Visual Communication
in the Indonesian Family Planning Program (1986-2003):
A Study of a Public Campaign in Indonesia.

Sandra Tjahjani Swann

This thesis is presented for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy – Media and Information
of
Curtin University of Technology

November 2009
Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

Signature

Date 9/11/09
Abstract

This thesis is about the visual communication of the national family planning program in Indonesia from 1986 to 2003, which covers three periods: later New Order from 1986 to 1997, Transition in 1998 and early Reformation from 1999 to 2003. This study applies visual social semiotics to the visual images of promotional advertisements from eight campaigns during those 17 years. The study shows that culture is pervasive in these images and that the visual social semiotics framework could only be applied to some extent for reading images of non-Western culture. Visual social semiotics as a methodology provides an accounting framework and is a starting point for interpreting meaning from visual images. From reading the images, there are two themes that play significant roles in understanding the family planning program: nationalism and, family and women. These two themes are deployed in different measure for each period of time to constantly re-define family planning in an engaging and optimal way. However, the technique of visualisation remained the same during the three periods. The practices of looking facilitated by the visual images published for the family planning program positions viewers as Indonesian citizens with a certain morality which generates a general positive attitude about the program. The thesis provides a detailed reading of numerous images from the family planning program; drawing not only on the representation, interaction and composition created by the images but also from analysis of international and state policy on family planning and also the translation of policy into cultural messages.
# Table of Contents

## Chapter 1  Introduction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Visual Communication  
Indonesian Family Planning Program  
Research objectives and significance  
Methodology, analysis, interpretation and limitations  
Structure of this thesis  

## Chapter 2  General policies and the family planning program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The BKKBN (Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional, National Family Planning Coordinating Board)  
Policies and family planning in Indonesia during the New Order (1986-1997)  
Repelita IV  
Repelita V  
Repelita VI  
Policies and family planning in Indonesia during the Transition (1998)  
Conclusion  

## Chapter 3  Visual images and the family planning program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Visual Images and population problems prior to the formation of Indonesia  
Visual Images during New Order prior to Social Marketing  
Karet KB (Family Planning Rubber), 1975-1979  
National Family Planning Program and Visual Images during the New Order after the adoption of Social Marketing (1986-1997)  
Kondom DuaLima, 1986  
Blue Circle, 1987  
Gold Circle, 1992  
KISS, 1994  
Edutainment Sinetrons, 1997
Acknowledgments

There are too many people to name who supported the completion of my thesis. First, my thank you to my four supervisors who at four different time were by my side through my long and varied journey of learning: Professor Krishna Sen, Dr Wanning Sun, Professor Colin Brown and Dr Helen Merrick, without them this thesis would not be finished.

To AusAID and Curtin University who generously sponsored this study.

Also to all participants in my interviews, Haryono Suyono from Damandiri, Indra Abidin from Fortune, Firman Lubis from the Universitas Indonesia, Slamet Rahardjo from Teater Populer, Garin Nugroho, Mayun Pudja from JHUCCP, Asep Sutresna, Iwan Ramelan from Adwitya Alembana, Ricky Pesik from Satu Citra, Hermawan Tanzil, Adi Handoyo, Andy from Pusat Media BKKBN and Chandra, whose personal documentation of visual images and insights were precious sources for further investigations. Appreciation to all colleagues in the Visual Communication Design - Institut Teknologi Bandung for sharing their documents, helping me set up my interviews and to prepare documents for my visits to Indonesia and to Perth: Biranul Anas, Yanyan Sunarya, Prijanto Sunarto, Alfonzo, Indarsyah Tirtawidjaya, Tirto Siswoyo, Martinus Pasaribu, Iman Sudjudi, Riama Maslan, Naomi Haswanto, Ifa Safira, Suranti, Oki Hamka, Irfansyah, Agung EBW, Hafiz Aziz, Dodi Ahmad, Guntur Triyadi, Ari Samadi, Sari Hadma, Lies NB, Susilani and Poniman. To all my Indonesian friends in Perth who are such lovely persons: Ani Mangadar, Tyas H Sulistyani, Wahyudi, and so many others.

I am very grateful for the gift of friendship from my two little best friends: Paramita Sudjudi and Larasati Sudjudi, my two daughters who unreservedly supported me while living overseas to study. Also all members of my family: Setiatirin S Martoatmojo-Rinanto, Sekar Utami Mahendra, Dandhi Mahendra, Gagah Sasono Utomo, Teguh Winartomo and my close relatives (including uncles, aunts and cousins: Setijadi, Sriati Setijadi, Dartini Bintoro, Sayekti Morris, Alan Morris, Sharyn Morris, Sri BM Hill, and all others), who always backed me up morally and financially, so I could complete my thesis.

My great appreciation to the staff of the International Office and the Division of Humanities for being there to help me out of the difficult situation when I had my stroke in the middle of my study. To Deborah Pyatt, Julie Craig, Caroline Mascal, Maurine Masham, Wendy Sahanaya, Jeane Dawson and Barbara Milech.

Last but not least, to my husband Cal Swann for his loving support.
This thesis is about progress as the justification for social engineering in the family planning program in Indonesia. It shows the pervasiveness of culture and nationalism in the visual images for the program rewritten through their visual campaigns; the Indonesian Family Planning Program promoted the idea of progress as a way of justifying what was essentially a program of social engineering. I am an assistant lecturer in visual communication mainstream of a program of study in design in Indonesia, who was trained as a graphic designer in the 1980s and have an interest in the creation of persuasive advertising messages. The use of design artefacts in society and how these artefacts gain meaning in society are my motivation to do this research. The central research question informing this study is: how is visual communication used in the Indonesian Family Planning Program. There are two sections for background of this thesis: visual communication and the Indonesian Family Planning Program. Before moving to how meaning is created from images, it is useful to draw on Hall’s concept of encoding/decoding to understand the orientation of this research.

Unlike the traditional sender/message/receiver model of communication which concentrates on message exchange, Hall proposed an encoding/decoding communication model inspired by Marx’s theory of commodity production (1980). His communication model thus regards the process of communication as a process of meaning production from discourses within two different positions: the sender/encoding and the receiver/decoding. As discourses are different within encoding and decoding, then each meaning produced is not identical. Hall also noted that discursive aspects in the production process are framed by “knowledge-in-use concerning the routines of production, historically defined technical skills, professional ideologies, institutional knowledge, definitions and assumptions, assumptions about the audience” (1980, p.129). This research will be on the production of meaning in relation to the images.
**Visual Communication**

As a field of study, visual communication is relatively new. For instance, even though the special interest group of visual communication studies in the International Communication Association has been active for about fifteen years, its establishment with regular division status was gained only in 2004 (International Communication Association 2006). There are two major issues to be confronted in the study of visual communication to differentiate it from other modes of communication: **on a theoretical level and on the research front** (Messaris 2003).

**On the theoretical level,** this study adopts the position that the skill of reading meaning from visual images is the result acquired from certain practices of looking. This means that arbitrary conventions naturalised by ideology help us to view visual images as meaningful. Sturken and Cartwright noted that “[t]he most important part of ideologies is that they appear to be natural or given, rather than part of a system of belief that a culture produces in order to function in a particular way” (2001, pp. 21-22). The distinction of visual communication compared to other modes of communication is its illusory character of cultural processes in which images play a part (Messaris 2003). In advertisements this means

> ...[Visual images] can elicit emotions by simulating the appearance of a real person or object; they can serve as photographic proof that something really did happen; and they can establish an implicit link between the thing that is being sold and some other image(s)

(Messaris 1997, p.vii)

Even though viewers have knowledge of the development of advanced techniques in the manipulation of images, nevertheless, images still have a unique potential as Messaris argues.

If images appear real to us, it is not simply because we have internalised their conventions, but also because those conventions successfully capture something about the way our perception operates in real-world vision.... [I]images can inveigle us into seeing them as real, even though most of us know full well that they are artificial constructions....

(Messaris 2003, p.553).
Similarly, according to Barry, the reason for a sense of authenticity when viewing images is because visual images are processed by the unconscious part of the brain, which does not comprehend that the messages are a mediated representation (2005). More, “...visual communication plays a crucial role, one that is particularly vulnerable to emotional learning and to manipulation by political, economic and other vested interests... [this] emotional learning that goes with media experience is both unconscious and peculiarly indelible” (Barry 2005, pp.60-1).

Meaning as the product of signifying practices suggests the importance of culture and language for the production of meaning (Hall 1997). Hall noted that culture maintains identity differences in the production of meaning and the sharing of cultural codes contributes to the ability to communicate. Meanwhile, he also pointed out that language has the privileged position in the circuit of culture as the carrier of meaning with its representational system. This model of how culture and representation work is known as the semiological approach.

From a semiological perspective, meaning is made possible by the arbitrariness of the signs used in the images (Rose 2001). Rose explained that Saussure the founder of the study of signs proposed the sign as two parts, signified/the concept and signifier/the image attached to the signified. Based on the relation between the signified and signifier, Pierce classified signs into: iconic, indexical, and symbolic signs. Iconic signs are those that have signifiers that resemble the signifieds. Indexical signs are those which bear an inherent relationship between their signifieds and signifiers. Symbolic signs are those where the relation of their signifieds and signifiers is based on convention.

Signs operate within a code to generate meaning. “A code is a set of conventionalised ways of making meaning that are specific to particular groups of people” (Rose 2001, p.88). Unlike Barthes who regarded iconic signs as signs without code because meaning produced is taken for granted, Hall argued that as
other signs, iconic signs are also only intelligible if operating within a code (1980). Hall emphasised the naturalness of visual codes as the result of habituation and near-universality of the code being used. Nevertheless, he also noted that iconic signs are “particularly vulnerable to being ‘read’ as natural because visual codes of perception are widely distributed and because this type of sign is less arbitrary than a linguistic sign…” (Hall 1980, p.132).

According to Barthes, signs are capable of generating two kinds of meaning: denotative and connotative meaning (1972). Denotative meaning is literal meaning while connotative is associative meaning. As a system of meaning, the denotative meaning supports the connotative one. Therefore, connotative meaning is made possible only when a denotative meaning precedes it. Barthes named this second level of signification as the level of myth. This means that an image could be an iconic sign having a denotative meaning and at the same time may also be a symbolic sign for the connotative meaning. While the denotative meaning is more fixed because its ideology is already well accepted, connotative meaning is more floating and therefore open to the possibility to be manipulated with a new ideology (Barthes 1972, Hall 1980).

Barthes further noted that the common domain of the signified of connotation is ideology and the signifier of this connotation is rhetoric (1977). Thus rhetoric appears as the signifying aspect of ideology. He also noted that all rhetoric could have the same rhetorical figures in their form (e.g. metonymy, metaphor, synecdoche) but vary in substance. In addition, it has been argued that rhetorical figures were the ‘big ideas’ behind advertising messages (Dyer 1982, Durand 1983). These ‘big ideas’ in advertising messages underpinned by ideology, present a positive value important for the audience, and are suitable to the product. As these ‘big ideas’ derive from good understanding of the target audience, they are persuasive when injected into the product through advertisements (Williamson 1978).
Besides providing a structure for understanding a connotative meaning behind a denotative meaning, Barthes’ system of meaning also contributes to understanding the process of naturalisation of ideology. Although it is through the connotative system that an ideology is transferred, it is the denotative system that naturalises it through its syntagm (Barthes 1977). Therefore, to read ideology and culture behind images, one has to understand the denotative meaning first before moving to the deeper layer of connotative meaning.

According to van Leeuwen (2001), an analysis using Barthian visual semiotic for denotative meaning of vocabularies should account for four aspects of the images: categorisation, depiction of participants as groups vs. individual, distancing, and text surrounding the image. The categorisation is when the objects used are recognised as belonging to a certain stereotype. Sometimes a caption helps categorisation. For instance a certain hairstyle signifies as a certain social type. The depiction of people in groups emphasises class, while distancing by long shot decreases the individuality of person/s in an image. Text surrounding the image could also indicate the direction of interpretation. According to Barthes, there are two types of relation between images and words in a representation: anchoring and relaying (1977). Anchoring is when the words provide only direct interpretation of meaning in the images and relaying is when the images and the words are equal in producing meaning. Fox suggested that the more a message relies on the visual, the more the audience is emotionally involved and thus the more persuasive the message (1994).

Besides the meaning of vocabularies of images as explained above, messages create meaning not only from the elements used (vocabularies) but also from the composition (grammar). Barthes refers to this composition as syntagm. Linguistic syntagm differs from visual grammar in relation to sequence or distribution. Bignell (1997) noted that linguistic signs are dependent on time; one sign must come before the next. On the other hand, visual signs present at the same moment, distributed more across space than time, although visual signs in film or television
involve both space and time. Kress and van Leeuwen term visual composition to generate meaning as the grammar of visual design. Their work, visual social semiotics, extends Barthes’ work on the production of connotative meaning in images through visual grammar.

The above description is how this study of visual communication deals with the issue on the theoretical front, the following is another major issue confronted: the research front. **On the research front**, this study primarily applies the visual social semiotics of Kress and van Leeuwen for the visual analysis. Based on Halliday’s metafunction of semiotics, they classified meaning into: representational meaning, interactive meaning, and compositional meaning (1996). The first meaning, representational meaning, is meaning which is conveyed by identifying the participants in the image together with the semantics and syntax of the images. The representational meaning is recognised through the narrative structures and conceptual structures of the visual representation. This is the story told by signs used in a picture. The second, interactive meaning is conceived when images create a relation between viewers and the world in the picture. Interaction is suggested from the producer of the images about attitudes the viewers should adopt after seeing the picture. Interactive meaning contained in images is to be understood by creating contact with persons in the picture and analysing the point of view. Close up pictures for instance, could be used to signify a personal approach in delivering a message. The last meaning, compositional meaning, brings together representation and interaction into a distinctive message. For example, the colour red is used in a composition to emphasise something important.

Kress and van Leeuwen’s framework opens up more opportunities to analyse connotative meaning related to culture than does Barthes’ (1972) structural approach. While Barthes’ concept relates meaning from images more as a social contract through ‘code’, Kress and van Leeuwen’s concept encourages the emergence of new meanings produced by society through what they call ‘resources’. The semiotic resources are “at once the products of cultural histories
and the cognitive resources we use to create meaning in the production and interpretation of visual images (Jewitt and Oyama 2001, p. 136). These resources are the departing point to understand meaning built by the discourses suggested in the images.

Another difference between the approaches of Kress and van Leeuwen, and Barthes (Introduction to Elements of Semiology in 1967 and Rhetoric of the Image in 1977), is Barthes argument that meanings from images were pinned down by words when they are presented together. To him, images were too polysemous, indefinite and floating to create independent messages outside of words (1977, p.39). Therefore, the relationship of images to words was either the more usual illustrative type he named anchoring, or the rarer he called relaying. The first is when the words came first and the image elaborated them and the second is when the image came first and the words elaborated it.

In contrast, Kress and van Leeuwen’s visual social semiotics (Reading Images in 1996) takes a significantly different position, where meanings from images and words could be read independently from each other. They might even facilitate opposite discourses even though presented together. However, the discourses between images and words would not be as black or white as synonym or antonym but more likely to have an overlap as both are social meanings and very much depend on culture.

To point out the difference between the resources of words and images, Kress and van Leeuwen give an illustration about how subjectivity and objectivity are realised in words and images. In words, the subjectivity of an idea could be realised by using ‘a mental process verb’ such as ‘believe’ in the first person, whereas objectivity is realised by not using such a verb. In images, subjectivity of an idea

---

1 Visual (n) “a picture, piece of film, or display used to illustrate or accompany something” (Oxford English Dictionary 2001, p.943)
might be realized by the use of perspective and objectivity by the absence of perspective.

In my research, the potency of visual social semiotics which opens up the possibility of reading the images independently is important. It opens up the possibility to see different discourses than those facilitated by words. It also means this study is moving away from the notion that images are determined only by the context of verbal texts and undescrivable aesthetic perspectives to the interpretation of culture underlying visual images.

In visual social semiotics, grammar “is an inventory of elements and rules underlying culture-specific verbal communication (original italic)” and the grammar of visual design is “a grammar of contemporary visual design in ‘Western’ cultures, hence an inventory of the elements and rules underlying a culture-specific form of visual communication” (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 3). This grammar of visual design is mostly true in Western culture and wherever global Western culture is the dominant culture with the assumption “that this communication system has a history, that it has evolved, over the past five centuries or so, alongside writing, as a ‘language of visual design’” (1996, p. 3).

Kress and van Leeuwen acknowledged social and cultural variants in visual communication. However, there is a dominant visual language.

The dominant visual language is now controlled by the global cultural/technological empires of the media, which disseminate the examples set by exemplary designers, and, through the spread of image banks and computer-imaging technology, exert a ‘normalising’ rather than explicitly ‘normative’ influence on visual communication across the world (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p.4).

In summary, images in visual texts can represent experience, enabling the viewer to create a mental picture of a reality. This is the power of persuasion in images. Semiotically, it is how this mental picture of reality (signifieds) contributes to meaning (signifiers) which can be understood from the signs used. These signs,
operating within a code, may create a denotative meaning, while resources of signs create connotative meanings. Ideology is embedded within code but the construction of a new ideology and culture may be explained through the pattern of resources used by the images. Through the syntagm, the denotative meaning naturalises its connotative meaning that carries ideological substance. Visual social semiotics helps illuminate how the structures of images contribute to the representation of a concept (Jewitt & Oyama 2001). The standpoint of visual social semiotics is that society precedes individuals. Therefore, meanings in visual images can be read from a particular nexus between social, political and cultural moments.

To study visual communication and culture in Indonesia, I chose an ongoing campaign about family planning. This campaign has been around for more than a decade, on a national scale, and is part of the cultural changes accompanying the modernisation of the country. As the campaigns are part of the government program, the visual images from these campaigns are very much engaged with the discourses of policy and development.

**Indonesian Family Planning Program**

There have been a few studies in the context of Asia dealing with images in family planning campaigns. A study of the use of images to explain issues of public health in West Papua suggested the use of local visual vocabularies may increase the cognitive process (van Amelsvoort 1964). These findings support Kress and van Leeuwen’s point about the presence of local accents used in local visual messages, even given American hegemony over visual language (1996). A study of images used in an Indian Family Planning Program showed that the assumptions underlying the program were written into its promotional materials and could be read from its visualisation (Chatterjee & Riley 2001). For instance, although the promotional materials of the Indian family planning featured Indian women, “the gendered ideology of modernisation is expressed iconically” (p.815). In China, feature programs on population and family planning were to be broadcast on all radio and television at provincial level by 2000. The Chinese agenda included
literary and artistic creativity as tools to promote family planning (United Nations Economics and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific 2008). There is no significant research on the visual communication aspects of the Indonesian Family Planning Program.

To study how visual images gain meaning in society, the visual data chosen are two-dimensional images from advertisements and posters for the campaigns of family planning. The period of time covered by the study starts in 1986 when social marketing was first adopted into the promotion of family planning for urban periphery families and ends with the end of the campaign in 2003, when the program was devolved to provincial level by a Presidential Decree. The adoption of the concept of social marketing by BKKBN (Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional, Family Planning Coordinating Board) in the mid 1980s, in line with the financial support from USAID for the family planning program, most likely increased the awareness of the staff of BKKBN that the visual images they published were produced with a certain specific objective. Because these visual images were not just for decorative purposes, their appeals resided in the cultural expectations of the prospects targeted.

As the visual communication of images is understood within a society, this study examines the images in the context of the development of state policy in relation to the government public program of family planning. The intention to expand the family planning program nationally was formally written into the First Five Year Plan (Repelita I 1969-1973, shortened from Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun) under the New Order (Newland 2001, Lubis 2003). In 1970, this program was formally institutionalised by establishing the National Family Planning Coordinating Board (BKKBN), a government institution to coordinate the national family planning program (Lubis 2003).

As the first national campaign for family planning was launched after the concept of social marketing was adopted in 1986, it is necessary to consider social marketing
in order to follow the logic of the ongoing campaigns for family planning in Indonesia. According to two of the agencies supporting the family planning program (Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Programs and Fortune Indonesia), the behavioural change program integrated into the Indonesian Family Planning Program was due to the introduction of the social marketing concept. The Indonesian Department of Foreign Affairs claimed success for the program internationally, partly as a result of its focus on behavioural change and not merely on medical contraception (1997).

Social marketing consists of a framework to develop strategy to change behaviour for the benefit of society. Kotler, an important figure in social marketing thinking defined it as “the use of marketing principles and techniques to influence a target audience to voluntarily accept, reject, modify, or abandon a behavior for the benefit of individuals, groups or society as a whole” (2002, p.20). According to Kotler, this approach comprises four steps: analyse the social marketing environment, establish target audience objectives (specific behaviour to be adopted or rejected) and goals (establish level of behaviour change), develop social marketing strategies, and manage social marketing programs.

Furthermore, the real challenge of a social marketing program is its stress on the voluntary basis for changing behaviour. It does not rely on legal, economic, or other coercive forms of influence. In line with Kotler, due to the possible opposition of the Moslem groups the approach of the Indonesian Family Planning Program had to be strictly voluntary, in accordance with Pancasila, and with religious rules (Atmosiswoyo 1978 in Lubis 2003). To change behaviour voluntarily, social marketers use the marketers’ toolbox consisting of product, price, place, and promotion, abbreviated to the 4P’s. Unlike commercial marketing, the benefit of social marketing is to the individual, a group, or society as a whole, not a

---

2 Pancasila is the Indonesian state ideology consisting of five principles: a belief in one supreme being, a just and civilised humanitarianism, a commitment to the unity of Indonesia, wise policies through a process of consultation and consensus, and a commitment to social justice for all the Indonesian people (Morfit 1981).
corporation (Kotler 2002, Donovan 2003). ‘Gain’ in social marketing is not a financial gain but individual or societal gain while the ‘competitor’ is most often the current social norms.

In the case of the family planning program, the overall gain is actually its contribution to a certain national culture. According to Cammack and Heaton (2001), the generalised model of family in Indonesia (with the norm constructed as small happy prosperous families) is part of developing a single national culture. They also noted that media and education are important in strategies for promoting family planning, but social change is complex because it is also coloured by cultural and historical factors.

Media exposure and education are the strongest and most consistent predictors of levels of contraceptive use, and appear to be the surest strategies for promoting family change. But the study also showed that the process of social change is subject to culturally and historically specific local factors whose presence and importance is difficult to predict. (Cammack and Heaton 2001, p.582).

As this study is from the point of view of visual communication, the interpretation of styles which are used in the images is from the perspective of efficiency for the communication. It is more about creating an appeal to increase the acceptance of the message than a subjective taste. To understand the style of the visual images produced, it might be useful to see the living conditions (which shape their taste of style of visual images) of the targeted urban periphery families. The following are three photographs of kampong (urban periphery settlements) in Jakarta. Those areas were the typical living environment of the prime prospects targeted by the campaign of family planning for urban families started in 1986. The environment of these urban areas is similar to that of the residents’ hometowns in the rural areas.
Several pictures to illustrate the living condition of families in the urban periphery (kampung) in Jakarta, where the urban families were targeted in the family planning campaigns after 1986: (a) Canal – Jakarta and (b) Neighborhood (Rukmana 2009), (c) Kampung in North Jakarta (Rukmana 2007).

Although in the rural areas family planning had gained a good success rate, when these rural families moved into the cities, the different social structure in these (outer) urban areas with their limited earning capacity created an increased impetus for families to have more than two children. The following are visual images familiar to these families, found in everyday activities and interactions.

The appeal that is presented in visual images gathers significance in the behaviour that is associated with the behaviour that is promoted. For example, the visual image for the i-pod by Apple is not only about the product but also about the modern life style where one can listen to a good quality sound of music anywhere. The visual images produced for family planning in Indonesia were no exception.
With the living conditions illustrated in Figure 1.1 and the familiar visual culture such as in Figure 1.2, the simple execution of photographic images for the first campaign for family planning of Kondom DuaLima in 1986 might appeal to the variety of tastes of these prime prospects. Kondom DuaLima offered a more modern visual culture, which also reflects a more modern behaviour and a way of life where modern contraception is a means for birth control. Images from the family planning campaigns below (Figures 1.3) demonstrate the contrast to the visual culture in comparison to those displayed in Figures 1.2.

Figure 1.2 Illustration on a tricycle and a truck, shadow puppet illustration, packaging of traditional herbal medicine, and a traditional package of cigarettes.

Figure 1.3 A selection of visual images from different family planning campaigns between 1986 to 2003.
The problem of population control is not new in the Indonesian region and the cultural difficulties attendant on such control is also not new. The problem of overcrowded Java was recognised since the colonial period (Hull 1977, p. 4-5) and the solution of transmigration began in this period (Piet 2003, p. 89). The cultural obstacle was also recognised during the New Order Period (Yudhohusodo 1998, p. 66 and p. 212). While Sukarno was more pro-natalist (Lubis 2003), and therefore, there was no significant promotion during this period, Suharto was anti-natalist (Lubis 2003) and instigated an integrated communication program created to overcome the national problem of population.

As a case study to look at the work of visual images in society, the Indonesian Family Planning Program is ideal. There was shift in approach to visual communication before and after 1986. This change was the result of applying a social marketing framework to the family planning program for urban families. The use of the mass media as a channel of communication was also a new characteristic, resulting in the use of symbols and representations in visual messages, which added a new character to the visual communication in promoting the program. It is because of that my study focuses on visual images published after 1986.

**Research objectives and significance**

The Indonesian Family Planning Program was not simply an economic policy but a program embedded in the discourse of social and cultural modernisation in Indonesia. This research contributes to our understanding of visual communication of public campaigns in the context of Indonesian culture in particular. The method applied, which is a combination of visual social semiotics, Barthian semiotic and visual anthropology is a simpler version of the more complex example of Kress and van Leeuwen’s visual social semiotics. Modifying their theory to produce a simpler
framework offers a more workable and practical approach for visual research into images, especially for those other than from Western culture. This study also extends the general theoretical understanding of state-sponsored campaign strategies more generally. My other motivation to conduct this research is to encourage and call for the use of more sensitive and non-discriminative images through a better understanding of the discourses facilitated by visual images.

**Methodology, analysis, interpretation and limitations**

This thesis is interpretive in nature and primarily visual and text-based. Background data was collected from books and journals on the subject of state policy, social marketing, and visual culture in the Indonesian context, including mass media articles, and other related materials. Fieldwork of six months provided the opportunity to collect data already on public record (verbal and visual), including the collection of around 100 print images of advertisements, leaflets, and posters selected on the basis of publication frequency. This is a sufficient cross section of material for detailed textual analysis, representing nine to ten specific images from each campaign period. Collecting these visual data proved to be challenging. In general, visual data in the form of promotional advertisements are not regarded as research objects and thus not worth storing/documenting in libraries. Documentation of visual data within BKKBN library is also not good. A colleague told me that this might be the result of the monetary crisis when they sold many library materials to boost financial resources. Reports of the projects were also not available in BKKBN library. Further investigation through interviews suggested that they might be available with the project officers, but as the reports are sensitive documents containing budgeting, they were not made available to me. Even during interviews, the topic of budgeting was avoided by the project officers.

Although interviews conducted during the fieldwork were intended to serve only to provide background information in order to facilitate or confirm the textual reading, it was during the interviews that all promotional advertisements were collected. The visual data collected were primarily the personal documentation
from designers, art directors and creative directors that I interviewed. The interview participants were professionals (artists, designers, and managers) who are/were actively involved in the process of creating images for the National Family Planning Program.

I began the process of analysis of the promotional images by classifying them into the ten campaigns/programs they represented during the 17 years from 1986 to 2003. By classifying them into the campaigns, groups of core messages from the campaigns became more visible. These campaigns were then arranged chronologically. The reduction of the visual image documents took place at this stage. By understanding the objective of the campaign, reading the core messages of the campaigns and seeing the visual images in a chronological way, I minimised the unclear patterns that had arisen from vast amount of visual images and thus was able to structure the ongoing campaigns for the family planning program. I drew on my knowledge about advertising and graphic design at this stage to help me sort out the images that best represented the core messages of the campaigns. At this stage, the print images were reduced to about 20 of eight campaigns from around 100 non–time based promotional visual images of ten campaigns. Audio visual media were reduced to about six from about 25 time-based media collected from the fieldwork.

In the next stage of analysis, the framework of visual social semiotics from Kress and van Leeuwen was my research tool in decoding the visual components in the images into verbal/written forms. A structured systemised procedure for handling visual data is very important as it provides accountability about what could be seen from the images and identify what is it that produces these impressions (Collier and Collier 1986, pp.161-173).

While in the beginning of this study the potency of reading images through grammar was an attractive point to test the method, the grammar from visual social semiotics is primarily based on Western culture (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996), and
my data is Indonesian. For this reason I had to draw on the idea of the open
systemised procedure from Collier’s Visual Anthropology (1986). This open
interpretation is basically a transcription of what I see in the images. In a sense, this
is similar to an ethnographic approach. As a Javanese Indonesian brought up in the
New Order regime and working as a civil servant, bringing my personal
experiences into the open interpretation of the visual images was useful. At the
same time, I acknowledge that it might limit my critical accounts to produce a
particular reading.

In the process of reading the images, it is apparent that my Indonesian visual data
is a reflection of contemporary Indonesian state culture, which is more of a hybrid culture drawn from ‘Western’ discourses of development adopted by the
government’s program and more persistent aspects of Javanese culture. Looking at
the images, most viewers could see their similarity to ‘Western’ images, which is
not surprising considering the modern technique of visualisation applied to those
images. However, beneath this visual surface which carries the image of change to
modernity or modern Indonesia (such as the importance of nuclear family),
remains a continuity of Javanese attitude (such as the familial feeling towards those
outside one’s nuclear family).

The pervasiveness of Javanese culture in the images is not only because most of the
campaigns were started in and focused on Java, where the population problem was
most prominent, but also because many of the government officials involved were
Javanese. In this instance and throughout this thesis, I use cultural values to refer to
the morality of a society and cultural attitude as the internal negotiation to respond
to everyday life based on this system of morals. The success of the family planning
messages in the images published relied on the ability of viewers to adopt the
Javanese attitude (ie. obedient, respect seniority and humble) encouraged by the

3 In terms of culture and development, the approach of this study is more to “[t]he hybridity thesis,
which offsets cultural imperialism with the agency of Third World people to resist, adapt, and
appropriate global media into their own contexts of symbolic knowledge. Although the hegemonic
Western cultural influence frames the global context, no one dominant global culture will emerge, but
a plurality of vibrant, responsive, and adaptive locals” (Schech and Haggis 2000, p. 216).
images. The expected attitude to respond to the images in turn strengthened the domination of Javanese values in the state discourse about national family planning. Modern Indonesia in the images of family planning program portrays progress and development with Javanese values underlying them.

The ambiguity of meaning in images is visible when there is a difference between meanings interpreted from the open systematised procedure and those from the structured systematised procedure. While the structured systematised procedure of reading images by visual social semiotics is more mechanical than the open system of interpretation, this difference becomes an enriching dialogic process of interpretation to find the strongest message by comparing these two different representational meanings (one meaning from lexis and the other from syntax) to interactive meaning and compositional meaning before then cross checking with texts surrounding the images, documents on policies and other secondary data. It means that the intended method to primarily use the visual images, as Kress and van Leeuwen’s concept suggests, was replaced by a mixed method which considered social, political and cultural texts. As the images were published by the state for the national family planning program which is part of the development program in the country, development is the anchor to understand all discourses facilitated by the images (see Chapter Two).

This combination of methods - in which visual images were read with culturally aware analysis - indicated two important instances where indicators from a Western framework do not have the same meaning in Indonesian culture. Firstly, eye contact, rather than signalling demand signals an offer. Secondly, the long shot instead of signalling distance (as in Western content), could still signal intimacy when a visual image has many represented participants.

Schwandt noted that the nature of interpretation acknowledges subjectivity in understanding meaning or action but in an objective way (2000). This means the interpretation is supported by method. “Method, correctly employed, is a means
that enables interpreters to claim a purely theoretical attitude as observers” (Outhwaite 1975 in Schwandt 2000, p.193). In addition, the use of visual images in this research not as illustrations but as research method, reveals the potency of different intelligences: the visual images which in Western culture are associated with intuition, art and implicit knowledge, and verbal/written forms which are associated with reason, fact and objective information (Collin and Collin 1986). “The promise of systemic visual research is that it may provide a means of combining these different sources of intelligence in a responsible manner that overcomes our cultural separation of the visual from written records” (Collin and Collin 1986, p.170).

For the visual analysis, visual social semiotics of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) which emphasises the grammar of the visual images makes the representational meaning in their framework focus on the syntax. It lacks structure to interpret meaning from the lexis of visual images. Therefore, for this particular aspect, I turn to Barthes’ work (1972, 1977) and have integrated his system for interpreting meaning by looking into visual vocabulary. This part of interpreting representational meaning where visual vocabularies are drawn is where Collier’s open systemised procedure (1986) plays a role. Appendix 1.1 presents my summary of interpreted meanings from the resources of visual social semiotics based on Kress and van Leeuwen (1996).

In the final stages of analysis and writing, two main themes emerged from analysis of the visual images. These two themes were the final thematic classification from four themes (modernity, nationalism, family and women) which were the result of the visual analysis. However, during the process of writing, it was clear that modernity could be found in all three other themes. Consequently, visual analysis concerning modernity was better considered within the other three chapters about nationalism, family and women. The results of analysis about family and women were also too closely linked to be separated and therefore become one chapter.
This separation of the two themes into two different chapters allowed each of the themes to be separately compared with policies and other secondary data for a richer and more integrated interpretation. It also opened up the opportunity to compare the change and continuity of each theme within the same period of time for the conclusion. In line with the methodological difference between analysing the technique of visualisation and the content of visual messages, Chapter Four is dedicated to examining the technique of visualisation of the images; it is focused on how to understand the manipulation of persuasive messages in the campaigns and how techniques of visualisation could give a feeling of the big picture of messages in images.

**Structure of this thesis**

Including the introduction chapter and the conclusion, this thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter Two opens this thesis with policy in family planning which is primarily written from secondary sources. Primary data is described in Chapter Three and discussed in Chapter Four, Chapter Five and Chapter Six. These six chapters are closed with a chapter of conclusions. The following is the description of each chapter.

*Chapter Two* examines the family planning program in context of the overall cultural policy of Indonesia. Because what is in the images are meanings which are understood as residing in a socially constructed environment of meaning, it is necessary to understand family planning in relation to the general state policy as an instrument to socially construct an environment of meanings. In addition, from the perspective of the family planning program, which was concerned with the acceptance of contraception, significant social change had already occurred pre 1986 (Adioetomo 2005, p. 152). The campaigns post 1986 discussed in this thesis were thus mainly to maintain the level of performance and to maintain the image of the program to continue to achieve acceptance of the program’s goals. Therefore, the interaction of visual images and policy constituted an important factor in the production of meaning.
The discourses from the visual texts of the campaigns for family planning published by BKKBN show how cultural they were in nature, where the appeal to some extent is a blending of the existing culture in line with the culture promoted by the government policy. I argue that the meanings of messages produced by these visual discourses are to be understood within the overall discourses of the state policy about development. However, the persuasiveness of the messages to some extent borrows from the existing culture and the government discourses drawn into the images give authority to the promotion of the family planning program. In turn, the ‘good’ projections about the family planning program in the images reinforce a positive image of the government.

*Chapter Three* is description of the visual images that are used in this chapter. This chapter is my contribution of new data about the family planning program. They are taken from eight ongoing campaigns for family planning under the coordination of BKKBN.

*Chapter Four* looks closely at the visualisation techniques of persuasion in the visual images described in Chapter Three. It shows the graphic system and the visual rhetoric applied to the images. It is an argument about the continuity of form and style of the visual images through the three different periods: later New Order, Transition and early Reformation.

*Chapter Five* is a discussion of the way nationalism is translated in the visual images. As the family planning program is a state program, the employment of nationalism is rich in the visual images. I argue that nationalism created by the images from the Indonesian family planning program resided within four themes: the state motto, the state ideology, the Javanese ethnicity, and the religion of Islam. The chapter is divided into four sections where the first section is about the manifestation of the state motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity) in the images for the family planning program. The translation of the state motto within
the images is more unity than diversity. The second concerns the manifestation of the state ideology Pancasila (five principles) in the images. The images in family planning are more to do with the fifth principle of the state ideology of social justice. The third section is concerned with the values of the dominant ethnicity in Indonesia, the Javanese. The Javanese culture provides familial atmosphere in the images to build a sense of nationalism in supporting the family planning program. The last section is about the values of Islam as the religion of the majority, where the images reveal the continuity of male dominance. Thus unity rather than diversity, social justice, a familial atmosphere, and male dominance were the aspects of nationalism that were applied to promote the national family planning program.

Chapter Six looks at the discourse of the ideal family contained in the promotional advertisements. Interpretation about the culture and morality that is part of being Indonesian citizens is described in this chapter. The cultural forces in place in different periods of time are also identified in this chapter. It argues that although the New Order regime has been replaced by the Reformation, visual images from the early Reformation Period are still marked by the idea of New Order family ideology. This chapter argues that the promotion of family planning in Indonesia relied on a certain family ideology created for the identity of the citizens. The five conceptions about family embedded in the images are first that family in the nuclear sense means a heterosexual relationship. Second, family is patriarchal at the nuclear level as well as the state level (bapakism). Third, family tends to mean gotong royong (mutual assistance). Fourth, prosperity for family means the family has to be an economically productive unit. Last, family has the responsibility for the future of the nation.

As the family ideology and male domination are strong within all three periods, the second half of Chapter Six is focussed on Indonesian women. It is a critical account of the portrayal Indonesian women. The different periods of time are defined and the change and continuity of discourses are identified. The chapter demonstrates
that women continued to be represented in a subordinate role during all three periods from 1986 to 2003. I argue that even though the general discourse about women endorsed in Indonesia has changed, to some extent (for instance, in the composition), the images in the family planning program still retain a sense of male dominance to promote the program. Ideal Indonesian women in their reproductive roles as mothers and wives are portrayed through three characteristics of providing altruistic nurturance for their children and husbands, being supportive and subordinate to men, and complementary to the family partnership.

In the promotional images in the family planning program, I see modernity as the overall argument for change to the two-child family, the Indonesian women as the prime prospect for the two-child family product desired, where nationality is the packaging. This aspect draws in the theories of social marketing. The social marketing concept has been used by BKKBN to promote family planning. Secondary sources with historical perspective reveal the basis of the Republic of Indonesia was the de-territorialisation of the Dutch colony where the state boundary was not determined by culture but by the Dutch colonial boundary. In a different way, Chapter Six may then support previous studies of Indonesia explicating that the Indonesian culture is created through the state policy. In addition, because images can only communicate effectively through the existing structure, then these images - in the promotion of the family planning program using the existing vocabulary of the government - may emphasise the enculturisation of ‘Indonesianism’ that was already created by the government’s discourses.
Chapter Two
General policies and the family planning program

This chapter provides an overall picture of family planning within Indonesia’s general state policies from 1986 to 2003, beginning with a historical background of family planning in Indonesia prior to 1986. The chapter is divided into three sections covering three different eras: the later New Order (1986-1997), the Transition (1998), and the Reformation (1999-2003). I focus on this period in particular, as 1986 marks the time when social marketing was adopted into the promotion of the family planning program and advertising images were becoming prominent in the media. In 2003, there was a presidential decree to devolve the family planning program to provincial level. After the accounts of the general policies related to the family planning program of each era, I close each section with a brief statement about the distinctive characteristics of policy for the era. The conclusion of this chapter summarises the similarities and differences in the characteristics of each era.

In Indonesia, the views on population control held by President Sukarno and his replacement Suharto could not be more different. Historically, overpopulation and uneven distribution as a problem was first recorded in Indonesia before the Nation’s Independence with Hull noting that overpopulation was the result of colonisation (2003). After Independence in 1945, under Sukarno’s presidency, family planning was not an important consideration for the nation. Sarwono (2003) notes that family planning was first initiated by a Non Government Organisation, the Indonesian Family Planning Association (PKBI) formed in 1957, but its activities were not on a national scale. According to Hull, under Sukarno, Indonesia had nationalism as the first priority (2003). Further, as Hull notes, Sukarno was reluctant to accept Western concepts, including family planning. Sukarno declared that to become a great nation a country should have a big population (Lubis 2003). Sukarno could thus be considered a pro-natalist.
In contrast to Sukarno, Suharto (1965-1998) was an anti-natalist. Responding to the poor economic situation left by Sukarno at that time, Suharto declared the rebuilding of Indonesia required balancing growth of the economy with limiting growth of population (Hull 2003, Lubis 2003). Suharto was concerned that the major problem of implementing a family planning program was the offence it might give to the majority Moslem population (Hull & Jones 1994). Therefore, a pilot project (called Serpong Project) was conducted in Jakarta in 1967. At this time the governor of Jakarta was Retired General Ali Sadikin. An important finding from this pilot project was that Sadikin’s strong leadership could overcome cultural and religious resistance to family planning from both community and religious organisations. In large measure, this finding put to rest the government’s concerns about the sensitivities of communities and religious organisations about family planning issues. Consequently the program could then be expanded nationally (Lubis 2003). However, to ensure there would be minimal opposition of the Moslem groups, the approach of the Indonesian Family Planning Program had to be voluntary, in accordance with Pancasila⁴, and with religious rules (Repelita I 1969, p. 64; Atmosiswoyo 1978).

The formal intention to expand the family planning program nationally was written into the state document of Repelita I, 1969-1973 (Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun I, First Five Year Development Plan) under the New Order⁵ (Repelita I 1969, p. 64; Newland 2001; Lubis 2003). It was stated that the target of this first phase was Java and Bali as these two islands constituted 7% of Indonesia’s land mass and yet were populated by 66% of the total population at the time.

---

⁴ Pancasila is the Indonesian state ideology consisting of five principles: a belief in one supreme being, a just and civilized humanitarianism, a commitment to the unity of Indonesia, wise policies through a process of consultation and consensus, and a commitment to social justice for all the Indonesian people (Morfit 1981).

⁵ To differentiate itself from the Sukarno regime, Suharto’s regime coined itself as the New Order while the Sukarno regime is the Old Order.
The government institution which played the most important role in the program of family planning on a national scale in the country was the National Family Planning Coordinating Board (BKKBN). Established in 1970 BKKBN represented the formal institutionalisation of a family planning program. The head of BKKBN reported the progress of the program monthly directly to the President. The agency was a large one, employing more than 40,000 staff and fieldworkers and claimed to have reduced the nation’s fertility rate by 50 percent from 5.6 in late 1960s to 2.9 in 1992 (Department of Foreign Affairs 1997, Hull and Hull 1997). After the formation of BKKBN, family planning became an important component of building Indonesia’s economy under the New Order.

The BKKBN had three stages for the family planning program, which were program expansion, program maintenance, and program institutionalisation. According to Hamijoyo and Chauls these stages represented the transfer of responsibility of the program from the government to the people. Stage one was when the programs were from the government ‘for the people’. Stage two was when the programs were from the government ‘with the people’. Stage three was when the programs were ‘by the people’ (1994).

These three dimensions of the program originate in a Javanese philosophy which was made popular by Ki Hadjar Dewantara from Taman Siswa in the 1930s and adapted by Haryono Suyono, the Chairman of BKKBN and Minister of Population. The original passage is ing ngarso sung tulodo, ing madyo mbangun karso, tut wuri

---

6 In 1922, Ki Hadjar Dewantoro established Taman Siswa in Yogyakarta. It is an independent school with no government support to promote Javanese arts as well as modern education. He is also the inventor of the term ‘guided democracy’, that was used by Sukarno to explain his style of democracy. Ki Hadjar Dewantoro or Suwardi Suryaningrat was the father of Suwarjono Suryaningrat, the military medical doctor specialising in genealogy appointed by Suharto as the first Head of BKKBN. He was then replaced by Haryono Suyono.
handayani meaning being at the front becomes a role model, being in the middle gives motivation, and from the back supports by supervising. This refers to the way the government plays its role in the family planning program in each stage. In stage one, the government becomes a role model; in stage two, the government gives motivation; in stage three, the government supports by supervising.

Further, as Hamijoyo and Chauls noted, stage one was when BKKBN was established nationally and as many contraception users were recruited as possible. Stage two was when the achievements of stage one were maintained by the critical mass already formed. Stage three was when the program was ready to be run by other than the government (1994). They also note that the transition from stage one to stage two is when contraceptive prevalence is about 35% and from stage two to stage three is when contraceptive prevalence is about 55%. The shift from one stage to the other is determined by the size the critical mass has formed. This nationally-based family planning operation shows how central the program was.

Stage one: the government becomes a role model

Stage one started differently for all the provinces in Indonesia. It began first in 1970, the same year as the establishment of BKKBN with the six provinces in Java and Bali within Repelita I. These six provinces were chosen as a starting point for family planning in Repelita I (1969-1974) because of their high density populations. The target of the program at Repelita I was three million participants of family planning to prevent 600,000 to 700,000 births (1969, p. 64). The clinic-based strategy proved to be successful (Lubis 2003). After the formation of BKKBN in 1970 the role of PKBN (Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Nasional, National Association of Family Planning), the first NGO active in family planning was taken over by BKKBN (Sarwono 2003). At this time, other NGOs were supporting the family planning movement according to BKKBN’s national plan but only on a local scale (Widyantoro 2003).

---

7 The percent of currently married women of reproductive age (normally defined as the range 15 to 49 years) who use contraception (US Census Bureau 2005).
Therefore, between 1970 and 1980 the traditional clinic based and fieldworker approach in Indonesian family planning was mainly run by the Indonesian government, although clinic based practice in the six provinces (DKI Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, DI Yogyakarta, East Java, and Bali) was formerly run by PKBN (Lubis 2003, Sarwono 2003, Widyantoro 2003).

Stage two: the government provides motivation

The family planning program in Outer Island I was commenced in Repelita II. This region incorporated ten provinces: Aceh, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, South Sumatra, Lampung, North Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, South Kalimantan, West Kalimantan, and West Nusa Tenggara. The rest of Indonesia was Outer Island II and was incorporated in 1979 within Repelita III. Altogether the program of family planning expanded nationally over 15 years within Repelita I to Repelita III (Hamijoyo and Chauls 1994, p.3). Therefore, the transitions within the program from one stage to the other were different for every place. This transition was not based on time but on the achievement of goals. It means the time of transition differs between one place to another, as the achievement of contraceptive prevalence of about 35% from stage one to stage two occurred at different rates.

However, when the program expanded to the Outer Island II in Repelita II (1974-1978), the clinic based approach proved less effective (Lubis 2003). The key of the new strategy for Repelita II was to hand over the family planning program to village officials and trained fieldworkers. Then in Repelita III (1979-1983) the family planning program was extended to the whole country. “The long term objectives were to reduce the fertility rate, increase life expectancy at birth and reduce the mortality rate” (Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute 1997, p.9). Research showed that distance between houses in the Outer Island II meant disseminating information about the family planning program was a problem for fieldworkers and contraceptive users when the program was more widely applied (Lubis 2003).
Stage three: the government supports by supervising

The first attempt to move the program of family planning from stage two to stage three occurred in Repelita IV commencing in 1984 (Hamijoyo and Chauls 1994), the period BKKBN claimed as the maturation of family planning program as it had achieved national coverage (1995). At the beginning of 1985, BKKBN started to consider the privatisation of the family planning program. This privatisation meant the government was responsible only for supervising the program. Hull noted that the success of the Indonesian Family Planning Program was partly due to state support of the program (2003). However, even without encouragement from the government, the contribution of the private sector to contraceptive use had already reached 12% by 1987 (Hamijoyo & Chauls 1994, p. 9).

The government’s family planning program gained an important place in Indonesia’s overall economic planning in this period. This is shown by the inclusion of family planning in the Repelitas. However, the government’s policy was rarely seen in the context of demographic transition and socio-economic change (Hull and Hull 1997). Responses from the community suggest that the Indonesian Family Planning Program was seen as being heavily politically motivated. For example, Hull has argued that the Priok Affair of 1984, a demonstration in which the military intervened resulting in a number of killings, was partially a reaction by Moslems against family planning. By the end of the New Order in the 1990s, Hull noted that in East Timor the family planning program was viewed as an ethnic cleansing program, although, as Hull pointed out, there was no evidence of genocidal intention from the government (2003).

In general, BKKBN’s approach to the family planning program pre 1984 in its basic policy was more or less the same from Repelita I to III; any modification was in accordance with the specific problem of each Repelita. There were four basic objectives. The first was to restrain population growth to raise the quality of human resources. The second was to decrease the rate of fertility directly through family
planning and indirectly by improving the welfare of the population. The third was to decrease the rate of mortality, particularly that of infant, child and mother, and increase the life expectancy. The last was to improve the population’s quality of life (BKKBN 1995). From the BKKBN point of view, this approach reflects the philosophical base of family planning in Indonesia, which is “Indonesia’s response to the dynamic social changes, the modernisation that affects the people in this archipelago as well as the need to adjust the developing structure of the family and the society” (Suyono 1994 in BKKBN 1995, p. 11). The stress is on family planning as part of the specific goal of achieving prosperous families. From 1986 onwards, as the following section details, the family planning program was not only focused on contraceptives for birth control but also on family welfare.

**Policies for family planning in Indonesia during the New Order (1986-1997)**

The family planning during this period of time was marked by its spread within three Repelitas which were from the fourth to the sixth, and from the height of Suharto’s reign in mid 1980s to the beginning of his downfall in 1997. Within each Repelita, family planning was identified as an aspect of developing the country together with the overall development of economic growth, society, politics, culture, and religion. The strong relationship between family planning and economic growth is demonstrated by the statement about family planning in the Repelitas, the formal document of the government.

*Repelita IV*

By the end of Repelita III, after 15 years of implementation, the family planning program had reached maturity with coverage of all provinces in Indonesia. Repelita IV saw the introduction of a new form in the program which introduced or realised the norm of a small, prosperous, happy family. Closely related to this new form of the program, were efforts to increase participation of women and young people in population affairs and the quality of human resources. Family planning’s contribution to solving these problems of population was twofold. The first was to
increase the prosperity of mother and children. The second was to control population based on the norm of a small, prosperous, happy family. All of these served to strengthen and to institutionalise the concept of NKKBS (Norma Keluarga Kecil Bahagia Sejahtera – Small, Prosperous, Happy Family Norm) (BKKBN 1995, p. 26).

For BKKBN, the underlying idea of this newly invented norm had already been identified by President Suharto when BKKBN was established in 1970, that is, focusing on building people’s welfare as the foundation for the policy and strategy (BKKBN 1995). Arising out of the problems of population stated in the document of Repelita IV, the BKKBN program focused on four main tasks. They were to decrease birth rate, to improve maternal and child welfare, to increase life expectancy, and to decrease the rate of mortality, particularly that of infant and child (BKKBN 1995, p. 25). BKKBN’s tasks before Repelita IV (pre 1984) were not much different than those in the Repelita IV. However, the priority is different. Both still put the first priority on restraining the national population growth, but in Repelita IV the focus was on welfare improvement for mothers and children while before Repelita IV improvement for mothers and children were focused on their mortality.

The Posyandu (Pos Pelayanan Terpadu, Integrated Service Center) was established to increase the prosperity of mother and child. Posyandu was a centre where the health of mother and child are monitored. By the late 1980s Posyandu could be found across the country (Hull & Hull 2005). Women coming to these centres were fertile women and thus may have needed contraception. Contraceptive devices as part of the family planning program were distributed through these Posyandu.

Popular participation was also on the agenda. Besides the community institutions in the villages such as “family planning users groups, PKK, Moslem leaders (ulama), pesantern, village administration, LKMD (Lembaga Kesejahteraan
Masyarakat Desa, Village People’s Welfare Organisation), the youth, Karang Taruna and the elders, the village leaders, traditional housewives” (BKKBN 1995, p. vii), the New Order women’s organisations such as PKK and Dharma Wanita were also used to promote birth control through an organisational approach (Hull 1996, Robinson 1998, Aripurnami 1999). Wieringa argued that the moves to ‘domesticate’ women through PKK and Dharma Wanita were legitimised after the coup of 1965 by the myths of Gerwani (Gerakan Wanita Indonesia, Indonesian Women Movement) women’s violent behaviour (1998). Gerwani was left wing, and reputedly the biggest and most publicly active women’s organisation prior to 1965. This organisation was accused by Suharto’s regime of collaborating with PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia, the Indonesian Communist Party) in a military coup against Sukarno’s government. In addition to creating and sustaining behaviour change for birth control through the organisational approach mentioned above, Birdsall and Griffin suggested educational interventions especially for women to maintain the long-term sustainability of family planning (1988).

The problems posed by distance in spreading the program of family planning and thus controlling fertility in all provinces was solved in Repelita IV (1984-1988) through the implementation of the community circulation model. Unlike the clinic-based strategy that was supported by paramedics and medical doctors, the community circulation model used Community Family Planning Posts consisting of local volunteers distributing contraceptives, as well as instructing and recruiting contraceptive acceptors (Lubis 2003). The clinic-based model was a program provided by the government while the community circulation model was a program motivated by the government.

---

8 Educational interventions are exactly the messages produced from social marketing framework. Messages from social marketing framework actually have objectives of changing behaviour by modifying the knowledge of the targeted audience. The importance of social marketing as a concept underlying promotion of family planning is shown by the seminars and conferences held by BKKBN to introduce the concept to its staff.
Although in Repelita IV family planning had penetrated the whole country, in the early stages of implementation, it was accused of using coercive methods (Lubis 2003). The result of the Serpong Project in the 1970s which provided a model for spreading the program, suggested the need for strong leadership to overcome resistance from community and religious organisations (Lubis 2003). The image of a coercive approach to family planning are mostly because of the campaign nature of the so called ‘safaris’, started in 1983, to find acceptors and enroll them in the program (Hull and Hull 2005). According to Hull and Hull, the Islamic society disagreed with the approach of these ‘safaris’ which their journals denigrated as having a ‘great white hunter’ mentality because these campaigns treated people as animals (2005).

Hull and Hull noted that these problematic ‘safaris’ were later called ‘Safari SENYUM’ (senyum means smiling, but it was also an acronym for Sungguh Enak dan Nyaman Untuk Masyarakat - Really good and safe for the people). The ‘safaris’ used several methods of delivering the message of family planning in line with the specific needs of the rural areas visited; for instance, family planning was incorporated within a competition (Antara 13 January 1987), as a topic in discussion about traditional issues (Pelita 15 January 1987), and introduced into ethnic ceremonies (Suara Pembaruan 8 October 1987). However, they also noted that the target basis of this approach actually weakened the efforts of the family planning service (2005) because statistical reports sent to Jakarta from these safaris were overstated as the result of the practice of ‘ABS’ (Asal Bapak Senang – Keeping the boss happy) (Singarimbun & Effendi in Hull & Hull 2005, p. 37).

Generally the family planning program was seen as coercive in nature (Hull and Hull 1986, Warwick 1986, Robinson 1986). Indonesian traditional attitudes to authority resulting in behaviour being adopted without question (Jackson & Moeliono 1973) may also have contributed to the coercive image of the program. That is, “the Indonesian Government relies far less on direct coercion in its family planning program than on more subtle forms of paternalism and social pressure”
(Hartmann 1995, p. 79). However, more recent research in 1994 and 1995 about the implementation of the family planning program in the highlands of West Papua concluded that the nature of the program was inherently violent. “The problem of inherent violence cannot be recognized if there is unquestioned acceptance of the merits of state family planning policies as they are implemented on the nation’s margins” (Butt 2001, p. 79).

Sensitivity regarding the coercive approach in the family planning program provided an opportunity for the Integrated Service Centres (Posyandu, Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu) that were associated more with the prosperous family initiative, to play a greater role and to gently replace the Community Family Planning Posts (Pos KB, Pos Keluarga Berencana) that were associated directly with family planning (Hull & Hull 2005). The switch from contraceptive device distribution to the Integrated Service Centres signified the return of the Family Planning Program to its former objective where family planning was seen as an integral part of prosperity. The program went back to its former norm of the small, prosperous, happy family (BKKBN 1995).

In Repelita IV, besides intensification of the program in rural areas with the new approach, the concept of social marketing was introduced to reach urban families, particularly peripheral urban families. These people were originally from rural areas and had come to seek their fortune in big cities (living in peripheral areas). Increasing income among the peripheral urban families also increased their feeling that they were able to support many children. Thus a problem of population growth was created. BKKBN found it important to include urban families in family planning programs as it has been predicted that

the process of urbanisation (not only in physical terms but also mental terms) will reach 50-60% of the population. This means, within two to three decades later, Indonesia will be transformed into a modern urban people – about 50% of the population will have urban features while the people in the rural areas will have urban characteristics (BKKBN 1994 in BKKBN 1995, p. 12).
BKKBN recognised the importance of including urban families in their program in 1984. Data shows that urbanisation in Indonesia changed the percentage proportion of population in urban and rural Indonesia, from the 1991 urban: rural ratio of 31:69 (Central Bureau of Statistics 1992) for the total household population at that time to 47:53 in 2002-2003 (Central Bureau of Statistics 2003).

Social structures in urban areas are different to those in rural areas, and the structures in the urban areas did not support the system of community circulation used by the BKKBN thus far to communicate the family planning to people in rural areas. For instance, the women in rural areas could be gathered at the Posyandu and PKK to fill their days with womanly activities while at the same time being given information about family planning. In contrast, the targeted women in urban areas were working; and were more likely not to have time for such social gatherings. The framework of social marketing was thus introduced to promote family planning to these families using mass media.

The switch from relaying private and sensitive messages about contraception and family planning by social gatherings to the use of mass media was a revolutionary one. However, the 1980s census included the measurement of fertility by asking about the use of contraception and this indicates a change of norm where contraception as part of family planning was coming to be seen as no longer taboo (Hull and Hull 2005). In 1986, the first national social marketing campaign from BKKBN, namely the Kondom DuaLima campaign, was launched; it was a campaign to increase the participation of urban males in family planning. The condom was chosen to be popularised in big cities as it is inexpensive, potentially easy to distribute and to use. Although in the campaign the condom was depicted as a contraceptive device in the family sense, the discourse of HIV and AIDS in the mid 80’s noted by Hull and Hull (1995) might also have been a consideration for popularising condoms.
The next year in 1987, there were two campaigns to promote family planning for urban families. The Blue Circle campaign to promote the use of private sector family planning providers and Self-reliant Family Planning campaign to promote self-sufficiency. It was estimated that urban families which had more income than those in rural areas could afford to pay for services in family planning if they realised the benefits of this program to their quality of life. Both campaigns were run privately with the government as the stake holder. The mass media campaign for this program used many visual messages to persuade urban women to join the self-reliance family planning program (Lubis 2003).

Thus, while all Repelitas incorporate population control, those before Repelita IV were more focused on geographical expansion which was extending the family planning program to a national coverage, while Repelita IV was expanding the program by intensifying the promotion by especially reaching the urban families regarded as potentially more able to self-fund their needs in contraceptives as well as maintaining the national program already achieved in Repelita III. This turning of target was aimed to increase contraceptive prevalence to be above 35%. Repelita statements about national family planning were directly translated by BKKBN to become its policy on family planning in Repelita IV (see Appendix 2.1).

*Repelita V*

Repelita V (1989-1994) dealt with two main population problems: the unbalanced population distribution and the need to increase the quality of life of the people. The Repelita as the state development plan was actually in relation to the higher state document of GBHN *(Garis-garis Besar Halauan Negara, State Guidelines for Policy)*. This document related family planning to the big picture of the nation and the state. The policy to overcome the population problem should be in accordance with the general policy for population stated in GBHN1988 which were:
Population policy is directed to the people’s development as human resources to become an effective and qualified power of the nation’s development within the framework to bring into reality the quality of people’s life which should always be increased. In relation with that, the effort to control the growth and distribution of population needs to complement education, health, growth of economy, regional development, and creation of work opportunities.


According to Repelita V, there were three focuses for the programs for family planning. Those were to broaden the reach of the program, to institutionalise family planning, and to integrate family planning with many other development programs (pp. 313-319). Further, there were six activities of the program: information and motivation with education in family planning, services in contraception, institutionalising the norm of small, prosperous, happy family, education and training for staff operating the family planning program, evaluation and development of information network, and managing the program (pp. 324-343).

Within this Repelita, the family planning program was regarded as particularly important to solve the problems of population. In fact, it is stated that the implementation of family planning in accordance with the GBHN needed to be an absolute success because failure would endanger the next generation (Repelita V 1988, p. 312). The urgency and importance of this success was reflected in some of the newspaper articles in the year 1989, which for example published the dramatic number of 300 million as the total population in Indonesia as a title (Angkatan Bersenjata, 17 November 1989), the increase of population in Indonesia of 300 per hour (Pelita, 15 November 1989), the need not to exceed the target (Suara Pembaruan, 31 July 1989), and the importance of zero growth of population (Suara Karya, 10 July 1989). According to Hull and Hull, the strong political commitment from the government during this time because there was a perception that the population problem was the result of lack of commitment of the government from the Old Order (2005, p. 48).

To control population in Repelita V, it would be necessary to decrease the birth rate, as in the last decade mortality had significantly decreased. The population
growth rate targeted in Repelita V was 1.9% per year, a decrease from 2.1% per year in the earlier Repelita. This growth rate was to be the result of declining birth rate and mortality. At the end of Repelita IV the birth rate was 28.7 and the mortality 7.9 per 1000 people. In Repelita V, the birth rate needed to be 25.4 with the mortality of 7.5 per 1000 people to reach the targeted growth rate of about 1.9 per year.

In the early years of Repelita V, there were many debates about family planning in relation to authoritarianism and democracy (Hull & Hull 2005, p. 47). According to Hull and Hull, there are two distinct issues within these debates: the program as part of Suharto’s regime and the program as substance of policy (2005). There were three challenges for family planning: the reproductive health, social policy, and political culture. The reproductive health challenges were adolescent sexuality and heterosexual transmission of HIV and the social policy challenge was the practice of illegal and legal restricted abortion.

In terms of political culture, Hull and Hull note that family planning faced three challenges (2005). The first was the view of the family and ‘traditional Asian values’. The second was the religious concerns with the ‘moral health’ of society as a reflection of political leadership. The last was the weakening of ‘paternal’ authority of the government, as reflected in the proliferation of premarital, extramarital, and commercial sex. In this Repelita, the coercive nature of attempts to encourage women to join the family planning program also received strong criticism. However, the government denied these critiques and even banned the results of research into these problems (Hull & Hull 2005, p. 48).

Hull and Hull argue that within Repelita V the pride of Indonesian people in their country was naturally increased as a response to three important achievements (2005). The first was when Soeharto won the Population Award of the United Nations in 1989. The second was when Indonesia was selected to head the Non-Aligned Movement in 1991. The third was when Indonesia hosted the Summit of the organisation in 1992. Repelita V included the declaration of the Family Planning
Movement. This movement was a strategy to increase community participation in the program and for greater self-reliance resulting in a shift from the government-based family planning program to a community movement (State Ministry of Population 1993 in Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute 1997, BKKBN 1995 p. 26). This pride in being Indonesian might also have played a part in the successful transference of responsibility for family planning from the government to the Indonesian people, especially those in urban areas.

The achievement of expanding and maintaining the family planning program in the Repelita IV meant the BKKBN could move on to the stage of institutionalising family planning during the Repelita V. As the start of the family planning program was different for each area beginning with Java and Bali to the rest of the provinces, the stages of the program were different for each area. At the most, there was a 15 years difference between one place and another (Hamijoyo & Chauls 1994, p. 3). It was during the Repelita V that some areas were ready for the third stage of program institutionalisation, which means the contraceptive prevalence in these areas was already above 55%. While program expansion was aimed to increase knowledge and awareness of family planning and program maintenance was intended to integrate family planning acceptors with local activities so that it would become a normal part of life, program institutionalisation was to increase participation of local community, social organisations, and business community in the management of the family planning program.

The significant difference of the family planning program in Repelita V compared to previous eras is that the management of contraceptives began to be transferred

---

9 According to BKKBN, there were three stages of program for family planning, which were program expansion, program maintenance, and program institutionalisation. Program expansion and program maintenance were employed in Repelita I to Repelita IV.

10 It was done through the expansion of KB Mandiri Campaign (Self-reliance Family Planning) and KKM Campaign (Keluarga Kecil Mandiri) in 1991. In addition, the Blue Circle Campaign was extended to Gold Circle Campaign for premium priced contraceptives in 1992. There was also an expansion of services from the private sector, such as semi-commercial clinics like Yayasan Kusuma Buana for the middle socio-economic strata of women. However the low socio-economic strata women could still access the government’s free services.

11 It was carried out by local women’s organisations such as PKK (Family Welfare Movement)
from the BKKBN to the Indonesian society. This was intended to help guarantee the sustainability of the program without any intervention from the government. According to Haryono Suyono, institutionalisation needed to be followed by culturalisation of family planning. His program for culturalisation was supposed to be started in 2000. This is when it was believed that the norm of a small, prosperous, happy family would be so embedded inside every Indonesian that it would become a normalised need. Similar to the previous Repelitas, the family planning program in Indonesia in Repelita V was an integral part of the state plan for development. Appendix 2.2 illustrates how the family planning program was translated from the Repelita V.

Repelita VI

The political agenda of Repelita VI (1994-1998) was for national economic independence or *tinggal landas* (take off) bringing the nation to the ranks of the Newly Industrialising Countries. While Repelita IV and V each have a separate chapter titled Population and Family Planning, Repelita VI has only a chapter on Population and Prosperous Family in which family planning is part of the Prosperous Family. The accomplishment of self-reliant family planning in the Repelita V was seen as a successful contribution to the take off of the nation. Family planning which had a negative connotation with population control was also vaguely described in another ‘friendly’ term of prosperous family. By linking contraceptives to prosperous family and not population control, family planning would theoretically achieve wider acceptance as it was linked to a wider benefit impacting on the everyday life of Indonesian people.

Although a different term was being used, family planning was still a central focus but it was more in terms of Suyono’s concept of culturalisation. The general policy

---

12 Haryono Suyono was the second Head of BKKBN and in charge of the institution almost the whole time Suharto was President.
13 During this Repelita, Haryono Suyono’s accomplishments in family planning program were acknowledged by his appointment as State Minister of Population as well as the chairman of BKKBN.
of the development of prosperous family in Repelita VI included serious efforts in controlling birth rates for all levels of society through the culturalisation of family planning (Repelita VI, p. 349). Further, family planning was seen as basically part of developing human resources, with the stress on the role of family in elevating the quality of human beings as a component of national development (p. 339). The prosperous family in this sense was identified with a self-reliant sustainable family.

There were four objectives of family planning in Repelita VI in relation to overall national development. These were to encourage a more mature marriage age, to decrease birth rate, to maintain family endurance, and to increase family prosperity (p. 353). To fulfil these objectives, three activities were carried out. The first was communication, information, and education. The objective of this first activity was to change knowledge, attitudes, and societal behaviours in order to realise the norm of small, prosperous, family through the family planning movement. The second was family planning services with the objective to provide a qualified, safe, easy, and affordable family planning program/service. The third was stabilisation of institution and program management.

These four objectives, which are quite different from the earlier goals, marked significant social and economic shifts in Indonesia. Thus the focus was not on reproductive health, which as Hull and Hull noted was a sensitive issue, but on family welfare, which had few opponents (2000). The shift from family planning to family welfare meant BKKBN had to implement larger scale programs in Repelita VI such as small credit schemes, which needed coordination across many institutions. BKKBN became a strong government institution in this Repelita, although its special character generated envy from other government departments and institutions (Lubis 2003, Hull & Hull 2005).

The target of Repelita VI was to reduce growth rate to 1.51% from 1.66% in the previous Repelita and to reduce maternal mortality by 50% in the year 2000. Within
this Repelita, the concept of family planning program was changed from the
demographically target-driven approach to demand-fulfilment. This means the
family planning program was shifted from creating demand for contraceptives and
its related services to fulfilling demand for knowledge about family planning from
the participants of the program.

The participants of the family planning program were restricted to legally-
identified families. In relation to the objective of achieving prosperous family, Law
no. 10, 1992 defined prosperous family as legally married families which were able
to fulfil respectable needs, worship God the Almighty One, have a matching,
harmonious, balanced relationship between members of the family and between
families, society and community. Family planning was now seen not only as a force
to curb birth rate but also as an effort to increase societal harmony by raising the
age of marriage, regulating birth, maintaining endurance of family, and increasing
family prosperity.

BKKBN noted in 1995 that “the development of a small and prosperous family will
be carried out in the midst of a dynamic social transformation; this is the situation
wherein the Indonesian society is changing from an agrarian society to a modern,
urban and an industrial-informative society with all its features” (1995, p. vi). In the
midst of the social transformation, the New Order created three fundamental
institutions for creating modern society in Indonesia: the state, the family, and
organised religion, in which female images are used more than male to signify the
transformation from traditional to modern culture (Benner 1999). According to
Repelita VI, success in planting the norm of small, prosperous, happy family would
increase the opportunity for urban middle class women to go into the work force.
On the one hand, it was important to increase the family income and the status of
woman in society but on the other hand it could create problems for women in
carrying out their double role as mother and in wage earner. Therefore, the
challenge was to increase capacity and maintain family endurance for the growth of religious values and national cultural values.

Although the basic policies from BKKBN for Repelita VI were the same as those for Repelita V, there were four new problems. The first was the high number of young people expected to enter the work force in the next 25 years. The second was that the number of children under the school age was increasing annually. As education was part of the slogan of population policy, which was ‘building a prosperous society’, quality and accessibility of education was increased. The third was that the change of age structure needed a new approach on health care services. The fourth was the rapid social mobilisation resulting in a work force including women, which meant the government was expected to provide employment. This last problem of providing employment including women was in line with the rising participation of women in the workforce as the result of using contraception. It shows again how integrated the family planning was with the Repelita.

Family planning was also in integration with the overall pride as a nation. The speech about reproductive health delivered by the Head of BKKBN and Minister of Population of Indonesia at the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo 1994 was a justification that the program in Indonesia conformed to the international standard. In fact, Haryono Suyono said in an interview with Jakarta Post after attending the conference that “now that the document has been adopted by all participants, it seems that our family planning program is approved by the world. This shows we are on the right track” (Hull & Hull 2005, p. 55). This statement was made just before the big celebration of 50th anniversary of Indonesia’s independence declaration in 1995.

14 In the same year, Haryono was awarded a trophy of Asian Management for his achievement in management skills in family planning (Soekanto 1994).
There were two campaigns in the early years of this Repelita, KISS (Kampanye Ibu Sehat Sejahtera, Prosperous Healthy Mother Campaign) and PROKESRA (Program Kesejahteraan Rakyat, People Prosperity Program) in 1994. KISS was a campaign to reduce maternal mortality by addressing women’s reproductive health. Three sinetrons about women’s reproductive health were also produced at this time (explained in Chapter Three). PROKESRA was a campaign to promote two programs, namely ‘Prosperous Family Savings’ and ‘Prosperous Family Business Loan’. The first program encouraged saving money in the bank and the second program promoted small credit schemes. PROKESRA was to be achieved by motivating community participation through the family approach, integrated in economic and social development.

To sum up, policy and family planning in the period from 1986 to 1997 tended to be centralistic and closely contextualised within the growth of economy of the country. The BKKBN had an important role in the centralistic approach with its direct translation of state development policy into policy of family planning. Modernisation and development were mainly the justification for the family planning program. Although the program was regarded as successful, as has been noted, there was also resistance to the program from its image as coercive and genocidal (eg, East Timor where the contraception was wrongly interpreted (Hull 2003, pp. 73-5) and West Papua where contraception means ethnic discrimination (Butt 2001). See Appendix 2.3 for a glance about policy and family planning within the Repelita VI (1994-1998).

Policies and programs in Indonesia during the Transition (1998)
This era of Transition was very short and marked by the turmoil of political and monetary conditions in Indonesia. Indonesia was at the most serious monetary crisis in 1998 and in this year, Suharto was replaced by the vice president at the time, BJ Habibie. Under Habibie’ s government, Haryono was appointed to a higher position as the Coordinating Minister for People’s Welfare and Poverty Eradication. The former governor of Bali, Ida Bagus Oka, replaced him as the Minister of
Population and Chairman of BKKBN. With the new leader, BKKBN was brought ‘back to basics’ which was to focus on the services of family planning and the guarantee of contraceptive supplies (Hull & Hull 2005). The term for this new strategy was ‘demand fulfilment’ to replace the previous target strategy. There were two campaigns in the Transformation era, still within this Repelita VI: Indonesia Awake! (*Indonesia Bangkit!* and Alert (*Siaga*). *Indonesia Bangkit!* was a campaign about prosperous families related to the issue of overcoming the monetary crisis and *Siaga* was a campaign to overcome women’s mortality related to the process of birthing. *Siaga* campaign was started in 1999 but went on after the Reformation era.

By the end of this Repelita, all the national pride was in tatters. Hull and Hull noted that the process of the achievement of independence of East Timor, from the referendum up to the result of the foundation of an independent country, left Indonesian international credibility in question (2005). They also noted that the independence of one province in Indonesia impacted on Habibie’s decision to decentralise power not to provinces but to 300 districts. The districts could not follow East Timor in fighting for independence. The discourse of decentralising the program of family planning began at this time. However, before a concept was mature presidential elections were held. A new president, Abdurahman Wahid, was installed in 1999.

In sum, the short Transition Period from mid 1998 to mid 1999 faced the urgent problem of the monetary crisis and the family planning program which was related to family welfare was also trying to tackle this issue in its campaigns. The family planning program was also distinguished by the beginning of discourse about decentralisation of the program as the result of the independence of East Timor and the state power decentralisation to the districts. There was no clear plan in this short period except addressing the monetary crisis.
Policies and programs in Indonesia during the Reformation (2000-2003)

Similar to the New Order Period where the general policy of the national development was stated in Repelitas, the Reformation Period\textsuperscript{15} has their general policy in Propenas (Program Pembangunan Nasional, National Development Program) including policy on to Indonesian Family Planning Program. Under the fourth president, Abdurahman Wahid (known as Gus Dur), a new chairman of BKKBN was selected, Mrs Khofifah Indar Parawangsa who was close to the new president’s Islamic affiliated organisation Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). She was also state minister for the Empowerment of Women in Wahid’s cabinet. A woman was selected to counter the international criticism that the Indonesian Family Planning Program was conducted at the expense of women (Lubis 2003, Hull & Hull 2005).

Propenas (2000-2004) was composed with the distinctive agenda of decentralisation. Within the Propenas document, family planning was to have two programs out of fifteen Cultural Development Programs under the Health and Social Prosperity section. The objective of the first program of family planning was to fulfil demand for family planning services and good reproductive health and to control the birth rate. It had a long term objective of increasing the quality of life of the population and bringing into reality the small family of quality. The second program was the institutionalisation and networking of family planning. This program has the objective of increasing self-reliance on family planning and quality of family planning services especially those run privately.

According to the Propenas, the family planning program had five activities. The first was advocacy as well as communication, information, and education about family planning. Second was increasing the quality of contraception services. Third was quality assurance to provide the best services in family planning for the contraception users. Fourth was to increase the prosperity of mother and child. Last was to promote and fulfil the rights and reproductive health of the people. All

\textsuperscript{15} Reformation Era refers to the era in Indonesia after Suharto’s regime when the New Order was replaced in 1998 as a result of the student demonstrations.
those activities were supported by activities such as research and training and development of management information systems (2000).

Hull and Hull noted that with Khofifah Indar Parawangsa as Chairman of BKKBN as well as Minister of Women’s Empowerment, the policies of BKKBN were fully committed to the principles of the ICPD (International Conference on Population and Development) of reproductive health and the need for men to take part in family planning (2005). They pointed out that she even demanded that the less commonly used male methods, vasectomy and condoms, were to be raised to ten percent. Women’s rights were one issue that she introduced to the discourse in family planning. Her strong position had respect from donors and other parties important for financing the National Family Planning Program. Thus, from 1998 until 2000, when Indonesia was badly affected by the monetary crisis, the use of family planning methods was stable (Hull & Hull 2005).

However, as the social pressure on Gus Dur increased, he had to resign and was replaced by the vice president, Megawati Sukarnoputri. The new chairman of BKKBN in this period was Megawati’s former assistant, Yaumil Agus Akhir a psychologist long involved in family planning and sharing Khofifah’s views about women’s issues. In 2002, she handed over the district offices of BKKBN to the district government as part of the preparation for decentralisation (Hull & Hull 2005). Family planning was decentralised by Presidential Decree in December 2003. After the demise of Yaumil Agus Akhir in July 2003, the position of

---

16 Presidential Decree No. 103 Yr. 2001 is about non-departmental government institutions. In this document, it is stated that all non-departmental institutions should hand over their duties and authority gradually to the provincial government by 31 December 2003. Presidential Decree No. 46 Yr 2002 designated BKKBN as a non-departmental government institution and therefore subject to the process of decentralisation. The process was to be coordinated by the Health Minister and this decision was within Presidential Decree No. 3 Yr. 2002 and Presidential Decree No. 30 Yr. 2003. However, Presidential Decree Number 9 Year 2004 designated the duties on the provincial level would still be retained by the government until a further decision was published except duties in Jakarta and all regency level duties should be handed over as of 1 January 2004. All the above presidential decrees were published by Megawati Sukarnoputri. The latest amendment by President SusiloBambangYudhoyono is Presidential Decree No. 11 Yr. 2005. There were several minor amendments but not significant to the fact that decentralisation of the family planning program is
Chairman of BKKBN passed to Sumaryati Aryoso. There is little direction for the realisation of reproductive health and better medical services for contraception after 2003. However, by this time, there was no decrease of the use of contraception by women through the monetary crisis and process of decentralisation. It is the proof that the norm had been well accepted (Hull & Hull 2005).

The Siaga campaign from before the Reformation Period was continued at this time and several television advertisements to encourage men’s participation were produced. However, these advertisements stood alone without other media supporting them as should be the case in a campaign. The Reformation faced the problem of decentralisation with stronger discourse about regional/ethnic identity as the consequences. The commitment to encourage the participation of men in reproduction rights and health was also introduced in this era. For a detail policy and program about family planning in the Propenas see Appendix 2.4.

**Conclusion**

The development of the program from Repelita I to Repelita III managed to spread the family planning program to all provinces in Indonesia. The success in the Repelita III where family planning had reached throughout Indonesia was further developed in the Repelita IV by increasing the participation of families in rural and urban areas. However in the Repelita V, there were a number of criticisms about the coercive approach in the ‘safaris’. This prompted a shift of emphasis from the family planning program to the family planning movement, which signified the reliance of the family planning program on the participation of the community.

Repelita VI was the period where family planning became integrated with family welfare with the inclusion of women being seen as part of a potential work force. Men’s participation in sharing the responsibility for family planning was begun in this Repelita. The Repelita ended with the monetary crisis and consequent changing

---

only at the regency level with the exception of Jakarta and that BKKBN is still on duty at the provincial level.
of the president. In the Reformation Era, the biggest obstacle to the continuity of the family planning program was the monetary crisis faced by Indonesia. This was addressed by decentralising the program and continuing the program from Repelita VI which was to increase the participation of men and integrating family planning as part of reproductive health. The assimilation of the norm had become so deep that the monetary crisis and decentralisation did not decrease the use of contraception.

Finally, this chapter has put into place the overall setting of general policies and programs in Indonesia during the period of time of the images analysed in this thesis. It is divided into three chronological sections of three different eras: the New Order, the Transition, and the Reformation. The general policies and programs during the later New Order Period were centralistic, promoting modernisation through a development program for economic growth. The ongoing program of family planning from 1986 to 1997 was planned in detail via the coordination of BKKBN. In this later New Order Period the BKKBN changed its approach from family planning to family welfare. The Transition era was short and the urgent problem was marked by the monetary crisis and decentralisation. The Reformation era maintained the family planning acceptance despite these problems of monetary crisis and decentralisation.

I provide tables to simplify the chronological development of challenges, strategies, and programs of National Family Planning Program in Indonesia (1984-2004) as Appendix 2.5 and about the eras, period analysed, and features of National Family Planning Program in Indonesia (1986-2003) in Appendix 2.6.
Chapter Three  
Visual images and the family planning program

We have seen how the Indonesian Family Planning Program is placed within the general policy of the state in Chapter Two. The previous chapter also shows how each era demonstrates particular characteristics as part of the shift of power in the state. Focusing more on visual images, this chapter looks closely at the eight campaigns to promote the family planning program, over the same period of time analysed as the previous chapter. These eight campaigns provide the framework, within which the visual images central to this thesis are analysed. Although non time-based media\(^\text{17}\) (such as posters, billboards, advertisements) are the main visual data in the thesis, I also cross check the character of the visual communication in each era with the time based media published (such as television advertisements and films) to promote the family planning program.

The examination of non time based media focuses on the core message of each campaign. Usually one creative strategy is the model of all visual solutions in the media. Applying a consistent design principle, this one model of visual solutions for a campaign is distributed in all media where the campaign is used, whether non time based or time based. This one model also means that in a campaign, there is one basic system of visual communication used in every medium to maintain consistency of the message and reflect the overall visual identity of the campaign. This system of visual communication in a campaign usually achieves consistency of identity by establishing a house colour, a certain basic layout applied to strengthen the identity of the campaign, a primary typeface, and a campaign symbol. All of these graphic elements help establish a similar tone of visual communication in the campaign through repetition across all media. This way all media has a unity as a campaign and carries the expectation that it will be recognised as from one

\(^{17}\) I prefer to use the term of non time based media and time based media than static media and dynamic media because the non time based media has its own dynamic aspect in the arrangement of visual elements, which rely on space, while the time based media has both space and time to arrange the dynamic aspect of visualisation.
campaign. For analysis, it is more effective and efficient to first look at single space information of family planning in *non time-based media* such as in posters, magazine and newspaper advertisements and capture the central images of the campaign message before looking into the more complex *time based media*, where information spreads in sequences in multiple spaces.

As with the previous chapter, this one is divided into three sections: the New Order, the Transition, and the Transformation. Within each section, I analyse the way visual images in each campaign contributed to the promotion of the family planning program and the similarities and differences in the visual communications applied in each era. The titles of the eight campaigns spread over these three eras are *Kondom DuaLima* in 1986, Blue Circle in 1987, Gold Circle in 1992, KISS (Prosperous Healthy Mother) in 1992, *Siaga* (Alert) in 1998, Indonesia Awake! in 1999, Quality Family in 2001, and Anaemia Prevention in 2002. These analyses of print advertisements are enriched by consideration of a sinetron\(^{18}\) trilogy in 1997, a program aimed at decreasing maternal mortality, and television advertisements for a program targeting males in 2001.

Before moving to the images from the first campaign in 1986, it is necessary to consider how visual communication in state campaigns was used for persuasion in Indonesia before 1986. The year 1986 could be regarded as a milestone of visual communication in the national family planning program. It is the year a social marketing framework was adopted by the BKKBN for urban families on a national scale. The calculated use of the mass media as a channel of communication was a new characteristic of the advertising, resulting in the proliferation of symbolic cues in the visual messages. This added a new character to the visual communication in promoting the program. After 1986, social marketing was adopted and mass media was extensively used in the campaigns to promote the family planning program.

---

\(^{18}\) Sinetrons is the Indonesian abbreviation of *sinema elektronik*: literally, electronic cinema. It refers to soap operas on television.
The shifts over time of visual images in the campaigns for family planning in Indonesia are characterised by the need to balance three distinct areas or concerns impacting the creation of visual messages in the specific period of time. First, the campaigning components had to respond to the existing problems in family planning and overpopulation. Secondly the campaign had to consider availability of media. Thirdly there were restrictions on resources which could be used, imposed by the political situation and acceptable cultural values.

**Visual Images and population problems prior to the formation of Indonesia**

In Indonesia, especially in Java, visual images were employed for disseminating messages aimed at population control even before the country of Indonesia was declared its independence on 17 August 1945. Java is one of the five main islands in Indonesia, and is the most populous one, inhabited by the largest ethnic group in the country, the Javanese. The central government located in Jakarta, the northwest coast of Java. The dominant position of the Javanese ethnic group means that ‘Indonesian’ images are often equivalent, if not identical to ‘Javanese’ images.

The first images about family planning in Indonesia that I could find were incorporated into the traditional Javanese audiovisual performances of shadow puppet plays. The particular characters for used were mainly Nyai and Kyai Brajoet (Mrs and Mr Brajoet). The key message of the performances starring Nyai and Kyai Brajoet at the time was for couples to have many children. As Sindhunata also notes, the slogan of *banyak anak, banyak rejeki* (many children, much good fortune) was closely related to these characters and this message was promoted for the first time during the time when the Kahuripan Kingdom (1019-1049) was constantly at war.

---

19 Sindhunata has suggested the possibility that these characters were created as early the reign of the Javanese King Airlangga from the Kingdom of Kahuripan (2003, p. 4).

20 The year 1019 was when Airlangga formally acknowledged as a king and the year 1049 was inscribed on a stone believed to be his grave (Krom 1956, pp. 125-143).
Although lexically the puppets talked about having many children, semantically the stories said much more than that. The message of *banyak anak, banyak rejeki* was encapsulated in a much broader story about life (Sindhunata 2003, p. 25-6). For instance, the saying *pria mewarisi sepikul sedang perempuan cukup segendongan* (the male inherits one shoulder-carrying load [usually with a pole] while for the female, one back-carrying load [usually with a shawl] is enough) is represented in the puppets. Nyai Brajoet has their children in a basket carried with a shawl on her back and Kyai Brajoet has their children in two baskets carried with a pole on his shoulder. According to Sindhunata, this saying was really about the different system of inheritance for male and female, as represented symbolically by the carrying method and number of baskets (p. 5) i.e. male inheritance is twice as much as female inheritance.
There were many versions of the story of this couple, depending on the *dalang* (puppet shadow story teller). However, the basic story was that the couple had difficulties in bringing up the many children they had, but through hard work and love for their children, they succeed in the end. The moral the story suggests is that life is a gift and to love life means to take good care of the children as the next generation (Sindhunata 2003, p. 25-6). It also implied the common belief among the Javanese that *anak membawa rejekinya sendiri* (a child brings his/her own fortune) so parents do not have to worry about their ability to bring up many children. Nyai and Kyai Brajoet as a couple symbolised fertility.

The message from stories of Nyai and Kyai Brajoet both historically and independently was contrary to the message of the Indonesian Family Planning Program with its slogan of *dua anak cukup* (two is enough). This implication is that this is most likely why the characters of Nyai and Kyai Brajoet have almost disappeared from the shadow puppet stories: because they did not accord with the New Order national program of family planning (Sindhunata 2003, p. 3 & p. 26). However, in the *tingkeban*21, as part of this traditional ceremony, the Brajoet characters are still popular in the shadow puppet performance. In Bali, images of fertility are being transformed for political purposes by Bali’s active art community in accordance with Indonesia’s economically motivated demand for smaller families (McGowan 1998).

The form and content of the Brajoet message is a blend of the three aspects: addressing a population problem, using available media and appropriating the message to the political situation and cultural values. The first aspect addresses the problem of population, which at the time was the shortage of people to go to war and thus, the message promoted many children. The second is the media, which was the shadow puppet play at the time. The third is the relevance of the political situation and cultural values, which at that time was the need for the Kahuripan

---

21 *Tingkeban* is a Javanese traditional ceremony to welcome the soul of the baby in the seventh month of pregnancy.
Kingdom to have hard working people providing many children in a time of war. Traditionally, the Javanese enjoy children, since they believe children give an atmosphere of warmth (anget) and this gives calm and peace in the heart (tentrem). Therefore a promotion to have many children was most easily accepted. (Koentjaraningrat 1985, p. 100).  

Messages about family planning in modern Indonesia are also considering the same three aspects but in a different way as they aim to reduce the birth rate.

Dutch colonial officials identified Java as overcrowded as early as 1802 (Hull 1977, p. 4-5) However, the problem was not addressed until a century later when the colonisation policy was implemented involving ‘moving’ farmers from Java and Bali to less populated parts of the archipelago. Later, the Indonesian government, using the term transmigration, continued this policy from about 1950 (Piet 2003, p. 89, Adioetomo 2005, pp. 133-4). Transmigration as a way of addressing uneven population distribution confronted significant cultural problems. Yudhohusodo identified several difficulties within the national program of transmigration, including the sedentary attitude of the Javanese people and negative information about the objective of transmigration (1998, p. 66 and p. 212). Adioetomo further noted that even under the pressures of declining individual incomes and deteriorating living conditions as the result of overcrowded Java, the sedentary attitude of the Javanese was still strong (2005).

For the Javanese the response was typified by the saying mangan ora mangan kumpul (eat or not eat, as long as we are together), described by anthropologist Clifford Geertz as “shared poverty” (Adioetomo 2005, p. 133)

During the time of the first president, Sukarno, from 1945 to 1965, Indonesia as a nation became more pro-natalist (Lubis 2003). Contraception promotion was organised privately and locally in several cities by PKBI (Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia, Indonesian Family Planning Association) (Sarwono 2003), but

---

22 Koentjaraningrat noted that, by late 1970's, due to the effectiveness of the national family planning program, the ideal of many children was no longer a symbol of prestige.

23 Minister of Transmigration from 1993 to 1998.
there was no significant promotion of family planning by the state during this period. Apart from the visual messages packaged within the shadow puppet story mentioned above, no significant visual messages within an integrated communication program were produced to overcome the problem of population until the New Order’s national family planning program, which applied modern social marketing. Consequently, this chapter focuses on the period from the time Suharto came to power onward.

**Visual Images during New Order prior to Social Marketing**

*Karet KB (Family Planning Rubber),*24 1975-1979

From 1970 until 1986, the family planning program in Indonesia had relied on social communication through medical staff in clinics, fieldworkers, and the participation of local people in family planning posts. Visual messages as information were used to support the face-to-face interaction and not as a part of campaign where media exposure was carefully measured.

![Illustrations](image)

Figure 3.2a Illustration about periods and pregnancy for fieldworkers used since 1970s and b Illustration about female reproductive system from a flip chart for medical staff used in 1970s.

While the medical staff in clinics had health education backgrounds and fieldworkers had some training in family planning, the local people involved were formal and informal leaders in their community. They could be religious leaders,

24 Rubber for condom is American in origin and not Australian.
respected ethnic leaders, government officials, or winners of KB Lestari. KB Lestari’s winners projected a positive image of the program to a larger audience by sharing their experiences when attending ceremonies held for them as role models of family planning. Included in the stories were the many expressions of appreciation they received from high ranking government officials on their way to Jakarta where the ceremony was held. These were made real by a photograph each KB Lestari couple winner received showing them with President Soeharto. Thus they came home a star and presented positive images of family planning as stories in daily communication.

Figure 3.3 In rural areas, new family planning contraceptive users were honoured with a ceremony to welcome them in the family planning community, where a lot of programs were invented for women to motivate them to keep using contraceptives.

Figure 3.4 A typical social communication event in rural areas of Java, where family planning was discussed informally during breaks from working in the rice field.

25 Lestari means eternal. KB Lestari is a program to promote the long-term use of contraceptives by couples. The program included recognition of the achievement in using contraceptives for 25 years with a ceremony by President Soeharto where he gave certificates and badges to the couples.
Figure 3.5 Direct conversations about family planning were conducted regularly with the President.

Figure 3.6 President Soeharto presents a special hybrid coconut to an acceptor couple. This hybrid coconut was supposed to increase the couple’s income through its high yield.

Figure 3.7 A ceremony to recognise couples who have participated as contraceptive users for 25 years, popularly known as KB Lestari. Appreciation certificates and badges were typically presented by the President himself to the couples wearing their traditional costumes.

The integration of the family planning program via social communication in everyday life was characteristic of this period of time. However, the element of visual communication was mainly in the form of face-to-face interaction. Mediated visual communication was utilised right from the establishment of BKKBN (in
Through its symbol or ‘logo’ (Figure 3.8). In many publications and campaigns about family planning after 1986, the symbol of this institution is frequently used.

![Figure 3.8 The symbol of BKKBN.](image)

The symbol of BKKBN is naturalistic, consisting of a shield with words and images inside it. All are simplified into outlines. Inside the shield at the top two words, *Keluarga Berencana* (Family Planning) are prominently displayed. Still inside this shield are four silhouettes hand in hand in a row; on the left is a grown man with a *kupiah* on his head and wearing a short sleeved shirt and trousers. Next to the man, to his left is a small girl wearing a short-sleeved dress. Then to the right of this girl is a small boy in a short shirt and short pants. Last in the row at the far right is a woman in Indonesian national costume. Their footwear is not distinguishable.

Surrounding the four silhouettes are two stems crossed at the bottom; on the left is a stem of rice and on the right is a stem of a row of cotton bolls. All images inside the shield and the shield itself are drawn in white outline except the text after the K and B. The lines of this symbol are white on a blue background. On other single colour background the lines are blue, or in black and white publications the lines are black.
The symbol is sending a message about an Indonesian family depicted by the four silhouettes. Technical considerations for application of the symbol in any media may also be a reason for the visual simplification to silhouettes. The four silhouettes in a row holding each other’s hands signifies them as a single unit in a good relationship, thus depicting an ideal Indonesian family with only two children. The family might be God-fearing Moslem suggested by the father’s headwear of kupiah, usually worn by Moslem men to worship. However, as this is a symbol of BKKBN, a state body, thus it is more likely that the kupiah is a symbol of nationalism as this headwear is not only worn by Moslem men to worship but also to events such as 17 August (Indonesia Independence Day). A family with Indonesian values is signified by the wearing of national Indonesian costume26 by the mother. This Indonesian national costume is drawn from traditional Javanese women’s dress. The costume consists of a tight blouse called a kebaya and a kain27, which is a long skirt made from a piece of batik cloth wound tightly to show off the womanly lower body. The hair is usually styled in an elaborate bun called a sanggul; high-heeled slippers complement the dress. The two children are arranged such that boy is older than the girl as he is taller, which might suggest the stereotype of men as protectors of women.

The symbolism of the stems of rice and cotton surrounding this family are taken from the symbol of the fifth principle of the state ideology Pancasila, which is a commitment to social justice for all Indonesian people. The rice is a symbol of food and the cotton is a symbol of clothes. While there is no symbol of shelter28, these two symbols together might be from a term in Indonesia about basic needs heading to welfare, which is sandang-pangan-papan, literally meaning clothing-food-shelter.

---

26 There is national costume for Indonesian women but not for men. This national dress is not worn for comfort for the underwear needed under this dress is very tight and the long tight skirt makes movement and walking difficult, as do high heeled slippers.

27 The literal meaning of kain is cloth.

28 Shelter as the translation of papan also means dweller, home or house and not shelter from war which could be indicated by the use of shield in the symbol. Historically the use of shield as symbol is developed from the use of shield to differ parties in a war.
The words *Keluarga Berencana* with capitals K and B are prominent and easy to read as KB is the popular abbreviation for family planning in Indonesian. Overall, the symbol of BKKBN is a statement of the value of the small, happy, prosperous family with the small family as the most important element placed at the centre and Family Planning together with prosperity surrounding the family for happiness. Sri Moertiningsih from *Lembaga Demografi Fakultas Ekonomi Universitas Indonesia* (Institute of Demography, Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia) describes the gradual change of an ideal family in the iconography of family planning in Indonesia from 1968 when a couple is depicted with four children, to 1975 with three children, and finally to 1978 with two children (Kompas, 24 August 1994). Although the concept reflected in the symbol of BKKBN was established in the 1970’s when the program was still in stage one (expanding the program) and two (maintaining the program), the concept of small, happy, prosperous family was made explicit and popular only in Repelita IV (1984-1989) in the third stage of the program (institutionalising the program).

Figure 3.9 The symbol of BKKBN was embossed on five rupiah coins in 1979.

Figure 3.10 A picture of a family planning clinic in the early days of the program of 1970s.
As early as 1975, a social marketing approach to promote family planning via the selling of condoms was developed (Adhinegara and Kristyanto 1979). The condoms were sold under the brand name of Karet KB (family planning rubber) and the project was a collaboration between BKKBN, YIS (Yayasan Indonesia Sejahtera, Indonesia Welfare Foundation), and PT Industri Jamu Cap Jago Semarang (Jago [Rooster] Brand Herbal Industry Pty Ltd in Semarang). The social marketing approach was applied through the sale of subsidised condoms within the commercial marketing scheme of indigenous herbal medicine in Central Java from 1975 to 1979.

Promotion activities for condoms aimed at increasing awareness of condoms and providing assurance as to the effectiveness of this form of contraceptive related to family planning. It was also to increase awareness of family planning and to establish social legitimacy for the use of condoms. The sales were 10,000 gross/year within the first two years and it reached the population not previously reached by family planning services. At the same time, the promotion introduced social marketing to family planning policy makers in Indonesia.

In a report about the project by Adhinegara and Kristyanto, social marketing was defined as an act of widening the distribution of a product by using a modern commercial marketing system or method without having a profit motive (1979). Their definition of social marketing in the report, was reflected in the promotion of this program which was primarily concerned with widening the distribution of the project of Karet KB. The project was simpler than the later Kondom DuaLima, which applied a more recent contemporary of social marketing, concerned more with modifying behaviour. According to Kotler, “social marketing is the use of marketing principles and techniques to influence a target audience to voluntarily accept, reject, modify, or abandon a behaviour for the benefit of individuals, groups or society as a whole” (2002, Smith 2000).
According to Adhinegara and Kristyanto, this name was a tactic to enable people to avoid using the embarrassing word condom (1979, p. 57). However, in spite of the branding of the condoms for easier transactions, Adhinegara and Kristyanto’s study showed that lack of promotion was the most likely reason that BKKB were not satisfied with the number of sales. Nevertheless, the condoms could reach consumers in villages, which were not reached by family planning fieldworkers. The study also showed that most consumers were from the middle and lower classes because the price was among the lowest from other brands, and consequently, the condoms acquired a reputation for being of poor quality.

29 Figures 3.11a and b are the only documentation available on the point of sale for the Karet KB program condom. They are reproduced in black and white as an appendix in the report of the study conducted by Adhinegara and Kristyanto in 1979. There is no further information about the colour of the point of sale.

30 Promotion was only carried out for five months from end of 1975 to early 1976. Sales of Karet KB were 10,620 packages from January to December 1975, from January to September 1976 were 15,178 packages, and from June to October 1977 was 10,780 packages (Adhinegara and Kristyanto 1979, p. 65).
As a result of their research, Adhinegara and Kristyanto suggested BKKBN and YIS should be directly involved in selling condoms in order to build social understanding about family planning, rather than entrusting the sales entirely to a commercial body. Adhinegara and Kristyanto believed that intensifying promotion of the condoms would increase sales. Promotion was also noted as important to clarify that the condom not only offers protection from diseases but is also a family planning device (p. 59). Besides suggesting the need for improvement in

---

31 Cara sederhana membina keluarga bahagia dengan Karet KB super kuat dan lebih halus disalurkan melalui PT Industri Jamu cap (Jago) Semarang Indonesia. A simple way to raise a happy family with Karet KB super strong and silkier distributed by PT Industri Jamu cap (Jago) Semarang Indonesia.

32 Cara sederhana membina keluarga bahagia Baru Karet KB super kuat dan lebih halus isi 3 biji disalurkan melalui PT Industri Jamu cap Jago Semarang Indonesia. Untuk mengatur kehamilan dengan aman: sama sekali tidak mengganggu kesehatan ibu maupun bapak, mudah: mudah dipakai, tidak perlu pertolongan siapapun juga, murah: harganya lebih murah dari harga satu batang rokok. Baru: super kuat dan lebih halus. Harus dipakai setiap kali berhubungan dengan istr. Satu Karet KB hanya boleh dipakai satu kali saja. A simple way to raise a happy family with Karet KB super strong and silkier. Contents 3 pieces. Distributed by indigenous herbal medicine industry (Rooster) brand Pty Ltd Semarang Indonesia. To regulate pregnancy safely: is not detrimental to either the women’s or the men’s health at all, easy: easy to use, does not need any help from anybody, inexpensive: the price is less than one cigarette. New: super strong and silkier. Should be used every time having intercourse with wife. One Karet KB to be used once only.

33 Adhinegara and Kristyanto described the packet of the condoms as being more colourful than packets of traditional medicines. It had a white background with pictures coloured bright red, lemon yellow, light green, with black letters (p. 48).
management and promotion, the researchers also concluded that the low price and good quality of the product should be maintained as selling points.

The documentation of the coloured print media used for the promotion is no longer available. Only a black and white version is documented in the appendices of Adhinegara and Kristyanto’s report. Indeed, even though this report was prepared in 1979, at the end of the promotion, Adhinegara and Kristyanto could not find a poster or signs for the Karet KB on the sellers’ premises (1979, p. 48). The short period of only five months (late 1975 to early 1976) of the dissemination of information via the media meant that the report focused more on the contextual problems of channels and attitudes of channelling than on the promotional content (Adhinegara and Kristyanto 1979, p. 33). However, the observation by the researchers and comments made by the sellers during the study suggested that lack

---

34 Perencanaan keluarga bukan semata-mata soal untuk para isteri. Para suamipun ikut bertanggung jawab… dan bagi mereka, cara yang aman, mudah dan murah ialah: Karet KB. Karet KB dapat dibeli di setiap penjual Jamu Cap (Jago). Hanya Rp 20 per bungkus berisi 3 Karet KB (ex-import).

Planning of family is not only an issue for women. Men are also responsible… and for them, the safe, easy, and inexpensive way is: Karet KB. Karet KB can be bought from all sellers of Rooster brand jamu. Only 20 rupiahs for a packet of three Karet KB (ex-import).

35 Perencanaan keluarga bukan semata-mata soal untuk para isteri, para suamipun ikut bertanggung jawab… dan bagi mereka, cara yang aman, mudah dan murah ialah: Karet KB. Hanya Rp. 20,– per bungkus berisi 3 Karet KB (ex-import). Dapat dibeli di setiap penjual Jamu Cap Jago.

Planning of family is not only the problem of women. Men are also responsible… and for them, the safe, easy, and inexpensive way is: Karet KB. Only 20 rupiahs for a packet of three Karet KB (ex-import). Karet KB can be bought from all sellers of Rooster brand jamu.
of intensive promotion was the reason the expected increase of sales of the condoms was not fulfilled (1979, p. 53, 56, and 58).

Another important finding from the research was that transactions involving the Karet KB were sensitive. According to Adhinegara and Kristyanto, the name of Karet KB helped to avoid using the embarrassing word ‘condom’ (1979, p. 52). Nevertheless, this was still not sufficient to alleviate customer’s unease about the direct relationship of the product to sex; consequently customers tended to abbreviate the name to only ‘KB’ in a transaction (1979, p. 52). Buyers of Karet KB also asked the sellers to wrap the product properly, or they immediately put it in their pocket (1979, p. 54). The sellers also felt uneasy about selling condoms openly (1979, p. 48 and p. 53). The female shopkeepers even went so far as to hide the condom packets and claimed they had none to customers trying to buy them (1979, p. 55). In the mobile promotion, where the condoms were promoted with other products of the jamu distributor, the sellers also found that condoms did not sell if offered during promotion in public places (1979, p. 49).

Figure 3.14 The logo of the Rooster jamu producer, from Semarang Indonesia.

While the researchers noted the colourful packaging of the Karet KB might have helped sales (p. 44 and p. 51), they also noted that lack of skill in displaying the packets drowned the Karet KB among the jamu products on sale (p. 42 and p. 44). It could be argued that this ‘lack of skill’ might in fact be a reluctance to display the product due to the embarrassment of selling condoms on the part of the sellers. However, a close reading of the verbal texts on the packets (Figures 3.12) and the print promotional media (Figures 3.13), suggests the sensitivities regarding the nature of the sexual associations had already been addressed by presenting the
condom in the context of the family. For instance, in the promotion for Karet KB the customers were addressed as wives and husbands. Moreover, in the information in the packets, there are instructions such as: *harus dipakai setiap kali berhubungan dengan isteri* (must be used when having [sexual] relations with the wife). The product also claimed that the condom is safe because it does not adversely affect the health of women or men. These references to wives, mothers and husbands, fathers (because the words in Indonesian are respectively the same: *ibu* and *bapak*)\(^{36}\) helped associate the condom with sexual relationships within the family. More exposures of messages such as this in the communication and promotion might have helped reduce the sensitivity problems around marketing Karet KB.

![Figures 3.15a, b and c A typical colour scheme of jamu related to masculine sexuality: red, yellow, and black. The packages contain a range of different indigenous herbal medicines for masculinity from *Jamu Iboe* cap 2 Nyonya Surabaya Indonesia (Two women brand, Mother jamu, Surabaya Indonesia)\(^{37}\).]

While the understanding of social marketing at the time was more about widening distribution without profit-seeking, market segmentation and competition as part of the distribution strategy (McKee 1992) was not found to be implemented significantly in the marketing of Karet KB.

---

\(^{36}\) In Indonesian, a married couple is usually being called as *ibu* (mother) and *bapak* (father) not *istri* (wife) and *suami* (husband).

\(^{37}\) For the image of sex related product such as condoms and aphrodisiacs, the name of the *jamu* brand seems not to be a consideration in catching the male market. For instance, the Karet KB was using the distribution of *Jamu Jago* (*jago* means rooster, which is a masculine image) but in Figure 3.15 the name is *Jamu Iboe* (*iboe* is an outdated spelling meaning mother, which is a very feminine image). Maybe distribution was considered a more important aspect. This is understandable as the definition of social marketing stated in the 1979 research emphasised widening distribution without profit as the most important feature.
Like the earlier story of Nyai and Kyai Brajoet, the marketing of Karet KB was also basically a blending between the demands of population problems, availability of media and political-cultural values which contextualise the messages. The problem of birth regulation was addressed via the marketing of low-price, subsidised condoms. The media used were fliers, newspaper and magazine advertisements, point of sale, and posters. While the typeface in all media is the same for consistency, the represented participants in the advertisements (Figures 3.13a and b) differ from those in the fliers (Figure 3.16). The grid system across the media used was also not consistent. The context of family integrated in the visual and verbal texts of the promotion addresses the cultural value of sex as private. This approach appropriately addressed the sensitivity of customers regarding the open marketing of a product related to sex. Despite the use of several media and the culturally appropriate messages, the five-month exposure of the messages proved to be insufficient to bring about wide acceptance of condoms for family planning. This pilot project showed the most effective means were: the display of the condoms in shops and mobile cars selling points distributing the product (Adhinegara & Kristyanto 1979).
As described in the previous chapter, Repelita IV was the period when family planning in Indonesia applied the framework of social marketing to promote the program on a national scale for the first time. In Repelita IV the policy was intended to increase the participation in family planning in rural and urban areas, with the norm of small, happy, prosperous family as the central focus/image.38 There were two campaigns within this Repelita, the *Kondom DuaLima* starting in 1986 and Blue Circle starting in 1987.

**Kondom DuaLima 1986**

The first campaign was *Kondom DuaLima* which began in 1986,39 a pilot project for a national scale campaign. This stage three of the family planning program used the mass media to promote the purchase of partly subsidised and unsubsidised condoms. To test the market, there were three urban areas to start with: Bandung, Surabaya, and Medan. The response must have been good for it was then expanded to ten cities: Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya, Medan, Padang, Palembang, Solo, Yogyakarta, and Ujung Pandang. Next 50 more cities were incorporated and finally the whole of Indonesia.

This campaign promoted the use of partially-subsidised condoms with the brand name of *DuaLima* (Two Five). The brand name was taken from the number 25, which in Indonesian has one meaning but could be pronounced either *duapuluh lima* (twenty five) or *dua lima* (two five). The problem of promoting condoms in Indonesia at the time was the belief that the condom was not a contraceptive

---

38 In advertising, this is the single minded proposition.
39 To my knowledge, there is no specific information regarding the discontinuation of the use of the word *karet* (means rubber as well as condom). In the last report of the Kondom DuaLima project, the suggested names were: Dualima, Aman, Raja, Piranti, Cakra, Jitu, Kabecond, Chandra Wasi, Kelber, and Carra. These names were shortlisted in a meeting on 22 October 2006 to three names: Dualima, Kabecond, and Jitu, which were then pretested in the market place. The advertising agency Fortune, recommended the name DuaLima.
appropriate for the family context. It still had connotations of red light areas and sexual relationships outside marriage. As the family planning program and this promotion for the use of contraception in Indonesia related to the concept of family, this attitude was an obstacle in promoting the use of condoms as contraceptive within the family.

The brand name of the condom was intended in part to overcome the obstacle in promoting condoms in the context of the family in Indonesia just like in *Karet KB*. It was suggested first by Fortune, the advertising company which promoted the program. The two and the five in the name symbolised two children and a five year period between the two children - a safe period between bearing children to ensure the health and welfare of the mother and the child/ren. The five is also a symbolic cue of the five principles of Pancasila, the state ideology.

When two five are shown by the hand and two fingers as sign language, there is also an additional meaning of ‘stop after two children’. This use of the sign language was promoted as a way to avoid embarrassment of the consumers in buying condoms. The DuaLima also means twenty five, the recommended age for marriage as well as 25 years after the Indonesian Independence Year of 1945, the starting year of the National Family Planning Program in 1970.

![Customer buying condoms](image)

**Figure 3.17** A customer is to buy *Kondom DuaLima* using sign language to avoid embarrassment (courtesy from Fortune).

---

40 A multifaceted Indonesian communications team since 1970, more information is available at [http://www.fortuneindo.com/2008/index.html](http://www.fortuneindo.com/2008/index.html)
The mass media was used in the marketing of the *Kondom DuaLima*, a new approach to promoting contraceptive uses in Indonesia in the context of family planning. It was aimed at males, promoting a positive role for men in Indonesian Family Planning. Even though 98% of the available contraceptives in the market were for females (eg. pills, injectibles, IUDs and implants) and were the target of family planning programs in Repelita I to III (Lubis 2003), in the first national campaign in Repelita IV the first person to appear as a role model for family planning was a male.

Besides creating a positive image for Indonesian males, condoms might also have been chosen for their effectiveness in preventing HIV and AIDS. Hull and Hull noted the mid 1980s as the height of discourse about HIV and AIDS in Indonesia (2005). Moreover, a condom is also relatively easier to use than many contraceptives for women, such as IUD, injectibles and pills, popular at the time. Service from a doctor or a midwife is needed to implant IUDs and pills need to be taken regularly to ensure effectiveness. Nevertheless, the more complex contraceptives for females did not change the fact that the programs of national family planning program beginning in the 1970’s were targeted at women and the majority of the ongoing programs are still for women.

![Figures 3.18a and b](image)

![The Indonesian flag and the symbol for Kondom DuaLima.](image)

While the program and contraceptives available at the time were primarily for women, the promotion of condoms for men did not use images of men in its symbol. The symbol of *Kondom DuaLima* (Figure 3.18b) consists of four components:
two hands, a circle, a banner, and five words. The colours used are red and white. These are the national colours used in the Indonesian flag, thus an index of being part of Indonesia. Some part of the sensitivity of the condom was reduced by calling forward patriotism by the use of the colour combination of the Indonesian flag. The two hands in the symbol of *Kondom DuaLima* showing the numbers two and five are iconic, simplified for easy application. The red circle may indicate completeness. The claim in the banner *DuaLima Kondom Keluarga Indonesia* (DuaLima [Two five] Indonesian Family Condom) integrates the concept in the symbol that this condom is particularly for Indonesian families. The following is the poster of the *Kondom DuaLima*.

![Poster of Kondom DuaLima](image)

Figure 3.19 The poster of *Kondom DuaLima* (size 40x60cm).

The poster displayed a photograph of a man, a woman, and a baby. All three are smiling. They are a single family unit. A sentence supposedly uttered by the father reads, “*Keluarga saya bahagia*” (My family is happy), is placed at the very top. The next sentence is “*Saya ber KB dengan Kondom Dua Lima begitu anak pertama lahir*” (I [participated] in family planning with *Kondom DuaLima* immediately after the first child was born) placed in the middle of the space using the same typeface but smaller in font size and in black with the words *Kondom DuaLima* in red and in larger font size than the rest of the second sentence to emphasise the brand of the product. At the bottom right is the word “*Gunakan!*” (Use [it]!). It is black in colour and followed by the symbol of the
product and the brand name of *Kondom DuaLima* in red and the slogan *Kondom Keluarga Indonesia* (Indonesian Family Condom) in black. Putting the condom in the family planning context was an attempt to overcome the stigma attached to condom use in Indonesia. Figure 3.37 shows the poster on a pharmacists’ window, which was where they were most typically found.

![Figure 3.20 A typical place to stick the posters was near the entrance of a pharmacist.](image)

The picture and the sentences are repeated in the hanging poster and the counter sign. However the hand of the father holding the package in the counter sign has a ring to indicate the context of family, which could not be established in this small sign by a picture of the wife and baby close to him.

![Figures 3.21 a and b Hanger and counter sign of Kondom DuaLima.](image)

---

41 It is customary in Indonesia that a wedding band is on the right hand.
The format of a circle with a banner underneath is repeated in the hanging poster. The circle is filled with the same photograph of a family as in the poster. This time the full text of the father’s words is presented inside a banner over the bottom of the picture. “Keluarga saya bahagia” is in the largest font, making it the most important claim and “Saya ber KB dengan Kondom DuaLima begitu anak pertama lahir” again using the same typeface in smaller font size. The substitution of the phrase DuaLima Kondom Keluarga Indonesia (DuaLima Indonesian Family Condom) with “Keluarga saya bahagia and “Saya ber KB dengan Kondom DuaLima begitu anak pertama lahir” indicates the equal weight of the two sentences: Kondom DuaLima is the Indonesian Family Condom for family happiness. All of this is still emphasizing the condom as contraception in a family context. In the counter sign, “Jangan lupa DuaLima” means don’t forget DuaLima and DuaLima Kondom Keluarga Indonesia means DuaLima [is the] Indonesian Family Condom. The package is shown large relative to the space available to promote familiarity with the brand and product.

Figure 3.22 Advertisement for Kondom DuaLima.

The findings from the Karet KB were implemented into the promotion of Kondom DuaLima. The sensitivities regarding ‘condom’ were reduced with the use of the
new name. The name also addressed the embarrassment during the process of buying the product. Visual images strengthened the image of the condom as contraception for the family, further reducing the taboo of condom for family usage. The consistent graphic image with the product brand relating to Indonesia might also have contributed to the success of sending the message.

**Blue Circle 1987**

The second campaign is the Blue Circle started in 1987. It was larger in scale than Kondom DuaLima, as this campaign was not only to promote several types of contraceptives but also the use of private services for family planning counselling and contraception use (Population Report 1991). This campaign was the most important activity leading to the privatisation of the family planning program. The Blue Circle Campaign was executed to contribute to the plan at that time to increase the role of the private sectors from about 12% in 1984 to 80% BY 1990 with the government role falling from 100% to only 20% over the same time period.

Privatisation in this sense means the family planning customers have to pay for the services given, whether contraception or counselling, thus no longer receiving the service free from the government. The program was subsidised by United States Agency for International Development (USAID) which was contributing to the promotion cost of the Blue Circle contraceptives, making the contraceptives price only half of the actual price. Nevertheless, the products were still paid for by the customers, although a free service was still available for those families categorised by BKKBN as the most deprived families.

---

42 It was suggested that the condom could be bought by using a sign language of two and five such as shown in Figure 3.17 so that customers do not have to use the word condom which is embarrassing.

43 In relation to providing free services, BKKBN had five classifications of Indonesian families according to the welfare of a family. The first, called *Keluarga Pra-Sejahtera* (Pre-Welfare Families), was families who are not able to meet their basic needs. The second, called *Keluarga Sejahtera I* (Welfare I Families), are those who are already able to meet their basic needs but not their social needs. The third, *Keluarga Sejahtera II* (Welfare II Families), are families who can meet their basic and social needs but not develop further, such as in saving money and accessing of information. The fourth, named *Keluarga Sejahtera III* (Welfare III Families) are those who can meet the basic and social needs including
Families in the remaining three categories were considered to be able to pay for family planning services and thus in reduced need of the government subsidy for family planning. These more fortunate families were usually in urban areas, and had not been so strongly influenced by the program as those in rural areas (Lubis 2003). Therefore, this segment was a good target for increasing participation in family planning. As these urban families had more income, they appeared to be the most likely prospect to be self-reliant in the acquisition of contraception and family planning services. They were also more likely to be persuaded to join family planning by the benefits of this program to their quality of life. The benefits would arise from having that small, happy, prosperous family. The exchange value was the benefit of prosperity for the people and at the same time the decrease in subsidy for the government.

However, the existing method of promoting family planning did not work for these urban families because of the different social structures in rural and urban areas. The community circulation model was a strategy at the village level where the social communication structure of the village was used to promote family planning. For instance, where PKK (Program Kesejahteraan Keluarga, Family Welfare Program) was available, the PKK activities were integrated to promote family planning. In Bali, the banjar (traditional Balinese community structure) was encouraged to participate in popularising the family planning program (Lubis 2003). This community circulation model was not possible for urban families in which both husband and wife were usually busy with their jobs and spent less of their time on socialisation.

The campaign of Blue Circle was primarily targeted at geographically peripheral urban families. Peripheral suburbs are less expensive and thus more accessible to a further developing but can not yet contribute to others. The last is Keluarga Sejahtera III Plus (Welfare III Plus Families), for those able to meet the basic and social needs including further development and have high social responsibilities and contribute to others. The most deprived families are those classified as Pra-Sejahtera and Sejahtera I and they are families which could still access the cost-free services of family planning from the government.
newly urban lower middle class. These peripheral urban families tend to want many children as an expression of their ability to support more children resulting from the increase of their income. The Blue Circle might become a model for further programs in family planning institutionalised after which the culturalisation started in 2000. This is in line with BKKBN’s prediction that by year 2000 50-60% of the total population would be ‘modern’ urban people and even those in rural areas would have urban characteristics (BKKBN 1994 in BKKBN 1995, p. 12).

Thus in 1987, the Blue Circle Campaign to promote family planning for urban families was started. This campaign applied the framework of social marketing to promote behavioural change in family planning (Hamijoyo & Chauls 1994). The Indonesian Department of Foreign Affairs claimed success for the program internationally, partly as a result of its focus on behavioural change and not merely on medical contraception (Department of Foreign Affair 1997). According to two of the agencies working together in designing campaigns for the family planning program (Johns Hopkins University Centre for Communication Programs and Fortune Indonesia), behavioural change was factored into the Indonesian Family Planning Program because of the adoption of the social marketing framework in the creation of its communication. The importance of the concept of social marketing for BKKBN was indicated by the workshop in its sponsored for applying social marketing to promoting self reliant family planning. The workshop was held for BKKBN Information Education Communication Heads from 27 provinces and was conducted in Denpasar Bali, 21-25 February 1995.
For graphic unity of the campaign, a logo was created (Figure 3.23a). The colour used for the symbol of Blue Circle is the same as the symbol of BKKBN. The initial KB in the BKKBN symbol is also repeated in the symbol for this campaign. The completeness of a small, happy, prosperous family symbolised by a circle in Kondom DuaLima has now become the most significant aspect of the symbol of Blue Circle. The circle as a symbol of completeness was intended to become the most important element in visual communication by being larger in size compared to the other component in the symbol, which are the initials KB and the words KB Mandiri (Self-reliant Family Planning) below the symbol. While this symbol put the initials of KB below the centre, in other media the circle was used as a graphic system to maintain the identity of this self-reliant family planning campaign.

The mass media campaign for this program used many visual messages to persuade urban women to join the self-reliance family planning program (Lubis 2003). Both below and above the line media44, such as posters, folders, stickers,
point of sale, radio, magazine, and television were used. Television publicity as part of the public relations program of the Blue Circle Campaign was the only form or advertising possible on television after advertising was banned from this medium from 1981 to 1991. The exposure of Blue Circle Campaign on television (even though only as a publicity program) showed the support given by the government to this campaign. President Suharto also showed his support for the Blue Circle Campaign. Figure 3.24 is a picture of the President signing a banner promoting Blue Circle which was claimed to be the longest banner in the world. In Figure 3.25 the Head of BKKBN at the time and a popular artist Benjamin Suaeb was promoting Blue Circle.

Figure 3.24 The President Soeharto signed the longest banner in the world in the city of Tasikmalaya, West Java, 11 July 1990.

Figure 3.25 Indonesian artist Benjamin Suaeb, popular especially with those in the lower economic and social level, participating in the campaign.

An example of below the line is poster, direct mail and fliers. Above the line uses mass media such as television, radio, newspaper and magazine. This is suitable to reach a wider audience and usually run for a long period of time.
The Blue Circle Campaign was run privately with the government as the stakeholder. However, several media in the campaign were also sponsored by the private sector. For instance, the sponsor of the posters shown in Figure 3.26a and b below was Nestle (the food company) while the sponsor of the mobile billboards shown in Figure 3.27 was Sampurna (a cigarette company) and in Figure 3.28 was Hero (a supermarket). According to Indonesian advertising ethics, a campaign should not use a model signifying a profession to persuade an audience. However, the Blue Circle Campaign used representations of doctors and midwives to promote the use of private services and contraception in family planning. Thus this national objective for family planning was permitted to depart from the usual ethical codes of advertising.

The medical staff represented were those usually available in the family planning clinics. Such images represented a direct transition from the personal visual communication via the face-to-face interaction in the clinics, to a quasi-mediated interaction via the visual messages in the mass media. Further, their representation in the media constituted an invitation for a further face-to-face interaction in the clinics.

Figures 3.26a and b Posters for Blue Circle Campaigns sponsored by Nestle, in this case promoting their Cerelac and Ceresoy brands of baby food.
Figure 3.27a and b Mobile billboard for Blue Circle Campaign sponsored by Sampurna, a clove cigarette company.

Figure 3.28a and b The logo of Blue Circle was used on the eco bags of Hero, one well known supermarket chain. Below the logo it says *Kecil Sejahtera*, meaning Small [is] Prosperous.

The contraceptives aimed at promoting the behaviour of self-reliant purchase were packaged as commercial products. Figure 3.29 below shows a sticker which illustrates the packaging of the Blue Circle contraceptives; there are IUD, pills, and injectibles. The need to recognise the packaging to induce the act of purchase might be the reason such packagings were illustrated on the stickers to be distributed to the retailers of the product. The text on the sticker, *disini tersedia alat KB Lingkaran Biru*, means ‘Blue Circle FP contraceptives available here’. These stickers were used by pharmacies which sold Blue Circle contraceptives.
Figure 3.29 A sticker showing a variety of Blue Circle contraceptives (IUD, pills and injectibles) in their packages.

Figure 3.30 A folder showing a variety of Blue Circle contraceptives (pills, IUD, injectibles and implants).

Figure 3.30 shows the Blue Circle contraceptives without the packaging on the cover page of a folder; there are pills, IUD, injectibles and implants. The implant shown at the front is termed susuk KB in Indonesian. The word susuk is from traditional magic-craft. In its original meaning, susuk is a small thing (usually in the
form of diamond or gold nail) to be inserted by a specially trained person into particular body parts without drawing blood, to make them attractive. For instance, to make eyes look attractive for men a diamond *susuk* is inserted near the eye, or to make a bottom look good then a diamond *susuk* is inserted there. The person who has the skill of these traditional magic-crafts is called a *dukun*. The text, *buka dan temukan cara paling tepat ber-KB untuk anda*, means ‘open [this pamphlet] and find the right FP method for you’. These folders were used to give a quick and simple description about the many contraceptives associated with the Blue Circle brand.

The use of the symbol of Blue Circle was extensive. It could be found, for instance, on the name plates of doctors and midwives who participated in the Blue Circle campaign. Such participation includes the provision of family planning services, and also the use of Blue Circle contraceptives in their practice (Figure 3.31 and 3.32).
The Blue Circle logo was very popular. It could be found everywhere, from traditional markets as shown above or in the compound of the office of a village chief (Figure 3.34) to the facades of multi-storey buildings in Jakarta (Figure 3.35a and b below). The wide exposure of the Blue Circle logo at this time made this symbol, rather than the BKKBN logo, the image of family planning for the Indonesian people.
The brand name Blue Circle was adopted as the symbol of the campaign as a solution to the problem of achieving high penetration in the popular media at the time, radio. The symbol could be easily pronounced as lingkaran biru (blue circle) on radio. According to Fortune, the agency for this campaign, the idea of a brand name taken from the logo was inspired by the logo of Red Cross and Green Cross. They are simple logos that could be easily pronounced, matched and taken from the symbols themselves.

The Blue Circle Campaign was aggressively promoted within the Repelita IV. People were bombarded with visual messages about Blue Circle. In fact, within the next Repelita, 60% of all married urban women had heard of the Blue Circle (DHS 1991, p. 44). In Repelita V, there was formal acknowledgement from the government that the family planning program was a very important program for the nation’s next generation. However, there were challenges to overcome. These challenges included serious criticism of authoritarianism and lack of respect for democracy in the program, including criticism regarding the coercive approach to women in the ‘safaris’ (Hull, Hull, and Singarimbun 1977). The overall issue for family planning during this period was then its integration in the context of
welfare, in which family planning provides benefits through producing a better quality of life.

Thus in 1990 BKKBN launched the Prosperous Family (Keluarga Sejahtera) Policy to broaden the mandate beyond family planning. The concept of family in the Indonesian Family Planning Program was strengthened by Law No. 10 in 1992 on Population Development and the Development of the Prosperous Family. It outlined the eight basic formal functions of family, which were fulfilling the needs of religion, socio-culture, love and caring, protection, reproduction, socialisation and education, economy and environmental preservation.

Overall the program to involve the community in prosperous family development brought a new aspect to the family planning program: it was to be not just a program but a movement supported by society’s full participation. Within this period of time, there were two television advertisements using animation to promote the concept of Keluarga Sejahtera and two significant campaigns: the Gold Circle Campaign and Kampanye Ibu Sehat Sejahtera (KISS, Prosperous Healthy Mother Campaign).

**Gold Circle 1992**

The ongoing campaign of the Blue Circle in the previous Repelita was pushed further in Repelita V to increase self-reliance in family planning through the Gold Circle Campaign. Although the Gold Circle Campaign was a continuation of the Blue Circle Campaign, this third campaign was mainly aimed at promoting better and higher-priced contraceptives, rather than the family planning services offered by doctors and midwives. Those who bought Gold Circle contraceptives could seek any family planning services they wanted.

The difference between Blue Circle and Gold Circle contraceptives was that Gold Circle offered more choices than Blue Circle. General information for the public in free folders listed seven Blue Circle contraceptives, namely condom, vaginal gels,
pills, injectibles, IUD, implants and vasectomy/tubectomy. The Gold Circle contraceptives offered six choices of pills, three choices of injectibles, two choices of IUD, one choice of implant, two choices of condom and one choice of vaginal tissue.\footnote{Vaginal tissue is a short term female contraceptive in the form of a tissue.}

Although more choices were offered with Gold Circle contraceptives, basically the Blue Circle and Gold Circle graphic devices were the same. The difference was an improved image which was created by the superior packaging and the higher price of Gold Circle products.

Figure 3.36 A condom brochure showing the packages of the DuaLima brand condom as a Blue Circle product and the Atika brand condom as a Gold Circle product.

While the Blue Circle contraceptives were half-subsidised products, the Gold Circle contraceptives were fully paid for by the customers. Thus the popularity of the Gold Circle products would mean a decrease of the subsidy from the government but make the products more expensive for the customers. However, when the Gold Circle products were introduced, the Blue Circle products were still available in the market for those who still needed a lower priced product. There was a television advertisement for Gold Circle contraceptives which emphasised the variety of

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{condom_brochure.png}
\caption{A condom brochure showing the packages of the DuaLima brand condom as a Blue Circle product and the Atika brand condom as a Gold Circle product.}
\end{figure}
choices of contraceptive available with this brand. There was also another television advertisement suggesting an array of Indonesian ethnic and occupational types to awaken a sense of nationalism in supporting family planning by buying the Gold Circle contraceptives. The latter has the same theme as the print advertisement shown below as Figure 3.37. The visual image of a variety of people supporting gold circle is an extrapolation from the state motto of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Unity in Diversity).

![Figure 3.37 An advertisement for Gold Circle Contraceptives](image)

Compared to the Blue Circle Campaign, the Gold Circle Campaign was smaller in scope, with the distribution of the Gold Circle products being limited. There has been no comparative evaluation of the two campaigns but awareness of the Gold Circle target was low constituting 8% with 67% not knowing the purpose (CBS 1995, p. 62).

---

46 The text in the advertisement means: Gold Circle Contraceptives. Gold Circle FP [Family Planning] devices [are] available at many outlets with many choices. Gold Circle FP provides a variety of choices in FP devices, so that you can choose an FP device which is safe and right for your FP. Gold Circle FP devices are also easily obtained at many outlets.
KISS (Kampanye Ibu Sehat Sejahtera, Prosperous Healthy Mother Campaign)

1994

This fourth campaign is related to the UN International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1984, which stressed gender equity as the key pre-requisite of reproductive health programs. In line with this, BKKBN coordinated a Safe Motherhood Initiative Program, which was supported by the Ministry of Health (discussed further in Chapter Four).

Figure 3.38 Symbol of KISS.

KISS was a campaign which was part of BKKBN’s programs and aimed at promoting the health of mothers to increase their welfare within the context of the family. Figure 3.38 shows the symbol of this campaign. It is a simplification of a house with the same colour as the symbol of BKKBN and Blue Circle. Like to the symbol of Blue Circle, this symbol has letters inside a circle. The letters are KISS: the abbreviation of the campaign in Indonesian, but the word ‘kiss’ in (English) apparently did not have a bad association for the campaign. The Indonesian words for the campaign are shown at the bottom of the symbol in black colour: Kampanye Ibu Sehat Sejahtera (Prosperous Healthy Mother Campaign).

In line with the campaign, females were depicted in the context of a mother within a family, with a male who is presumably her husband and their child/ren (Figure 3.39 and Figure 3.40). The context of a family unit is clearer in the text of the television advertisement for the same campaign. In fact, the two versions of television advertisements for this campaign used the same models. The television complement of the advertisement in Figure 3.39 showed a father, who, on hearing his four month old baby boy named Andi crying, picked the baby up from the crib,
took it to his wife and asked her to breastfeed the baby. The action finished with the father explaining the importance of breastfeeding for babies. The television version of Figure 3.40 showed a mother ‘entertaining’ her two girls with drawing and consulting the father for help with how to draw. Besides these two television advertisements, there were two others aimed at mothers to promote good nutrition for the family and the optimum size of family for the future health and education of the children.

Figure 3.39 Advertisement for Prosperous Healthy Mother depicting a woman in the context of family as the wife and mother of a baby.

Figure 3.40 Advertisement for Prosperous Healthy Mother Depicting a woman in the context of family as a wife and mother of two girls.

47 ‘Entertaining’ here is translated from a Javanese word momong which not only means taking care of but also making children/babies happy by keeping them busy with activities. In the Figures 3.17, the activity is drawing.

48 Pemberian ASI secara baik dan benar… bermanfaat bagi masa depan bayi dan keluarga means Proper and correct breast feeding… valuable for the future of the baby and family.
This campaign was then succeeded by the *Gerakan Ibu Sehat Sejahtera* (Prosperous Healthy Mother Movement) by BKKBN at about the same time as *Gerakan Sayang Ibu* (Mother Friendly Movement) by the Ministry for the Role of Women in June 1996, within the period of the next Repelita. During Repelita VI (1994-1999), the growing youth population as well as the increasing number of women in the work force meant both that they could be a valuable contribution as national human resources, but also that the government needed to create more job opportunities.

The overall strategy for promoting family planning with the above challenges was to change the target system to a demand fulfilment system, stressing the goal of the prosperous family for all Indonesian people. The target system referred to the number of contraceptive stock, which suggested the number of contraceptive customers who should accept the family planning program. In contrast, the demand fulfilment system referred to the availability of contraceptives ready to fulfil the demand from family planning participants. (In other words, a supply and demand marketing approach).

Seen this campaign from an international perspective, it could be seen as responding to the international commitment in ICPD 1984 about addressing the issue of women as passive targets in family planning. However, seen from the national agenda, this campaign is significant in being the first campaign after BKKBN expanded its program from family planning to the wider one of family welfare.

**Edutainment sinetrons 1997**

Three edutainment sinetrons went to air in April 1997 just before the start of the monetary crisis which precipitated the downfall of Suharto and the New Order. These sinetrons were intended to increase awareness of reproductive health. After the Cairo Conference in 1994, there was a need to popularise reproductive health as part of the overall concept of family planning. A better image of the family

---

49 *Pembinaan anak Balita yang baik... bermanfaat bagi masa depan anak dan keluarga* means good rearing of children under five years old... useful for the future of the child and family.
planning program and the BKKBN as the highest institution in Indonesia for policy in population was also developed through the production of edutainment sinetrons. In addition, the Safe Motherhood Initiative sponsored by the World Bank signalled the commitment of the Indonesian government to reducing maternal mortality, which was the highest in the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) region at 390 out of 100,000 live births (Saadah 1999, CBS 1995).

Beginning in 1996, BKKBN, TPI (Televisi Pendidikan Indonesia, Indonesian Education Television), JHU (Johns Hopkins University), and USAID (United States Agency for International Development) started production of three sinetrons. These three sinetrons were directed by three prominent Indonesian film directors from three different generations, Teguh Karya, Slamet Rahardjo, and Garin Nugroho\(^5\). The cost of production of these sinetron was quite high, at 250 million rupiahs per sinetron, compared to the average cost of 50-70 million rupiahs. These sinetrons were the last big effort from the BKKBN before the monetary crisis began in May 1997.

\(^5\) Teguh Karya was six times winner of the Citra Trophy for best director in the Indonesian Film Festival in the 1970s. His films also received many awards in the festival for different categories. In two of his winning films, Slamet Rahardjo got the Citra Trophy for best actor in the same festival. He became productive as a director in the 1980s and won a Citra Trophy in 1980. He is an actor brought up by Teater Populer, which was established in 1968 by the two of them. While these two directors share the same theatre background to start their career in film, Garin Nugroho has degrees in film and law. He was a lecturer and actively producing films in 1990s. Garin Nugroho won two international trophies in two International Film Festivals in Singapore and Berlin.
The production of these sinetrons was documented by the media. It was seen as significant that these three famous film directors were involved in the production of sinetrons about reproductive health together. For instance, Teguh Karya “re-explores motherhood in latest TV film” in the Jakarta Post (25 May 1997, p. 13), “Standar TV dari Slamet Rahardjo” (Slamet Rahardjo’s Standard for TV) (Kompas 28 May 1997, p. 21), and the Republika newspaper had an article “Angin Romantisme Garin Nugroho” (Garin Nugroho Wind of Romanticism) (23 February 1997, p 7). The sinetrons also employed very well known actors such as Alex Komang, Ayu Azhary, Maudy Koesnaedi, and Titi Dwijayanti, a fact that was also reported in the news media at the time. “Rinduku pada pesona Sumba Pasola, surat wisata untuk Maudy Koesnaedi” (My ongoing for the charm of Pasola in Sumba, a travel letter for Maudy Koesnaedi) was the Republika newspaper’s article on the actress in Garin Nugroho’s sinetron, which at the same time, promoted Sumba, where it was shot as a tourist destination. In Merdeka newspaper, actress Ayu Azhari in Teguh Karya’s sinetron, was promoting the right age for marriage with Ayu Azhari Ingatkan Jangan Menikah Muda (Message from Ayu Azhari not to get married at a young age) (15 April 1997, p. 7). The very high cost of production of these sinetrons was mentioned as significant in the media attention (Tiras 2 June 1997, Republika 23 February 1997).
Before production began, the three directors participated in a week’s workshop conducted by Johns Hopkins University. This workshop provided briefing about the concept of reproductive health and edutainment (education entertainment). In the later stages of production, they were given the freedom to develop their own creative interpretation of the needed messages about reproductive health.

These sinetrons were launched in April 1997. In Indonesia, 21 April is the national day of Kartini, the first Indonesian woman to fight for equal education of males and females in Indonesia. The fact that the three sinetrons shown twice a day on TPI, once within working hours and again at night, suggests a special focus on housewife viewers. What follows describes the core messages of reproductive health for women in the sinetrons and how the messages were incorporated in the narratives.

*Perkawinan Siti Zubaedah* (Siti Zubaedah’s Wedding) by Teguh Karya was the first sinetron. Teguh Karya was a very well known senior film director, and one of the founders of, Teater Populer. In this sinetron he had to deliver a message about the high risk for women of having babies at an advanced age\(^{51}\). This message was encapsulated in a tragic story about the married life of a Betawi woman named Siti Zubaedah.\(^{52}\) Bedah (the nickname of Siti Zubaedah) was sought after by a childhood sweetheart Duduh who was also her neighbour. A turning point that led to her marriage was a night when she lost her virginity to a new pursuer, Kojat. They married but she did not have a good marriage because her husband did not treat her well. She was not happy and had to earn her own living by selling fried bananas. As she was about to give birth, she found her husband was having relationships with other women. The sinetron ended with the life-threatening birth of a son and her husband returning to her.

---

51 There is a term in Indonesian reproductive health advertised in television as patarlu (abbreviated from *empat terlalu*, the four tooos: too young [in giving birth], too old [in giving birth], too many [children], too near [spacing between the children].

52 Betawi are the indigenous people of Jakarta.
While the original message of this sinetron was about the danger of having children at a late age, the story showed that it is still possible to have children at such an age with the modern medical support of doctor and hospital. As the aim was not only education but also entertainment, the main female character was played by Ayu Azhari, a well-known actress. Her older age was not emphasised in the film. In the film, she was beautiful; her body was exposed in scanty underwear, and did not look old at all. The dialog in the sinetron also did not give her age when married. In fact, the sinetron may have suggested a more moral message that a marriage starting with a loss of virginity is likely to mean a difficult marriage as the husband will not respect the wife. In this sinetron, Kojat stated that his giving Bedah the status of a wife was something she should be grateful for. The ending suggested that the child is greatly valued and may become the salvation of their marriage.

Figure 3.42 The advertisement for the sinetron *Perkawinan Siti Zubeadah* in Suara Pembaruan (26 May 1997, p. 19).

Thus, this sinetron did not greatly contribute to information on the reproductive health aspect of family planning. However, the fact that Teguh Karya, a very prominent and selective film maker, was involved in a sinetron produced by BKKBN may have improved the image of BKKBN and its programs. The advertisement for the film presents Teguh Karya as *Sang Empu turun gunung*. 
meaning the great teacher comes down from the mountain. This is a metaphor from popular stories of martial arts when the mahaguru of a school has to do a job himself because the business is too important to be done by his students. The fact that USAID sponsored the program may also have lent some new credibility to the sinetrons. However, it was also well known that one of the producers, TPI (Televisi Pendidikan Indonesia, Indonesian Educative Television), was owned by Tutut, the eldest daughter of President Soeharto and therefore the production may have been perceived as related to one of the government’s strategic programs even if it was classified as a public relations program for BKKBN.

Oh Ibu dan Ayah Selamat Pagi (Oh Mother and Father good Morning) by Slamet Rahardjo was the second sinetron. Rahardjo was the co-founder of Teater Populer and was also a well known Indonesian film star in the 1980’s. The reproductive health message in this sinetron is centred on the trauma for a family upon seeing a difficult birth followed by losing a mother and an aunt in childbirth and the importance of this in adulthood. The sinetron opens with the death in childbirth of the mother of the main character. The action takes place in a poor area of the lowest economic strata of mining labourers, where medical assistance is unaffordable and the screams of the woman in labour could be read as the protest and resistance of women against the unforgiving act of procreation.

The title of the sinetron was taken from a children’s kindergarten song. This song suggests the profession of the main character in the sinetron and symbolically the innocence of the song contradicts, but at the same time strengthens, the far from innocent experience in her childhood. The sinetron covers the trauma experienced from sexual activity, being pregnant, and giving birth which is set out in a love story of a young woman named Kurnia (or Nia) who is a kindergarten teacher who falls in love with a university graduate, a forest ranger named Samsu. After the death of her mother in childbirth, she was brought up by the old established Kusumah couple where Nia’s aunt was working as a servant. Nia’s traumatic
childhood experience of childbearing and childbirth makes her reluctant to accept the marriage offer from Samsu.

Her trauma is resolved through another childbirth experience, this time the successful delivery of an acquaintance of hers. The family planning message was inserted through a suggestion to the couple by the father of this newborn baby. He suggests they should quickly marry and have two children.

The trauma of giving birth was resolved for Nia by having Samsu seeking information about sex issues from a doctor who happens to be female. His question is interpreted by the doctor as facing a situation where his partner was pregnant. The open discussion of sexual issues between Samsu and the doctor is appropriately located in the Sundanese context, a society well known for their openness in discussing sexual issues. It was made interesting with the addition of the character of a TKW (Tenaga Kerja Wanita, Female Worker – usually working overseas) named Kokom who explicitly approaches Samsu, suggested in the sinetron as influenced by her working experience in Saudi Arabia. The two main characters are not played by famous actors, but Kokom was played by a famous singer, Titi Dwijayanti.

Unlike the previous sinetron in which age is the issue, this sinetron addresses the psychological aspect of giving birth as part of reproductive health. While viewers seeing Teguh Karya’s sinetron were given the message to avoid giving birth at a later age, viewers of this sinetron are advised to seek help by having more information.
The use of popular public figures to increase awareness of the sinetron and thus BKKBN was reflected in this advertisement. Presumably, the use of well known actors and actresses in the sinetrons might provide a better image than the coercive and authoritarian one BKKBN had been accused of. While the main character of the sinetron, Kurnia, is played by an unknown actress, the advertisement displays Kokom, payed by Titi Dwijayanti, more prominently than Kurnia who, although placed in the centre, is very small and almost in the background. Kokom also appears twice in the space; she is once again displayed with the main male character on the far right.

*Angin Rumput Savanah* (The Savannah Grassland Wind) by Garin Nugroho was the third sinetron. Its message concerned the risk to mothers of giving birth without appropriate medical support. As medical support is rare in Eastern Indonesia, this message was contextualised within the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) in the Sumbawa ethnic region. In NTT, villages are separated by vast areas of savannah and thus access is difficult for doctors and midwives.
The story was of a young, newly graduated female doctor named Wulang, returning to Sumbawa after finishing her study in Java. She was a local princess brought up by her uncle and aunt. Wulang’s mother died giving birth to her. When Wulang came home she was kidnapped and married off as a second wife to Awang, her childhood friend. Awang had been ordered to do so by the traditional ruler of Sumbawa. Awang and his first wife Intan were Wulang’s childhood friends. The story ends with Wulang wanting to go back to Java, but deciding to stay after Intan loses her life giving birth without proper medical attention, and leaves her baby to Wulang.

This sinetron combines two problems: one relating to isolation and the other to the trend of NTT’s young higher education graduates not wanting to return to work in their birth place, but seeking work in Java. The story of this sinetron was adapted from a true story of a newly graduated female doctor abducted by a local man to be married. The entertainment part of the sinetron incorporated a colossal scene of the traditional Sumbawa ceremony involving dragging a big stone, which is a sacred celebration of the agricultural calendar but not well known to many Indonesians: just like the problem of the storage of medical staff for reproductive health, which can have fatal consequences, but which was also not well understood.

This sinetron won a Television Award in the tenth Singapore Film Festival, 4-19 April 1997, which may well have contributed to a more positive image of BKKBN and its programs both nationally and internationally. The morality of going home to work after high education in Java for the young Sumbanese also supported the population program in Repelita VI. To some extent, an understanding of the high risk of giving birth without the proper attention of a doctor or a midwife was also addressed in this sinetron.
In summary, the visual images from the campaigns of 1986-1997 utilising social marketing in the New Order era have a distinctive character. The visual images take references from the centralistic discourse powerful during the era: the state ideology, state motto, the state flag, the state coat of arms, and the strict moral value of sex as related only to married couples. For instance, the symbol of BKKBN utilises rice and cotton, a visual reference taken from the state coat of arms meaning prosperity. The Kondom DuaLima logo used the red and white colour of the Indonesian flag and packaged their product in a family context. The visual images of Blue Circle depict married couples in their promotion of contraception and its related services. The Gold Circle advertisement depicts a variety of people as the translation of the state motto. The KISS logo still applies the five angle symbol to pay respect to the state ideology of Pancasila (Five Principles). The visual images from this campaign also focus on married couples, including the sintetrons, which only endorse sex within marriage.

The program centrally focused on family planning in particular ended with the Blue Circle Campaign. After this, as we have seen the BKKBN promoted a broader policy for Keluarga Sejahtera (prosperous family). The KISS (Kampanye Ibu Sehat Sejahtera, Prosperous Healthy Mother Campaign) campaign of 1994, was about women’s maternal health in relation to prosperity. The Siaga Campaign in 1998 was about women in the context of reproductive health and reproductive rights. BKKBN’s involvement in the broader policy of prosperity in the family is reflected in the Prokesra Campaign discussed below. Ironically, while international commitment as regards population had an agenda for population control (by rich countries, usually donors) and poverty alleviation (by poor countries, usually recipients of donors) in 1974, then women as passive target issues in 1984, and then population control in context of reproductive health and rights in 1994 (Lubis 2003), the monetary crisis in Indonesia pushed the program back to the struggle for poverty alleviation. However, the general direction of international policy on population control by poverty alleviation has been argued to be more important than controlling reproduction because “rapid population growth is only a symptom and not the cause of problematic economic and social development” (Hartmann 1983, 1995). In addition to poverty alleviation, Hartmann also suggested that policy needed to address the problem of inequalities (1995).

Indonesia Bangkit! (Awake Indonesia!) 1998

This fifth campaign, of Indonesia Awake! 1998, was a response to the monetary crisis. This campaign was under the auspices of the Coordinating Minister for People’s Prosperity and Poverty Alleviation who was also the Chairman of BKKBN, Haryono Suyono. It aimed to empower the Indonesian people by promoting Indonesian production and products. The campaign was intended to increase the production capacity of the prosperous family and small scale businesses, whilst also instilling a sense of pride in Indonesian products. The campaigns under this umbrella were Prokesra (Produksi Keluarga Sejahtera, Prosperous Family Products), Prodina (Produksi Indonesia, Indonesian Products),
Peringatan 100 Tahun Bung Tomo (Brother Tomo 100 Year Anniversary), and Aku Anak Sekolah (I am a School Child). To boost family planning, there were three facilities of Prokesra which were used to increase the welfare of contraceptive users who had small businesses: Aksi (asuransi keluarga sejahtera, prosperous family insurance), Kukesra (kredit usaha keluarga sejahtera, prosperous family business credit), and Takesra (tabungan keluarga sejahtera, prosperous family saving). Family planning was thus integrated into the broader policy of increasing social welfare.

Figure 3.45 The symbol of the BKKBN’s program for Keluarga Sejahtera. Underneath are the symbol of Indonesia Bangkit! and symbols of the campaigns mounted under the program.

Figures 3.46a, b, c, d and e Advertisements and posters from Indonesia Awake!
The change of the represented participants from an urban setting (1986-1996) to rural one (1997-1998) especially in the Prokesra Campaign was accompanied by a change in activities. In 1986-1996, the represented participants were not presented in income generating activities, shown in Figures 3.46b, c, d, and e. Whereas in the Blue Circle Campaign parents are shown interacting with their children, in Prokesra the focus was on couples as workers rather than parents or family members.

This change of target from urban to rural areas was a direct consequence of the economic problems of the monetary crisis, which from the government point of views had a worse impact in rural areas than in urban ones. In fact, there was only a minor decrease from 18.1 percent to 17.5 percent in married couples who participated in family planning (using contraceptives) in 1998. From this 17.5 percent of 10 to 49 year old married women (in the third round), only 1.5 percent did not participate in family planning because of lack of funding or availability of contraceptives (Central Bureau of Statistics 2000a, p. 15). However, there were more women in the rural areas (1.8 percent) than those in urban areas (0.5 percent), who stopped using contraceptives because of lack of funds or unavailability of contraceptives (Central Bureau of Statistics 2000a, p. 16). A final evaluation report for USAID Jakarta on the private sector family planning project in Indonesia showed that contraceptive prevalence of family planning in the urban area promoted by the Blue Circle Campaign was stable (Johnson and MacManus 1996). Another report on contraceptive provision and foreign assistance during the economic crisis showed that the affordability of contraception was the primary problem during the crisis and this problem was overcome through foreign assistance (Santoso 2001).

Even though economically the rural areas suffered most during the economic crisis, data from Survey Seratus Desa in 1997-1998 showed a promising increase of 4.1 percent in the uptake of family planning in rural areas (Central Bureau of Statistics 2000b, p. 51). The use of contraceptives increased because families did not want the
addition of children to further burden their already difficult financial situation. The report also noted that although there was a general decrease of prosperity following the increase of redundancy from industries, there was an increase in the number of families involved in income-generating activities promoted through the Prokesra Campaign in 1998.

**Siaga (Alert) 1998**

*Siaga* was the sixth campaign continuing the program related to the maternal health program and *Gerakan Sayang Ibu* (Mother Friendly Movement) and was begun in June 1996 by the Ministry of the Role of Women: the same year as *Gerakan Ibu Sehat Sejahtera* (Prosperous Healthy Mother Movement) was begun by BKKBN. The name of the campaign, *Siaga*, not only means alert but is also an abbreviation of the words *siap-antar-jaga*, meaning, ready-bring-watch over. This referred to the responsibilities of family and community towards pregnant women.

This campaign was a commitment to decrease maternal mortality. It was divided into three parts and went through three eras: late New Order Era, Transition Era, and Reformation Era. The three parts were *Suami Siaga* (Alert Husbands) 1998 to 2000, *Warga Siaga* (Alert Citizens) started in November 2001, and *Bidan Siaga* (Alert Midwives) started in February 2002. According to the Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Programs which was responsible for the campaign together with the Ministry of Women’s Empowerment, the three parts focused on different audiences but carried basically the same message. The *Suami Siaga* campaign focused on promoting the husband’s involvement in the pregnancy, preparation for the delivery, and any potential emergency. The *Warga Siaga* Campaign encouraged the individual citizen to be alert and prepared for a delivery by doing their part in arranging for transport, funds, blood donations, and recognition of danger signs. The *Bidan Siaga* was a follow-up of the *Suami* and *Warga Siaga* Campaigns and specifically addressed midwives who play a crucial role in facilitating a safe pregnancy, delivery and in the postpartum period (Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Program, 2002).
These stages were reflected in the three logos shown below. They have the same basic design but different figures. All three have the same basic shape of a red heart and a banner below the heart, containing the text *siap-antar-jaga*.

![Logos of Siaga Campaign](image)

*Figures 3.47a, b and c The symbols of *Siaga* for the three stages of the campaign
Suami *Siaga* started in 1998 (a),
Warga *Siaga* started in 2001 (b), and Bidan *Siaga* started in 2002 (c).*

The above symbols have red and yellow as the dominant colour scheme with black as a complement. The visual style is flat and iconic. The basic forms used are the symbols of heart and banner with the words used to form the abbreviation of *Siaga* - *siap-antar-jaga* - inside the banners. The strong colours of this campaign are obviously very different from the previous ones, and indicate that the target audience of the *Siaga* Campaign was the middle to lower class social strata\(^5^3\). The television advertisement for *Suami Siaga* gave viewers a video clip of *Iis Dahlia*, dangdut singer popular at the time. Dangdut is a music genre popular among the middle and lower class Indonesians. Figure 3.48 is a poster for *Warga Siaga* depicting a variety of people from a lower class community. The colour theme of *Siaga* Campaign is the colour theme of the typical traditional *jamu* in Indonesia and thus familiar to middle-lower Indonesians (Figures 3.49).

\(^5^3\) This interpretation evolves from the tacit knowledge of Indonesian graphic designers. The distinctive red and yellow of *Siaga* are those commonly used for the ornamental decorations of *becak*, a tricycle used as public transportation popular mostly among lower class Indonesians. I could also find these colours used for truck decorations. These kind of red and yellow paints are available in small tins at a relatively low price compared to for instance, the colours available from *Pantone* or *Cemani Toka* (International Standard Colour Chart for Printing). The inexpensive colour and its wide availability might also be the reason they were chosen by New Order political parties *Golkar* (yellow) and *PDI* (red and black).
In summary, the transition period was characterized by instability in the country. The *Awake Indonesia!* Campaign was a campaign to encourage Indonesian people to fight the monetary crisis. The change of the economic class of participants depicted in the visual images for the campaign is the most noticeable difference in this era. Before the Transition Era, participants depicted were from the middle upper classes, while in the Transition Era the represented participants were from the lower class. In *Indonesia Awake!* their activities were also shown in relation to working, a ‘self-help’ ethic expected to overcome the loss of income as the result of the monetary crisis. In Siaga, the colours and music genres used for the campaign were intended to evoke response from this class to help each other.
National Family Planning Policies and Visual Images

Elected in 1999, President Abdurrahman Wahid was replaced in mid 2001 by President Megawati Sukarnoputri, who restructured all non-department government institutions, including decentralising BKKBN and the family planning program to the provincial level in 2003. The Ministry of Women’s Affairs (which had become the Ministry of Women’s Empowerment during Abdurrahman Wahid’s presidency) was headed by Khofifah Indar Parawangsa, who was also Head of BKKBN. One of her goals was to increase men’s involvement in family planning. This led to a serial television advertisement targeted at men in 2001. However, the television advertising effort was not integrated with other media or approaches. Traces of family welfare themes in the family planning program could still be found in the Keluarga Berkualitas Campaign produced by BKKBN at the same time as the television advertisement. Another theme of the campaign dealing with health reproduction produced in 2002 was anaemia.

The five advertisements were produced with the intention to promote the participation of men in family planning. It was decided by Khofifah Indar Parawangsa that the use of condoms and vasectomy, which were the least popular modes of contraception, should be raised to 10 percent by the year 2015 from 2 percent in 2000. The promotion started in 2000 but the use of a single media,

---

54 The advertisements each had a short version of 15 seconds and a longer 30 second version. The first intended to persuade men that a mature age for marriage was important; this was contextualised in the Padang ethnic context where the man has to acquire the understanding that maturity is important for a head of a family as the breadwinner. The second was about men’s attitude to the gender of children. It presented a conversation between couples yet to be married about their plans for having children. The ethnic context was Betawi aimed at seeing boys and girls as equally valuable. The third was the promotion of condoms for married men contextualised through Batak men’s talks and encouraged men to use condoms for contraception. The endorser in the close of the advertisement was a Javanese wearing a Moslem scarf and blouse. The fourth was to promote safe delivery and then reduce women’s mortality, presented in a humorous fashion through the use of characters from Srimulat, a traditional Javanese group of comedians. The fifth was the prevention of maternal mortality by promoting the four ‘too’s (mothers should avoid four ‘too’s: too old, too young, too short period of time between babies and too many babies). The first to the fourth were packed with humour and presented in many Indonesian ethnic contexts. The fifth was promoting the use of IUDs. These television advertisements were broadcast for two months by two television stations chosen by cost efficiency, Indosiar and SCTV, six days per week and re-broadcast in 2003 by the same stations.
television, could not be regarded as a campaign, since one important characteristic of a campaign is the use of several media to target a broader audience through the use of different sources. These five television advertisements in 2000 were the first attempt to specifically persuade men to be active in family planning after the promotion of *Kondom DuaLima* product in 1986. However, out of the five, only three specifically targeted men; the other two were promoted IUD usage and the need to decrease women’s mortality.

*Keluarga Berkualitas (Quality Family) 2001*

This seventh campaign represented a repackaging of Family Planning. Based on the 1999 GBHN (*Garis-Garis Besar Halauan Negara, Borad Outlines of State Policy*), Parawangsa introduced a change of vision for family planning in Indonesia, from the small happy prosperous family (*NKKBS, Norma Keluarga Kecil Bahagia Sejahtera*) to *Keluarga Berkualitas 2015 (Quality Family 2015)* in 2001. This campaign was a joint program between BKKBN, STARH Program/Johns Hopkins University, and USAID.

![Figure 3.50 Symbol of the new vision of BKKBN.](image)

This new vision was marked by a new symbol (Figure 3.50 above) and launched on the eighth *Hari Keluarga Nasional (National Family Day)* 29 June 2001. At the time, the headquarters of BKKBN in Halim Perdanakusuma Jakarta displayed many colourful banners to signify the change (shown in Figure 3.51a and b); even the streets nearby the office were full with banners on display (Figure 3.52a and b).
Figure 3.51a and b (a) The main entrance of BKKBN covered in banners to indicate the change of vision, and (b) the private parking lot of the building also displayed banners.

Figure 3.52a and b The beginning of a new vision of Keluarga Berkualitas was celebrated with banners on the streets near the headquarters of BKKBN.

This campaign used television advertisements, posters, and folders. The values of the Keluarga Berkualitas 2015 were very similar to those used in the New Order’s small happy prosperous family. In Keluarga Berkualitas, the message emphasised a family with two children and a ‘safe space’ of five years between the children, happiness from well-nurtured children, and prosperity indicated by a house and education for children shown in the aspirational television advertisements. These values were explicitly expressed in the dialogue and dangdut song lyrics of the television advertisement for this campaign.
The man and the woman in the poster for the campaign (Figure 3.5) wear traditional Sundanese wedding dress. This suggests they are a newly-married couple and that family means married couple. The caption at the top of the poster exclaims “Rencanakan Keluarga Berkualitas Mulai hari ini!” meaning “Plan a Quality Family starting today!” At the bottom there is another message “Rencanakan kapan anda punya anak dan atur jarak kelahirannya, demi masa depan keluarga” meaning “Plan when to have children and space their birth for the sake of family’s future”. The block of green for the lower caption is a way to attract attention to the closing message. The words keluarga berkualitas are written with a capital K and B as if the KB, which usually means Keluarga Berencana (Family Planning) but in this poster Keluarga Berkualitas (Quality Family).

**Anaemia Prevention 2002**

A related eighth campaign concerned the prevention of anaemia and was established by BKKBN with the Department of Health. The background for this campaign was the fact that the decrease in maternal mortality was not in line with the decrease of total fertility rate. The data of Survei Kesehatan Rumah Tangga
(Household Health Survey) in 1995 showed that maternal mortality was still 373 per 100,000 with bleeding as the highest risk caused by anaemia (BKKBN 2003).

This campaign was only conducted in East and Central Java. These two provinces have a lot of industries with woman labourers, among whom prevalence of anaemia was high. Fertile women were targeted through the media with the use of television and radio advertisements, posters, leaflets, and billboards, which promoted the use of TTD (*Tablet Tambah Darah*, Blood Increasing Tablets).

The challenge for this campaign was the low level of education of the majority of women targeted. In Central Java, women with elementary school education or less was 62.4% and in East Java was 61.3% (Central Bureau of Statistics 1997). The statistics also show that women are usually the decision-makers for the food served in their households but they did not necessarily have good knowledge of nutrition. They also often did not have the buying power to enable them to purchase healthy food for their family. The cultural values which situated men as the priority for food served inside the house is another reason that women have a higher risk of anaemia. Another common tradition was an emphasis on eating ‘ngidam’ food in the first three months of pregnancy when women tend to be sick. *Ngidam*, which is supposed to prevent sickness usually meant eating mainly sour tasting foods, fruits and vegetables, with other foods such as prawns and certain fish, pineapple and ice being taboo. This tradition also added to the challenge of preventing anaemia among women in Central and East Java.

This campaign ran from November 2002 to June 2003 and used several media such as television and radio advertisements, posters, leaflets and billboards.
The poster and billboard consists of a photograph, a caption, additional information, two sponsors’ logos and a considerable amount of blank space. The photograph presents images of three models: a man, a pregnant woman and a high school girl. The man is a well known actor, Deddy Mizwar, of reputable morals according to Indonesian standards. He wears an embroidered beige Moslem top or
baju koko and a black Moslem cap, the kupiah\textsuperscript{55}. There is a package of tablet tambah darah\textsuperscript{56} (blood increasing tablets) in his left hand and his right hand points towards the small package to make it more noticeable. On the left of this man is a smiling pregnant woman wearing a beige batik maternity dress; both of her hands encircle her abdomen to indicate protectiveness and at the same time accentuate her rounded middle, her pride in being a mother. The last of the three on the right is a girl hugging the pregnant woman. The girl wears a high school uniform to indicate her reproductive age and has her hair tied back as is the rule for long hair in schools in Indonesia. The use of the actor popular among the lower class in the specific costume of a religious leader could be seen as specifically trying to appeal to the lower class women.

\textit{Conclusion}

To conclude, visual messages from the family planning program and the promotion of family welfare were in line with the characteristics of the ideology, politics, economy, society and culture prevailing at the time they were used.

During the New Order Era from 1986 to 1997, the visual images employed references from the available discourses powerful at the time, which included: the state ideology, state motto, the state flag, the state coat of arms, and the strict moral value of sex as related only to married couples. In the Transition Era of 1998, the references were influenced by the monetary crisis, resulting in the depiction of lower economic status or conditions. From 1999 to 2003 in the Reformation Era, the visual cues pointed to the disconnection between KB (Keluarga Berencana, Family Planning) of the New Order Era and the Reformation Era when KB meant Keluarga Berkualitas (Quality Family). This era is marked by the continuation of the depiction of the middle lower class as well as married heterosexual couples as the standard for family. Ethnic identity and religious identity also became more common in the

\textsuperscript{55} Kupiah is a headwear for men. Sometimes Indonesian men wear this headwear to pay formal respect, but it is also to be worn to Moslem religious ceremonies.

\textsuperscript{56} The term used tablet tambah darah literally means blood increasing tablet which is actually an iron supplement. However, as the major audience is primary school graduates, it was not considered useful to explain in this campaign that iron intake was beneficial to increase blood.
portrayal of Indonesian people. The ethnic group drawn on as resources were not
the dominant Javanese but the Sundanese, which might have represented a
symbolic appreciation for the minority ethnicities in Java.

See Appendix 3.1 for a table summarising the policies of family planning and the
campaigns and their contribution to the policies and Appendix 3.2 for a table
summarising the objectives and core messages in the visual images of the eight
campaigns.
Chapter Four
Modern visualisation and the family planning program

This chapter examine the process of modernisation of visual images in the family planning program. Modernisation is used to refer to the use of several media in campaigns for circulating promotional messages. As part of the use of multiple media, a certain graphic system is applied to the visual images of the campaign. It is not easy to separate the content of a message from its form, as the content of the message contributes to the process of visualisation. This chapter analyses the system of the visual messages, with particular attention to the graphic communication of the messages.

Design not only satisfies the aesthetic sensitivities of audiences for the purpose of persuasion, but is also necessary to maintain consistency of messages across a variety of media channels. This chapter looks closely into the nature of visualisation of the messages for campaigns for Indonesian Family Planning Program from 1986 to 2003. Designing an identity for a campaign is necessary to ensure consistency in the implementation of a campaign’s message across a variety of media. I focus on several aspects of visualisation of the messages period in the New Order Period, Transition Period, and Reformation Period. Each aspect is the direct consequences of maintaining consistency of visual messages in media.

One way of maintaining consistency of content for a variety of audiences is through concentrating on one segment the audience which entails creating a profile to describe their similarities so that one message fits all. After the adoption of the social marketing framework for family planning in 1986, the framework is heightened by research (Kotler et al 2002) ensuring this communicative message is produced and published and is well measured. For instance, the BKKBN has its KIE (Komunikasi Informasi Edukasi, Education Information Communication) Programs regularly evaluated by external experts.
The mediated quasi interaction\textsuperscript{57} via the modern channel of media impacts on the nature of visual messages. The consistency of their visualisation has to be simultaneously maintained via several aspects of the graphic system (Wells et al 1998). These are:

1. Symbols used in the campaign.
2. Principal colours.
3. Typeface/s.
4. The grid system and general layout.
5. Consistency of tone or voice of the visual messages and its technique of persuasion.

Campaigns derived from a social marketing framework such as those for the family planning program usually have clear objectives and last for at least six months. Ideas sold within a social marketing framework deal with social issues and are abstract. The symbol created for the campaign becomes the embodiment of the spirit of the campaign, and translates the abstract ideas into a visual entity. Other elements of the graphic system beside symbols (such as layout, principal colour, principal typeface, and tone or voice) are used to further leverage a symbol to perform its duty as the visual identity of the campaign.

In this chapter, identification of the name of the typeface is not certain. The name of a typeface has become very complex as similar typefaces could have several names depending whether they are use in America or in Europe and whether they are in computer or in print. For instance, the typeface Helvetica is known as Arial on a personal computer. However complex the nomenclature is, the serif, sans serif, or script typefaces and their consistency in the application could still be identified.

\textsuperscript{57} The mediated quasi interaction communication is characterized by: the separation of contexts but an extension of availability in time and space, the narrowing of the range of symbolic cues, the orientation towards an indefinite range of potential recipients and monological instead of dialogical communication (Thompson 1995, p. 85).
In the technique of persuasion, there are two classifications of the arrangement: schemes and tropes. Both operate on the basis of repetition; schemes repeat signifiers (eg. rhyme, accent) while tropes repeat the signified (eg. metaphor). These two operations of signs are a visualisation tactic to enhance persuasion in visual messages and require different resources from the viewers in order for them to digest the messages. While the schemes require fewer resources and are thus suitable for less motivated viewers and a lower educated audience, the tropes require more sophisticated viewing resources, but are more attractive and might suit more motivated viewers and the more educated audience. Schemes also tend to bore viewers if over-exposed in the media, but are suitable for messages with a small budget and less media exposure. In contrast, the tropes are attractive for high exposure, high budget campaigns. Appendix 4.1 illustrates the complex elements involved in the analysis of technique of visual persuasion and provides an overview of some of the technical terminology employed in analysis.

The integrity of a campaign results from the synthesis of all the above aspects of visualisation. Its graphic system tells a story about how well planned the campaign is and might also reveal how the viewers are perceived by the producers, in this case BKKBN. To be able to clearly identify the graphic system of the campaigns, this chapter refers only to the print media of the eight campaigns analysed for the thesis. However, in the following three chapters, the films and television advertisements will also be analysed to supplement the analysis of the print advertisements.

This chapter analyses four campaigns from the New Order Period of 1986 to 1997, two campaigns from the Transition Period of 1998, and another two campaigns from the Transformation Period of 1999 to 2003.
New Order Period (1986-1997)

Kondom DuaLima 1986

The first campaign of the New Order Period was Kondom DuaLima in 1986. The illustration below in Figures 4.1a, b, c, d, e, and f are taken from this campaign.

Figures 4.1a, b, c, d, e and f Symbol, packages, counter sign hanger, hanger, poster, and advertisement of Kondom DuaLima 1986.
Figure 4.1a is the symbol for *Kondom DuaLima*. As described in the previous chapter, the components of this symbol (two hands, a circle, a banner, and five words in red) are employed to represent the idea of the product *Kondom DuaLima* (TwoFive Condom). This symbol is applied partly (Figures 4.1c and d) or in whole (Figures 4.1b, e, and f). Although the symbol is not applied in all media, the identity of the campaign is maintained by the identity colour, which is red. This colour is taken from the symbol, strongly reproduced in the packaging of the condom and the display hangers available for retailers of this condom (Figures 4.1b, c, d). The consistent typeface of Helvetica/Arial applied in the symbol as well as the headlines and body texts on several media also strengthened the identity of the campaign. On the poster and advertisement, the symbol is also in an identical position on the right bottom of the space expected to be the last information read by the viewer. The testimonial style of the communication gives an objective atmosphere to the hangers and print media (Figures 4.1c, d, e, and f).

The central balance of the layout gives a formal tone to the communication. This is also reflected in the language used, which is formal Indonesian and not slang. For instance, I is expressed in *saya*\(^{58}\), the formal word rather than the less formal *aku*, or other informal expressions such as *gue*, which is Indonesian slang taken from Betawi\(^{59}\) language.

The Helvetica/Arial Black sans-serif typeface borrowed from Swiss Style\(^{60}\) is further emphasised by the formality of the typography. The precise shape of the typeface in conjunction with the objective photography is a mark of the Swiss Style, and is combined with testimony from the represented participants. The supposed objectivity of the photography is further emphasized by the natural coding

\(^{58}\) *Saya* is the most formal way of expressing I. This word is taken from *sahaya* which is the shortening from *hamba sahaya* literally means your slave. Although *saya* is formal, the most polite way to express I is to make it plural to *kami*, which literally means we.

\(^{59}\) Betawi is an indigenous ethnic group in Jakarta.

\(^{60}\) The Swiss Style typography (also known as International Style) was a formal arrangement of sans serif typefaces (Helvetica, Arial, and their family range) that conveyed the voice of corporate authority through the clean lines and lack of superfluous decorations.
The technique of persuasion used is through schemes. The message about happiness is repeated in the smiles of the three represented participants, the bright red of the symbol, the word happy in the headline. Further, the same represented participants repeatedly appear in different media for consistency (Figures 4.1c, d, and e).

**Blue Circle 1987**

The second campaign in the New Order Period was Blue Circle in 1987. The illustration below is taken from the campaign.

![Illustration of Blue Circle campaign posters and leaflets](image)

Figures 4.2a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h and i Symbol, four posters, billboard, advertisement, leaflets, sticker of Blue Circle Campaign 1987.

61 The naturalistic coding orientation is highest in modality when somewhat less than full colour saturation, lowest in modality in black and white, and below maximum modality when in full colour saturation (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, pp. 165, 170, 171)
Figure 4.2a is the symbol of Blue Circle Campaign. While the previous campaign used the national flag colours of red and white, the colour used for the symbol of Blue Circle is 100% Cyan. As Blue Circle was to be circulated nationally this kind of blue was easy to be reproduced. The sensitivity of the contraceptive is also easier to be spoken in a polite tone. A polite tone translated into the colour of blue is to achieve an image of an informative message rather than a warning or an order more commonly associated with the colour red of the previous campaign. The graphic communication from the colour code of traffic signage might be the source of the idea, where red signs contain orders, yellow signs contain warnings, and blue signs are information. The completeness of a small, happy, prosperous family is symbolised by a circle.

In the implementation, the symbol displayed in whole is always at the bottom of a space (Figures 4.2b, c, d, e, f, g, and h), though it is sometimes at the bottom left (Figures 4.2b and c), bottom centre (Figure 4.2g), or bottom right (Figures 4.2d, e, f, and h). The blue circle as part of the symbol is often used as graphic system (Figures 4.2b, c, d, e, f, g, and h) or alone (Figure 4.2i). The Cyan of 100% as the identity colour is consistently pronounced in the media, mostly in the blue circle form for its graphic system.

Overall, the principal lay out is centre aligned and formal. Images are generated from photography. In the lay out, there are three typefaces appearing in the visualisation: Palatino Bold in Figures 4.2d, e, f, g, and h, Futura Extra Bold Figures 4.2b and i, Helvetica Bold in Figures 4.2a and c. Although there are three typefaces, the strong identity colour and the blue circle form a graphic system that can hold the unity of the visual identity of the campaign. Blue Circle has two different objectives: promoting the Blue Circle contraceptives (Figures 4.2b, c and i) and promoting the Blue Circle services related to the contraceptives (Figures 4.2d, e, f, g, h). For the promotion for the services, the symbol sometimes known as a logogram (Figure 4.2a) is mostly accompanied by a logograph (Figure 4.2j). This logograph
was supposed further emphasises the graphic system of the campaign to maintain
the unity of the visual identity.\textsuperscript{62}

\textbf{Lingkaran Biru KB}

Figure 4.2j Logograph of Blue Circle in the Campaign.

The dominant technique of persuasion in this campaign is the use of tropes. The use
of the term KB (\textit{Keluarga Berencana, Family Planning}) rather than images of the
contraceptives themselves inside the form of blue circle taken from the symbol is an
operation of substitution, which claims Blue Circle contraceptives as equal to KB
(Figures 4.2b, c, and i). In other images (Figures 4.2d, e, f, g, and h), the credibility of
the image of the doctor and the nurses substituted for contraceptives and related
services. In short, the campaign argues that a credible family planning program in
Indonesia means Blue Circle.

The evaluation into the effectiveness of Blue Circle was integrated into a
demography and health survey. Before the Blue Circle campaign, the 1987 SDKI
\textit{(Survey Demografi dan Kesehatan Indonesia, Indonesian Demographic and Health
Survey)} showed that rural families participated in family planning more than those
in urban areas (CBS et al 1988). Communication for family planning during this
time relied more on face to face communication. In the 1991 SDKI, after the Blue
Circle Campaign, data showed that urban families received information about
family planning via media slightly more than those in rural areas, where
information relied more on face to face communication (CBS et al 1992). Data also
showed positive influence of the campaign: the increase of communication about
family planning for urban families was in line with the increase of their

\textsuperscript{62} Although a logograph is usually applied for unity, the logograph for Blue Circle in Figure 4.2j was
not applied consistently: only four images (d, e, f and h ) from nine images in Figures 4.2 (a, b, c, d, f,
g, h and i) apply it.
However, face to face communication was still an important component in the increase in participation. The 1991 SDKI also found that understanding of Blue Circle via media was unclear and this was further explained in face to face communication with family planning staff (CBS et al 1992). The evaluation also detected the fact that consumers were unclear that the campaign’s main stakeholder was the government in partnership with private companies. Largely, family planning was still seen as being within the domain of the government responsibility. Thus consumers still need the guarantee from the government and it is not clear how the involvement of private companies influenced consumers.

**Gold Circle 1992**

The Gold Circle Campaign as a continuation of the Blue Circle Campaign was reflected in the symbol and how it was used in the advertisements. The symbol of this campaign was exactly the same as the Blue Circle except the colour of the circle was gold (while the initial of KB remained 100% Cyan). Gold as a colour is usually perceived as more expensive, indicating the aim of Gold Circle to promote better and higher-priced unsubsidised contraceptives.

![Figure 4.3a, b and c Symbol, brochure, and advertisement of Gold Circle 1992.](image)

In the application in media (Figures 4.3b and c) the Blue Circle and Gold Circle were also displayed in the same space. Figure 4.3c shows the Gold Circle symbol as
a montaged part of the photography while the Blue Circle symbol is displayed at the bottom right of the advertisement. A condom brochure (Figure 4.3b) showed the packages of the DuaLima brand condom as a Blue Circle product and the Atika brand condom as a Gold Circle product. In this case the Blue Circle and Gold Circle logos were expected to facilitate the process of identifying the positive spirit of the self-reliance program. The Gold Circle borrowed the more established Blue Circle identity to differentiate its contraceptives and expand self-reliance program to a higher class.

According to Olins (1989), there are three categories of organisational identity structure. The first category is *monolithic* where the organization uses exactly the same name and visual style. The second is *endorsed* where an organization has a group of activities and endorses the group name and identity. The third is *branded* where the company has several brands unrelated to each other or the corporation, such as Procter & Gamble and Unilever. The Blue and Gold Circles of the family planning program fit within the identity category ‘endorsed’. Structurally, the *KB Mandiri* program as an effort of privatisation by the government had two different activities, called Blue Circle and Gold Circle. However, visually, Blue Circle is stronger than KB Mandiri or Gold Circle, partly because its exposures in media were higher, although structurally, actually *KB Mandiri* as the self-reliance program should visually look stronger than Blue Circle and Gold Circle which both are parts of *KB Mandiri*. In the application to contraceptives, this became more complex. Although Blue Circle and Gold Circle did not blend in and still stood out strongly on the packages, these symbols were an amalgam from other brands such as DuaLima and Atika condoms (Figure 4.3b). This might confuse consumers.

Helvetica Bold (Figures 4.3a and b) and Palatino Bold (Figure 4.3c) that are used as the typefaces for Blue Circle are also seen for Gold Circle. The principal layout is aligned to centre and the substitution of product inside the Blue Circle can still be found in the condom pamphlet (Figure 4.3b), where two packets of condom are
inside a blue circle. However, in the advertisement another technique of persuasion is applied: tropes.

Figure 4.3d A typical drawing taught at elementary school in Indonesia.

Figure 4.3c which is an advertisement of the Gold Circle has the composition based on a typical picture of Indonesian elementary school children, which was still popular in 1980s (Figure 4.3d). It basically contains sky, clouds, sun, mountains, rice fields and a road. The dark blue forms the mountains the green spaces are rice fields with a road passing between the rice fields heading to the rising sun in between the mountains. In the advertisement, the sun is replaced by the symbol of Gold Circle. The sun’s rays are now four words ‘Alat KB Lingkaran Emas’ (Gold Circle Family Planning Contraception). The application of metaphor in the advertisement, where the road is packed with people as a group representing Indonesia might be the most important idea from the advertisement: Gold Circle contraception is the better way of family planning for Indonesian people. The customers of both gender in different outfits represent a variety of professions and ethnic groups in Indonesia. All are within the reproductive age range. This magazine advertisement and television advertisement with the same theme, show many couples in traditional costumes from many parts of Indonesia to represent the winners of KB Lestari.

While the media in the Blue Circle Campaign was mostly print in the form of posters which could be displayed in strategic places such as pharmacies, hospitals, waiting rooms of doctors and midwives, Puskesmas, and Posyandu, the media for
Gold Circle was primarily television and magazine advertisements and folders. This may have related to the target group which was the more educated and affluent families who are more likely to access information means access through these media.

Data from the 1994 SDKI showed that awareness of Gold Circle was not as good as of Blue Circle (CBS et al 1995). There was even confusion about these two brands. As seen in Figures 4.3a, b, and c, the Gold Circle symbols are always present in conjunction with the Blue Circle symbols. Although BKKBN chose a cafeteria\(^{63}\) approach to selling contraceptives, which was in line with the juxtaposition of two different brands, such presentation of two similar brands risked creating confusion in the minds of consumers. The Blue Circle as partly subsidised contraceptives were for the middle and middle lower strata, while the more expensive and unsubsidised Gold Circle contraceptives were for the middle upper and upper strata. The confusion also resulted from the inefficient distribution of Blue Circle\(^{64}\), noted in the 1994 SDKI, that the upper class women who were able to purchase unsubsidised contraceptives of Blue Circle or Gold Circle brands still obtained subsidised contraceptives (CBS et al 1995).

**KISS (Kampanye Ibu Sehat Sejahtera, Prosperous Healthy Mother Campaign) 1994**

This campaign was aimed at promoting the health of mothers to increase their welfare within the context of family. This is represented in Figure 4.4a in the symbol of this campaign, which is a simplification of a house, the domestic domain of Indonesian middle class women who were targeted by the campaign. The colour of the symbol is the same as those of BKKBN and Blue Circle. This colour is repeated for a block line at the bottom of the advertisement as a system of uniting the visualisation of the campaign (Figures 4.4b and c). A small size Helvetica is used for the Indonesian words for the campaign shown at the bottom of the symbol.

\(^{63}\) The cafeteria approach means BKKBN provides participants of family planning with the full variety of contraceptives available in the market for the participants to choose from.

\(^{64}\) There is no data about the distribution of the Gold Circle contraceptives.
in black: *Kampanye Ibu Sehat Sejahtera* (Prosperous Healthy Mother Campaign). The need for small text size might be the reason for the choice of black, as the colour has high legibility even in a small size. In the advertisement, where the symbol applied on the right bottom is small, this logograph has better legibility than in any other colour.

Figures 4.4a, b and c Symbol and two print advertisements of KISS.

The layout in the advertisements are centrally arranged. Again Palatino is chosen as the principal typeface for the texts and it is consistently maintained in the advertisements. A simple technique of persuasion of scheme is applied in these advertisements. Children as the focus become accents in the photographs of the two advertisements by placing them in the centre of the space. The variety of represented participants in the two advertisements (Figures 4.4b and c) is reduced by the very consistent system of layout in the rest of the components of the advertisement (eg, two column body text, blue block lines at the bottom of the space, the same location of symbol) to keep each advertisement as a complement of the other from the same campaign.
This fourth campaign was the last campaign during the New Order Period of 1986 and 1997. It could be said that in general, the four campaigns applied the aspects of visualisation – symbol, colour - typeface, layout and tone – to strengthen the message of the campaign and to give visual unity to the messages disseminated in several media. Each symbol repeats its specific colour in the implementation. When there is a logograph accompanying the symbol, it is also implemented without overshadowing the symbol. A formal atmosphere is usually created from the centred arrangement of visual elements; a polite, formal tone of communication can be found in all campaigns, as well as a reliance on photographic technique for the images as part of supporting the objectivity of the messages. Visualisation is systematically maintained throughout the campaign identity so that messages from the same campaign could be identified when they are disseminated across several media.

**Transition Period (1998)**

*Indonesia Bangkit! 1998*

![Indonesia Bangkit!](image)

*Figure 4.5a Logograph of Indonesia Bangkit! Campaign in 1998.*

This period featured two campaigns, both begun in 1998. The main symbol of the *Indonesia Bangkit! Campaign* was a logograph shown in Figure 4.5a. However in the implementation in Figures 4.5b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i and j, there are other symbols accompanying the *Indonesia Bangkit!* to indicate the four activities encompassed by the campaign: Prokesra (*Produksi Keluarga Sejahtera*, Prosperous Family Products), Prodina (*Produksi Indonesia*, Indonesian Products), Peringatan 100 Tahun Bung Tomo (Brother Tomo 100 Year Anniversary), and Aku Anak Sekolah (I am a school child).
As there were several activities under this umbrella campaign, the variety of symbols is not surprising (Figures 4.5k, l, and m).

Figures 4.5b, c, d, e and f Several print advertisements of *Indonesia Bangkit! 1998*. 
From the perspective of visual identity, a campaign symbol and its activity symbols can have three structures of relationship: monolithic, using one name and visual style throughout (eg. BMW, IBM); endorsement, using a group name and identity for a group of activities/companies (eg. General Motors); and branded, that is a series of brands unrelated to each other and the organisation/company (eg. Procter & Gamble, Unilever) (Olins 1989, p.78-9). Although in *Indonesia Bangkit!* the idea is an endorsed structure of identity, the visualisation does not have consistency within a graphic system. For instance, the campaign symbol is sometimes such as Figure 4.5a with a black script typeface but in other media (Figures 4.5d, e, f, g, and h) the campaign is symbolized by a diapositive Futura Bold Italic on a thick red line. In some examples in Figures 4.5b and j, the symbol of *Indonesia Bangkit!* is removed altogether.

As well as the symbols, the layout is also inconsistent; there is no grid (to make sure the symbol is placed consistently in a variety of media) to maintain a consistent
image. In Figure 4.5b, the symbol is at top left and it is at top centre in Figure 4.5d, e, f, g, and h. This inconsistency also occurs in terms of colour. The symbol is sometimes in black or red and the media are sometimes dominant in blue such as Figures 4.5i and j.

Since many sectors in society were contributing to the activities as part of this campaign, it might be seen as a good example of the spirit of gotong royong (traditional mutual assistance) among Indonesian people exposed in time of crisis. However, the graphic system suggests that coordination of the activities from the same campaign did not take place. As synergy is the objective of the graphic system (a solution of sending messages via different media), the activities might not be as efficient and effective as when the graphic system is applied consistently. Those seeing a message from one activity cannot relate it to other activities. The urgency of the message that all of the activities were part of the effort to overcome the monetary crisis (which was the aim of the campaign) was unlikely to be communicated through such an inconsistent and chaotic series of images.

Unfortunately, there is no formal report of evaluation available for this campaign. However, given the lack of continuity between advertisements and images, it is likely that many viewers did not connect these activities with a single campaign.

**SIAGA**65 *(Siap Antar Jaga, Ready Take Guard)* 1998

While the most noticeable aspect of design in the previous campaign is the unsystematic graphics, the most obvious characteristic of the Siaga Campaign is its bright identity colours of red and yellow (Figures 4.5) especially in comparison to the five previous ones. Siaga Campaign was the continuation of the previous campaign for women’s health: KISS. This makes the difference of the colour coding orientation even more obvious. While the KISS Campaign adopted natural coding orientation with its highest modality of somewhat less than full colour saturation (Figures 4.4), the Siaga Campaign applied sensory coding orientation (Figures 4.6),

---

65 Siaga means alert but in this campaign was also an abbreviation of three words: siap-antar-jaga. There is no English word to translate the meaning of antar but more or less they mean ready-take-guard.
in which highest modality is on full colour saturation (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 171).

Figures 4.6a, b, c, d, e and f Three symbols of Husband Siaga 1998, Community Siaga 2001, and Midwife Siaga 2002, with a pamphlet for Husband Siaga, a print advertisement for Community Siaga, and a calendar for Midwife Siaga.

The application of sensory coding orientation is usually an effort from the sender to invite the five senses of humans/viewers in digesting the message (Kress and van Leeuwen’s 1996, pp. 169-71). Therefore, the bright red and yellow in Figures 4.6 are most likely designed not only to catch the viewers’ attention, but also to motivate a feeling of urgency to do something about the important problem of maternal health dealt with by the campaign.

As this is the first campaign which switched from naturalistic coding orientation to sensory coding orientation, it might also signal a political effort to disconnect this campaign from previous campaigns associated with the New Order regime. With the change of regime in Indonesia, there was a change of leadership within BKKBN While all five previous campaigns were published when BKKBN was still under
the leadership of Haryono Suyono with Fortune-Indonesia as the advertising consultant, this Siaga Campaign was published under the leadership of Kofifah Indar Parawangsa (Head of BKKBN and Minister of Women’s Empowerment at the time) with the advertising consultant Ogilvy-Indonesia. It is common knowledge among advertising consultants in Indonesia that government institutions such as BKKBN let the highest ranking officials decide the design of a campaign. Therefore, it is not surprising there is a discontinuation of visualisation between the two similar campaigns when there was a change of leadership. Even though both were for Indonesian women in their context as mothers and wives, they are from different time periods and different decision makers, importantly of different genders.

Looking to the detail in Figures 4.6a, b, and c, there are three symbols with the same colour and style identity but with different illustrations as they related to different activities for the same campaign. Figure 4.6a was for mothers’ safety in labour by encouraging participation of the husbands (started in 1998). Figure 4.6b was to encourage maternal health activities among villagers and started in 2001. Figure 4.6c was for midwives and started in 2002. The red heart visible on all three symbols signals the close connection between them. In the media, combined with other visual messages such as Figures 4.6e and f, the symbols are consistently located on the left bottom of the media space, even though one of these two media was for community Siaga and the other was for midwife Siaga. The use of the same popular dangdut66 singer Iis Dahlia for the two media in Figures 4.6e and f also further emphasised continuity between the community Siaga and the midwife Siaga.

The principal typeface for the three continuing programs of SIAGA is Gill Sans. It is bold for the headers (Figures 4.6d, e, and f), sometimes bold and italic (Figures 4.6e and f), normal for the body texts (Figures 4.6e and f), and a nondescript typeface for the accent of the sticker for husband SIAGA (Figures 4.6d). In line with the use of a

---

66 Dangdut is a genre of Indonesian popular music which is partly derived from Arab, Indian and Malay folk music. It developed in the beginning of 1970s among working class Moslem youth but gained popularity among broader Indonesian audiences in the late 1990s.
*dangdut* singer as the important represented participant, the tone of voice is more like hers and less formal than the other five campaigns. Together with the bright colours conveniently suitable for *dangdut*, her presence has also become the personal testimony in the visualisation of the message. The use of trope as technique of persuasion is more transparent in the television advertisements for the same campaign. In the lyrics of her songs for the television advertisements, the singer becomes the spokesperson but at the same time also the embodiment of all housewives. This is a very different housewife than the one from the KISS campaign as she is not only a housewife but also represented in her professional role as a successful singer.

This campaign had a very strong image built by the consistent graphic system and represented participants. The evaluation of this campaign noted that the media efforts resulted in a high recall of *Suami Siaga* even five years after the initial launch of the campaign (JHPIEGO/MNH Program 2004, p. 46). The evaluation also noted that not only was the message received but also comprehended and remembered. It is a campaign that reached its objective of a high level of awareness from the audience.

To sum up, the campaigns within the Transition Period are different than those within the New Order Period in two ways: inconsistent graphic systems and the application of a sensory coding orientation. The *Indonesia Bangkit!* Campaign, which had a variety of activities intended to overcome the monetary crisis, did not have a consistent graphic system. These messages of many activities with an inconsistent graphic system might not have produced a synergy, as each of them would most likely be recognised by viewers as separate from each other. However, the spirit of *gotong royong* was suggested, and the inconsistency might even be an honest reflection of the unstable situation of the country at the time. This instability was not only the unexpected monetary crisis but also the change of leadership in the country and the multiple sources of funds for the campaign.
While the activities under *Indonesia Bangkit!* were donated from several public and private sectors, the *Siaga* was funded by UNFPA (United Nations Funds for Population Activities). This might be the reason the *Siaga* Campaign was better able to employ a consistent graphic system. Graphic system is about coordination, and coordinating different fund contributors for different activities is a problem - and this problem is reflected in the visualisation in general and the graphic system in particular. Other than a systemic graphic for several activities under *Siaga* Campaign, the application of sensory coding orientation in the campaign was the first to do so after the five previous campaigns when applied the naturalistic coding orientation. The change of leader within BKKBN might be the reason of such drastic change. However, the fall of the New Order might also have called for a new image for the new government.


*Keluarga Berkualitas* 2001

The *Keluarga Berkualitas* Campaign of 2001 transformed the use of the letters KB (previously only an abbreviation of *Keluarga Berencana* - Family Planning), using the layout to suggest KB should be read as the abbreviation of *Keluarga Berkualitas* (Quality Family), the new vision of BKKBN for the year 2015.\(^{67}\) The symbol (Figure

4.7a) still has the same colour theme as the symbol of BKKBN and Blue Circle, which is Cyan in two tones. The consistency of this symbol in several media is maintained well (Figures 4.7b, c, and d). As the symbol also has to be flexible in its implementation in several media with different proportions\(^6\), the position of the symbol is not the same (right bottom in Figure 4.7b and left in Figures 4.7c and d) but its consistency could still be maintained by its overall image. However, this is not true for the logograph. The typeface for the two words of *Keluarga Berkualitas* is different in the logograph of Figure 4.7a, the headline of the poster in Figure 4.7b, and in the banners of Figures 4.7c and d. Although there is a difference in the technique of production between the media (offset for the poster and silk screen for the banners), this does not justify the inconsistency of the typeface displayed.

In Figure 4.7b, the Indonesian ideal of ‘quality families’ endorsed by the campaign are represented by a couple. The technique of persuasion applied is a substitutive trope. Tropes which rely on substitution (such as ellipsis) are simpler than those that rely on destabilisation (such as metaphor). Even though tropes are more complex to understand than schemes and need more motivation from the viewers to want to digest the message, they are regarded as more attractive (McQuarrie and Mick 1999).

\(^6\) The proportion of a poster and a magazine advertisement in portrait position is more similar than a long banner in landscape position such as those shown in Figure 4.7c and d. Therefore, the position of a symbol in a poster and a magazine advertisement from the same campaign might likely be more similar than those for a long banner.
Hull and Hull found that there was no decrease of the use of contraception throughout the monetary crisis and the process of decentralisation, which they argue, demonstrates the norm of happy small family had been well accepted (2005). Considering the stable acceptance about family planning program, it may well have been productive to increase the technique of persuasion in the images to that of destabilising trope (such as metaphor). It would seem that the campaign designers were underestimating their audience.

**Anaemia Prevention 2002**

![Figures 4.8a, b and c Poster, billboard, and leaflet of Anaemia Prevention Campaign.](image)

This *Anaemia Prevention* Campaign did not have a symbol. The principal typeface is an unidentified version of Gill Sans Bold Outline. There is a consistent use of colours in the media (Figures 4.8a, b, and c), which is still the Cyan blue taken from the symbol of BKKBN. This blue has an additional yellow and red as accent spread all over the space of the media. The technique of visual persuasion is also not new, using the actor Dedi Mizwar, as a spokesperson (similar to use of *dangdut* singer Iis Dahlia in the *Siaga* Campaign).

In terms of the creative tactics of visualisation, this campaign is the most poorly executed especially considering it is the most recent one. Even though the consistency of the image of a campaign should be maintained, there should also be variety in order to make the campaign interesting. In this campaign, the poster and billboard are almost identical in design with the only difference being portrait and
landscape orientation. Variety not only makes the messages more interesting, but also suits the different formats of different media. For instance, a billboard such as that in Figure 4.8b is most likely to be seen by viewers passing at speed, while the poster in Figure 4.8a to put on the wall of pharmacists and health department district offices might be viewed while viewers are sitting or walking. These entirely different situations for the viewers should be met by different visualisations. For instance, the information in the poster could be more detailed than for the billboard.

While theoretically the evaluation of the visualisation can be intuited this way, in this case it is possible to compare such analysis directly with the official report on the campaign. As this campaign was recent, the report is still available from the BKKBN. The consultant for this campaign was not an advertising agency but a company for civil engineering, land development, agriculture, and environment consultancy: Kogas Driyap, Pty Ltd. The fact that it is not an advertising agency is interesting in and of itself. The project was to conduct research prior to the campaign, during the campaign creation and execution, and post campaign results. In contrast to the preliminary and post campaign research, research for the campaign creation involves visual language, a domain that requires specialists. There is no information about how the company was judged to be the most suitable for the project. On the Kogas home page, the project (started in 2002 and ended in 2003) was estimated to be worth IDR 4 billion (Kogas 2008). The Anaemia Campaign as part of the Safe Motherhood Project: A Partnership and Family Approach was worth US$ 42.5 million, funded from a loan from IBRD (International Bank for Regional Development), signed on the 4 August 1997. The World Bank as the source of funds is supposed to require certain principles in the bidding process (Bapenas 2008). However, as it was a loan and not a grant then there might be a vested interest from their side. An efficient communication strategy for this project was not in their best interests; more important might be the accountability for the monies loaned.
The simple technique of visual persuasion using an actor as the spokesperson might be the best solution for communicating with the majority of the audience, whose education is only up to primary school, does not regularly read printed media, and whose source of entertainment is television soap operas. While a destabilisation trope is more attractive than the substitution trope applied in this campaign, it is also more difficult to digest (McQuarrie & Mick 1999). At the pretest of the Anaemia Prevention Campaign, there were a number of choices of visualisation, with the one published being the best according to BKKBN (BKKBN 2003). However, there is no documentation of the alternative images or modes of visualisation. Therefore, it is difficult to know whether a destabilization trope had been tried out as a technique of visualisation for this campaign. There was a possibility to implement this technique of persuasion considering the Indonesian people’s level of secondary education in 2000 had increased significantly compared to those in 1986.

The Reformation Period was marked by a very minimal level of new invention in the visualisation of the messages for the family planning program. For instance, the technique of persuasion only continued what had been done before but with a different theme. The technique of photography also remains the same with the same naturalistic coding orientation. Thus the campaigns perhaps did not reflect the changes in the education levels and access to media of the Indonesian audience, which presumably would have impacted on its success.

Conclusion
Modernisation brings new modes of communication, which includes the dissemination of a campaign via a variety of media. The variety of media and the broad spectrum of audiences the media bring for transferring messages, consequently demand a higher level of sophistication in the design of visual images, all of which impact on the tone of visual images for campaigns. This visual effort is translated into its visual communication as the graphic system of the campaign. Appendix 4.2 extracts the important aspects of visualisation that have
been discussed in this chapter for the eight campaigns for the family planning program. This diagram simplifies the data explored in this chapter and shows at a glance the connection between aspects of visualisation utilised in the campaigns to generate a consistent graphic system as well as inviting a sense of aesthetic appreciation from viewers for efficient and effective communication in the media.

Although this chapter deals with the form of the visual images, my analysis cannot avoid the fact that the components of visualisation are features of the campaign to express and represent a certain personality suitable for the campaign. This personality ensures each campaign has its own visual style as if each is tuned to optimise the acceptance of the messages by the audience. In linguistic terminology, visual style might be parallel to registers: the different styles of speech which a speaker uses vary according to the needs of the situation.

Visualisation tactics as a technique of persuasion in a campaign are a creative process. Components of a graphic system ideally work in a synergistic way to balance two competing needs: the first is to maintain consistency for easy recognition of the campaign’s identity while the other is to create a variety of messages within the limits of the campaigns’ image. Both aim to enhance the persuasiveness of messages and to maintain the interest of the viewers. The tactic of visualisation applied should consider the problem tackled in the campaign in relation to the level of interest and education of the audience. However, except in the Transition Period of 1998, the tactic of visualisation from 1986 to 2002 as well as the visual registers/style – the beginning of the Kondom Dualima Campaign and the beginning of the Anaemia Prevention Campaign – changed very little. Therefore, any new discourse (such as family planning is about quality family, not small quantity of family) introduced by the post New Order regime might likely be perceived as only the continuity of the New Order and not as a new era.

69 Utterances usually could range from high or formal style down to a low or informal one. For example the following three utterances have different registers and use in accordance to the situation: ‘I should be grateful if you would make less noise’, ‘please be quiet’, and ‘shut up’ (Aitchison 1978, p. 169).
Chapter Five
Nationalism and the family planning program

In Chapter Four, we saw how the visual representation and organisation of images could provide a starting point to find the most important symbolic cues suggested by the images. Within each of the regime-based periods used in this study, there are changes and continuities in the tactics of visualisation. Changes are especially clear in the Transition Period while there is continuity of visualisation tactics in images from the New Order Period to the Reformation Period. While the previous chapter is about the modernisation of the form of the images in the family planning program, this chapter is more concerned with the content of the images.

The success of distributing the family planning program in Indonesia was achieved not only because of the continual strong support from the government but in part also because of a budget sufficient for the program (Hull & Hull 1997, p. 129-131, Warwick 1986, p. 457). One of the reasons the government strongly supported it was because the family planning program was also intended to shape a single identity in the country (Cammack & Heaton 2001). Several studies have shown, how as part of constructing national identity, the family ideology is applied within the family planning program (Hull and Hull 2005, Utomo 2005, Niehof 2003, Newland 2001). The patrilineal model of family is embedded in this family concept with the complement of subordinate women primarily in their reproductive roles (Newland 2001, Bessel 1999). This model of family is underpinned by Javanese culture, Islamic values, and the state ideology (Hatley 1998).

In the campaign images, families are conservatively displayed to point out the benefit of the family planning program and to encourage positive attitudes toward the program. Chapter Three showed how the images could point out the benefit of the family planning program. This chapter is more concerned with how the campaigns encouraged a positive attitude toward the program on a national scale.
It examines the official constructs of national identity embedded in the images of the family planning program. While Chapter Three is directly related to the benefits of the family planning program, this chapter digs down to the visual symbolical cues in the images which, subtly, could tell more about the ideas of nationalism in each era. The insights about the concept of national identity revealed in the images are drawn and structured from the environment of each campaign of which the images are part. This is to understand the discourses of nationalism facilitated by the images.

To meet the above objectives, this chapter is presented in five parts. The first part examines the general discourse of national identity in Indonesia, which will serve as a basis for understanding nationalism and what it means to be an Indonesian citizen within the discourse of Indonesian policy. Then, using visual grammar, the second part will describe the construction of national identity and nationalism suggested by the discourses of the images in the campaigns for family planning during the New Order Period (1986-1997). The third part repeats this exercise for the Transition Period (1998), and the fourth part for the Reformation Period. These latter three sections for three different periods of time are based on visual social semiotics, a concept based on the view that society is prior to individuals (Jewitt 1999, p 265). Therefore, this chapter will look empirically at ‘what is in’ the image, but this meaning is understood as residing in a socially constructed environment of meaning.

*Broad Concepts of Indonesian national identity*

Anderson defines the nation as “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (1991, p.6). Because it is imagined, Anderson further argued, nationalism is not real but constructed through discourses. These discourses produce identity as the result of positioning citizens as subjects (Foucault 1972). Because difference as part of creating identity is not stable, identity is also not stable. It is always the process of changing in line with and to
keep up with what is demanded by the different discourses shaped over time.

David Campbell suggests that:

Difference is constituted in relation to identity. The problematic of identity/difference contains, therefore, no foundations which are prior to, or outside of, its operation. Whether we are talking of 'the body' or 'the state', or particular bodies and states, the identity of each is performatively constituted. Moreover, the constitution of identity is achieved through the inscription of boundaries which serve to demarcate an ‘inside’ from an ‘outside’, a ‘self’ from an ‘other’, a ‘domestic’ from a ‘foreign’

(1992, p.8).

Focusing on Indonesia, Philpott noted that the main discourse of development and modernisation within the Indonesian government also contributes to the always changing nature of the national identity (2000). In other words, understanding the nationalism emerging in the images of the Indonesian Family Planning Program means tracking down the political cultural practices which produced and informed the creation of the national identity.

As images in this thesis are taken from campaigns structured within a social marketing framework, the messages are like all messages created for advertising campaigns: they are created with an argument, about a certain product, and for a certain prime prospect. In the family planning program, the argument is national identity, the product is family, and the prime prospect is women. This chapter is about the argument fixed within the images of the family planning program; it is about national identity implanted within the images.

Based on Foucault’s proposition that rational principles are conveyed to audience by employing technology of government, Langston argued that language as the New Order government’s technology was to convey rationalities, which regulate power between the state and individuals in producing the ideal national citizens (Langston 2002, p. 26). She also noted that by principle, the discourse of G30S/PKI (Gerakan 30 September/ Partai Komunis Indonesia, 30 September Movement/
Indonesian Communist Party\(^70\) was from the past that is consciously re-imagined by Soeharto to explain the future and thus help regulate conduct of the national citizenry. From her analysis of language, power, and the individual in New Order Indonesia, Langston concluded that the scope of powers of individual and government were contested and in a state of constant redefinition and it is important to acknowledge individual agency in a theorisation of power relations and the process of government (2001).

In my exploration of the discourses facilitated by the images of the family planning program, it is clear that national identity shifted over time in line with what was demanded by policy. During the three time periods studied, meaning from the images seems to float within the range of at least six themes\(^71\), of which four will be investigated in this chapter and the remainder in the next chapters. The first theme is drawn from the national motto of unity in diversity; the second is reflected in the state ideology of Pancasila; the third is the religious values of Islam as the religion for the majority of Indonesians; the fourth is the values of the Javanese ethnic group; the fifth is family and the design of Indonesian women as citizens (see Chapter Six).

The first theme of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (unity in diversity), the motto of the state expressing the intention to unite to form an independent Indonesia from the diversity of ethnic groups in Nusantara\(^72\), was historically a response to Dutch

---


\(^71\) The idea in this sentence that meaning is floating to be used in the visual discourse is from Philpott’s interpretation of Foucault’s idea about the close relationship of knowledge and discursive practice as: “Archaeology eschews the idea that the object of knowledge waits in limbo to be liberated by a discourse that is appropriate to itself” (2000, p11).

\(^72\) Nusantara means archipelago and for Indonesia is the nation as a whole. In the New Order program of culture development, *nusantara culture* (archipelagic culture) was one of its priorities and referred to a shared underlying culture of all Indonesian people. This archipelagic culture is to some extent,
colonialism (Kahin 1952 in Philpott 2000, Anderson 1991). In this sense, the identity of Indonesia as a community is constructed historically through deteritorialisation and in more stable difference to the colonial Dutch. Further to the point that national identity in Indonesia is created and not based on existing culture, Anderson points out that Indonesia, as an imagined political community, has a territory that was not created based on cultural boundaries but on history and policy from the time when the territory was still under the trade monopoly of the VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, United East India Company), a Dutch corporation in the early seventeenth century (1991, p. 110).

Although the motto of unity in diversity suggested a symmetrical power balance between the unity and the diversity, Hooker showed that unity is emphasised over diversity in the practices of the New Order Period (2001). For instance, she points to how the diversity of Indonesian cultures was diminutively represented as spectacle in the *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah*. According to Hooker, the subordinate position of the regional identity compared to the national is emphasised by the fact that the diversity of cultures in Indonesia was represented not by the number of cultures but by provinces, which are political boundaries created by the government (pp. 471-2).

To emphasise unity means creating a homogeneity of values across the diversity of culture. This one value for Indonesian citizens is the second theme to create national identity, the *Pancasila*. *Pancasila* is the Indonesian state ideology consisting of five principles: a belief in one supreme being, a just and civilized humanitarianism, a commitment to the unity of Indonesia, wise policies through a process of consultation and consensus, and a commitment to social justice for all the Indonesian people. Morfit (1981) noted that the institutionalisation of the value of *Pancasila* was implemented on a large scale for several strata of Indonesian citizens through the nationally organised workshops of P4 (*Pedoman Penghayatan refined to maritime culture*. In the New Order regime, the archipelagic culture was further defined in the terms of terra-culture and aqua culture (Acciaoli 2001).
Pengamalan Pancasila, Guidance for the Understanding and Practice of Pancasila), which were required to be followed by public servants, university students, and all strategic strata considered to be important by the government. Moreover, the organised promotion of the official state ideology of Pancasila as a model of conduct was carried out through education in schools and workplaces, where it operated as an agent to shape the creation of Indonesian citizens (Bourchier 1998, pp. 207-8).

In general, it is acknowledged that the values of Pancasila are well distributed in the everyday lives of Indonesian citizens (Cribb & Brown 1995). Piet’s study showed that it was even formally submerged in the family planning program in Indonesia right from the start, as stated in President Suharto’s Independence Speech in 1967 (2003, p. 83). A study conducted about a decade later also showed the still strong commitment of the family planning program to be in line with Pancasila and religious values, especially to soften the opposition from the Moslem groups (Atmosiswoyo 1978 in Lubis 2003).

However, the Pancasila, which after 1974 had become an important corporate ideology for Indonesia, declined in importance after the 1990’s (Cribb & Brown 1995). In closing a chapter on the political framework of family planning in Indonesia, Hull suggests the focus of Pancasila ideally should be restored to all five pillars, because the recent tendency for Pancasila to focus on only the first principle, of belief in God, might justify intolerance, thus transforming the family planning program into the political one of preventing disintegration (2003).

The first principle of Pancasila, belief in one Supreme Being, is applied to the five recognised religions for all Indonesian citizens: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. As the majority of Indonesians are Moslems, beside Bhinneka Tunggal Ika and Pancasila, the third theme colouring the Indonesian identity may be aspects of the values of Islam. Historically, the issue of Islam in family planning and the preparedness of Moslem communities to adopt the program were of concern to Suharto in expanding the family planning program.
nationally (Lubis 2003). One of the important findings in the first pilot project for family planning, the Serpong Project, which was the basis to expand the program nationally, was that Moslem communities would be more likely to adopt the program when there was strong leadership, accompanied by intensive communication with the religious leaders to build common grounds of perception (Speckman & Zuidberg 1977, pp. 272-93; Niehof & Lubis 2003, pp. 127-30). Thus, the family planning program might use images depicting some Islamic values in order to compensate for the lack of opportunity to create understanding from direct intensive communication with the religious leaders, as was shown to be important in the pilot project.

It has been shown that Islamic identity strengthened significantly during the New Order (Anggraeni 1998, p. 22). Nevertheless, as Hooker noted, however strong the values of Islam in the practice of Indonesian everyday life and, although monotheism was a must in the New Order, as long as Islam was not affronted, other mystical practices, such as Javanese mysticism, could still thrive as cultural expression (2001, p. 501).

The fourth theme in Indonesian identity points to Javanese values. Although the Javanese ethnic group is only one of more than 300 such groups in Indonesia, the values of Javanese culture were often used as the general values in Indonesian political life within the New Order Period (Pemberton 1994, Hooker 2001). Furthermore, due to the high population density and associated problems in Java and Bali, these islands were the priority targets in the early period (1970s) of the national family planning program (Lubis 2003). It is worth looking at this more closely because the Javanese flavour established during the early period of the program might continue to influence the later periods.

These four themes (Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Pancasila, Islam and Java) might serve as key signifiers to connote distinctive characteristics of a specific national identity in the images. The model I will use to describe the construction of national identity in
the images of Indonesian family planning is based on Jewitt’s 1997 study of male sexuality in the sexual health leaflets and posters for young people in Britain. In her study, she looked at the construction of meaning in visual texts using visual grammar from seven main descriptors of images within which meaning is encoded. These descriptors are: the represented participants and their actions, the setting, the symbols and props, the choice of medium, the appearance of the represented participants, the composition, and the relationship between the image and the viewer. These seven descriptors are a reasonable merger of the eighteen main descriptive dimensions for explaining construction of concepts in images offered by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996). While these seven main descriptors will be applied, I take the seventh descriptor of relationship between the image and the viewer before the sixth descriptor of composition in the process of analysis. This is to make the analysis more in sequence for the composition as a whole, the way in which the representational and interactive elements are made to relate to each other and the way they are integrated into a meaningful whole (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996, p. 181).

National identity - nationalism in the images during the New Order Period
In general, the national identity and nationalism generated from images of the New Order Period facilitated discourses of the state motto and ideology, the family ideology, and being productive for progress. Figures 5.1 are three images taken from campaigns of the family planning program from 1986 to 1997 during the New Order Period, which broadly represent the nature of the national identity projected in the images at the time.
In a poster (Figure 5.1a), for the campaign for *Kondom DualLima* Campaign in 1986 published during the New Order era, a family with one child is presented. In this poster, the vectors created by the gaze of the participants are from the mother and the baby to the father. This vector places the father as the important member of the family, or as the norm, the leader of the family, the one who is in a dominant position with all other members of the family represented in a subordinate position to him. He is at the very front compared to the mother and the baby. His right hand is in front of him holding and showing a package of *Kondom DualLima*. The caption states his decision to join family planning with *Kondom DualLima* right after the birth of the first child.

The representation of woman as mother and wife is indicated by the presence of her child and husband. She is a mother and a wife because the underlying assumption is the inseparable concept of having a family at the same time as having...

---

73 The translation of verbal text in Figure 5.1b is: *Cocok Bagi Anda* (suitable for you). *Makanan Bergizi* (nutritious food). *Memberikan ASI bagi bayi Anda* (giving breast milk to your baby). *Busana Serasi* (harmonious clothes). *Alat KB Lingkaran Biru* (Blue Circle family planning contraception). *Alat KB Lingkaran Biru terpercaya dan cocok bagi Anda* (Gold Circle family planning contraception is to be trusted and suitable for you). *Melayani KB Lingkaran Biru* (giving service of Blue Circle family planning).

74 The translation of verbal text in Figure 5.1c is: *Alat KB Lingkaran Emas* (Gold Circle Family Planning Contraception). *Alat KB Lingkaran Emas tersedia di banyak tempat dengan banyak pilihan.* (Gold Circle Family Planning Contraception is available in various outlets with various choices). *Lingkaran Emas KB menyediakan pilihan alat KB, sehingga Anda dapat memilih alat KB yang aman dan tepat untuk KB Anda.* (Gold Circle Family Planning caters for choices of contraception, so that you could choose the safe and right contraception for your family planning). *Alat KB Lingkaran Emas juga mudah didapat di berbagai tempat.* (Gold Circle Family Planning contraception could also easily be bought at various outlets).
a marriage relationship; thus a mother in the image is also a wife. Since the beginning of the family planning program in the 1970s, the promotion of contraception in Indonesia during the New Order era was strongly situated within the context of family (Hull and Hull 2005, Lubis 2003). Therefore, images published by the government depicting a woman, and/or a couple, and/or a family, and/or a man would be most likely be interpreted by viewers as a mother and/or a wife, a married couple, a married family, a father and/or a husband.

The woman in Figure 5.1a is representing her nurturing character by being the one holding their baby. Her being supportive of and subordinate to men is seen in her gaze to her husband and her position in the image which is lower and smaller in size than her husband. In the image, it is the man who is holding the package of Kondom DuaLima, representing him as the leader of the family in choosing the contraceptive. His position at the front holding the package indicates he is the opinion leader and decision maker for his family. The direction of his gaze engages the viewers with him. The condom itself, as the male contraceptive, also makes it suitable for this male oriented kind of approach in communication. The woman as wife and mother in the image is standing behind and in a position lower than the husband. Unlike her husband who is making eye contact with the viewers, she looks to her husband and presents her profile to the viewers of the image. She is smiling and holding their first baby safely between them. All of her gestures indicate her support for her husband’s choice of condom for family planning. The husband’s position is stated in the header: “Keluarga saya bahagia” (my family is happy) followed by a further clarification below the picture which says: “Saya ber KB dengan Kondom DuaLima begitu anak pertama lahir” (I joined family planning with Kondom DuaLima [brand of the condom] immediately after my first baby was born). The stereotypes of men as leaders and women as followers are presented in this advertisement to strengthen his statement.

The interpretation from the viewers about the family in the advertisement would most likely assume them to be to the ideal middle class family promoted by the
government. This middle class status is represented by their costumes. The greater amount of space in the print advertisement occupied by the husband makes the recognition of his clothes easier than those of the wife, since in a culture where a woman follows her husband, it is not so important to identify the woman. As long as the husband is identifiable, the wife as his companion is most probably in the same class. He is well groomed, with well presented clothes, generally healthy, and with a short haircut which most probably indicates him as from the middle class. This model of ideal family for Indonesians as the identity promoted is emphasised at the very end of the messages at the bottom right under the red brand of Indonesian flag colour: “Kondom Keluarga Indonesia” (Indonesian family condom).

In the name of the fifth principle of Pancasila, which is social justice for all Indonesian people, Indonesian citizens are the capital of the state to achieve social justice. Therefore, citizens have to be productive to support the progress of development of the country. The woman in the Figure 5.1b could be an example. She is representing a good citizen in a poster for the promotion of Lingkaran Biru Contraception, begun in 1987. Lingkaran Biru contraceptives were subsidised contraceptives available for all Indonesian married women. The promotion of these contraceptives was still in the spirit of population control and not reproductive health, which would occur in the program in 1990’s. In the 1970s, the national family planning program in Indonesia was more to do with population control in relation to the economic growth of the developing country. This is in the context of the international issue of population control and poverty alleviation that took centre stage in the international conference on population in 1974 in Bucharest. In this sense, family planning is part of the tool to reach prosperity for all Indonesian people or the fifth principle of Pancasila, which is social justice for all Indonesian people.

The concept of a good citizen represented by the woman in Figure 5.1b may be understood as follows. The image divides into four image sets. The polarization is horizontal with the left sets as the given information and the right ones as the new
information following our system of reading from left to right (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, pp. 186-92). The two sets on the left, the given information, are symbols of basic needs represented by the food (the verbal text accompanying is: nutritious food) and clothes (the verbal text accompanying is: appropriate/comfortable clothing). The idea follows the Indonesian popular term for basic needs: sandang-pangan-papan (clothing-sustenance-shelter). The variety of foods indicates the general concept promoted for a healthy pattern of food intake in Indonesia, empat sehat lima sempurna (literally, four healthy and five perfect [referring to nutritious daily food intake]).

The two image sets on the right, the new information, are about the practice of breastfeeding (the verbal text accompanying is: breast feed your baby) and the use of contraceptives for family planning represented by a variety of Lingkaran Biru contraceptives (the verbal text accompanying is: Lingkaran Biru family planning contraceptives).

All the four photos are about the same size to indicate the same status of the four messages. However, the use of the same colour of blue for the clothes in the bottom left hand image set and of the mother and the baby in the top right hand set, and the blue circle, emphasise the unity of the messages as a source of information. Although the first image set of food is not in blue, the composition and the size of the image compared to the three others makes it a separable part of the image. It is also probable that blue for food tends to be seen as not natural. To leave the food in its natural colour might be a decision to emphasise the overall naturalistic coding orientation of the image.

Nevertheless, the information as a whole places the mother in the promotion (specifically the Indonesian citizen) at the same level of the existing basic needs which are sustenance and clothing and the newly created basic need of Lingkaran Biru contraception. She is not only at the same level with the other three basic needs but also implied is her productive ability to care for and breastfeed the baby as the
result of birth spacing which is made possible by the contraception. Looking closely at the flow of information from left to right and top to bottom, it is not the represented participant (the woman) who is important in the composition but the contraceptives inside the circle at the bottom right position at the end of the flow of information. The text closing the bottom also emphasises this fact with the words ‘Blue Circle Family Planning’.

Another example of family planning promotion during the New Order regime is Figure 5.1c, a magazine advertisement for Lingkaran Emas brand contraceptive promoting self reliant family planning. This image has diversity presented in a friendly way to give emphasis to unity. The participants in the image symbolise Indonesian citizens. Diversity is represented by the variety of professions, genders and ethnicities in the reproductive age range, as symbolised by their costumes. The participants are in long distance shot stressing them not as individuals but as a class, in this case Indonesian citizens. Unity is presented in a more subtle way by the symmetrical composition and the similar gesture of the participants in the photograph so that nobody stands out in the crowd. For instance, the people are neatly standing formally as if in a military assembly, which is common practice of assembly from elementary to secondary public schools in Indonesia. According to Kress and van Leeuwen, an image where there is no vector such as Figure 5.1c does not have a narrative structure but a conceptual pattern:

...The structure was a Covert Taxonomy, a taxonomy in which the Superordinate is either only indicated in the accompanying text, or inferred from such similarities as the viewer may perceive to exist between the Subordinates. One visual characteristic is crucial in the realisation of covert taxonomies: the proposed equivalence between the Subordinates is visually realised by a symmetrical composition. The Subordinates are placed at equal distance from each other, given the same size and the same orientation towards the horizontal and vertical axes. To realise the stable, timeless nature of the classification, the participants are often shown in a more or less objective, decontextualised way. The background is plain and neutral. Depth is reduced or absent. The angle is frontal and objective. And frequently there are words inside the picture space...

(1996, p. 81)
The salience of the gold circle between the two hills gives the composition a centrical polarisation\textsuperscript{75}. The Lingkaran Emas in the central position puts the Indonesian citizens in a marginal position, making the Lingkaran Emas (as the representation of family planning) the important element in the composition with the variety of Indonesian citizens as the supporting elements. Inside the Lingkaran Emas is KB, the abbreviation of family planning in Indonesian. The eye contacts from the represented participants demand the viewers support the family planning program by using the self-reliant contraception of Lingkaran Emas as part of a sense of nationalism. The verbal text accompanying the image describes the positive attributes of the Lingkaran Emas brand. It states the name of the brand and the fact that Lingkaran Emas has a variety of contraceptives from which to choose; also that it is safe and right while at the same time available in a variety of places. The most important message is at the bottom right of the space, following the flow of reading from top left to bottom right. Repeating the messages in the space above the composition says ‘self reliant family planning’. Despite all stresses to join the family planning movement in the messages, the high angle of the viewer may indicate the power to choose is still with the viewer’s\textsuperscript{76}, as the principle of the family planning program is voluntary.

In sum, the identity promoted by the images of the family planning program during the New Order Period was strong in state ideology. For instance, Figure 5.1b conveys the value from Pancasila and the Figure 5.1c is a translation of the state motto. In addition, the patriarchal nuclear family is the identity for Indonesian families. Figure 5.1a is a full representation of this kind of family, while Figure 5.1b is an ellipsis of the same kind of family, displaying only the wife/mother. The use of conceptual pattern instead of narrative pattern for Figure 5.1c indicates the represented participants in the image are pointing out a certain class of people, in this case Indonesian citizens: more unity within the diversity.

\textsuperscript{75} Centrical polarisation is a composition where the central is the element (usually the most important element in the composition) to hold the marginal elements surrounding it (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:223).

\textsuperscript{76} High angle from the viewer of an image suggest the power is the viewer’s (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:146, 149, 152, 154).
The national campaigns for family planning in Indonesia are directed at a general public consisting of Indonesians from a variety of ethnicities, races, religions and affiliated groups. The absence of settings such as in Figures 5.1a and b that could be interpreted as referring to the context of a particular ethnicity, religion, race or class (popularly called SARA, Suku Agama Ras Antar Golongan), were taboo in public discourse, especially in the New Order Period, when unity was more emphasised as Indonesian identity than variety. Variety was represented in such ways as in Figure 5.1c, not as a threat to the unity. “By being ‘decontextualized’, shown in a void, represented participants become generic, a ‘typical example’, rather than particular” (Kress and van Leewen 1996, pp. 165-166). Thus, technically the images are usually cropped to eliminate context. This ideal family without any particular context is important in emphasising unity over diversity within the New Order Period. The setting might also indicate taste and therefore background. Thus, the absence of setting in the images could also indicate the middle class family regardless of the previous background.

National identity - nationalism in the images during the Transition Period

Figures 5.2 are taken from two campaigns started in 1998. There were two Presidents during the Transition Period of 1998: in the first half of 1998, Indonesia was still under Soeharto but he was replaced by Habibie in the second half of 1998. Therefore, Soeharto still appeared in the campaign of Indonesia Bangkit! (Figures 5.2a, b, c, and d). However the SIAGA Campaign (Figures 5.2e) was from 1998 to 2002, thus running during the periods of office of four presidents: Soeharto in the beginning of 1998, Habibie in mid 1998, Wahid beginning at the end of 1999, and then Megawati from mid 2001.
Figures 5.2 a, b, c, d and e Five images from the Transition Period.

Figure 5.2a, b, c, and d show magazine advertisements from one of several promotions under the *Indonesia Bangkit!* Campaign. Even though all four advertisements are from the same campaign, Figure 5.2a, b, and c look different because they have a different sponsor than Figure 5.2d. Figure 5.2e was the continuation campaign for mothers published by BKKBN but run by the Ministry of Women Empowerment. All the promotions were to minimise the negative impact of the economic crisis on the realisation of family welfare. Figure 5.2d was from Prodina (*Produksi Indonesia*, Indonesian Products) promotion published in 1997 to increase the consumption of Indonesian products and sponsored by the Ministry of Industry and Trade. At the time, Haryono Suyono, the former chairman of BKKBN (*Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional*, National Family Planning Coordination Bureau) was appointed to the higher position of Coordinating Minister for People’s Prosperity and Poverty Alleviation. Therefore, although the *Indonesia Bangkit!* Campaign was formally aimed at securing more acceptors of family planning, the promotions under the campaign were from a variety of institutions almost unrelated to family planning.
During the Transition Period, national identity concerned positioning citizens to be productive. The analysis of the conceptual pattern, the action and the symbols of the images also suggests the identity of citizens as productive contributors to the progress of the state. Success stories of several income-generating activities to overcome the monetary crisis are displayed with several positive activities encouraged to be adopted (Figures 5.2a, b, and c). By the work of representation, people from Java become a generic representation of Indonesian citizens. These are revealed in the composition of the images for a range of methods. In the first three images in Figures 5.2a, b, and c, the location of the participants are directly stated: Kampung Jajagan, Pelabuhan Ratu, and Sukabumi are all places in West Java.

While most images during the New Order Period were cropped out of the settings, the advertisements in Figures 5.2a, b, and c, include settings appropriate to the activities of the participants represented. In Figure 5.2a the setting is a kitchen for a business making cooked shredded fish, in Figure 5.2b it is a space where piles of cloth and clothes on hangers (on the right hand side of the background) indicate a garment business, and in Figure 5.2c it is the outside of a building for a business producing dried sweetened fruits. These settings also show people from lower socio-economic strata. Beside the fact that families from these strata were the ones who most needed to be protected from the impact of the monetary crisis, to show a setting with such families might be aimed at desensitising people to the monetary crisis by sharing the hard reality of it.

Indonesian citizens were depicted as more God fearing and religious during the Transition Period than previously. Head coverings are used to signify good, God fearing and religious people. These head coverings, such as kupiah for men and kerudung for women, are basically inherited from the tradition of Moslems, where those head coverings are appropriate when going to the mosque for worship and for other religious ceremonies. The national costume for men is a batik shirt or a suit with kupiah and for women a modification of the Javanese traditional costume.
Figures 5.2b, c, and d, with typical combinations of kupiah and kerudung as Moslem clothes, were published in the middle of the monetary crisis of 1998. However, in general, women were more often seen with kerudung than men with kupiah. This reflects Hooker’s argument that while men are to indicate progress during the New Order, women are to preserve tradition (1997).

Clothing for these God fearing citizens does not suggest sexuality, which is a position generally acceptable to most Indonesians. It is less strict than would be dictated by Islam, for there are still women with short sleeved tops and possibly knee length skirts (Figures 5.2a). Some interpretations of Islam suggest a woman’s arms should be covered to the palm and a skirt would be ankle length. Despite the less strict clothes, the images of devout people might suggest religious obedience as a preferable character in Indonesian citizens.

Suharto (Figure 5.2d), the Indonesian president at the time, was represented in this advertisement as the symbol of Indonesia. He is also wearing a kupiah, part of the national costume for Indonesian men. However, as this headwear is also used when attending Islamic religious ceremonies, it could also signify a good Moslem. The smile is friendly in accordance with his popular reputation as the smiling general (Roeder 1970). As Suharto was also named Father of Development, he is also reflecting the image of a friendly father. The absence of eye contact may signify the offer of his friendliness and not being intimidated. It is to invite viewers to be familiar with the important issue discussed in the advertisement about job opportunities. The close up of Suharto gives a personal approach to presenting the issue of prosperity for Indonesian families by buying Indonesian products and thus offering wider work opportunity. The formal word anda to address the viewer in the header is softened by mixing it with the word saudara. The deliberate choice of the Indonesian word saudara\(^7\) might serve as a persuasive word to address the viewers. The meaning in Indonesian might not only indicate respect (which a high

---

\(^7\) According to the context it could mean a relative or just you, saudara is regarded more respectful than the word you that might be translated in Indonesian as anda, kamu, or kau
position President can address people without) but also to invite the highly regarded positive familial relationship much alive in the Indonesian society. Corroborating Messaris’ argument (2003, p. 553), the incorporation of the word *saudara* as complementary to the visual image not only expanded the familial relationship between the President, the viewers, and other Indonesians but at the same time showed the internalised convention about relationships and the operation of that convention in the real-world vision.

The fact that the face is not pictured full frontal – while in visual social semiotics an indicator of detachment – in this picture may be used to represent the Javanese polite approach which values indirectness and the avoidance of confrontation. According to Javanese belief, the sign of genuine power is that it can be exerted with minimum of effort and certainly should not take the form of violence (Anderson 1972, p. 43 and p. 53). Soeharto is thus displaying ‘Javaneseness’ as he demands (an invitation that is difficult to avoid with his number one position in Indonesia78) Indonesians choose Indonesian products to open up job opportunities.

The recognition of the participant as a father in the representational meaning was more important in the image and revealed by the interactive meaning from the use of ‘no eye contact’ in the image of the President (Figure 5.2d). Theoretically, according to Kress and van Leeuwen, no eye contact from the represented participants means an offer of information to the viewers. However, if the ‘no eye contact’ from the President is supposed to be an offer, it is countered by a verbal text demanding the use of national products for opening more job opportunities. Therefore, it is most likely a demand. In Javanese culture, not having eye contact during a conversation is expression of politeness. The demand of getting attention from the image ia also reflected by the fact that the image of the president is prohibited for promotion and yet it was used to promote family prosperity (Figure 5.2d).

78 RI 1 (*Republik Indonesia 1*, Republic of Indonesia number 1) is a common code name for the President.
In fact, the specific familial relation to the President is as a father (Figure 5.2d). This advertisement as part of *Prodina* activity in *Indonesia Bangkit!* Campaign was sponsored by the *Departemen Perindustrian dan Perdagangan* (Department of Industry) and published in a magazine: *Panji Masyarakat*. It used *bapakism* as a persuasive message. The father is wearing a *kupiah*, a symbol of his religious credibility and nationalism. Soeharto promoted the kupiah/peci as part of the national dress and formal evening wear for Indonesian men (Taylor 2008, p. 12). If Spanjaard’s verbal expression of “[t]he ultimate image of the family ideal was incorporated in the image of the Father and Mother of the nation, Bapak Soeharto and Ibu Tien, tenderly looking after their children, the Indonesian nation” (p. 134) is expressed into an image, then Bapak Soeharto tenderly looking after the Indonesian nation might be like what is expressed in Figure 5.2d. The use of the image of President Soeharto in the advertisement also suggests his role as *Bapak Pembangunan*79 (Father of Development) in demanding the use of the national products to open up job opportunities. The use of his image as Father of Development after the monetary crisis, gives a strong overall persona as the Father of Development is also related to his cabinet named *Kabinet Pembangunan* (Development Cabinet) and the *Orde Pembangunan* (Development Order, the alias of the New Order).

At the same time that the familial relationship is invited through the image, the higher position of the president compared to the viewers is also present. The Javanese attitude towards their fellow men of *ajrih* (literally, fear) is used for persuasion in this image. *Ajrih* is one attitude from nine possible attitudes that could develop in a social interaction between two Javanese. *Ajrih* is usually an attitude from a person with a lower social status about one’s relationship with another person with a higher status. In this kind of position, the one with a lower

---

79 When Soeharto appointed his first cabinet in 1967, it was called Development Cabinet (*Kabinet Pembangunan*) a name that has been in use since then. President Soeharto is also named the Father of Development (Bapak Pembangunan), and the New Order is alternated with Development Order (*Orde Pembangunan*) (Antlov 1995, p. 35 in Hellman 2003, p. 23).
status is expected to submit and to show obedience to those with a higher status (Koentjaraningrat 1985, p. 250).

In general, the ‘familial’ orientation for building national identity via the images published for family planning was still strong during the Transition Period. Figures 5.2 illustrate the family for national identity in different contexts. For instance, the families in Figures 5.2a, b, and c are those in a marriage and they are productive in income. Although there is no sense of a marriage context included in the Figures 5.2d, it is still using the family concept in the sense of the father as the leader of the family by his reputation as the Father of Development. Figure 5.2e is the family concept in the community for mutual assistance. The participants in the advertisement signal a community, indicated by the variety of clothes usually found in an Indonesian small community of an RT (Rukun Tetangga, Neighbourhood Community) and several occupations with mostly indescribable ethnicity. Javaneseness is also suggested in the images with a touch of devout Moslem character for the citizens. More about family in the images will be discussed in the next chapter. For now, it is enough to note that the family concept was still seen to be essential in the building of national identity during the Transition Period.

**National identity - nationalism in the images during the Reformation Period**

The image in Figure 5.3a was the poster for the Quality Family Campaign and published by BKKBN in 2001. The woman is a bride and a partner in a family relationship. The notion of family was still portrayed within the context of a marriage relationship. The image presents the woman as an equal partner in the family, as indicated by the equal amount of space occupied by her and the groom. However, the image of the woman in Figure 5.3a still accords with the New Order

---

An RT is the smallest and lowest level of administration in Indonesian society. It is usually consists of about 20 families with a Ketua RT (head of RT) and a secretary. They are elected by the neighbourhood families and responsible for giving information and recommendations regarding the issue of KK (Kartu Keluarga, Family Card), KTP (Kartu Tanda Pengenal, Identity Card), Akta Nikah (Marriage Certificate), Akta Lahir (Birth Certificate), Akta Mati (Death Certificate), and a lot of other important administration for the members of the RT.
construction of women as mothers and instruments for national development (Bessel 2004).

The traditional Sundanese wedding costume of the participants represented suggests that their relationship is a traditional one. They are a couple who respect and still have a tie to tradition. Indonesian viewers might assume that they wear non traditional clothes on a daily basis and only wear traditional costumes for a traditional ceremony, as many modern Indonesians do. The television version of this campaign where the couple wears non-traditional clothes in an every day life situation makes this aspect explicit. As the costume depicted is the traditional costume of the Javanese, or to be precise the Sundanese ethnic group of West Java, this is an indication that Java is still central in the discourse of nationality.

While the costumes suggest a traditional marriage tie in the context of family, the indirect gaze from the participants proposes a new approach to family promoted by the campaign. This new approach about the quality of family is stated above the photographic image: “Rencanakan Keluarga Berkualitas mulai hari ini” (plan a quality family starting today). The context presented in the image on the poster, together with the words in the header, signify ‘thumbs up’ from the two participants as a statement about quality. The degree of involvement for the viewers through the direct speech of the caption is further increased by the medium distance of the shot of the photographic image. A medium distance shot invites more engagement and feeling of presence in the wedding occasion and is considered more persuasive about the importance of planning a family with quality. In everyday interaction, the norms of social relations determine the distance we keep from one another. Such norms are visually created by the length of the shot, where close shots indicate intimate relationship between participants in the images and the viewers, while more distant shots indicate a less personal relationship (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996).
Unlike the caption which contains the word ‘plan’, the stress on planning is not clearly defined in the photographic image of the poster. However, the poster does indicate planning of family within a marriage context if seen in conjunction with the television advertisement. In the television advertisement for the same campaign there is a scene between the wedding ceremony and the pregnancy of the wife with their first child in which the couple are planning their family. Thus, the poster, as part of the same story as the television advertisement, suggests planning of the family in a marriage relationship where women are mothers. In the television advertisement story, the role of wife in a marriage partnership is presented as a seductive one. Here, it is the bride who actively clutches and drags the groom from the wedding party to hide behind a tree, as in a typical romantic scene in Indian movies, thus suggesting her seductive nature. It is most unlikely that the New Order government would have published such a representation of a seductive woman. The New Order promoted women whose characteristics were surrender-submission-acceptance, like the esteemed female figures from the wayang shadow puppet tradition (Hatley 1997). Hatley also noted that seduction and sexuality were not the promoted characteristics of women within the modern literature during the New Order.

This ‘naughty’ way of communicating intimate family issues in the Keluarga Berkualitas Campaign through a humorous story, might have been intended to reduce any offence to possible sensitivities regarding such issues. The story uses Sundanese characters, who are often stereotyped as being humorous and more open to sexual issues than the Javanese. Thus, in this poster, the ‘thumbs-up’ from the husband might not only signify quality of family promoted by the campaign but also his anticipation about the quality of their sexual relationship. Further reading of the image from left to right suggests that, although the two participants occupy similar space in the poster indicating the equality in their relationship, the man as the husband is still the leader while the woman as the wife (and a mother to be) follows the husband. Read from the left to right, it is the groom who first gives a
sign with one thumb up and the bride answers the sign with two thumbs up; two thumbs up is better than one thumb up.

![Figures 5.3a and b Two images from the Reformation Period.](image)

The poster in Figure 5.3b was published by the BKKBN for the promotion of iron tablets for anaemia prevention in 2002. This was after the monetary crisis in 1997 and the fall of New Order in 1998 and in the context of the international conference on population in 1994, when all countries taking part agreed to locate family planning as part of their reproductive rights and health programs. This challenged the previous approach of family ideology in the family planning program in Indonesia, since it also included unmarried women and adolescents.

Unlike other images published for the national family planning program, the participants represented in the poster are not related as family. Although they look as if they might possibly constitute a family unit (the similar colour of the clothes), the television advertisement for the same promotion makes it clear that the male participant is not the husband or the father of either of the two female participants in the image. This uncertainty regarding the represented participants (as family or no familial relationship) might be a negotiation of the perpetuated family ideology still strong within the country and the commitment to the international community whereby family planning was to be promoted in larger scale of health reproduction and health rights.
Figure 5.3b shows a male as the leader. According to Bessel, the traditional Indonesian Javanese belief system, Islam, and New Order ideology all made it hard for Indonesian women to become leaders in the post Suharto era (2004). In Figure 5.3b, the male is the leader although the target for the promotion was pregnant women and girls in the reproductive age cohort. In the television advertisement for the same campaign, the verbal header is a statement from the male participant. The vertical polarisation\textsuperscript{81} of the image composition gives this statement as the ideal information (to take the iron tablets) and at the foot is down-to-earth information about where to get the tablets.

That the package is held by the male participant also emphasises that this statement explaining the benefit of the iron tablet comes from him. In the composition, the package is held by the male participant but put in front of the pregnant woman (the one most at risk of anaemia), indicating the tablets are for her and not for him. Even though the tablets are for women of reproductive age, the opinion leader in the image is the male participant with the two female participants endorsing him. The male as leader is also shown by his position in the very first layer of the composition, followed by the pregnant woman at the second layer, and then the girl at the third layer. The happy, smiling, and agreeable faces of the pregnant woman and the school girl are strengthening the male participant’s statement and his leadership. His more frontal gesture\textsuperscript{82} is more involving to the viewers indicating his leadership compared to the two female participants with their bodies presented at oblique angles. In his position as an opinion leader, an association with dogmatic Islamic values might aim to reduce any offence to sensitivities regarding his commanding nature about the benefits of iron tablets. This is achieved through his costume with the headdress and top signifying him as a Moslem in contrast to the two female participants’ costumes which are neutral with respect to religion.

\textsuperscript{81} In a vertical polarization, information at the top is the ideal one and those at the bottom is the realistic and down to earth information (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:193-202)

\textsuperscript{82} Frontal angle indicates involvement while oblique indicates detachment (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:140-3)
To sum up, the images from the Reformation Period were still presented with a strong flavour of family. Regional identity was introduced as part of national identity and the presence of religious identity was more noticeable with the display of not only the *kupiah* but also the *baju koko*\(^{83}\). The male as leader is still the predominant assumption for the visualisation of the images.

**Conclusion**

To summarise, the national character of Indonesian citizens in the images is, in accordance with the observations of Niehof (2003) and Bessel (2004), shaped by tradition, Islam, and the state ideology. However, in this chapter, apart from Islam, the tradition represented in the images is more specifically related to the values from the Javanese ethnic group while the state ideology is also enriched by the translation of the state motto into images. Therefore, during 1986 to 2003 there are four themes about nationality as citizens’ identity in the images: the values from the state ideology of Pancasila, the values from the state motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, the values of Islam as the religion of the majority, and the values of the Javanese as the dominant ethnic group.

Further investigation into the meaning of nationality in the images using Kress and van Leeuwen’s framework of visual social semiotics, shows the different intensity with which the four themes were applied to support the family planning program in different periods. During the New Order Period, the state motto, the state ideology and Javanese values were all used to characterise the national identity projected in the images. The state motto is *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity) and the emphasis on unity rather than diversity accords with Hooker’s study (2001). In addition, the combination of commitment to *Pancasila* with the objective

---

\(^{83}\) *Baju koko* (literally means elder brother clothes) is a top for males combined with *sarong*. It is not compulsory to wear this special top to pray in an Islamic way but on special occasions such as the praying on the *Idul Fitri* day, men usually wear this *baju koko*. Baju koko is usually light in colour (such as white or different shades of light colours) and without pattern, except some embroidery and two pockets at the front bottom. From the name *koko* which means elder brother, it is most likely a modification of the Chinese top for men.
of family planning to reduce the fertility rate resulting from the image has more adherence to the fifth principle, which is about social justice.

During the Transition Period, the *kupiah* worn by Suharto in Figure 5.2d could either indicate nationalism or Islam. However, during the Reformation Period, *kupiah* is most certainly intended to indicate Moslem identity. The association with Islam is combined to enforce the message while at the same time reducing any denials about taking the iron tablets. Islamic values were key components of the persuasive tactics applied in the visual images for family planning in the Post New Order Period.

The Javanese ethnic identity contributed to the familial approach in the Transition Period. The representation of Suharto, who is Javanese, draws on the Javanese familial concept of him as a father. While the concept of intimacy between participants is compromised by the length of shot dictated by number of participants, there is still an attempt to create as intimate a relationship as possible between the participants and the viewers. Therefore, all the relationships established between the participants and the viewers in the images of the family planning program are reasonably intimate in order to emphasise contraception, the family planning program, and reproductive health, as a moral obligation to the state for Indonesian citizens.

The manifestations of nationalism read from the visual grammar within the images suggest a national identity more about unity than diversity, one that is productive and progressive, male oriented, and familial. Eye contact and intimacy in the interaction between represented participant/s and the viewers suggested by the images are two expressions that are not in accordance with the resources supplied by the visual social semiotics. This is because these expressions are closely knitted within Indonesian culture. The national identity influences the visual images from the campaigns mainly in their representational meaning, which is symbolical in nature with meanings residing in culture. While the visual social semiotics
framework is a useful tool to systematically analyse the images, studies such as this one demonstrates the importance of understanding the specific culture, values, history and politics contextualising the images.
Chapter Six
Families and women in the family planning program

The previous chapter examined the construction of nationalism in visual images. It shows that the discourse of family is a key feature to the construction of Indonesian citizens. Prosperous families were the goal of development with a certain morality defined by Law no. 10, 1992 as legally married families which were able to fulfil respectable needs, worship God the Almighty One, have a matching, harmonious, balanced relationship between members of the family and between families, society and community. The focus of this chapter is to explore further the translation of development policies into family values. It also examines how this process positioned women within the family during three periods of time: late New Order Period, Transition Period and Reformation Period.

This chapter focuses on how the construction of family and women in the visual images supported their role according to the policy of family planning. In particular, this chapter will examine how images of the ideal woman in Indonesia are intended to persuade women to be positive about the family planning program. To be able to do so, this chapter is divided into five sections: images of ‘ideal family’, family planning and women’s roles, women in reproductive roles, women in economic productive roles, and women in their professions.

As well as the national context, it is important to understand the influence of international developments on the family planning program. During the period under consideration, there were three international conferences on population, in 1974, 1984, and 1994. Each had a significant impact on the role of women in the family planning program, as well as women in general and in Indonesia in particular. The first conference in 1974 concentrated on two issues: population control to regulate the use of natural resources was raised by rich countries and poverty alleviation was raised by poor countries. The concerns about the ways in which women were seen to become the target of such population policies became
the focus of the 1984 conference. In this conference, countries with family planning programs made commitments not to target only women. The last conference produced an international commitment to resituate family planning programs under the broader umbrella of reproductive health and reproductive rights. For women, this meant the availability of contraception and its related services outside the family context. However, despite both the international and national policy along these lines, Hull and Hull argued that generally the power of family ideology within the family planning program in Indonesia up until 1998 was so strong that it still excluded family planning services for people not in the category of heterosexual married couples (2005, pp. 66-7). Thus the campaign images over this period were a complex combination of tradition, BKKBN’s construction of ‘ideal’ citizen as well as state and international policy.

**Images of ‘ideal families’ in the family planning program**

I have claimed that the visual images under consideration are underpinned by five constructions of family. The first suggestion is that family equates to heterosexual married couples with or without children. This construction of family is evident in the images in all the campaigns (Kondom DuaLima, Blue Circle, Gold Circle, and KISS) during the New Order Period, all campaigns (Indonesia Bangkit! and Siaga) during the Transition Period, and one of the two campaign (Keluarga Berkualitas) during the Reformation Period. This meaning of family emerges from the appearances of the represented participants as husbands and wives in the campaigns. The compositions in the Kondom DuaLima Campaign (Figure 6.1a), Blue Circle Campaign (Figures 6.1b) also reveal a family unit as the connection between the man and the woman represented. This is also the case in the composition in the KISS Campaign (Figures 6.1c and d), Indonesia Bangkit! Campaign (Figures 6.1e, f, g and h), Siaga Campaign (Figure 6.1i), and Keluarga Berkualitas Campaign (Figure 6.1j). In all of below images (Figure 6.1a, Figure 6.1b, Figures 6.1c and d, Figures 6.1e, f, g and h, Figure 6.1i, and Figure 6.1j), the vectors strengthened the connection between the heterosexual couple in the images.
Figures 6.1a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j and k Images of families with women as mothers and wives in campaigns for family planning during 1986 to 2002.

Furthermore, despite the range of contexts where families are represented in the images in several different campaigns, they depict a husband and a wife as a married couple (Figure 6.1a, Figure 6.1b, Figures 6.1c and d, Figures 6.1e, f, g and h, Figure 6.1i, and Figure 6.1j). In particular, images during the late New Order promote the dominant norm that the family is heterosexual. This is in line with the policy of family planning in Indonesia under which the benefit of contraception and related services from the government could only be accessed by married couples (Niehof and Lubis 2003b). After the inclusion of family planning into reproduction health and reproduction rights based on ICPD 1994, which extended availability of contraceptives to non-married people, and to protect against STD/HIV/AIDS; sex outside of family was not recognised, as it was seen to reflect...
The second characteristic is that the model of nuclear families promoted by the images is patriarchal during the New Order Period. In the representation of the families, men who have the role of husbands and fathers were also the household head and the bread winner (Figure 6.1a, Figure 6.1b, Figures 6.1c and d). These attributes are realised by the vectors, compositions, and their appearances. However, the families in the campaigns during the Transition Period and Reformation Period have the husbands/fathers and wives/mothers more as partners: *Indonesia Bangkit!* Campaign (Figures 6.1 e, f, g and h) and *Keluarga Berkualitas* Campaign (Figure 6.1j). This partnership inside families is realised by their representations, the vectors, and composition in the images.

Husbands and fathers in the campaigns during the New Order Period are also more in the public domain (Figure 6.1a, Figure 6.1b, Figures 6.1c and d) while their wives are depicted in the domestic domain as mothers taking care of the children (Figure 6.1a and Figures 6.1c and d). In contrast, partnership is noticeable in the *Indonesia Bangkit!* Campaign (Figures 6.e, f, g and h) during the Transition Period and the *Keluarga Berkualitas* Campaign (Figure 6.1j) during the Reformation Period.

Although during the New Order Period, the three resources of the images brings forward the key role of men in the family planning program, the centralistic polarisation of some of the images reveals children as the most important component in the images (Figure 6.1a and Figures 6.1c and d). The unitary family with man as the head might be the intended single identity for family in Indonesia.
but there are glimpses of Javanese culture which places children at the centre of the family. According to Koentjaraningrat, children are felt by the Javanese as the source of warmth inside the family (1985).

The symbolic cues during the three periods represent men as important: the head of the household and/or the breadwinner and/or the leader (a leader in Kondom DuaLima Campaign in Figure 6.1a, an important person to be pleased in Blue Circle Campaign in Figure 6.1b, a leader of nation in Indonesia Bangkit! in Figure 5.2d, and a leader of community in Figure 6.1j). However, the importance of men in the images is mixed with other Javanese culture of bapakism. Bapakism is a Javanese form of paternalism and patronage (Geertz 1961). As bapakism in practice usually emphasises loyalty and obedience, the men represented in the images are not only important but to be obeyed. The opinion of the man in the Figure 6.1a about the use of condoms for the happiness of his family is to be obeyed. The call to use Indonesian products to open up job opportunities from the President (Figure 5.2d) also suggests pressure to obey. In addition, taking iron tablets to avoid anaemia for women is also endorsed by a father figure (Figure 6.1k). In the last two images during the Reformation Period (Figure 6.1j and Figure 6.1k), the represented men are wearing the special head dresses which symbolise Islam.

A third element in the construction of family was that familial relationships tend to be equated with the idea of gotong royong (traditional mutual assistance) although Newland studies in 2001 emphasised a nuclear family as the promoted norm. This is another value from the Javanese culture. According to Geertz, the Javanese culture has the pillars of alus-kasar (refined-coarse) and lair-batin (physical-spiritual) with the ideal combination of alus-batin (refined-spiritual) (1960). This ideal combination gives three cultural values of social order involving andap asor and bapakism, social harmony (rukun), and mysticism including rituals such as slametan and kenduri. Rukun is the character of a society without overt expression of divisive opinions and feelings. It is maintenance of social harmony for inner physical equilibrium (Geertz 1961, p. 149). The manifestation of rukun is collective decision
making (musyawarah), unanimous decisions (mufakat), and cooperation (gotong royong).

The gotong royong between husbands and wives represented in the family framework situates the husbands as household head and bread winner and the wives as taking care of the children. The familial feeling with gotong royong might also be presented in the Gold Circle Campaign, where well-off families were encouraged to be self-sufficient with their family planning needs. This self-sufficiency was to support the family planning program for the less fortunate still needing to be subsidised. The word gotong royong was even used in the header of Siaga Campaign (Figure 6.1i) to promote mutual assistance within communities in supporting pregnant women and women giving birth to reduce maternal mortality. In the image, the idea of mutual assistance is realised by the vectors from the members of the community that are directed to the pregnant woman. The Indonesia Bangkit! Campaign focused on lower class families not only to promote income generating activities for the acceptor’s family but also to promote the program to larger scale business people and thus encourage trade transactions between small and big businesses in Indonesia.\(^4\) To encourage gotong royong between small and big businesses, the high angle gives power to the viewers over those families running small businesses for income generating activities.

The fourth element is the prosperity of family suggested as the result of being productive as an economic unit. During the New Order Period, the segregation of members of the family into different domains, where women are in the domestic domain and men in the public domain, suggests the model of productivity of family for middle class Indonesians. After the monetary crisis of 1997, family planning promotions were aimed at the lower class Indonesians and the productivity of the patriarchal family was portrayed by involving the husband as

\(^4\) This additional objective of the advertisement was shared by the creative director for the campaign, Indra Abidin in a personal email 30 June 2005. According to him, this advertisement was also part of a series of exhibitions for products from small scale businesses, where conglomerates were invited to encourage transactions between them.
the leader of the family in the income generating activities which was the business of the wife. It can be seen from the images that the economic and social status of families represented were different during the New Order Period and Transition Period. Families in the images during the Transition Period campaigns were from lower classes (Figure 6.1e, f, g and h, and Figure 6.1i) than those represented in the campaigns before 1997 (Figure 6.1a, Figure 6.1b, and Figures 6.1c and d). This shift to the lower class might support social harmony in the middle of the monetary crisis. Women’s presence in the campaign to overcome the economic crisis is stronger, as realised by the eye contact they suggest to the viewers (Figure 6.1f, g and h), even though they are still in the context of wives as realised by the husbands accompanying them. These women are acceptors and successful businesswomen who get support for their business from the income generating program implemented within the family planning program and whose businesses are supported by their husbands. These success stories are to be the goal for those families in Figure 6.1e who are still struggling to make their business successful in order to become a prosperous family. The productivity of the family during the Reformation Period was portrayed in *Keluarga Berkualitas* Campaign as the partnership responsibility between married couples by planning not only the quantity of family but also the quality of the family.

The last concept is that the family is responsible to the nation and state for the future and women have important roles in it. Women’s reproductive capacity for the nation was dealt with differently over time in the images. The changes did not immediately respond to the international discourse about family planning, but certainly can be seen to be influenced by changes on international issues in family planning. For instance, during the New Order Period campaigns (1986-1997), the images are those of the reproductive capacity of families (Figure 6.1a, Figure 6.1b, and Figures 6.1c and d) which is managed by controlling women. This is in line with the issue of birth control and poverty alleviation of the international population conference in 1974. However, this means that the messages in the images are still targeting women while women as passive targets were the issue to
overcome in the conference in 1984. They also did not accommodate the content of the next international conference about population in 1994, when family planning comprised reproductive health and reproductive rights.

**Family planning and women’s roles**

Before moving on to focus on women, it is useful to revisit the history of family planning pre 1986 with a particular focus on the role of women. It is important to backtrack, as that history is the foundation to further development of the family planning program after 1986, when visual images began to be published in the framework of a campaign.

The nature of birth control and family planning changed with the change of regime in Indonesia from the Old Order Period (1945-1965) to New Order Period (1965-1997). The term ‘family planning’ in relation to birth control in Indonesia was first used in 1952 within the specific context of women. In that year, a meeting of the Federation of Indonesian Women’s Organisations (*Gabungan Organisasi Wanita Indonesia*, GOWI) in Yogyakarta - Central Java firmly rejected the term of birth control because of its perceived infringement of basic human rights. The more acceptable term of *keluarga berencana* (the Indonesian words for family planning) was then coined in the same year by the Family Welfare Foundation (*Yayasan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, YKK). According to Atmosiwoyo, this shift in preferred terminology indicated the future direction of the program which would preference linking birth control with the improvement of the health of mother and child (1978).

Although under the Old Order Period there was sensitivity around the term birth control, family planning at that time was essentially about birth control and therefore was seen as an individual choice. On the other hand, family planning under the New Order Period was primarily about population control and therefore became the prerogative of the state (Aripurnami 1999). Nevertheless, both

---

85 According to the meeting, this is an infringement of human rights “resulting in the murder of unborn children, increased prostitution and a general decline of morality” (Atmosiwoyo 1978, p. 21).
approaches constituted women as the target of birth control and family planning programs. As Lubis argues, in the New Order the maintenance of the health of mother and child became the state’s prerogative, indicated by the fact that its family program was committed to a combination of birth control and family welfare (2003).

On the policy level, the family planning program was part of the government’s development program and the position of women in society in relation to the New Order’s development program had three formal momentums. The GBHN 1973 (Garis-garis Besar Halauan Negara, Broad Outlines of State Policy) portrayed Indonesian women as the caregivers of their family; five years after this, GBHN 1978 acknowledged the peran ganda (double roles) of women in both the domestic and public domain, encompassing their reproductive and economic productive roles as well as socio-political roles. Although there was a significant change in the policy, Utomo noted that after 1978, Indonesian women remained subordinate to men as the result of them not being empowered (2005).

Dual roles however were gradually recognised as adding an additional burden for women because they were not fully empowered in both spheres. Women remained subordinate to men. Their decision-making remained marginal, and access to development programs as well as participation in the political and legislative arenas remained low (Utomo 2005, p. 83).

A decade later, GBHN 1998 recognised Indonesian women as mitra sejajar (equal partners). However, “[e]ven this was modified by the maintenance of the concept that women had a special duty related to their motherhood roles, called kodrat wanita” (Utomo 2005, p. 83).

Within the next 32 years of New Order Indonesia, family planning as an integral part of the discourse about development operates as the instrument for population control in tandem with economic growth. For the control and regulation of life, Indonesian families were targeted to support the development program, with women the special focus of the program (Newland 2001, p. 30). Niehof and Lubis’s
study of family planning in practice also confirms that the family planning program targeted women (2003a, p. 121-148). As the family planning program stresses the family concept in its promotion (as argued in the previous chapter), contraception is perceived as being solely in the domestic domain and therefore the responsibility primarily of women. Because Javanese values are so strong among many Indonesians, these values became an effective and efficient means for targeting women. In Javanese culture, whether within the peasant or priyayi household, domestic problems are seen as the domain of wives (Koentjaraningrat 1985, p. 139 and p. 261).

Newland’s study of the deployment of the prosperous family concept in West Java analyses the Indonesian family planning program through the lens of Foucault’s concept of ‘biopower’ or the administrating of life. According to Foucault, the power of administrating life is made possible by the deployment of sexuality (2001). This involves the discourse of population and medicine in economic processes. Newland’s study in Indonesia during 1995 to 1998, showed that the locus of discourse was within the deployment of Keluarga Sejahtera (prosperous family). Within the Keluarga Sejahtera, the meaning of family tends to be patriarchal and there is perpetuation of “stereotyped gender roles where men are the household heads and breadwinners and women are restricted to the domestic sphere” (Newland 2001, p. 28).

Similarly, Warren and Bourque in their analyses of feminist voices in the study of technology and international development ideologies found:

If concern is directed at reproduction and domestic roles, those issues are likely to set limits on national policy directed to women. As a result, women become the targets of population programs and welfare projects, or they are integrated into the lowest levels of production as part-time workers.

(1991, p. 290)

It is clear that adherence to an ideology in which the division of labour within the domestic domain was based on gender, together with the emphasis of family ideology where the dominant role for women was as mothers and wives, made
women the target of the family planning program. Hardee et al. describe how the combination of population programs, welfare projects, and women, further justified women’s contribution in the direction of an economic role.

Women were held responsible for the welfare of the family. First they were encouraged to use contraceptives in order to limit their fertility and thus help their husbands reduce the economic burden on the family. Second, women’s success in limiting the number of children would give them the opportunity to contribute to the welfare of the family by engaging in economic activities (Hardee et al. 2003, p.185).

Jaquette and Staudt noted that calculated from the national economic statistics, the marginalisation of women from the public sphere meant they were contributing to the country’s development by doing the unpaid labour (2006, pp. 46-9). According to Robinson’s study, this marginalisation of women is the result of modernisation (1985). In her research on a village in South Sulawesi, Robinson noted that modernisation meant a greater share of childcare for the women than in the past because the men were often employed away from home. In addition, the urban middle class ideologies brought by manager’s wives to the village also emphasised the women’s role as child carers. This process brings about a separation between working and mothering in relation to the male and the female domains (Robinson 1985, p. 52). Although the study was done in the 1970’s in a village of South Sulawesi, it is important to note that such a separation of domain becomes “visible in all places where men are employed away from home and men and women no longer work side-by-side in agriculture” (Niehof 2003, p. 147).

The move away from women as the sole target of the family planning program was begun in the Transition Period in the Indonesia Bangkit! Campaign in 1998. The images of men and women as partners in income generating activities were evident in the campaign. The Siaga Campaign in 1998 to overcome the problem of maternal mortality introduced women’s reproductive health within the community as an issue. The introduction of reproductive health to the new domain of communities was strategic, as the issue in the international population conference in 1994 was that reproductive rights and reproductive health were not only of benefit to the
family but for all. Nevertheless, after the monetary crisis of 1997, it could also be argued that women became the target again. At the time, mothers were those emphasised to become productive to overcome the financial difficulties for the sake of the future of their children and families.

These issues of the relation of family and Indonesian women will be discussed in more detail through reading the visual images and considering how such constructions reflect assumptions about the ‘ideal women’ in each period. The construction of Indonesian women applied in and promoted by images in the promotional media for the family planning program is further examined with a view to revealing what the producers of the images assume about Indonesian women. Promotional media tends to use stereotypical characters so that readers immediately recognise the type. Such stereotypes reflect more general discourses about gender in Indonesian society. However, – the producer of the images – BKKBN is putting them to work for a specific purpose, one that did not always conform to normative notions of ‘woman’.

The stereotypical characters are also important because women’s representation in the promotional media had the potential to significantly shape Indonesian women’s views of their identities. Thompson has noted that the media can facilitate the invention of a new tradition recycled from an existing tradition, which he called ‘the re-mooring of tradition’ (1995, p. 179-206). In Indonesian family planning, the characterisation of women in the campaigns aimed to increase their manageability as target groups to accept family planning. In general, the well accepted existing culture was applied with a view to increasing acceptance of the new family planning culture.

After 1998, the significant change for women in Indonesia within the Reformation Period was reflected in the change of title of the Ministry of Women’s Affairs to the Ministry of Women Empowerment in 2000. It was a declaration of a stronger commitment to a feminist agenda from the new ministry (Bessel 2004). This new
ministry, under Khofifah Indar Parawangsa, successfully achieved advances in women’s rights such as a new regulation allowing pregnant girls to still be accepted in schools to enable them to keep up their education.

Megawati Sukarnoputri was the Indonesian president after Wahid. As the first female president in Indonesia, the question of whether a woman as a leader could be accepted in a majority Moslem Indonesia was answered. Despite the media focus on other aspects of Megawati’s role other than her performance as president (eg. her clothes and shoes), the fact that she was a president was proof enough that a woman could be a leader, and this was a mile-stone for the women’s movement in Indonesia (Sen 2002). Within Megawati’s presidency, Yaumil Agus Akhir was appointed head of BKKBN. She devolved the family planning program to the provincial level in accordance with the Presidential Decree 103/2001. This devolution (which was part of the broader trend to decentralisation in the country) significantly reduced the power of BKKBN, which had previously the access to direct communication with the President and direct access all over Indonesia through its network of centres and fieldworkers.

The devolution would mean that BKKBN’s unresolved issues had to be tackled by the provincial level authorities. Hull and Hull noted that the Indonesian family planning program unresolved issues included the transmission of HIV/AIDS, the contraceptive services for the unmarried, isolated, and poor, abortion law, protection for women against unsafe traditional healers, adolescent pregnancy, and violence to women and children (2005, pp. 66-7). The study of the family in the images for family planning program is in line with this study. The power of family ideology within the family planning program is so strong that it still excludes the family planning services for people not in the category of heterosexual married couples. In the long range, this family ideology is also the source of the exclusion of all other issues identified by Hull and Hull in the study mentioned above.
Considering the strong family ideology within the family planning program, the position of women in the domestic sphere and their participation in family planning needs to be understood in the wider context of their roles in society. Indonesian women are generally faced with three types of roles or obligations: reproductive roles, economically productive roles, and community work (Moser 1993). Further, Niehof argues that “Indonesian women’s roles are constructed within a framework of tradition, Islam, and state ideology” (2003, p. 178).

In this study, I combine Moser’s classification of women’s roles and Niehof’s study in order to analyse the representation of women’s roles shown in family planning images. Considering firstly tradition, women are often assigned the position of ibu, which combines the role of a mother (reproductive roles) and an economic agent (economically productive roles) within the family. Ibu are responsible for the welfare of the members of the family even though the husband is the breadwinner. Islam - through the activities of pengajian\(^{86}\) (and/or arisan\(^{87}\), which is more tradition than from Islam) – provides a spiritual resource and opportunity for women in the community to move outside the domestic domain. State ideology stresses women’s roles and responsibilities as wives and mothers, but also as partners in development. Suryakusuma argues that the term of ‘state ibuism’ endorsed by Dharma Wanita (official organization of civil servant wives) during the New Order, emphasizes the biological tradition of women (1996, p. 101). The stress on the biological role of women is clearly shown in Law number 5 of 1974, which defines the relationship between the women’s movement and the state, allocating five roles to women with the first role as wife, then household manager, child bearer, educator, and the last role as citizen (Nadia 1996 in Bessel 2004, p. 10).

The following examines the three roles of women discussed above in relation to the promoted ideal, found within the images of the family planning program. Arising from these roles, I identify three themes which characterise images from the

\(^{86}\) Koran recital and religious education in groups

\(^{87}\) local rotating savings and credit association
campaign: women in reproductive roles as mothers and wives, women in economic productive roles as *ibu*, and women in their professions. The first and second themes are about images of women for the family planning program in the domestic domain. The third section is women in the public domain: their community and professional roles. The next section examines how each theme changes over the three periods of New Order (1986-1997), Transition (1998), and Reformation (1999-2003)

*Mothers and wives: women in reproductive roles*

Figures 6.1a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i and j displayed at the beginning of this chapter are promotional images for the family planning program from all three periods studied: New Order, Transition, and Reformation. In all these images, the representation of women as mothers and wives is indicated by the presence of their child/ren and/or husband. They are read as mothers and wives and not mothers or wives because the underlying assumption is the inseparable concept of having a family and a marriage relationship; thus a woman in the images is always a wife.

Despite the commitment in 1994 to address the international issue on accommodating family planning within reproductive health and reproductive rights, the context of family planning in Indonesia remained within that of the family. All images except Figures 6.1a and b were used after 1994 and all represented women in family contexts. According to Hull and Hull, BKKBN’s perspective focuses on the clause in the ICPD (International Conference on Population and Development) that guarantees respect for religion, values, existing norms, and national sovereignty to protect national culture (2005, p. 56). Therefore, the promotion of contraception in Indonesia is always within the family ideology.
Figures 6.2a, b and c Images of women with altruistic, nurturing characteristics.

Under the theme of mothers and wives, three characteristics of Indonesian women are presented strongly within the images during campaigns within the New Order period: nurturing, supportive and subordinate to men, and complementary in the family partnership. The three images above portray women in their first characteristic of altruistic nurturance, related to their reproductive role as mothers and wives; these images are all from the New Order Period. Figure 6.2a has a completely different object of nurturance than those of Figures 6.2b and c. In this image the wife is nurturing her husband. The image was published for the Blue Circle Campaign 1987. It was a campaign by BKKBN to promote the use of contraceptives and other related services. In the image the promoted items are the long term contraceptives displayed at the bottom right of the space. The wife’s position bending over her husband and her gaze directed to her husband, makes the husband the important represented participant in the image. This protective gesture of the wife in the image gives the impression that her use of a contraceptive is to please, and for the benefit of, her husband.

Figures 6.2b and c were from the KISS Campaign by BKKBN in 1994. The campaign had several objectives which were: to increase marriage age, the use of breast feeding, dietary nutrition knowledge for the family, and participation from the husband/father in caring for the children, to institute educational programs for healthy reproduction, and to provide post natal and contraceptive services, immunisation and diarrhoea medication (Suyono 2004, BKKBN 2006). This campaign inspired two national scale movements within the country, supported and coordinated by two different Ministries. The first was GISS (Gerakan Ibu Sehat Sejahtera, Healthy Prosperous Mother Movement) in 1993/4, which promoted the
objectives of not only decreasing maternal mortality but also developing women’s potential to enable them to increase the family prosperity.

According to Suyono, in this movement, NGOs and especially PKK (Pembinaan Keluarga Sejahtera, Family Welfare Guidance Movement) actively promoted the use of the health centres supported by the Ministry of Health (Suyono 2004, BKKBN 2006). The second national movement was GSI (Gerakan Sayang Ibu, Mother Loving Movement) in 1994. The aim of GSI was to encourage all people to be attentive to and help pregnant women and women in labour within their residential area (BKKBN 2006). This last was coordinated by the Office of the Minister of State for the Role of Women and focused on raising awareness about maternal mortality among the general public and opinion leaders in rural areas (Suyono 2004). The campaign for GSI was titled Siaga (Alert).

In the two images from the KISS Campaign (Figures 6.2b and c) the mothers/wives are nurturing their child/ren. In Figure 6.2b, the mother nurtures her baby by breast feeding. In Figure 6.2c, the mother nurtures her children by participating in the activity of the youngest child. The presence of the husbands in both images indicates the women are married and that the husbands are providing support for the nurturance of child/ren. In the television advertisement version, the youngest daughter is drawing and her older sister and her mother are helping her in this activity. The focus of attention from the rest of the family to the youngest might be a reflection of a Javanese tradition in which the older siblings are expected to look after the younger siblings. This draws on a specific concept of looking after a child in Javanese called ngemong. “Ngemong means to look after a child, with the understanding that one must indulge and amuse him as well as keep an eye on him” (Keeler 1983, p. 154). In this image, the mother and the elder daughter are ngemong the youngest one.

---

88 The choice of the car as the toy in the image was likely to be a deliberate choice of toy to associate the man with the woman and children as a family unit.
The televised versions of those two print advertisements portray the participation of husband/father in caring for children even more clearly. The fathers are portrayed as important figures, one a mother cannot do without. The television version of Figure 6.2b shows the husband as the one who notices that the baby was crying for milk, contradicting the notion that mothers instinctively know what their babies need. This father was watching television and was sitting nearer to the crib than the mother, who was busy elsewhere in the house, probably doing household chores. The father was the one who picked the baby up to give to his wife for breast feeding, reminding her that the baby needs her. In the television advertisement, the name of the baby is Adi, a common name for a Javanese first son.

For the televised version of Figure 6.2c, the father was the last resource, where the child comes to ask for assistance when the mother is not able to help in the activity of drawing. The portrayal of such a position for fathers might be persuasive in increasing the participation of fathers in caring for children. However, the example was a very simplistic one that brought into question the capability of mothers. In the story of the television advertisement, the child needs help to draw a car and her mother could not help her do that.

The captions do not refer specifically to woman, mother, or wife; the caption of Figure 6.2b states “good and right breast feeding... useful for the future of the baby and family” and the caption of Figure 6.2c states “good rearing of children under five years old... useful for the future of the child and family”. Women’s roles as wives in the campaign is in line with Regulation Number 10 (1992) that the prosperous family acknowledged in the government’s program consisted of married couples. These are pictures of wives as mothers. The health and prosperity of the mother do not stand alone, but are integral to the role of mother and wife. This KISS Campaign for Indonesian women, published in 1994, in some ways prefigured the issue of women as target in family planning raised in ICPD in 1984. However, women as mothers and wives are still the target of the family planning program (Figures 6.1b and c). The fact that the name of the campaign is prosperous
healthy mothers, does not the change the fact that the mothers’ health is targeted primarily to better insure women’s responsibility as the bearer of the nation’s futures.

The second characteristic of women in their reproductive role is being supportive and subordinate to men. The images in Figures 6.3a and b clearly portray this characteristic. Figure 6.3a is from the New Order Period and Figure 6.3b is from the Reformation Period. Figure 6.3a, showing the man holding the package of Kondom DuaLima represents him as the leader in the family in choosing the contraceptive. The direction of his gaze engages the viewers with him. The condom itself as the male contraceptive also makes it suitable for this male oriented kind of approach in communication. All of the woman’s gestures indicate her support for her husband’s choice of condom for family planning. The husband’s position is stated in the header: “Keluarga saya bahagia” (my family is happy) followed by a further clarification below the picture which says: “Saya ber KB dengan Kondom DuaLima begitu anak pertama lahir” (I joined family planning with Kondom DuaLima [brand of the condom] immediately after my first baby was born). The stereotypes of men as leaders and women as followers are presented in this advertisement to strengthen his statement.

Moreover their status as middle class Indonesians is easily recognized from their costumes, their neat haircut and her make up. To understand the representative meaning of the woman in the image there are several considerations. First is that
the image was published in 1986. This was after GBHN 1978 when the New Order government acknowledged the dual role of women in both the domestic domain and the economic, social and political domain. This was a change from GBHN 1973 when women’s role was seen only as caregivers. The year of 1986 was also not long after the New Order government endorsed the international convention for the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (Law No. 7/1984). Considering the above discourses, the woman in the image might be intended to represent an independent middle class wife and mother with her own job. However, given the fact that only in 1998 was Indonesian women’s status seen as being equal to men, the wife in the image was more likely to be assumed to be financially cared for by her husband. The woman as inferior to the man is signalled by the compositional meaning. The greater amount of space of the print advertisement occupied by the husband makes the recognition of his clothes easier than those of the wife. In a culture where a woman follows her husband, it is not so important to identify the woman. As long as the husband is identifiable, the wife as his companion is most probably in the same class.

Like Figure 6.3a, Figure 6.3b also applies the stereotype of a man as the decision maker. This was a poster published in 2002 for female labourers in Java. The campaign targeted all women in reproductive age of 14-45 years with the prime prospect of pregnant women, because they are the most high risk group for maternal mortality in Indonesia. In this second image from the Anaemia Prevention Campaign, the prominence of the man as decision maker is surprising, since the iron tablets being promoted here are for women in their reproductive age, not men. However, since so many women who were not clearly pregnant were represented there was a loss of focus in the message. In the television advertisement version, the female represented participants wear a different costume to those in the poster. They wear kebaya and kain. The pregnant woman in the poster appears only once

89 the top of Javanese traditional costume for women
in the television advertisement while taking TTD (Tablet Tambah Darah, iron tablets). The different appearance of the represented participants in each medium weakens the message. A visual system for a campaign in which elements in different media complement each other would be more likely to strengthen the key message of the campaign. The consistent image in the campaign is the men and not the women suggesting him as the most important visual element. The variety of women in this campaign was representing the variety of labourers of reproductive age. They are workers whose reproductive health should be maintained to achieve optimum productivity.

As discussed above, Indonesian men are higher in the social hierarchy than women. The television advertisements produced by BKKBN in 2000 to increase male participation in family planning made use of this hierarchy by portraying men as decision makers and opinion leaders. The target of the television advertisements in 2000 was to increase acceptance of the least popular methods of contraception for males, condoms and vasectomy, to 10%. However, only three of the five television advertisement themes produced targeted males and vasectomy is never discussed in the dialog between actors in the advertisements while condoms were mentioned several times. Nevertheless, the key message at the end of the advertisements was for husbands to accompany wives to get contraception, while still stressing male responsibility to ensure their wives take contraceptive measures.

Figure 6.4 Women as complementary partners in a family for the future.

---

90 the long dress of Javanese traditional costume for men and women usually from a piece of batik cloth
The image in Figure 6.4 was the poster for the campaign of *Keluarga Berkualitas* (family with quality) published by BKKBN in 2001. The campaign was the reflection of the new approach to family planning by the new head of BKKBN, Khofifah Indar Parawangsa appointed in 1999, after the change of cabinet from Megawati to Gus Dur. Within her period, the aims and approach of family planning changed to issues about quality, choice and empowerment, rather than only reduction in the number of children (Bessel 2004). As at the time the head of BKKBN was also the State Minister for the Empowerment of Women, this shift of emphasis was probably related to her other position. Blackburn argued that the change of title from Minister for the Role of Women to State Minister for the Empowerment of Women “marked the end of women’s affairs being seen as issues restricted to wives and mothers; the approach is now to tackle the construction of gender in Indonesian society that limits women’s rights to equity and equality” (2002, p. 78). The National Plan of Action for Women (2000-2004)91 proposed by the Ministry was a formal declaration of the new approach (Bessel, 2004).

Previously, the two main characteristics expected of a woman were to be nurturing, and supportive and subordinate to men, with a third being a complementary partner in a family relationship. Figure 6.4 can illustrate a woman as a partner in a family relationship. The image portrays the woman as an equal partner in the family, as indicated by the equal amount of space occupied by both. However, the image of the woman in Figure 6.4 also still accords with the New Order construction of women as mothers and instruments for national development (Bessel 2004).

The traditional Sundanese wedding costume of the represented participants suggests that their relationship is a traditional one. They are a couple who respect

---

91 There are five points within the National Plan of Action for Women (2000-2004):
  1. improving women’s quality of life
  2. raising awareness of justice and equity issues across the nation
  3. eliminating violence against women
  4. protecting the human rights of women
  5. strengthening women’s institutions (including increasing women’s parliamentary representation) (Bessel 2004, p. 17).
and still have a tie to tradition. Indonesian viewers might assume that they wear non traditional clothes on a daily basis and only wear traditional costumes for a traditional ceremony, as many modern Indonesians do. The television version for this campaign where the couple wears non-traditional clothes in an everyday life situation makes this aspect explicit.

While the costumes suggest a traditional marriage tie in the context of family, the indirect gaze from the represented participants proposes the new approach to family promoted by the campaign. This new approach about the quality of family is stated above the photographic image: “Rencanakan Keluarga Berkualitas mulai hari ini” (plan a family with quality from today). The context presented in the image of the poster together with the words in the header, signify ‘thumbs up’ from the two participants as a statement about quality. The degree of involvement for the viewers through the direct speech of the caption is further increased by the medium distance of the shot of the photographic image. A medium distance invites more engagement and feeling of presence in the wedding occasion and is considered more persuasive about the importance of planning a family with quality.

The caption, which contains the word ‘plan’, together with the photographic image of the poster displaying a couple in a wedding costume, suggests planning of the family in a marriage relationship where women are mothers. A similar message was conveyed in the television advertisement for the same campaign, with a scene between the wedding ceremony and the pregnancy of the wife with their first child in which the couple are planning their family. In the television advertisement story, the role of wife in a marriage partnership is presented as a seductive one. Here, it is the bride who actively clutches and drags the groom from the wedding party to hide behind a tree, as in a typical romantic scene in Indian movies, thus suggesting

---

92 In everyday interaction, the norms of social relations determine the distance we keep from one another. Such norms are visually created by the length of the shot, where close shots indicate intimate relationship between participants in the images and the viewers, while more distant shots indicate a less personal relationship (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, pp. 130-35).
her seductive nature. It is most unlikely that the New Order government would have published such a representation of a seductive woman.

In sum, although Niehof showed that state ideology within the New Order Period portrayed women as mothers and wives, representation of women in visual images solely in the position of reproductive roles appeared in campaigns from not only the New Order Period but also in the Transitional Period (although not in the Reformation Period). The altruistic nurturance characteristic of the role of reproduction is found in New Order Period campaigns (such as in Figures 6.2a, b, and c). The supportive and subordinate characteristic can be found within the New Order Period and Reformation Period, for instance in Figures 6.1. Conversely, the interactive meaning produced by the images suggests more passive women in the New Order Period than in the Reformation Period. In Figure 6.3a from the New Order Period, the woman does not have direct eye contact with the viewers suggesting a portrayal of a passive woman. On the other hand, the woman in Figure 6.3b from the Reformation Period looks directly to the viewers suggesting an engaging interaction and a more active character of woman. Woman as complementary partner in their reproductive roles can only be found within the Reformation Period.

*Ibu: mothers and wives in economic productive roles*

As mentioned above, Niehof showed that tradition for Indonesian women was inherited from the agricultural society, where women worked side by side with men. From this history developed the notion of Indonesian women as *ibu*, which combines the role of a mother (reproductive role) and an economic agent (economically productive role) in the family (Niehof 2003). She noted that nowadays, even in the case where mothers are not working, an *ibu* is still responsible for the welfare of the members of the family even though the husband is the breadwinner. With an inherited tradition like this, it is not surprising that after the monetary crisis in 1997, women were encouraged to take on more income generating activities.
The *Indonesia Bangkit!* Campaign was related to a program established in the 1980s coordinated by BKKBN called UPPKA\(^{93}\) (*Usaha Peningkatan Pendapatan Akseptor*, income-generating program for family planning participants*‘). UPPKA links family size and family happiness by motivating acceptors through the increase of income (Lubis 2003, p.42). Usually the members of the groups within the UPPKA were female and through these groups the members were given economic support for their income generating activities (Niehof & Lubis 2003, pp. 138-146). The UPPKA program to support women’s economic productive roles was not a successful one due to women’s limited capability to make use of the program. As Zinn and Nystues’ study noted: “most poor women do not have the capacity to generate income for a small loan, and as a result, cannot repay a loan with interest” (1992, p. 410). They further identified a lack of skill in the program resulting in poor management (p. 413). In general, after the GBHN 1978, Indonesian women’s dual roles were gradually recognized as adding an additional burden for women because they were not fully empowered in both spheres. Women remained subordinate to men. Their decision making remained marginal, and access to development programs as well as participation in the political and legislative arenas remained low (Utomo 2005, p.83).

The system developed within these groups accorded with the 1945 Constitution, Article 33 - Social Welfare: “economy is to be organised as a common effort based on the family principle (*asas kekeluargaan*)”. The system of economy as mutual

---

\(^{93}\) There are three objectives of UPPKA: enhancing the small, happy, and prosperous family norm, strengthening family planning motivation and acceptance, increasing access for non-subsidised family planning services (Niehof & Lubis 2003, p. 139).
business based on family principles is explained as having the characteristics of: production done by all, for all, under leadership or supervision from members of the community. This system was applied in the activities of the groups under the UPPKA. Another program related to the campaign was the Family Welfare Program in the 1990s. When this campaign was launched in 1998, there were 11 million pre-welfare families and welfare I families under the Family Welfare Program. It was responding to the needs of those families under the government prosperous program after the monetary crisis. In this campaign, small scale businesses owned by members of the Prosperous Family Program were encouraged to develop their business through a saving and credit scheme called Takesra (Tabungan Keluarga Sejahtera, Family Welfare Saving) and Kukesra (Kredit Usaha Keluarga Sejahtera, Business Credit of Family Welfare). Because many family planning participants are women, most members of the Prosperous Family Program were women.

As most participants of the Prosperous Family Program were women, all images in Figures 6.5 indicate the importance of the economic role of the represented women although not in the same way. For instance, in Figures 6.5a the vectors created by the gazes of the other represented participants are directed to the woman, making her more the focus of attention than other participants (if not the centre). Her economic role is explained by the activities presented in the image as well as the texts accompanying the image. The combination of her economic role with her reproductive role as ibu is confirmed by the presence of her husband and daughter in the image.

---

94 According to Family Welfare Development Program of BKKBN, families are classified into five stages of development. Those that are the lowest in welfare are grouped as pre-welfare families and welfare I families. The pre-welfare families are those which could not yet fulfill their basic needs, which are: eat at least twice a day, have different clothes for work, for going to school, for inside the house and for going out, not have earth floor in the house, access modern health services for maintaining health and go to rituals according to their religions. The welfare I families are those who could already afford their basic needs but could not yet fulfill their psychological and social needs (Damandiri 2006).
In the other three Figures 6.5b, c, and d, the images show success stories of the women’s businesses. In these images, their position at the front, as in Figures 6.5c and d and/or the salience of their costumes created by the colour of red, as in Figures 6.5b and d, make them important components in the images. The presence of their husbands also contextualises these women in their reproductive roles as wives. In Figures 6.5c and d, where their products (the garments and the sweetened dried fruits) are displayed on a table or stand, both couples, males and females, also hold their products. However, in Figure 6.5b, where the raw product is fish, it is the husband not the wife who is holding the fish, the symbolic image of women as the weaker sex being endorsed by the image.

Even though the three serial advertisements of Figure 6.5b, c, and d are about success stories of small scale industries, the representation of the woman in Figure 6.5b is an image associated with the traditionality of the industry. In one way, it is a statement of reality. In Indonesia, women dominated the traditional fish industries while the modern ones mostly employ male workers (Siason et al. 2002). Such is generally the case when modernisation in the developing countries involves the introduction of new technology; it is not accessible for women as men are privileged to have training with the new technology and subsequently more work opportunities (Leet 1981 in Warren and Bourque 1991, p. 285).

However, in another way, such representation traps women in stereotypical roles for the representation of tradition. Hatley has argued that within modern Indonesian literature, tradition is within the domain of women while progress is the domain of men (1997). She notes that the traditional role of women as wives and mothers was an aspect of the New Order government’s centralised control based on function. The PKK (Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga, Family Welfare Guidance Movement) and Dharma Wanita (Women’s Service: organization of civil servant wives) emphasised the role of women as wives and mothers, fixed in the domestic domain busy with household problems. Although Dharma Wanita portrayed women in their peran ganda as partners in development such as
suggested by the GBHN 1978, their position in the organization depends on the
position of their husbands and the program emphasised their role as wives. This
marginalising of women from the public domain left the territory for change and
progress open for men.

The coincidence that women are represented in their domestic economic roles at the
time of the monetary crisis is not to be taken for granted. Although women were
accepted as economic resources during the financial crisis, they are likely to return
to their domestic domain in a normal situation. The results of four women’s studies
on a national scale in Indonesia in 1996, right before the monetary crisis in 1997,
contribute to an understanding of the persistence of domestication. Although the
traditions of an agricultural society attribute an economic role to a mother, one of
the women in the study pointed out that, according to Islam, men are the providers
while women could help on a voluntary basis (Family Health International 1997).

Given the state was managed in a strongly familial manner (Bessel 2004), in this
campaign, Indonesian women were called on to help themselves and the country
by being more economically productive in the non-formal sector. This supports
what Warren and Bourque noted that within international development ideology,
“women become the targets of population programs and welfare projects, or they
are integrated into the lowest levels of production as part-time workers” (1991, p.
290).

In summary, the representation of women in their economical productive roles
within the images of IFPP appeared only from images of Indonesia Bangkit!
Campaign in 1998 (the Transition Period). This role inherited from the agricultural
society is called ibu and a combination of women’s reproductive roles and economic
productive roles, unlike the women in the Kondom Dual Lima Campaign, Blue Circle
Campaign and KISS Campaign (the New Order Period) represented solely in their
reproductive roles. Ibus represented in Indonesia Bangkit! Campaign are from the
lower class not the middle class such as women in their reproductive roles. The
reproductive roles of ibus are indicated by the presence of their husbands. Even
though the small businesses present in the images belong to the women, the conceptual pattern from the images suggests that these women are in a less dominant position than their husbands (Figures 6.5b, c, and d). This is in line with the norm in Islam popular in the country: men are the providers while women help on a voluntary basis. The classic study of Hildred Geertz from her fieldwork in the 1950s on the Javanese family showed women from lower classes as more independent economically and therefore less concerned about divorce and remarrying than their aristocratic cohorts (1961). Corroborating the Geertz study, the women from the lower class in Figures 6.5 are represented as independent financially with their economic productive roles, which are the beneficiary of tradition according to Niehof (2005). It could be said that the images of women with their economic productive roles in the Transition Period have traces of New Order’s family ideology and Islam values, where women’s inferior position compared to their husbands might hamper their independence as individuals.

Women in public domain in their professions
At the level of national policy, the GBHN 1978 and the GBHN 1998 supported the existence of Indonesian women in the public domain. While the GBHN 1978 acknowledged women’s peran ganda: domestic domain (caregiver of family as mothers and wives, reproductive roles) and public domain (economic-socio-political roles), it was the GBHN 1998 which recognised women as equal to men. However, the term used in the GBHN 1998 to define the status of women in society is mitra sejajar, which literally means equal partner. The term suggests women not as individuals but as a complement to men and also indicates the persistence and pervasiveness of family ideology.

In relation to women’s role in society, their third obligation is community work (Moser 1993). While community work is women’s contribution to their society, Niehof argues that in Indonesia, women often move outside the domestic domain to establish and maintain relations with other women through the activities of pengajian (Koran recital) and arisan (rotating credit-and-saving association), and
Islam provides this opportunity as well as spiritual resource. However, the images of the campaigns to promote family planning do not show women in these roles but rather in their reproductive roles (as mothers and/or wives) or economic roles (as ibu). When women are represented in the public domain, they are in their professions but in comparatively lower positions than of their colleagues, who happen to be men. Niehof noted that the ideal woman in the New Order Period is to “...be smart, but not smarter than their husbands, responsible, and modern” (2005, p. 176).

The following are representations of women in the public domain depicting their professions. The images in Figures 6.6b and c, 6.7, and 6.8 are women in their professions as a midwife, a family planning fieldworker, and a singer.

Figures 6.6a, b and c: A doctor and midwives, professions to promote Lingkaran Biru family planning services.

---

95 The verbal texts in Figures 6.6a and b are the same:

Anda masih menyimpan pertanyaan tentang KB?
Tanyakan langsung pada kami disini, pada saat Anda masuk. Kami dengan senang hati siap melayani.
Lingkaran Biru KB. Untuk informasi dan pelayanan KB secara pribadi dan mandiri.
Do you still have questions regarding family planning?
Ask us directly inside. We are gladly at your service.
Lingkaran Biru family planning. For service and information of self reliant and private family planning.

96 Kini, Bidan yang terlatih siap melayani Anda ber-KB di TPK-KUD.
Beruntunglah Anda.
Anda dapat ber-KB di Tempat Pelayanan Koperasi (TPK) – KUD dengan dilayani oleh tenaga bidan yang terlatih dan ramah.
Anda juga dapat memilih alat-alat KB yang cocok, aman dan harga terjangkau.
Layanan KB lengkap melalui TPK-KUD.
Now, an experienced Midwife ready to give you service for family planning in TPK-KUD.
You can access family planning [services] at the Cooperative– KUD (Koperasi Usaha Dagang, Trade Business Cooperation) with the services of an experienced and friendly midwife.
Figures 6.6b and c displays the represented participants in their medical professions to promote the use of Blue Circle family planning services. Figures 6.6a and b are photographs of a doctor and a midwife frequently published to promote family planning services in the Blue Circle Campaign. They use a male doctor and a female midwife. Overall, the elements (colour, size, and typography) and composition of the two images are very similar and indicate equality of the represented participants. However, the profession of midwife is represented by a woman and her working partner is in parallel representation but of a higher profession, a doctor, portrayed by a man. Within the hierarchy of the health profession, midwives are still subordinate to doctors. Therefore, the image depicts a lower status for a woman compared to a man.

While Figures 6.6a and b were part of the urban campaign, Figure 6.6c was published to promote the use of Blue Circle family planning services in the rural areas. It has a picture of a midwife in front of a typical Lingkaran Biru family planning services centre to be found in rural areas. The accompanying text explains that contraceptives and their related services can be accessed through the TPK-KUD (Tempat Pelayanan Koperasi – Koperasi Unit Desa, Cooperatives Service Point – Village Unit Cooperation). The text also aims to persuade the viewers by promoting the fact that friendly and experienced midwives are available in these places. This advertisement is not part of a series of images with the same theme like Figures 6.6a and b; it stands alone. The image portrays the most common situation in rural areas, with part of the building and signage visible. A midwife was probably chosen for the image because midwives are more likely to be in charge in rural centres, unlike in urban areas where doctors are relatively more available. A female chosen to represent a midwife might be chosen because female health attendants are often more acceptable to family planning acceptors (FHI 1997). Midwife as profession is also more popular among Indonesian women than men. Other than

You can also choose a family planning contraceptive which is suitable, safe, and priced within your reach (or economically priced).
Complete family planning service through TPK-KUD.
that, the representation of doctors and midwives might also represent that family planning services were for all economic classes: those who could afford doctors as well as those who could only afford midwives’ services for their family planning needs. Although doctors are perceived as being able to give better service than midwives do, they charge more for their services. Therefore, doctors are more likely to be accessed by more well-off Indonesian women than midwives.

Figure 6.7 A winning team in family planning fieldwork.

Women in the profession of midwife wear the typical Indonesian costume for midwives for easy identification. The woman shown in Figure 6.7 also wears such a costume. The colour and style of the costume is military-like. In a country like

---

97 Indonesia Bangkit!
Drs Willy Andjuang (Pengawas) & Sri Suliatikusumaningsih (Petugas Penyuluh KB). Dua serangkai yang kompak.

Dengan Dedikasi, Mereka Berjuang untuk Mengentaskan Orang Miskin
Rise Indonesia!
Drs Willy Andjuang (Supervisor) & Sri Suliatikusumaningsih (Family Planning Counsellor). A winning team.

With Dedication, They Fight to Alleviate [the circumstances of] Poor People
They help each other. One goes directly to the field, while the other is ready to accompany her/him to overcome any problems. With community leaders and the people, they fight for poverty eradication in Jajagan Village, Cikahuripan, Sukabumi. And they are successful. Of 648 households, there are none now categorized as pre-prosperous. Really a success to be thankful for.
Indonesia, where the military had a role in civilian life with dwi-fungsi ABRI (double function of ABRI [Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, the Republic of Indonesia Armed Forces]), a military-like costume could be seen to give credibility to the family planning fieldworkers. With her short hair, gesture, and thin smile, the female participant represented in Figure 6.7 could be an army officer. The male participant has a broader smile and looks friendlier, but in the hierarchy he is the supervisor, as explained by the title below the photograph.

Figures 6.8a and b present Lis Dahlia, a dang dut singer to persuade men.

In addition to the professions of midwife and fieldworker, a female singer was used in Siaga Campaign. This campaign was part of the GSI (Gerakan Sayang Ibu, Mother Loving Movement) from 1998 to 2003 coordinated by the Minister of Women’s Empowerment. The campaign aimed to empower husbands, community, and midwives to reduce maternal mortality. It encouraged care for pregnant women and women in labour. It was a response to the reality of high maternal mortality in Indonesia, which was still 337 maternal deaths per 100,000 births in 1997 (CBS 2003). This visible concern for women within their reproductive role, with women portrayed as powerless and needing support from their husbands, people in their community, and midwives, could be seen as counter productive. The campaign’s representation of women could imply helplessness and dependency upon others as

---

98 Indicated by the speech bubble in the red background of the caption which says “yuk, gotong royong bantu ibu hamil dan melahirkan” meaning lets [have] mutual assistance to help pregnant women and [those] in labour. Below the picture is the symbol of Warga SIAGA with an explanation of what SIAGA means for a community. The closing message at the bottom right is ibu sehat, bayi selamat, keluarga pun bahagia meaning healthy mother, safe baby, thus happy family.
well as indicating that the social system does not encourage women to be independent.

The use of Iis Dahlia, the well known dangdut singer at the time, as the main character in the campaign seems at first to be promising since she is seen as an independent woman. However, reading the lyrics of the song she sings to husbands for the television advertisement (published in 1998) and seeing her performance, the overall impression is of a woman being persuasive in a sexy and begging way.99 Two other versions, one for the community100 published in 2001 and one for midwives101 published in 2002 take the same approach. All the words portray helpless women who need support. In her study, Browne classified dangdut as low-class popular music and identified the benefit for the singers as only in elevating economic status (2000). However, Browne also noted that dangdut reinforces cultural gender stereotypes associated with low class (kasar-nafsu) and therefore degrades social status (2000).

In summary, although during the New Order, the dominant state gender ideology positioned women in the domestic domain, the representation of women in the public domain through their professions can be found within the New Order Period as well as the Transition Period. Such representations are found in

99 The following are the dangdut song lyrics of Suami SIAGA (Alert Husbands): “Kau laki-laki pujaaaku selalu bersama arungi samudra hidup dalam hidup rumah tangga. Kau tak ganteng tapi gagah penuh perhatian dan kasih sayang. Kau selalu SIAGA, siap antar juga selama anakmu dalam kandunganku. Suamiku, kau SIAGA selalu. Suamiku, itu yang kita mau. Kau lindungi aku dan bayiku. Sayang, aku makin cinta kamu” meaning: you are my adored man always together sailing the sea of life in family life. You are not handsome but manly, full of attention and loving care. You are always alert, ready to accompany [me anywhere] watch [over me] while I bear your child in my womb. My husband, you are always alert. My husband, that is what we want. You protect me and my baby. Darling, I love you more [for that].

100 This is the dangdut song lyrics of Warga SIAGA (Alert Community): “Yang, disayang sayang, yang. Semua saling bantu. Yong digotong royong bikin ringan persalinanku. Oh warga SIAGA harapanku. Selamatkan aku dan bayiku. Yong, digotong royong, yong. Warga SIAGA selalu bantu aku...” meaning: All care for those who care. All help each other. Help, always help each other to make my labour easier. Oh alert citizens my hope. Rescue me and my baby. Help, always help each other. [The] alert citizens always help me....

101 This is the dangdut song lyrics of Bidan SIAGA (Midwife Alert). “Kala kugundah hadapi persalinanku. Kau selalu ada tak kenal lelah dampingi aku. Oh bidan SIAGA, kau pahlawan hatiku.” meaning: When I am restless facing my labour. You are always tirelessly at my side. Oh alert midwife, you are the hero of my heart.
campaigns such as Blue Circle, *Indonesia Bangkit!*, and *Siaga*. In all three professions presented (midwife, fieldworker, and singer), women are however, still represented in relatively lower positions compared to men. This might be the translation in images of the term for Indonesian women as *peran ganda* and *mitra sejajar* in the GBHN 1978 and the GBHN 1998, where the meaning of Indonesian women is conceptually still within the domination of men. For instance in Figures 6.6, the doctor as the higher profession compared to the midwife in the health service has to be represented by a man with a woman as the midwife. In Figure 6.7, the supervisor of the female fieldworker is a male. In addition, Figure 6.8 shows a successful female singer singing lyrics directed to husbands with persuasive words but about the helplessness of women in their motherhood roles as *kodrat wanita* (women’s destiny).

Therefore, the state ideology of the New Order that positioned women in their reproductive roles as mothers and wives appears not only in images during the New Order Period but also during the Reformation Period. However, the women represented in the New Order Period are relatively more passive than those in images of the Reformation Period. The economic productive roles of Indonesian women in the images do not stand alone but are represented in conjunction with their reproductive roles within the concept of *ibu*. These Indonesian women appear in images during the Transition Period to encourage small businesses for income generating activities. Conceptually, values from the state, Javanese culture, and Islam strengthened the marginalization of women’s position compared to that of men and therefore might be counter productive not only for their economic independence but also as individuals. In the images of *Indonesia Bangkit!* during the Transition Period, to rationalise the income generating activities by mothers and wives, the economic roles of lower class Indonesian women (which were an inheritance from the agricultural tradition) were re-imagined within the concept of *ibu*. The representation of women in the public domain is within their professions and not within their community or pengajian and *arisan* as Moser’s study (1993).
and Niehof’s study (2003) indicated. These women in their professions can be found within images from the New Order Period as well as the Transition Period.

**Conclusion**

The images from the family planning program represent Indonesian women in accordance with the New Order gender ideology of women as mothers and wives supporting development of the country. The biological nature of women as mothers/wives or women’s *kodrat* (destiny) is emphasised in the images. Images of women in the advertisements published for the family planning program that represent them in their reproductive roles and economic roles accord with Moser’s classification of women’s roles in society (1993). However, their representation in the public domain is not within the community such as noted by Moser (1993) or *pengajian* and *arisana* indicated by Niehof (2003), but within their professions. After the monetary crisis in 1997 followed by the fall of the New Order in 1998, stronger women, sexually confident women and authoritative women are portrayed.

The international commitment to address the issue of women as a target in 1984 had only a slight impact on the images of women in the IFPP. In general, women were still the target audience for the family planning program in all campaigns within the periods of New Order, Transition, and Reformation. These images promoted the program by representing women primarily in the family context, working for the benefit of the development of the country, thus applying and at the same time promoting the New Order’s family ideology.

During the New Order Period, the ideal Indonesian women in their reproductive roles as mothers and wives are portrayed through the characteristics of providing altruistic nurturance for their children and husbands and being supportive and subordinate to men. They are middle class women. The dominant ideology of female subordination is strong in the images. This is in line with the GBHN 1973 and the GBHN 1978, which situated women as caregivers of family and having *peran ganda*, a double role in the domestic domain and the public domain as a
partner in development. This analysis corroborates Niehof’s conclusions that the Indonesian state ideology in New Order stressed women’s roles and responsibilities as wives and mothers, but also partners in development (2003). However, Utomo noted that after the GBHN 1978, Indonesian women are still subordinate to men (2005).

The Transition Period showed women as *ibu*, a concept combining women in their reproductive role and economic productive role. These women represented in their economic capacity are from the lower classes such as those studied by Geertz (1961) but without the independence noted in her study. Perhaps it is because these women are conceptually bounded by the family ideology where women are subordinate to men, drawn from the state ideology, Islamic values, and Javanese culture. Representations of Indonesian women in this period were used in the family planning program to promote prosperity through the successes of small businesses within low economic strata. The strength of persuasion within these images is rooted in identifying the ideal aspects of life in the existing Javanese culture, manipulating it, and re-lodging and re-mooring it in a different plane for the promotion of modern life (see Thompson on re-mooring tradition 1991). The images of women in their economic productive roles portray the previous agricultural tradition transformed into the modern Indonesian tradition. The agricultural tradition of *banyak anak banyak rejeki* (many children much fortune) in which women worked and did child caring side-by-side with men in agricultural society is transformed to the modern Indonesian tradition of the *dua anak cukup* (two children is enough) in which women perform income-generating activities in small scale home industries side-by-side with their men. Although these women were presented as successful figures, the physical aspect of being weaker than their husbands is still important. The traditional environment of the small-scale businesses also reinforces the notion of women’s place being within the domain of tradition, as argued by Hatley (1997). In the public domain, the spokesperson of *Siaga* Campaign is a singer from dangdut genre: music popularly known as low-class with singers gaining financial capacity but degraded socially.
The Reformation Period sees images of women returning again in the same reproductive roles although more active and confident whilst always less so than the men. The subordination of women in Indonesia is in line with Hatley’s study of women in the domestic domain (1997) and Bessel’s study of women in the public domain (2004).

While it might be unlikely for a woman to be acceptable as a leader within some Indonesian circles, a woman portrayed as seductive, unheard of in any government publication in the New Order, has to be made permissible within the context of family where her husband is the leader. This is shown in the *Keluarga Berkualitas* Campaign. Any possible feeling of offence is further ‘desensitized’ by the context of Sundanese ethnicity, a humorous approach, and the fact that the woman still follows her husband’s lead in giving approval. Furthermore, the images of women in Figure 6.4 suggest that woman’s destiny (*kodrat wanita*) still lies more as partners in development as wives and mothers. Familiar concepts already established (sex is only within the context of family, women following husbands, Sundanese ethnicity as humorous and more open to sexuality) are used to promote a new ideology, which emphasises quality for family (stated clearly in the accompanying text) and a more confident woman.

In conclusion, to varying degrees, the family ideology remained dominant in representations of women in the IFPP images in emphasising their reproductive, economic productive, and public domain roles within late New Order Period, Transition Period, and Reformation Period. There is an improvement of women’s position in society reflected in these representations but it remains unequal to men. Nevertheless, international commitment in the conferences for population in 1974, in 1984, and in 1994, combined with the state policy from the GBHN 1973, the GBHN 1978, and the GBHN 1998, contributed to a reduction in the persistence and pervasiveness of family ideology reflected in the images.
Chapter Seven
Conclusion

This thesis has investigated the discourses present within the print advertising images of family planning, and how they worked to promote the national program of Indonesian family planning. It makes clear that visual communication is substantially cultural in nature and adds to an understanding of the mechanism of culture within visual images as a persuasive tool for visual communication. This study deals primarily with the reading of images and how cultural meanings embedded in the images facilitates the understanding of discourses. The national family planning program in Indonesia provides a good case study as the program is a state program on a national scale. It also spans more than three decades and four different presidents. During this time, Indonesian society transformed from a traditional agricultural to a more modern industrial society. This transformation was supported by the ongoing campaigns of family planning. After the family planning program devolved to the regional level in 2003, the devolution demanded a continued promotion of family planning with an inclusion of local cultures for efficient messages. This study adds weight to the growing body of textual analysis but is particularly significant as the first of its kind within an Indonesian cultural context.

While there are many studies of the family planning program in Indonesia, there has to date been no significant study of the role of images in such programs. Therefore, the application of visual social semiotics, focused on the reading of images as carrying distinct and sometimes separate meanings from the text, distinguishes this thesis from other studies in that the visual images are treated as the main primary data. This thesis shows that such analysis provides a complementary account to the reading of texts, one which may reveal more clearly the social and cultural tensions produced by the political nature of the program in family planning. This conclusion highlights some of the key findings of my study and indicates areas for further research.
The dissemination of the visual messages for family planning in Indonesia was the responsibility of BKKBN. The change of position of the BKKBN – from a body that was an integral part of economic policy of the state during the New Order Period, to be part of the gender policy under the Ministry of Women Empowerment, and then as a part of the public health policy under the Health Department during the Reformation Period – mirrors shifts in international policy about family planning, albeit lagging behind to some extent. The policy on family planning in Indonesia cannot be separated from the policy on the international level. In the first ICPD\textsuperscript{102} of 1974, family planning was located within a discourse of poverty alleviation and population control. Later in 1984, the same international conference scrutinised the fact that women were being treated as the passive targets of family planning programs and all countries that participated agreed to tackle the problem by incorporating the problems into the gender policy. In 1994, all countries participating in ICPD were to integrate family planning and contraception as part of reproductive health and reproductive rights.

The development of policy promotion in Indonesia included the importing of a social marketing framework for the program deployment, techniques of persuasion and graphic system. However, the promotional advertisements sent messages by applying Indonesian culture in the visual images. This study found that the discourses about family planning are created in the images by playing two different themes: nationalism and, family and women. The images portrayed an ideal image of family and women as a new kind of patriotism for a modern Indonesia. The ideal family and women in the images could create interaction with the viewers seeing the images and these discourses positioned viewers as one of them, Indonesian citizens.

The examination of the family planning campaigns in this study also suggests that international discourses about family planning are not necessarily immediately

\textsuperscript{102} International Conference on Population and Development
indicative of the direction of the national program. When international commitment about family planning in 1994 was to incorporate the policy to not target women as passive subjects, the publication of the KISS Campaign for mothers in 1994 by BKKBN presented women as part of the tool for family planning as if still under the discourse of population control and poverty alleviation, an international commitment in 1974. Later, during the monetary crisis, the family planning program was taken over by the Ministry of Women Empowerment and a campaign for women, Siaga, was initially started in 1998 and to some extent presented women in stronger roles. Although images of stronger women during the Transition Period (1998) were a promising indication for women’s equity in the country supported by the state, the images of women emphasising their reproductive roles and subordination to men returned during the Reformation Period (1999-2003). The rise of ethnic identity and tradition together with Islam during the Reformation Period produced a return to a more traditional image of women following their kodrat or what is seen as their inherently female nature, and thus weakened their position. This is visible in the Anaemia Prevention Campaign in 2002, whose target was women labourers in Java. In the images, the opinion leader to be followed is a Moslem male and the women labourers are represented only as a pregnant woman. Their attributes as labourers who have independent financial capacity and economic reproductive capability which in its own right is a powerful feature of these women are not acknowledged; it is absent from the images.

After recounting the family planning program in relation to the broader picture of the international and national policy, below are the important findings of my study from the visual images of the family planning program. It is divided into two sections. The first section considers the theoretical implications for visual social semiotics in understanding images from non Western cultures. The second section considers key themes from the images themselves, which identifies four major signifiers central to the construction of their visual social semiotic meaning. Both are the result of cultural forces embedded in the visual images under consideration.
Understanding the family planning program images

As a theory of visual communication, visual social semiotics has many technical terms and terminologies to define specific concepts in reading images. This broadened and deepened the process of analysis of the images but also entailed the requirement to develop and modify the framework in order to apply it to an Indonesian context. When this framework of analysis is applied to interpreting non-Western images such as those from the family planning program, some resource protocols from visual social semiotics were in conflict with Indonesian cultural principles. In general, the visual grammar is the same but some resources have different meanings than those suggested by the framework. For instance, interpretation of no eye contact of the President in Figure 5.2d from Indonesia Bangkit! Campaign indicates a demand, while according to visual social semiotics no eye contact from a represented participant usually indicates an offer.

Although the family planning program employed visual experts educated in Western principles of visual communication, the images were still published for ‘Indonesian’ audiences. However, these visual experts were working within a social marketing framework, where every step is researched before moving to the next step. Consequently, the visual images produced are closer to ‘Indonesian’ culture in which visual communication principles are different from the culture from which visual social semiotics was derived. The high frequency of research and pre-testings are especially likely for the campaigns at the beginning for the family planning program (Kondom Dualima Campaign and Blue Circle Campaign) when there was sufficient budget for a rigorous research component in the process of creating the images.

For images where the underlying culture is different than that of visual social semiotics, the grammar cannot be applied by itself for reading the images. The resources identified by Kress and van Leeuwen in visual social semiotics were thus only a starting point for reading the images. Reading the program images had to be enriched by cross reading them with historical, political, social and cultural
contexts. The interpretation also had to acknowledge ethnography as an unavoidable subjective part of the process. As an Indonesian, I use my knowledge about Indonesia as part of the first identification to be structurally investigated by the visual social semiotics framework and other contexts in the study. My knowledge as a graphic designer was also used to refine and enrich my interpretation.

In the case of visual images in the family planning program, the images represent two cultures: the existing culture and a new culture of ‘small, happy, prosperous family’ which is part of the development program in the country. As Barthian structural semiotics has language as its perspective, theoretically the more stable existing culture as the shock absorber of the new culture would be more likely to be in semantically symbolic signs, while the new culture is represented through iconic signs.

However, visual communication blurs iconic and symbolic signs because visual images such as photographs in the family planning program are iconic signs. In visual communication, codes (with their denotative meanings), which are culturally symbolic in nature, are intermingled with resources (with their connotative meanings), which are iconic in nature. Thus the existing culture and new culture are inseparable within visual images. This means that the visual image claims would always present as being more authentic. This way, the illusionary character of reality in the images is persuasive for the viewers because the images represented are undeniably visible. They are shown as if constituting a ‘true’ representation of reality.

In the family planning program, the images represented are aspirational images. They are not a representation of reality; they are the representation of ideal concepts about Indonesian family and women. As the ideal concepts are translated into photographs which blur iconic and symbolic signs, there is no clear line
between illusion and reality. In visual images, the new promoted culture is *a priori* accepted.

An example for this is the image from *Indonesia Bangkit!* Campaign (Figure 6.1e). The inheritance from agricultural tradition for women as *ibu* with their roles as reproductive and economic productive capacity is translated into the modern Indonesian tradition. The agricultural tradition in which women worked and did child caring side-by-side with men is transformed to the modern Indonesia in which women perform income generating activities in small scale home industries side-by-side with their men.

The image of the woman in Figure 6.1e traditionally signalled an *ibu* which is a symbol of the reproductive and productive roles of women. In the advertisement, the acceptance of women in income generating activities for Prosperous Family Program relies not only on the representation of woman performing such activities but also on the well established concept of *ibu*. While a traditional *ibu* performed an economic productive role for her family, the *ibu* in this advertisement is in an economic productive role partly for the success of the state program of family welfare. *Ibu* as symbol of women’s reproductive and productive roles is within the visual vocabulary; it is in the representation of the woman in the advertisement. The visual grammar: composition of the visual components, the narrative of the image, and the story from the verbal texts are together creating new information about the woman *vis a vis* the state program of family welfare.

The visual images from the family planning program are intended for general Indonesian viewers; the audience do not possess a Western visual literacy for they do not have training in Western visual communication principles. Therefore, meanings from visual images are not always in accordance with the resources available in visual social semiotics, which are derived from principles of Western visual literacy. In this study, meanings from images of the family planning program are defined in society by the most powerful discourse at that specific time and
place, in which the discourses are most available and most effective for the viewers in interpreting messages.

Consequently, reading the visual images of family planning means not only interpreting them from the resources available from the visual social semiotics but also from the aspects of policy and culture. The existing culture was interpreted using Barthes’s approach and the new culture interpreted using the visual social semiotic framework. While meaning from images could be drawn in from policy, reciprocally, the discourses from visual images facilitate policies.

Although meaning from visual images is usually regarded as ambiguous compared to those from verbal texts, from the experience of conducting this study, I prefer not to compare it as such but to only acknowledge their differences. While reading images for the process of academic research might in certain circumstances and to a certain extent need verbal texts for analysis, it is this fuzzy character that is also the strength of visual images. The meaning could be read to suit the level of appreciation of the viewers. Drawing on Sperber and Wilson’s Relevance Theory (1986), then it could be said that the visual images conform to optimal relevance so that they can achieve the most effective impact with the most efficient processing effort for the viewers. However, this study also shows that cultural forces in visual images could be stronger than the relevant principle of the messages.

For example, from the relevant principle, the visual image from Blue Circle Campaign in Figure 6.1b depicts a woman and a man. Knowledge that it is an advertisement of contraceptives would lead to an interpretation that the woman and the man must be a couple. However, it is the knowledge about the culture of sex inside family endorsed by the government that leads to the interpretation of the represented participants as a married couple. This is most likely for Indonesian viewers despite the fact that the wedding rings of the couple are not visible in the image. Had the contraception advertisement been from a Western culture, the represented participants could just be two sexually active individuals who have
sexual intercourse. In such a context, a sexual relationship does not necessarily imply that the couple is married.

Another example is the woman from Figure 5.1b from Blue Circle Campaign. The fact that she holds a baby indicates her as a mother. There is no presence of man in the image. Yet for an Indonesian viewer, the woman would most likely be interpreted as a wife as well as a mother. The knowledge of the strong culture of heterosexual married family supported by the state would lead to the interpretation of her as wife and mother.

To review visual social semiotics as a framework for reading images of non-Western culture, all the three meanings (the representational meaning, the interactive meaning and the compositional meaning) need different degrees of modification (see Appendix 1.1 for the detail of the framework). In the representational meaning, the syntax of the visual elements narratively or conceptually tell a story from denotative meanings from the images. In the family planning program, this is usually the new culture of small happy prosperous family.

The representational meaning from the lexis of the visual elements (which Kress and van Leeuwen have not developed extensively and Barthes’s work could be amalgamated to complement) calls for an indepth knowledge about the culture where the images are produced. This is the visual vocabulary used in the images and it is from these symbolic meanings that connotative and ideological meanings could be understood from the images. These meanings make the messages work in the process of communication. In the family planning program, the well established culture of family ideology initially introduced by the New Order in the beginning of the program, are being intensively used in the family planning messages throughout the Transition and Reformation periods.
The resources listed by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) for reading the interactive meaning, are suitable only to start the process of interpretation from the images. As interaction is naturally cultural, each aspect of resources listed in the visual social semiotics has to be cross checked with the knowledge about the culture of communication in which the images are created. In the family planning program, the lack of eye contact that is a demand could only be understood through knowledge of the Javanese culture of communication.

The only meaning that can be applied without any modification from those suggested by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) is the compositional meaning. This is because the visual creators of the images for the family planning program were educationally trained in Western principles of design. However, the signification of the meanings from the composition still resides within the culture in which the images are created.

**Meanings from the family planning program images**

I now move to the substance of this study. There are four important findings from this thesis all highlighted by culture: the impact of social marketing on the communication approach of the family planning program; the pervasiveness of culture in visual images; the new resources found in the visual images of the family planning program; and the direction of visual images for family planning in the future.

The social marketing framework changed the approach of communication in the family planning program from a face-to-face interaction into a mediated one. This change of approach started in 1986 when the expansion of family planning reached all provinces in Indonesia. At the time, the expansion and maintenance of the program into all provinces displayed a strong authoritarian approach. The time when social marketing was adopted was the next stage of the family planning program. The BKKBN termed this next stage as the institutionalisation of family planning during the Repelita IV. This process of institutionalisation signalled the
attempt to create family planning as part of Indonesian culture. To achieve this, family planning was promoted within the broader issue of family welfare.

While family planning was promoted using the dialogical face-to-face communication between participants of family planning and medical staff or family planning fieldworkers, the new broader issue of family welfare was promoted using the monological mediated communication between viewers of media and represented participants within the media. The doctor and midwives in Figure 6.6a, b and c are examples of represented participants that are interactively trying to monologically promote family planning with the viewers of the advertisements.

The characteristics of messages carried by visual images from social marketing emphasises the voluntary change of attitude of the viewers. As a direct translation of marketing principles of free society capitalism, messages derived from social marketing might thus be expected to be engagingly persuasive. In addition, the absence of dialog between represented participants and viewers in the visual images also means that the nature of communication in the media regulates the adoption of an idea by the viewers to rely more on persuasion.

In the family planning program which had a long history of coercive approaches under the authoritarian regime, the images produced have a character that is more significant conceptually than perceptually, although the images used are iconic in the form of photographs. The conceptual signification which relies on symbolic meanings means a greater control on the dissemination of information in the country to get the intended meaning correctly interpreted by the viewers. There was limited freedom for the viewers in interpreting the images.

An example of this is found in the image from Gold Circle Campaign in Figure 5.1c. The image is conceptually significant in relation to the state motto of unity in diversity. The overall peaceful atmosphere between represented participants with different professions, ethnicity and gender emphasises the ideal unity of Indonesian
citizens from a number of diversity. This signification of an idealistic portrayal of Indonesian citizens was controlled by the discourses from the state about the meaning of unity and diversity and these discourses were facilitated by the visualisation. The visual image produced from a framework of capitalist social marketing within an authoritarian Indonesia relied on the power of controlling unity of discourses to enable viewers to read the expected interpretations. Perseverance of this kind of technique of creating visual messages during the New Order might have worked in that period, but not in the long run when the meaning of unity in diversity shifted because of new cultural forces evident in a more democratic nation.

If form and content are combined together at least theoretically by drawing in the meaning of sub-culture by Hebdige (1986), then repetition of the same visual grammar through time would create a certain visual style (including symbols related to it) which is synonymous with a certain sub culture. In the visual images under consideration, it seems that the New Order visual symbols about ‘Indonesian’ family planning were so strong that they were applied during the Transition Period and Reformation Period. It is in the form of family ideology.

Within the family ideology, women as members of families are symbols of altruistic ideal citizens. During the New Order, women were to manage their reproduction system for the development of the nation. When they had successfully limited their children and the monetary crisis hit the country, women had to be active in generating income for their family as well as to support the Family Welfare Program of the state. In the Reformation Period, when family planning and the use of contraceptives had become part of a culture, these women return to their kodrat; supporting husbands (Keluarga Berkualitas Campaign) and following male leadership (Anaemia Prevention Campaign). While symbols to promote family planning remain the same, the inconsistency of graphic system of Indonesia Bangkit! Campaign during the Transition Period showed that the coordination during that
time was not as good as the campaigns during the later New Order Period and the Reformation Period.

While coercion and lack of reliance on persuasion in messages might be more likely in the case of an authoritarian culture such as the New Order Period, the same style persisted during the Transition and Reformation periods. There was a change of the house colour of the *Siaga* Campaign during the Reformation Period but further reading into the images suggest similar messages as those during the New Order Period. Although not obvious in the images, the Reformation Period presented another disengagement from the New Order too. There was an effort in the *Keluarga Berkualitas* Campaign to change the well-established abbreviation of KB during the New Order from *Keluarga Berencana* to *Keluarga Berkualitas* during the Reformation Period. *Siaga, Aku Anak Sekolah* and Anaemia Prevention Campaign also used singers and actors in the campaigns to achieve an image of non-governmental advertisements.

The well established New Order culture tended to prevail in the Transition and Reformation periods. The reason that its visual style remained the same was not only because of the long period during which the regime held power and established the family ideology but also because the campaigns during the New Order were better funded for research (ie. *Kondom Dua Lima* and Blue Circle). Documents about these two campaigns, especially the Blue Circle Campaign are more numerous in quantity and quality than for any other campaigns. This implies another avenue of investigation: a well researched campaign would create a more specific representation (leading to a style) suitable for the objective of the campaign. Thus campaigns during the Transition and Reformation periods should have been better researched to be able to produce new visual vocabularies in the visual representations of the family planning program, resulting in symbolic cues that were more appropriate to the Transition and Reformation periods and promoting the new spirit.
While the visual style remained the same since the New Order Period, the discourses called upon were different during the Transition and Reformation periods. These discourses relied on contemporary popular issues available and suitable for the family planning program during the period of time the images were published. The use of the most popular dangdut singer Iis Dahlia to promote maternal health in Siaga Campaign and the use of Rano Karno, star of the popular serial of si Doel anak Betawi (Doel the Betawi Kid) in promoting primary school age children remaining at school during the monetary crisis both illustrate this point. Campaigns in family planning become a constant re-definition about family planning, to make family planning contemporaneous with every day life. The two themes of nationalism and, family and women in the images together create an interwoven unity of a certain Indonesian morality as citizens’ obligations.

The family planning program in Indonesia is a story about a certain morality that is developed to control citizens, but to some extent the images of family planning are also a story about the formation of new middle class Indonesians. In the process of urbanisation which loosened the tie to the rural culture, family planning is part of the culture of development. During Sukarno, Indonesian identity was juxtaposed with the threat of the colonial Dutch and West in general. In Suharto’s view, Asian values and identity seemed to be important for Indonesian identity. Included in this is a certain morality, which from one side is to promote identity but on the other side is to promote obedience thus controllability of Indonesian citizens. The deteriorating economy left by Sukarno was not attractive. So Suharto’s speeches to strengthen the unity of Indonesia were by relating the people with the discourses about the Dutch Imperialist and the Revolution. People with different history (ethnicity, job, background, family, etc) during the New Order were presented as working together for a better life. Just before the monetary crises, around the 50th anniversary of Independence in 1995, there was a strong sense of the imagined Indonesia.
The adoption of social marketing which changed the communication approach provided a unique opportunity for this study because the reading of the themes in the images was thus more accountable. Social marketing as the framework of promotion is well known for its research on measuring effect, thus ensuring the deliberation of the messages in the images researched. In the Indonesian context, this is useful not only to increase contraceptive prevalence but also to create a better image about the family planning program and therefore the government. The measurable message of images are a strategic tool for building a better image of the family planning program, where the coercive approach - especially with the safari program - was under a lot of criticism during the 1980s. On the donor side, this accountability of effect is useful to demonstrate the efficient use of funds donated.

Although the social marketing framework gained favour among donors because of the accountability of the process, in an autocratic country like New Order Indonesia, where the process of decision making in creating the images was given over to the to the highest ranking staff member of the BKKBN, images only represented the ideas of those in the highest rank. In addition, the BKKBN as the client was most likely to have the final say in the creation of the images. Therefore, the images might not so much reflect the real society as the ideal society according to the BKKBN. Consequently, one aspect of the state’s control over its citizens proceeded through the creation of a certain imagined society.

In general, this imagined Indonesia is represented in the images of family planning by nuclear families of heterosexual married couples with or without children. These ideal families value the familial attitudes and gotong royong way of life within three different levels: the family, the community and the nation. Nationalism is portrayed as identical to being productive and progressive citizens, working together in an intimate and familial way, within a male oriented society. In this society, women are mainly positioned within the family context in their reproductive roles as mothers and wives. Women’s subservient position as such is strengthened by the pervasiveness of tradition, Islam, and state ideology.
I want to turn now to the pervasiveness of culture in visual images. In the case of the family planning program, the pervasiveness of culture is more visible because most of the conceptual environments surrounding the visual images are adopted from the West: the modernisation and population control underpinning the program are adopted foreign concepts, as is social marketing as the framework for producing the visual images and visual social semiotics as the framework for reading them.

The family planning program is a direct interpretation of the general policy of the Indonesian government for national development. During the New Order Period, these were formally written into the Five Year Development Plans. The advertisements published to promote the family planning program showed no deviation from the policy. In a different way, the images and the words together restated the policy. The authoritarian nature of the New Order government was prominent and the family planning program as part of the justification of the state economic policy was in detail controlled nationally by the BKKBN.

During the later New Order Period (1986-1997), the culture of unity rather than diversity showed as nationalism within the family planning images. In addition, the division of domains where males were more in the public domain and the females were in the domestic domain was prominently suggested as part of being productive as citizens. In this instance, women’s biological nature (kodrat) was strongly enhanced by their altruistic nurturance and sub-ordination to men.

The Transition Period (1998) did not have a clear significant policy direction with respect to family planning except insofar as it retained the emphasis on contraceptive use and supported the recovery from the monetary crisis. However, it was during this one-year transition period that there was proof that the previous family planning program was successfully encultured in the society. This is shown by the fact that there was no significant impact on contraceptive prevalence in the
country even during the monetary crisis. As the direction of policy for family planning was not clear, the culture endorsed was still the same as in the New Order Period. During this unstable period, the presence of authoritarian features of the New Order was still visible in the form of the Javanese concept of *bapakism*. Islam as part of being Indonesian was still not clearly indicated by the use of *kupiah as kupiah* is also known as part of the formal national costume for males. Stronger *ibu* were visible during this period in their economic productive roles. Women were represented as successful business women, sexually confident women and authoritative women - although not stronger than men.

The Reformation Period was when the Suharto regime was replaced and was marked by stronger focus on decentralisation and ethnic identity. The BKKBN as a government body centrally controlling the deployment of family planning was also subject to the decentralisation program. In the first three years of the Reformation Period, the BKKBN was moved from directly under the control of the President to be under the coordination of the Ministry of Women Empowerment. After 2001, it was under the coordination of the Health Department.

BKKBN’s loss of power, from an independent body from the state as the result of decentralisation came at the same time as stronger images of regional identity emerged. The *Keluarga Berkualitas* Campaign showed *Sundanese* people, an ethnic group other than the Javanese. The serial television advertisements to promote male participation were also using *Betawi* people, an ethnic group in the Jakarta area and *Padang* and *Batak* people, two ethnic groups from Sumatra. The rise of ethnic identity (which was a violation against the SARA policy in communication) also raised another important signifier of identity: religion. While the use of *kupiah* did not clearly indicate Islam during the Transition Period, in the Reformation Period Islam was clearly introduced within the discourse of the images by the use of *kupiah* and *baju koko*. Although the Moslem costume for women is more distinctive to

---

103 SARA is *Suku Agama Ras Antar-golongan* means Ethnicity Religion Race and Class which were four issues taboo in public discussion. It was a public communication policy during the New Order period in order to maintain social harmony.
show Islamic identity, the central represented participant in the *Anaemia Prevention* Campaign is a male as opinion leader and thus the Moslem costume is showed via him.

With respect to gender, only one campaign during the Reformation Period suggested a more equal partnership between males and females. Other than that, examination of the last campaign during the Reformation Period showed the return of females within their reproductive roles and domestic domain. This suggests that images of stronger women during the Transition Period were not about gender empowerment but rather economic support for Indonesian families.

According to Benner, theory about Indonesia is based on the organization of three aspects of life: the state, the family and organized religion (Benner 1999). When unity in development during Suharto was shown to have failed by the monetary crisis, a sense of belonging was then scrambled into ethnic and religious identity. When the centrally organized state weakened, the new middle class Indonesians as the inheritors of the New Order Period found their identity during the Reformation Period within the family ideology of the New Order, their ethnicity and their religion. From the images, family ideology, tradition and religion do not have a significant impact on the improvement of Indonesian women’s position in society. However, in the sense that limiting the number of children is embedded within the culture of general Indonesian society, the family planning program has achieved its objectives.

On culturalising family planning in Indonesian society, the images employed existing cultural habits in the personal interaction between participants in images and viewers. This led to new meanings of resources listed within the visual social semiotics. The poster in Figure 5.1b shows a woman breastfeeding a baby. The fact that she does not give eye contact is less important than the composition, where she is positioned as equal to other aspects of family planning. There could be several interpretations about the image: no eye contact in visual social semiotic would be
interpreted as the gesture of offer, in Javanese culture this woman might not give eye contact as for middle class women breastfeeding is personal and the composition positioned the woman as the same level of importance as other contraceptives. With the strong culture of sub-ordination of women and strong government support for family planning, it would be more likely the woman in the image is facilitating the third meaning: she is part of the tools of family planning.

Javanese culture and the authoritarian discourses of President Suharto at the time *Indonesia Awake!* Campaign was published also suggest that the absence of eye contact might still mean a demand and not an offer as suggested by Kress and van Leeuwen. As sex is sensitive, any message about sex shows women without eye contact. Instead of eye contact, intimacy in the images is created by the use of the shortest distance possible for the shot of the photographs.

Intimacy is another aspect of the images used to promote family planning that deserves to be noted - specifically intimacy in the interaction between the participant/s represented and the viewer/s. The intimacy for persuasion is created in the images by always making the viewer/s as close as possible to the represented participant/s in the images. Further comparison between Suharto (who is strong with Javanese values) and Habibie (who is the predecessor of decentralisation), in relation to discourses of ethnicity within visual images during the monetary crisis of 1997-1998 would be interesting. Further investigation might be able to open up more interpretations about the relationship of nationality and ethnicity in a country that consists of a variety of ethnic groups.

As Kress and van Leeuwen claimed, they take a different position than Barthes, whose idea about relationship between words and images are either anchorage or relaying. For Barthes, either the words or the images must come first. In the case of images in the family planning program in Indonesia, the messages from images and words are different but not necessarily in opposition to each other, as Kress and van Leeuwen claim is likely.
In general, images and words together restate the policy. The family planning program is a state program and subsequently it is not surprising that the policy about family planning is generally in line with the meanings drawn from the images. However, it is still surprising that there was really not much deviation of meaning from the policy in the images. For instance, in later New Order Period, the words in KISS Campaign for mothers emphasised women’s reproductive roles in relation to the state and the pictures strategically only display photographs of imagined happy families, manipulating the whole reproductive roles which does not include the burden of those roles for women. Nationalism represented as red and white on Indonesian flag could be mixed with a certain new ideal Indonesia without representing the flag but only by using the two colours. This is applied in the Kondom DuaLima Campaign in 1986.

The complexity of reading images of non-Western culture such as the family planning program would need a better researched process involving the viewers during the creation of images. The result of this kind of research would accumulate the map of meaning from resources listed within the visual social semiotics minimising inconsistency of meaning with the visual social semiotics framework such as shown in this thesis. Such research would create a new framework of visual grammar related to a culture other than the West.

Lastly, increased exposure and the growth of media literacy over time might point to a future when more sophisticated images and a different family culture will be needed. The rise in living standard and level of education in a more democratic environment will create a society which is more media literate than at present. The exposure of messages from different media and different sources would also create a competition to win the attention of the viewers. Although the culture of a small family proved to be stable even during the monetary crisis, reinforcing messages might be needed at different intervals. In such a situation, the visual images to
promote family planning will have to move to a better technique of visualisation, one that is persuasively engaging and ethnically-culturally friendly.

The general application of a basic technique of persuasion might also reflect the fact that interpretation of messages from the visual images relies on a culture based on an authoritarian control and does not make provision for the viewers’ freedom of interpretation in an engaging way. This would be less likely to survive in the future culture of a more democratic Indonesia. A simple example is an image of a pregnant woman in the family planning program which currently is most likely a representation of a mother and a wife, but in the future might also be read as a representation of a single mother and an independent business woman. Similarly, a couple which now represents a married couple would probably one day be seen as a representation of simply a couple who are not necessarily married.

Finally, the cultural interpretation of the social meaning within the visual social semiotic framework for images for family planning promotion are enriched by this research, especially in identifying the application of images in facilitating the discourse about family planning. Further meanings may be interpreted within the domain of consumption of the messages. This is especially important to find new resources for the images in relation to regional and ethnic identity. As visual social semiotics opens up the interpretation of meaning in images, its reliance on culture in the interpretation also to some extent uses the ethnographic ability of the researcher. Therefore, further study of advertising images about contraception published for commercial purposes would likely bring a new facet of interpretation. This study shows the importance of cross-cultural frameworks for further visual research. It emphasises the understanding of visual culture as part of understanding society and state policies. It also points to the importance of additional research in the creation of visual images which involves viewers as well as creators to map out resources of visual grammar \textit{vis a vis} meaning in non-Western culture. Such research could also be important to policy makers.
themselves, as society and policies undergo change, and their audience shifts as well.
References


*Every reasonable effort has been made to acknowledge the owners of copyright material. I would be pleased to hear from any copyright owner who has been omitted or incorrectly acknowledged.*
### List of Illustrations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figures 1.1a, b and c Several pictures to illustrate the living condition of families in the urban periphery (<em>kampong</em>) in Jakarta, where the urban families were targeted in the family planning campaigns after 1986.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1.2 Illustration on a tricycle and a truck, shadow puppet illustration, packaging of traditional herbal medicine, and a traditional package of cigarettes.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1.3 A selection of visual images from different family planning campaigns between 1986 to 2003.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figures 3.1a, b, c and d Variations of images of Nyai and Kyai Brajoet from several towns in Java: Purwodadi, Trenggalek, Wonosari, and Rembang (Sindhunata 2003, p. 7, p. 13, p.14, p. 26).</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3.2a Illustration about periods and pregnancy for fieldworkers used since 1970s and b Illustration about female reproductive system from a flip chart for medical staff used in 1970s.</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3.3 In rural areas, new family planning contraceptive users were honoured with a ceremony to welcome them in the family planning community, where a lot of programs were invented for women to motivate them to keep using contraceptives.</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3.4 A typical social communication event in rural areas of Java, where family planning was discussed informally during breaks from working in the rice field.</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3.5 Direct conversations about family planning were conducted regularly with the President.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3.6 President Soeharto presents a special hybrid coconut to an acceptor couple. This hybrid coconut was supposed to increase the couple’s income through its high yield.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3.7 A ceremony to recognise couples who have participated as contraceptive users for 25 years, popularly known as KB Lestari. Appreciation certificates and badges were typically presented by the President himself to the couples wearing their traditional costumes.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3.8 The symbol of BKKBN.</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3.9 The symbol of BKKBN was embossed on five rupiah coins in 1979.</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 3.10 A picture of a family planning clinic in the 1970s. 62

Figures 3.11a and b Two point of sales advertisements for Karet KB (Adhinegara and Kristyanto 1979, p. 64). 64

Figures 3.12a and b Outer package of each three program condoms and the inner package (Adhinegara and Kristyanto 1979, p. 63). 65

Figures 3.13a and b Newspaper and magazine advertisement for Karet KB (Adhinegara and Kristyanto 1979, p. 61). 66

Figure 3.14 The logo of the Rooster jamu producer, from Semarang Indonesia. 67

Figures 3.15a, b and c A typical colour scheme of jamu related to masculine sexuality: red, yellow, and black. The packages contain a range of different indigenous herbal medicines for masculinity from Jamu Iboe cap 2 Nyonya Surabaya Indonesia (Two women brand, Mother jamu, Surabaya Indonesia). 68

Figure 3.16 Flier of Karet KB. 69

Figure 3.17 A customer is to buy Kondom DuaLima using sign language to avoid embarrassment (courtesy from Fortune). 71

Figure 3.18 The Indonesian flag and the symbol for Kondom DuaLima. 72

Figure 3.19 The poster of Kondom DuaLima (size 40x60cm). 73

Figure 3.20 A typical place to stick the posters was near the entrance of a pharmacist. 74

Figure 3.21 a and b Hanger and counter sign of Kondom DuaLima. 74

Figure 3.22 Advertisement for Kondom DuaLima. 75

Figure 3.23a and b (a) Logo of Circle Blue and Self-reliant family planning and (b) the logo in a poster to contextualised the contraception and its services to family. 79

Figure 3.24 The President Soeharto signed the longest banner in the world in the city of Tasikmalaya, West Java, 11 July 1990. 80

Figure 3.25 Indonesian artist Benjamin Suaeb, popular especially with those in the lower economic and social level, participating in the campaign. 80
Figures 3.26a and b Posters for Blue Circle Campaigns sponsored by Nestle, in this case promoting their Cerelac and Ceresoy brands of baby food.

Figures 3.27a and b Mobile billboard for Blue Circle Campaign sponsored by Sampurna, a clove cigarette company.

Figures 3.28a an b The logo of Blue Circle was used on the eco bags of Hero, one well known supermarket chain. Below the logo it says *Kecil Sejahtera*, meaning Small [is] Prosperous.

Figure 3.29 A sticker showing a variety of Blue Circle contraceptives (IUD, pills and injectibles) in their packages.

Figure 3.30 A folder showing a variety of Blue Circle contraceptives (pills, IUD, injectible and implants).

Figure 3.31 The nameplate of a participating doctor carries an additional plate for Blue Circle.

Figure 3.32 The nameplate of a participating midwife carries the Blue Circle symbol.

Figure 3.33 A mini billboard of Blue Circle Campaign could even be found in front of a traditional market.

Figure 3.34 A board bearing the Blue Circle logo as a sign of self reliant movement is among other plates in front of a government compound, office of a village chief.

Figures 3.35a and b Giant banners on the facades of BRI Tower and Sarinah Building in Jakarta.

Figure 3.36 A condom brochure showing the packages of the DuaLima brand condom as a Blue Circe product and the Atika brand condom as a Gold Circle product.

Figure 3.37 An advertisement for Gold Circle Contraceptives.

Figure 3.38 Symbol of KISS.

Figure 3.39 Advertisement for Prosperous Healthy Mother depicting a woman in the context of family as the wife and mother of a baby.
Figure 3.40 Advertisement for Prosperous Healthy Mother Depicting a woman in the context of family as a wife and mother of two girls.  

Figure 3.41 The Media Indonesia Newspaper Friday 25 April 1997 had a special feature on its Budaya supplement about the production of these three sinetrons.  

Figure 3.42 The advertisement for the sinetron Perkawinan Siti Zubaedah in Suara Pembaruan (26 May 1997, p. 19).  

Figure 3.43 The advertisement for the sinetron Oh Ibu dan Ayah Selamat Pagi in Suara Pembaruan (22 April 1997, p. 20).  

Figure 3.44 The advertisement for the sinetron Angin Rumput Savana in Suara Pembaruan (21 April 1997, p. 9).  

Figure 3.45 The symbol of the BKKBN’s program for Keluarga Sejahtera (Prosperous Family). Underneath are the symbol of Indonesia Bangkit! and symbols of the campaigns mounted under the program.  

Figures 3.46a, b, c, d and e Advertisements and posters from Indonesia Awake!  

Figures 3.47a, b and c The symbols of Siaga for the three stages of the campaign Suami Siaga started in 1998 (a), Warga Siaga started in 2001 (b), and Bidan Siaga started in 2002 (c).  

Figures 3.48 a and b Poster and sticker of Warga Siaga.  

Figures 3.49a, b and c A typical colour scheme of jamu related to masculine sexuality: red, yellow and black. The packages contain a range of different jamu for masculinity from Jamu Iboe cap 2 Nyonya Surabaya Indonesia (Mother Jamu of 2 Women brand Surabaya Indonesia).  

Figure 3.50 Symbol of the new vision of BKKBN.  

Figure 3.51a and b (a) The main entrance of BKKBN covered in banners to indicate the change of vision, and (b) the private parking lot of the building also displayed banners.  

Figures 3.52a and b The beginning of a new vision of Keluarga Berkualitas was celebrated with banners on the streets near the headquarters of BKKBN.  

Figure 3.53 A poster for Quality Family Campaign.
Figure 3.54 The poster of the *Anaemia Prevention* Campaign.

Figure 3.55 The billboard for *Anaemia Prevention* Campaign.

Figures 4.1a, b, c, d, e and f Symbol, packages, counter sign hanger, hanger, poster, and advertisement of *Kondom DuaLima* 1986.

Figures 4.2a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h and i Symbol, four posters, billboard, advertisement, leaflets, sticker of Blue Circle Campaign 1987.

Figure 4.2j Logotype of Blue Circle in the Campaign.

Figure 4.3a, b and c Symbol, brochure, and advertisement of Gold Circle 1992.

Figure 4.3d A typical drawing taught at elementary school in Indonesia.

Figures 4.4a, b and c Symbol and two print advertisements of KISS.

Figure 4.5a Logograph of *Indonesia Bangkit!* Campaign in 1998.

Figures 4.5b, c, d, e and f Several print advertisements of *Indonesia Bangkit!* 1998.

Figures 4.5g, h, i and j Several print advertisements of *Indonesia Bangkit!* 1998.

Figures 4.5k, l and m Some symbols accompanied the symbol of *Indonesia Bangkit!*

Figures 4.6a, b, c, d, e and f Three symbols of *Husband Siaga* 1998, *Community Siaga* 2001, and *Midwife Siaga* 2002, with a pamphlet for *Husband Siaga*, a print advertisement for *Community Siaga*, and a calendar for *Midwife Siaga*.

Figures 4.7a and b Logo and poster for *Keluarga Berkualitas* 2001.

Figures 4.7c and d Banners for *Keluarga Berkualitas* 2001.

Figures 4.8a, b and c Poster, billboard, and leaflet of *Anaemia Prevention* Campaign.

Figures 5.1a, b and c Three images from the New Order Period.

Figures 5.2 a, b, c, d and e Five images from the Transition Period.
Figures 5.3a and b Two images from the Reformation Period.  

Figure 6.1a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, and k Images of families with women as mothers and wives in campaigns for family planning during 1986 to 2002.  

Figures 6.2a, b and c Images of women with altruistic, nurturing characteristics.  

Figures 6.3a and b Women as supportive and subordinate to men.  

Figure 6.4 Women as complementary partners in a family for the future.  

Figures 6.5a, b, c and d Images of ibu, a combination of reproductive role and economic role.  

Figures 6.6a, b and c A doctor and midwives, professions to promote Lingkaran Biru family planning services.  

Figure 6.7 A winning team in family planning fieldwork.  

Figures 6.8a and b Present Iis Dahlia, a dangdut singer to persuade men.
Appendices

Appendix 1.1 Summary of three meanings based on Kress and van Leeuwen’s visual social semiotics, integrated with Barthes’ lexis interpretation. 252

Appendix 2.1 Policy and Family Planning within the Repelita IV (1984-1988) 254

Appendix 2.2 Policy and Family Planning within the Repelita V (1989-1994) 255

Appendix 2.3 Policy and Family Planning within the Repelita VI (1994-1998) 256

Appendix 2.4 Policy and Program within the Propenas (2000-2004) 257

Appendix 2.5 Challenges, strategies, and programs of National Family Planning Program in Indonesia (1984-2004) 258

Appendix 2.6 Eras, Period Analysed, and Features of National Family Planning Program in Indonesia (1986-2003) 259

Appendix 3.1 Repelita and Propenas policies on family planning and the campaign contribution to the policies. 260

Appendix 3.2 The campaign objectives and the core message of the images 262

Appendix 4.1 Meanings from identifying techniques of visual persuasion by rhetorical figures based on McQuarrie and Mick’s idea 265

Appendix 4.2 Summary of the eight campaigns of the family planning program and their aspects of visualisation 266
Appendix 1.1
Summary of three meanings of visual images based on Kress and van Leeuwen’s visual social semiotics, integrated with Barthes’ lexis interpretation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggested meanings related to metafunctions</th>
<th>Classification of resources</th>
<th>Meaning indicators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Categorisation of people depicted indicates visual stereotype suggested by cultural attributes such as headwear, hairstyles, make-up; identify through visual intertextuality or physiognomic attributes; identify through traditions of representation such as important person depicted as a type and not individual.</td>
<td>Identifying meanings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A specific individual such as a female as a sister or a mother.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A social type such as foreigner or glamorous person.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Groups vs. individual</td>
<td>Participant alone indicates an individual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participants as a group identify by similar poses or synchronized action indicates type.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Distancing</td>
<td>Close up indicates meaning in individual feature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long shot indicates the representation of types.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Syntax</td>
<td>Narrative pattern:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Vector started = active participant/s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Interactive meaning | Distance               | Long distance = non personal  
|                     | Short distance = personal  |
| Contact             | Eye contact = demand  
|                     | No eye contact = offer  |
| Point of view       | Frontality = engagement  
|                     | Profile = detachment  
|                     | Low angle = power over the viewer  
|                     | Eye level = equality  
|                     | High angle = power of the viewer  |
| Compositional meaning | Information value | Left = given information  
|                     | Right = new information  
|                     | Top = ideal and ideological information  
|                     | Bottom = real and down-to-earth information  
|                     | Central = the element the marginal holds down  
|                     | Marginal = less important than the central  |
| Framing             | Low contrast = continuous  
|                     | High contrast = disconnected  |
| Salience            | Emphasis through one or more visual elements of line, shape, colour, texture, space  |
| Modality            | Technological coding orientation = high modality in the effectiveness of the visual representation  
|                     | Sensory coding orientation = high modality in the pleasure principle of the visual representation  
|                     | Abstract coding orientation = high modality when an image reduces the individual to the general and the concrete to its essential quality  
|                     | Naturalistic coding orientation = high modality when resembles the natural |
## Appendix 2.1 Policy and Family Planning within the Repelita IV (1984-1988)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Problems in Repelita IV</th>
<th>Solution contributed by family planning</th>
<th>Programs by BKKBN</th>
<th>New Agendas</th>
<th>Realisation</th>
<th>Campaigns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. high population</td>
<td>1. to increase the prosperity of mother and child</td>
<td>1. decrease birth rate, improve maternal and child welfare</td>
<td>1. realization of the norm of small, prosperous, happy family</td>
<td>1. Posyandu for contraception distribution</td>
<td>1. Kondom DuaLima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. high fertility</td>
<td>2. to control population based on the norm of small, prosperous, happy family</td>
<td>2. increase the rate of life expectancy</td>
<td>2. social organization approach (PKK, Dharma Wanita, FP users groups, moslem leaders, pesantren)</td>
<td>2. effort to increase participation of women and young people in population affairs</td>
<td>2. Blue Circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. uneven population distribution</td>
<td></td>
<td>3. decrease the rate of mortality, particularly that of infant and child</td>
<td>3. Community Circulation Model to overcome distance in rural areas</td>
<td>3. quality of human resources</td>
<td>3. Self-reliant Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. unbalanced age structure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. low quality of human resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 2.2 Policy and Family Planning within the Repelita V (1989-1994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Problems Repelita V</th>
<th>Solution contributed by family planning</th>
<th>Focus of program and activities according to the Repelita V</th>
<th>Basic policy and Programs by BKKBN</th>
<th>New Agendas</th>
<th>Realisation</th>
<th>Campaigns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. imbalanced population distribution and 2. need to increase the quality of life of the people | Growth Rate of 1.9 per year with Birth Rate of 25.4 and Mortality of 7.5 | *Focus of program:* 1. broaden the reach of the program 2. institutionalise family planning 3. integrate family planning with many other development programs  
*Activities:* 1. information and motivation, education in family planning 2. services in contraception 3. institutionalise the norm of small, prosperous, small family 4. education and training for staffs operating the family planning program 5. evaluation, development, and information network 6. managing the program | 1. restraining the population growth to raise the quality of human resources  
2. decreasing the rate of fertility directly through the Family Planning Movement and indirectly, by improving the welfare of the population.  
3. decreasing the rate of mortality particularly that of infant, child and mother, and increasing the rate of life expectancy  
4. raising the quality of population | Family Planning Program to Family Planning Movement | 1. program expansion, to increase knowledge and awareness of family planning; the campaigns  
2. program maintenance, to integrate acceptors with local activities: usage of PKK and Dharma Wanita  
3. program institutionalization: to increase participation in the management of the family planning program. | 1. Small self-reliant family Campaign  
2. Gold Circle Campaign |
### Appendix 2.3 Policy and Family Planning within the Repelita VI (1994-1998)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Problems in the Repelita VI</th>
<th>Solutions contributed by family planning</th>
<th>Objective and activities</th>
<th>Basic policy and Programs by BKKBN</th>
<th>New Agendas</th>
<th>Realisation</th>
<th>Campaigns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. more mature marriage age             | Growth Rate of 1.51% and reduce maternal mortality by 50% in year 2000 | Objectives:  
1. increase the concern and the role of society to a more mature marriage age  
2. decrease birth rate, maintain family endurance  
3. increase family prosperity | 1. the high number of young people in the next 25 years  
2. the number of children under the school age was increasing annually  
3. the age structure needed a new approach to health care services  
4. the rapid social mobilisation resulted work force including women, meant the government was expected to provide employment | Achieve prosperous family for Indonesian people | 1. small credit schemes  
2. three sinetrons about women’s reproductive health | 1. KISS  
2. PROKESRA  
3. Siaga  
4. Indonesia Bangkit! |
| 2. still high birth rate                |                                          |                          |                                   |             |             |           |
| 3. the need to increase family endurance|                                          |                          |                                   |             |             |           |
| 4. the need to increase family prosperity|                                          |                          |                                   |             |             |           |
## Appendix 2.4 Policy and Program within the Propenas (2000-2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems in the Propenas</th>
<th>Solution contributed by family planning</th>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>New Agendas</th>
<th>Campaign and Promotion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. continuity of family planning program</td>
<td>1. decrease the unmet needs of fertile couples to about 6.5%</td>
<td>1. advocacy and communication, information, and education about family planning</td>
<td>men’s participation</td>
<td>1. Continuation of Siaga Campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. increase men’s participation to about 8%</td>
<td>2. increase quality of contraception services</td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Several television advertisements for men’s participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. decrease total fertility rate to 2.4 per woman</td>
<td>3. increase welfare of mother and children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. conduct promotion and fulfil rights in reproductive health.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. the need to strengthen the program through institutionalisation and networking</td>
<td>1. increase number of fertile couples self-reliant in contraception</td>
<td>1. training and supervising family planning services and management</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. increase scope and quality of family planning services and health reproductive activities supported by community</td>
<td>2. supply and share information of family planning and reproductive health</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. increase the number of institution self-reliantly running family planning and reproductive health services</td>
<td>3. manage training and international cooperation in family planning and reproductive health</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. promotion of self-reliant family planning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 2.5 Challenges, strategies, and programs of National Family Planning Program in Indonesia (1984-2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periods</th>
<th>Challenges each period</th>
<th>Strategies/agendas/the message</th>
<th>Programs and Campaigns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
- community circulation model and organisational approach for rural areas  
- private sectors participation for urban areas  
- Campaign of Kondom25  
- Campaign of Blue Circle  
- Campaign of Self-reliant Family |
| Repelita V (1989-1994) | To reduce criticism of the coercive approach of the program, especially to women.      | Socialising the family planning program to the family planning movement, means the society total involvement. |  
- the integrated health centres replaced the family planning posts in distributing the contraceptives  
- Campaign of Self-reliant Small Family  
- Campaign of Gold Circle |
| Repelita VI (1994-1999) NEW ORDER (SUHARTO) | To look after the large proportion of the young generation and women as the prospective human resources in work force. | Promoting the change of the target system to demand fulfilment system, stressing the goal of the prosperous family for all Indonesian people. | - men participation  
- reproductive health  
- Campaign of Prosperous Healthy Mother (KISS)  
- Three sinetrons about women’s reproduction  
- Campaign of People Prosperity Program (PROKESRA) |
| TRANSITION (HABIBIE) |                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                     | - Campaign of Indonesia Awake! (Indonesia Bangkit!)  
- Campaign of Ready-Bring-Watch (Siaga) |
| REFORMATION (GUSDUR,Mega) Propenas (2000-2004) | To ensure the continuation of the existing program despite the monetary crisis.           | Maintaining support from international donors and decentralising the program to district level.                                          | - men’s participation  
- reproductive health  
- Continuation of Siaga Campaign  
- Television advertisements promoting men’s participation. |
### Appendix 2.6 Eras, Period Analysed, and Features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eras</th>
<th>Period Analysed</th>
<th>Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>New Order</strong> (Suharto)</td>
<td>1986-1997 Repelita VI, V, VI</td>
<td>- Centralistic and closely contextualised to the growth of economy of the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- The BKKBN had an important role.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Modernisation and development for justification.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Resistance to the program from its image as coercive and genocidal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transformation</strong> (Habibie)</td>
<td>1998 Repelita VI</td>
<td>- Urgent problem of the monetary crisis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Beginning of discourse about decentralisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reformation</strong> (Gus Dur and Megawati)</td>
<td>1999-2003 Propenas</td>
<td>- Decentralisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Stronger discourse about regional/ethnic identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Commitment to encourage the participation of men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Reproduction rights and health introduced.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3.1 Repelita and Propenas policies on family planning
and the campaign contribution to the policies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Repelitas, Propenas, and policies for family planning.</th>
<th>Campaigns and contributions to the policies.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **NEW ORDER ERA**
Policy for family planning within **Repelita IV** (1984):
to increase participation in family planning in rural and urban areas with small, happy, and prosperous family as the proposition. | **Kondom DuaLima, 1986**
was contributing to the preliminary socialisation of family planning in urban areas through the promotion of condoms in family context.

**Blue Circle Campaign, 1987**
was contributing to the independency in family planning contraceptive and services in urban areas which at the later stage flowing to rural areas. |

| Policy for family planning within **Repelita V** (1989):
to broaden mandate beyond family planning with prosperous family policy and move the predicate from a program to a movement supported by society’s full participation. | **Gold Circle, 1992**
was promoting better contraceptive and services with higher price for urban families to be more self-sufficient.

**KISS, 1994**
was supporting the policy by promoting society’s full participation for prosperous family with the realisation of greater responsibilities for Indonesian women in the context of family (as mother and wife). |

| Policy for family planning within **Repelita VI** (1994):
to change the target system to demand fulfilment system, stressing the goal of the prosperous family for all Indonesian people. | **Edutainment sinetrons, 1997**
were building awareness for women and general audience of issues about reproductive health and risks for women in labour. |
**TRANSITION ERA**

| **Indonesia Awake! 1999** | was promoting partnership between the small scale businesses of members of prosperous family program and other beneficial parties (e.g., banks, retailer, and larger scale businessmen) to ensure economical stability among members of prosperous family program.

**Siaga, 1998**  
was promoting husbands, midwives, and citizens to help and support women in labour. |

---

**REFORMATION ERA**

| **Policy for family planning within Propenas (2000):** | to ensure continuation of the program and increase it by increasing male participation. |

| **Television advertisements, 2000** | were primarily to promote male participation in family planning. |

| **Quality Family, 2001** | was to repackage family planning to a larger context of quality family. |

| **Anaemia, 2002** | was promoting the intake of blood increased tablets among reproductive age women to decrease maternal mortality. |
Appendix 3.2 The campaign objectives and the core message of the images

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campaigns and objectives</th>
<th>Core messages suggested by the images</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Repelita IV (1984):</td>
<td>In the campaign, the father was the main character promoting condoms in the context of a small (planning with the use of condoms after one baby was born), happy (smiling faces of all members of the family), prosperous (healthy skin from good nutrition, good weight from good amount of food intake, use make up from good earning, wear good clothes) family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kondom DuaLima, 1986</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>was contributing to the preliminary socialisation of family planning in urban areas through the promotion of condoms in family context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Circle Campaign, 1987</td>
<td>To induce self-reliance of urban families, the images borrowed the authority of BKKBN by using two distinctive visual element of BKKBN’s symbol, which were the initial of KB and the colour of 100% Cyan, for the logo of the campaign. The small, happy, prosperous family presented in the logo of the campaign as a circle to signify completeness/ideal. This circle presented on all media as the symbol of the contraceptives and services in self-reliant family planning as well as completeness and ideal of an Indonesian family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Repelita V (1989):**
| **Gold Circle, 1992**  | was promoting better contraceptive and services with higher price for urban families to be more self-sufficient.
| **KISS, 1994**  | was supporting the policy by promoting society’s full participation for prosperous family with the realisation of greater responsibilities for Indonesian women in the context of family.
| **Repelita VI (1994):**
| **Siaga, 1998**  | was promoting husbands, midwives, and citizens to help and support women in labour.
| **Indonesia Awake! 1999**  | was promoting partnership between the small scale businesses of members of prosperous family program and other beneficial parties (eg. banks, retailer, and larger scale businessmen) to ensure economical stability among members of prosperous family program.

|  | Persuasion for using the Gold Circle contraceptives was by presenting Indonesia translated to the many Indonesian traditional costumes and many professions.
|  | Women’s duties as mother and wife were presented as their contribution to their family and the nation.
|  | The combination of print and television advertisement give a strong impression of seduction suggested by the female singer using the dangdut songs combined with strong colours schemes familiar to dangdut lovers.
|  | Indonesia as a nation was pointed out, by using the red and white colours of the Indonesian flag, the image of the president, and the number of principle of the state ideology, to promote the act of partnership with the small scale businesses of the prosperous family program members.
| **Propenas (2000):**  
| **Quality Family, 2001**  
| was to repackage family planning to a larger context of quality family.  
| The usual initial of KB in this campaign did not mean Keluarga Berencana (family planning) but Keluarga Berkualitas (quality family). The overall concept of a quality family was signified by thumbs up meaning good quality. Norm of small, happy, prosperous was still used with the addition that quality family comes from good planning about family.  
|  
| **Anaemia, 2002**  
| was to promote the intake of blood increased tablets among reproductive age women to decrease maternal mortality.  
| The persuasion lay in the main character in this campaign who was a God-fearing male indicated by his Moslem top of *baju koko* and Moslem cap, the *kupiah*.  
|
Appendix 4.1 Meanings from identifying techniques of visual persuasion
by rhetorical figures based on McQuarrie and Mick’s idea

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideological meanings emphasised by rhetorical figures</th>
<th>Figurative modes</th>
<th>Rhetoric</th>
<th>Semiotic relations among key elements</th>
<th>Visual manipulations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single minded proposition suggested by rhetorical figures based on McQuarrie and Mick (1992, 1996, 1999, 2003)</td>
<td>Schemes: repeating signifiers</td>
<td>Rhetorical operations</td>
<td>Rhetorical figures</td>
<td>Iconic, indexical, and symbolic relation among key elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Repetition:</td>
<td>rhyme, chime, assonance, alliteration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Sounds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Words</td>
<td>anaphora, epistrophe, epanalepsis, anadiplosis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Phrase structure</td>
<td>parison</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reversal:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Syntax</td>
<td>antithesis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Semantic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tropes: repeating signifieds</td>
<td>Substitution:</td>
<td>hyperbole, rhetorical question,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Claim extremity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Assertive force</td>
<td>epanorthosis, ellipsis,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Presence or absence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Centre or periphery</td>
<td>metonym</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Destabilisation:</td>
<td>metaphor, pun, homonym, antanaclasis, sylepsis, resonance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Similarity</td>
<td>paradox, irony</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Opposition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4.2 Summary of the eight campaigns of the family planning program and their aspects of visualisation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campaigns</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colours</th>
<th>Typefaces</th>
<th>Lay outs</th>
<th>Tones &amp; techniques of persuasion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEW ORDER PERIOD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kondom DuaLima 1986</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Helvetica/Arial.</td>
<td>Symbol on right bottom of space as last information read.</td>
<td>Proposition: Kondom DuaLima is Indonesian family condom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Centre balance of the lay out for formal tone of communication.</td>
<td>Testimonial style for objective atmosphere to the hangers and print media.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Formal Indonesian language use without slang words in between in direct speech.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Photography for objectivity and natural coding orientation for objectivity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prominent technique of persuasion: schemes, repetition of signifiers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Message of happy repeated in smiles, in bright red of symbol, happy word in headline, same represented participants in different media.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>There is no evaluation available for this campaign.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Circle 1987</td>
<td>Cyan 100%</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Palatino Bold Futures Extra Bold Helvetica Bold</td>
<td>Symbol displayed in whole always at bottom of space.</td>
<td>Proposition: Blue Circle contraceptives are equal to Indonesian KB.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Completeness of a small, happy, prosperous family symbolised by circle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gold Circle 1992</th>
<th>Gold and Cyan 100% (the same as Blue Circle) Palatino Bold Futura Extra Bold Helvetica Bold</th>
<th>Gold Circle contraception is better way of family planning for Indonesian people. Proposition: Golden Circle contraception is better way of family planning for Indonesian people.</th>
<th>Formal Indonesian language use without slang words in between. Photography for objectivity and natural coding orientation for objectivity.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>identity colour and blue circle as graphic system hold unity of visual identity. Principal lay out is centre aligned, formal.</td>
<td>Formal Indonesian language use without slang words in between in direct speech. Principal lay out is centre aligned, formal. Photography for objectivity and natural coding orientation for objectivity. The dominating technique of persuasion is tropes, repetition of signifieds in substitution: - contraceptives replacing the term KB - credibility of the image of the doctor and the nurses are replaceable with the contraceptives and its related services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation: Increase of receiving information via media and increase of participation among urban families. Customers do not aware that private sectors are involved (CBS et al 1992).</td>
<td>The dominating technique of persuasion is tropes, repetition of signifieds in substitution: - contraceptives replacing the term KB - credibility of the image of the doctor and the nurses are replaceable with the contraceptives and its related services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The dominating technique of persuasion is tropes, repetition of signifieds in destabilization (the most complex technique):
- Sun is Gold Circle
- Sun’s rays are four words ‘Alat KB Lingkaran Emas’ (Gold Circle Family Planning Contraception)
- Road is people

Evaluation: Customers not clear about the difference between Blue Circle and Gold Circle (CBS et al 1995).

**KISS 1994**

<p>| Cyan 100% with block line as system. | Helvetica/Arial for logograph. Palatino for texts. | Formal from centrically arranged lay out. | Proposition: Health and prosperity of Indonesian mothers are their responsibility to Indonesian future. Formal Indonesian language use without slang words in between. Photography for objectivity and natural coding orientation for objectivity. Technique of persuasion is schemes, repeated signifiers: children as accent of visualisation. There is no evaluation available for this campaign. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRANSITION PERIOD</th>
<th>SIAGA 1998</th>
<th>Indonesia Awake! 1998</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Red and yellow.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Gill Sans.</strong></td>
<td><strong>No specific colour identity.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Centre lay out with blocks of bright colour in symmetrical arrangement.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Proposition: People should care for maternal health by helping mothers in labours.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less formal dangdut style of persuasion with still formal Indonesian direct speech.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photography for objectivity and sensory coding orientation to invite sensory appreciation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technique of persuasion is tropes, repeated signifieds: dangdut singer as a spokesperson is also the representation of mothers in labours.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is no evaluation available for this campaign.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Several logographs for campaign identity:</strong></td>
<td><strong>No specific typeface for visual identity.</strong></td>
<td><strong>No specific lay out for visual identity.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indonesia Bangkit!</strong></td>
<td><strong>Proposition: All Indonesians to awake and do something to overcome the monetary crisis hit the country.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>There is no evaluation available for this campaign.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFORMATION PERIOD</td>
<td>Quality Family 2000</td>
<td>Anaemia Prevention 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Symbol</strong></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Keluarga Berkualitas" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Anaemia Symbol" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Two tones from Cyan 100%</strong></td>
<td>Two tones from Cyan 100% are applied in symbol but not applied often enough in the media to become the identity colour.</td>
<td>No symbol was created for the campaign.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No specific typeface, different kind of typefaces in several media.</strong></td>
<td>Centre lay out, formal.</td>
<td>Several tones of Cyan 100% and yellow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Proposition:</strong> Being Indonesian families mean supporting a plan of quality families.</td>
<td>Centre lay out, formal.</td>
<td>Asymmetrical lay out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Formal Indonesian language use without slang words in between in direct speech.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Technique of persuasion:</strong> simple trope, substitution – ellipsis.</td>
<td><strong>Technique of persuasion:</strong> simple trope, substitution – ellipsis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Photography for objectivity and natural coding orientation for objectivity.</strong></td>
<td>There is no evaluation available for this campaign.</td>
<td>There is no evaluation available for this campaign.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

270