest, or others. When various interests control sex, the roles of man and woman are also under the same control.

In New Order government, sexuality was repressed under formal regulations. On the other way, the state also controlled it through certain effective discourses. Suharto compared the concept of state to family. Therefore, a family should have an ideological power. In this family, the state made a construction on ideology of gender and sexuality. Article 1 on Law No.1/1975 on Marriage has reduced the function of men by identifying him in public scope. The concept of men, which are adopted by the state, is monogamous and heterosexual.

For the sake of morality, the state controlled men's sexuality through the representation of civil servants—who were mostly men, as the ideal state's representatives. As representatives, civil servants were expected to have good moral conducts. Hence, they become appropriate examples for their surroundings, for example, as stated in Government Regulation No. 10/1983 on Marriage, Separation, Polygamy, and Non-marital Relationship (Suryakusuma, 2004:362).

Homosexuality, such as, gay and transgender, is being classified by the state as deviant, since it cannot be categorized as male or female, in terms of physical state/anatomy, identity, gender role, and sexual orientation. On sexual orientation, heterosexual is the only accepted orientation. Gay and transgender are assumed failed to confirm their gender identity as men (Oetomo, 2000; Alimi, 2004).

The New Order government also limited non-marital relationship. Free sex was identical to hippies, which became a threat to dominant norms. Therefore, the government made regulations and policies to restrict youth lifestyle (Yudhistira, 2010:88).

The fast development of communication and information technology started in 1980s encouraged the free flow of information from abroad, therefore it smoothened the entrance of information of sexuality. The perspective of sexuality adopted by the states in Europe and America as a result of the sexual revolution of the 1960s, including the feminist movement, began to be understood in Indonesia. These things transformed the procreative function of sex towards a recreational function.

Sexuality discourse in term of procreation got out-of-date in the 1990s. Materials regarding sexuality started to be widely exposed in public, for example, the publication of men's lifestyle magazine, like, *Matra*, *Popular*, or *Jakarta Jakarta*, which mainly aimed urban middle class segment. It shows acceptance on sexuality issues which is previously tabooed by the society. Another example is the production of low budget sex movies with vulgar titles, like *Ranjang yang Ternoda* (1993), *Pergaulan Metropolis* (1994), *Gairah Terlarang* (1995), etc.

A shift in sexuality discourse, from procreation to recreation, was mainly influenced by the wave of globalization in Indonesia. The abovementioned recreational function could be seen in the commodification of sex practices in mass media. In printed media, there was so called yellow journalism containing sensational celebrity news along with visuals, which exposed women's body and sensuality. Imported men's lifestyle magazine, like, *Men's Health*, *Esquire*, *FHM*, *Maxim*, and *Playboy* (Indonesian issue) also discussed topics on sexuality along with vulgar visuals.

Meanwhile, the Post-New Order government supported political situation, which was more democratic than the one in New Oder era. Here, Islam, as a social and political power, gained better existence. The existence of Islamic groups created a new spirit in repressing sexuality. These groups, especially ones with radical and militant perspectives, mostly denied modernization. They believed that modernization is the product of Western civilization which was secular and in opposite to Islamic values. The repression started with the draft of Regulation on Pornography and *Pornoaksi* (pornographic acts). The Islamic groups had showed the rejection on pornography, in this case, FPI (*Front Pembela Islam*/Islamic Defenders Front)-when it conducted a protest on the launching of Playboy Indonesia in 2006.

These Islamic groups also rejected the existence of gay and transgender groups. The reason was gay and transgender were so embarrassing and deviated from normal sexual conduct. This is what

Boelstorffs (2004) defined as political homophobia, which refers to the relation among politic, culture, and sexuality.

The construction of discourse on normative gender roles is an attempt to build discourse on homosexuality as an abnormal conduct. Strict division on gender roles between men and women is unquestionably natural (Blackwood, 2005:225).

The aforementioned cases have shown that control on sexuality shifted from the hand of the government to the leaders of Islamic groups. Islam has shown its existence by opening the discourse on polygamy. The practice of polygamy in Indonesia is not only a form of men's domination to women, but also a means for Muslim men to strengthen their position in the golden period of Islam, in the political context in Indonesia, after New Order regime's downfall.

4. The ambivalence of the Discourse of Teenage Boys' Sexuality: Between Sexual Conservatism And Liberalism

Discussion on sexuality in *Hai* magazine has brought to discourse, which accommodates discourses of sexuality, such as sexual conservatism and sexual liberalism. The discourse of sexual conservatism is an understanding on sexuality, which strictly based on accepted social and normative convention. On the other hand, the discourse of sexual liberalism is a belief, which points out individual sexual freedom and appropriate respect on sexual autonomy, which has liberated individuals from restrictive norms in their surroundings. The abovementioned ambivalence can be identified in the following four themes.

4.1. The Sexual Discourse Of 'Split The Difference'

Sex themes in *Hai* magazine mainly functions as a sex education for teenagers. Sauerteig and Davidson (2009:1) explain that sex education has become a site where a battle on political interests among parents, teachers, school managements, stakeholders, and other institutions takes place. Therefore, there is no consensus to accommodate the interests of these various groups (Kirby & Michaelson, in Allen, 2011). The discourse of 'split the difference' becomes a way to negotiate those interests, which can be classified as followed.

4.1.1. Sex: Tabooed, Yet, Vital

In normative sexual framework, there is an attempt to do repression on sexuality, which makes sex a tabooed topic to be discussed. Teenagers are classified into individuals who are too young to discuss sexual matters. Sex tends to be covered up. In its investigations on sex among teenagers, *Hai* magazine reports pro and contra on the necessity to uncover sexual matters. *Hai* magazine stands between these opposing sides.

Hai magazine does not reject the fact that sex is still tabooed to be discussed, since sex in this context mainly deals with reproductive issue. Sex is considered normal and acceptable when it is conducted after getting married. However, *Hai* magazine also notices the crucial need on information about sex among teenager to avoid premarital sexual practice.

The discussions of sex in *Hai* magazine's articles and rubrics become a means of sex education for its readers. Sex education sets standards on proper behavior in regard to sexual matters, so that these discussions legitimize the magazine's association on sexual behavior among teenagers. Experts who take part in the discussions, such as, physician, psychologist, and sociologist have strengthened the position of the magazine.

4.1.2. Sex Is A Choice

Explicitly, *Hai* magazine states that sex is a choice. This sentence can be found in various articles and rubrics on sexuality. As the implementation of the statement, the magazine supplies information on numerous consequences regarding the choice.

Hai magazine clarifies that sexual practice should be done responsibly. Sex as a choice is being described in an article about the consequences of free sex. *Hai* magazine offers the options: to do or not to do free sex. When its reader chooses to do it, the consequences are premarital pregnancy or psychological disorder. When pregnancy happens, it may lead to maintaining the pregnancy or doing abortion.

The statement 'sex is a choice' indicates that *Hai* magazine is being permissive on free sex. Yet, the articles do not state it explicitly. Even though the magazine gives options to its readers, there will be hint on 'the best choice to make' in the end of its articles. For example, on free sex, the magazine states that the readers should do it or avoid it. Although it gives permission for the readers to do it, 'the best choice to make' is to avoid it. The magazine claims that dating is seen as a preparatory step to marriage. In other word, it asserts that premarital sexual practice goes against religious norms. To strengthen this ideal choice, the magazine produces label or category, such as, *pacaran sehat* (proper dating), *seks yang aman* (safe sex), and *seks yang tidak aman* (unsafe sex).

4.2. The Politics Of Sexual Pleasure

Articles and rubrics on sexuality in *Hai* magazine become a means to construct pleasure. Pleasure is framed under the following categories.

4.2.1. Sex is A Pleasure

Hai magazine does not explicitly approve premarital sex practice; however, it illustrates that sex is a pleasure. This discourse does make sense since the readers are (young) men. The need to fulfill their sexual desires has lead men to the agreement on the aforementioned notion. It is then symbolizes in ripe red apple in some illustrations in the magazine.

4.2.2. The Discourse Of Pleasure To Promote Safe Sex

Hai magazine illustrates the concept of pleasure as a mental state that men can achieve through safe sex relation to women. Safe sex in this context refers to a healthy, responsible, affective, normal, and sacred sexual relationship. This is labeled as politics of pleasure. In this case, the magazine politicizes the concept of pleasure in order to promote safe sex. Discussing sexual pleasure has made the magazine involved in sexual liberalism oriented to sexual pleasure. Nevertheless, sexual pleasure that the magazine defined refers to the normative and conservative sexual pleasure.

4.2.3. Sexual Pleasure In The Name Of Love

The binary opposition of safe sex and unsafe sex a la *Hai* magazine is in contradiction to love and lust. Free sex and other considered deviant sexual behavior, as the magazine defined, are forms of behavior based on lust and only meant to pursue satisfaction. It is in contrary to romance where satisfaction can only be achieved in a relationship based on love. Moreover, satisfaction can also be achieved after getting married or under long-term commitment and thorough responsibility. The abovementioned statement is an effort made by the magazine to rationalize the concept of satisfaction as well as to define its politics of sexual pleasure.

4.3. Gender Difference In Sexual Practices

As a supporter of hetero-normative concept, which puts the difference between men and women forward, *Hai* magazine has constructed its identity and role. The difference will be explained in sexual attraction and sexual role as followed.

4.3.1. Sexual Attraction: Visual vs. Affection

The difference between men and women can be seen in the way both genders evaluate their opposite sex. Men give emphasis on visual aspect. Visual or physical appearance places women as men's object. On the other hand, for women, men's appearance also needs attention. However, men's prime attraction lies on his affection.

4.3.2. Sharing the role on sexual practice: initiator vs. controller

The difference between men and women can be rated from their roles in sexual practice. Men are the initiator in the sexual practice. The construction of men's sexual role is probably based on a classic understanding: men is easier to be sexually aroused than women. It is then strengthened by biological, psychological, and social facts on the above condition in which men's sexual desire is greater than women.

If men are the initiator and sexually active side, women is the one who is sexually passive. Women expect men's initiative in the sexual practice. If a woman is sexually active, she is then negatively valued. Being in a subordinate position has made women who fail in controlling her sexual behavior a negatively categorized person.

Woman is also expected to be a controller in the sexual practice. Men's role as an initiator has made women to be a controller of his sex activities. Consequently, the blame is on women upon various free sex cases. Women are the key to the problem since they are expected to be able to prevent the occurrence of free sex.

4.3.3. Negotiating Difference Through Empathy

The above explanations on the differences between men and women show that men have more special position than women. To compensate this position, *Hai* magazine points out that men need to be more emphatic to women. It can be done through the construction of ideal men in which men need to

understand women. When discussing virginity, *Hai* explains that virginity is important for both men and women

4.4. Promotion Of Anti-Homosexuality

Hai magazine believes in heterosexuality. In explaining the concept of relationship between men and women, the magazine—using Connell's (1987) term—uses neutralizing heterosexuality, by internalizing to its readers that normal men's sexual orientation is toward women. The neutralizing heterosexuality conducted by the magazine through descriptions on same sex relationship is as followed.

4.4.1. Homosexuality: An Abnormal Sexuality

Homosexuality is considered sexually deviant behavior since the normal sexual practice is a behavior which is in the frame of heterosexual norms. *Hai* magazine indicates homosexuals as 'they'. This reference shows that the magazine takes homosexuals as 'the others'. 'We' refers to the dominant community namely the heterosexuals. Homosexuals (gays) are different from the heterosexuals, so the magazine refers homosexuals as 'they'.

4.4.2. Homosexual: An Understandable Chronic Pathology

A chronic pathology is a long-term disease with the tendency of getting worse and can suddenly reappear under certain circumstances. *Hai* magazine describes homosexuality as a chronic disease because homosexuals are close to various psychologically and genetically health problems. Chronic, in this sense, asserts that the potential of being homosexuals appears for years. It can even start from one's childhood.

Even though the magazine considers homosexuality as a chronic pathology, it can still accept this behavior. It is because no one is destined to homosexual. Unless certain circumstances force one to be homosexual, he cannot fight against the will. Homosexuality is an unavoidable condition; therefore, *Hai* magazine encourages its readers to be emphatic to the ones who become homosexuals. The magazine also asks its readers to keep a good relationship to homosexuals.

4.4.3. Homosexual: A Threatening Lifestyle

The description on homosexuality as a lifestyle is closely related to an external factor of homosexuality namely surrounding factor. Anyone who is in close encounter with homosexual (gay), his sexual orientation will directly be affected. Different from 'naturally born' homosexual, *Hai* magazine firmly rejects those who are affected by the surroundings. The magazine cannot accept the concept of being homosexual as a personal choice—in term of to be accepted in a certain circle, for example. Therefore, teenagers (the magazine's readers) need to be reflective and careful.

5. The Politics of Sexuality of *Hai* Magazine

5.1. Control, Emancipation, And Medical Issues In Sexuality Contents

Hai magazine as a media institution conveying sex education to teenagers cannot detach itself from discourse and interest conflicts in building its men's sexuality discourse. Materials on sexuality are delivered through various perspectives, such as, medical, psychological, normative, and religious perspectives. Each institution delivers idea on sex, which represents the discourse of normative sexuality and sexual freedom. Sexuality discourse in *Hai* magazine is influenced by several things, like, norms and religious approaches, phenomena of global sexual revolution, and scientific perspective. These three ideas contribute in the ideas of sexual sacredness, sex as lifestyle, and sexual health.

5.1.1. Sexual sacredness via social and religious norms approach

Sexual sacredness is an understanding in treating sex as a sacred thing; thus, it has to be cautiously taken care, exclusively carried out, and secretly kept. Social norms, morality values, and religious values are significant parts in keeping the sexual sacredness. Social and religious norms' approach has generated a morality discourse on sex. It makes sexual conduct becomes meaningless. It is the culture that makes sexual conduct and people involved in it meaningful (Fischer, 2005:56). Meaning on sexual conduct includes the identity of related parties constructed in a structure named morality. Therefore, a series of sexual conducts can be labeled either accepted/rejected or positive/negative. In addition, one can have a higher morality degree than other people in his surroundings. Fischer (2005:57) further explains that morality discourse not only aims to control one's sex life, but also to make claims on one's morality position by creating stigma.

Each culture has certain standard of morality upon sexual conducts applied in particular period of time. However, variety in this standard of morality is being uniformed under marriage law, traditional values or eastern values, and religious values in the assumption that marriage becomes the only institution where sexual practice is legalized (Blackwood, 2007:296).

In *Hai* magazine, sex education is done through social and religious norms and delivered by teachers, ministers or religious leaders, and Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) concerning teenager's reproductive health. Additionally, physicians and psychologists not only give scientific argumentation, but also use morality approach in delivering their statements.

5.1.2. Sex and lifestyle as an effect of global sexual revolution

Global sexual revolution started when there was a shift in the concept of sex and sexuality, marriage, and family in the United States and Europe around 1960s. In pursuing sexual pleasure, the commitment built does not necessarily on the purpose of procreation; it could also in form of mutual agreement of both sides (men and women) based on love. Here, sex and sexuality have become a choice of lifestyle in a reflective modern society (Giddens, 1991).

According to Allen (2011:50), ideas on sexual freedom in sex education introduce positive sex that is the idea on sex as a normal and graceful thing. Sexuality is an experience that is free to be known and free from pressure, violence, or abuse. This idea also promotes sexual pleasure and sexual

difference. Sex education encourages teenagers to have a capacity to maintain their social and emotional life.

Celebrities who talk about their experience or opinion on sex convey the ideas on sexual freedom. Sexual freedom has stimulates freedom on discussing sex, including how to express one's sexual experience. These celebrities try to frankly describe their sexual experiences. Their experiences represent sex, which is full of pleasure. The pleasure can be achieved through love, affection, responsibility, and commitment. The aforementioned explanation represents what Giddens (1992) describes that sex is an individual choice, whether it is done in or out of the marriage. It is a choice done consciously and based on an emotional relation—based on love, as the celebrities described. Love leads to reciprocal responsibility and commitment.

5.1.3. Sexual Health by Scientific Approach

This approach puts great attention on health factor in a sexual practice by creating an understanding on healthy sexual practice. The concept of proper dating conveyed by *Hai* magazine indicates that a healthy sexual practice covers physical, psychological, and social health.

Physicians, sexologists, and psychologists conduct explanation on sexual health in articles and rubrics of sexuality in the magazine. They are considered experts in physical and psychological health issues. This approach is also used by NGOs concerning teenager's reproductive health.

Allen (2011) mentions that approach in health uses health pragmatism discourse oriented in population health. So, the institution which carries out this approach needs to make sure that sex is conducted properly, free from sexual transmitted diseases, and other problems related to sexual health. It aims to construct an understanding on the importance of sexual health by explaining the consequences made by improper sexual practices.

In *Hai* magazine, the discourse on sexual health and safe sex support the discourse on normative sexuality. It is shown on the emphasis on reproductive function which points out its anatomy and biology sides. Biological facts on sex are described to make sexual practice as a practice that needs to be avoided by teenagers. The term 'needs to be avoided' used by the researcher to show that the magazine does not strictly forbid teenagers to conduct sexual practices; it only suggests teenagers to avoid it. When it is done, teenagers should be fully responsible. In one side, *Hai* magazine confirms the danger of sex; on the other, it describes that sex is a pleasure.

5.2. Sex Commodification: Safe Sex, Safe Positioning

Along with neoliberalism occurred in Indonesia, everything can be made into a commodity. In the perspective of free market, everything is marketable. Sex is one of the marketable commodities. It has driven media to include sexuality into its marketable materials. Finally, sex becomes a commodity namely sex commodification.

Commodification, according to Mosco (2009: 127), is a transformation process of a valued material into profitable or marketable product. This is a capitalist way to ensure capital accumulation by transforming value into rate. Media industry is an institution which runs production and distribution of message in term of capital accumulation using commodification sense.

Discussion on sex in mass media under commodification concern has led to exploitation on information about sex. It aims on increasing circulation and public dependency on values made by media elites.

The discussion on sex in *Hai* magazine as the teenage boys' magazine is a commodification effort. Sex is very valuable to be a commodity, as it can be covered under sex education. Iqani (2012:120) asserts that sex in mass media is not only an explanation on desire, but also a communication model, which gives enjoyment for those consuming it. According to Reichert's research (2006), sexual attraction can create better viewing experience. The experience is achieved when reader expects erotic surprises as he flips through the magazine's pages or sees the magazine's cover.

Reichert (2006) further explains that sexual attraction in a certain product aims to make the product directly or indirectly more profitable. In the case of *Hai* magazine, magazine's cover is a sexually attractive product to attract potential readers. It also attracts potential advertisers to buy space in the magazine under the assumption that sexual attraction has boosted the number readers to buy the magazine and to read advertisement in it. Both factors show that sex commodification is the surviving and marketing strategy of *Hai* magazine in maintaining its market.

Sex education gives room to *Hai* magazine to discuss sexuality. It is a form of sex commodification or an attempt to make sex as a commodity, which attracts potential buyer. Sex education promotes safe sex; thus, it creates dichotomy on sexuality discourse. The construction is supported by three factors namely organization, extra-media, and ideology. These factors refer to a very reputable media figure, Jacob Oetama, a media mogul. Media ownership is a ruling factor in determining media owner's concern on gaining profits. This condition is described through the media's economic-politic approach, which sees media's concern not only from its economic power. Media is a site where various concerns fight one another (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996:221-222).

Ambivalence on discourse of sexuality among teenage boys mainly promotes safe sex. *Hai* magazine's concern in promoting safe sex aims to maintain its existence economically, politically, and socially. Being economically exist means maintaining its existence among readers and advertisers. Being politically exist means keeping up a good relationship with the ruling government. Additionally, being socially exist means avoiding problem that may trigger problem in society. Therefore, the concept of safe sex is conducted to maintain the magazine's position (safe positioning).

6. Closing

Based on the analysis, the researcher concludes that the *Hai* magazine builds ambivalence discourse of teenage boys' sexuality. It is found when the researcher conducted the critical discourse analysis in the articles and rubrics of sexuality published in 1995-2004. There are at least three forms of ambivalence of discourse teenage boys' sexuality that appear in *Hai* magazine.

First, ambivalence is implemented when *Hai* often uses controversial themes, but it just shows contradictory. Slogans "Sex is a choice" or "sex is for pleasure" are the examples. *Second*, the inconsistency in the notion of the same themes. It was discovered when *Hai* discusses the relationship between men and women. In the case of virginity, for example, *Hai* sued the dominant norm that only requires virginity of the women. *Hai* initiated virginity is equally important for both men and women precisely. Considering virginity equally important for both men and women may be inconsistent with

Hai perspective that considers women as controller in sexual activity, or fixed position women as objects. The third strategy is empathy. Empathy strategy is *Hai's* effort to position in between parties that are culturally under *Hai's* dominance, such as women and homosexual groups. That strategy is give attention, care and space for women, as well as respect and do not give excessive stigma on homosexual groups. Instead of showing the empathy, that strategy indicated the ideology of hegemonic masculine believed by *Hai*.

Ambivalence in the discourse of teenage boys' sexuality becomes the result of the negotiation of the discourse on sex sacralization brought by social norms and religion, the idea of global sexual revolution, and the perspective of reproductive health. Negotiation of discourses is *Hai's* strategy to survive in the economic, social, and political context.

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