



Producing Pleasure in Indonesian Boys' Magazine: Strategy to Control Boys' Sexuality

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Abstract

The transition of the political regime in Indonesia during 1995-2004 has implicated the dynamic discourse on gender ideology. It is reflected in the production of sex articles in Hai magazine, the only boys' lifestyle magazine in Indonesia, for over three decades. This paper attempts to analyze the sex articles in Hai magazine. Using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, we found that the pieces of safe and healthy sex socialization portray sex as a pleasurable activity for teenage boys. However, the sexual pleasure defined by Hai does not refer to Hai's attempt to promote sexual freedom. This pleasure reflects the idea of normative sexuality. It is demonstrated in this scholarly work how the discourse of sexual pleasure produced by Hai magazine became a strategy to promote safe sex. Hence, it is being challenged that the promotion of a safe sex strategy is a manifestation of Hai's compromise toward the contestation of various ideas of sexuality existing in Indonesia in the 1990s and 2000s, during the transition of political regimes in Indonesia, including conservatism and sexual liberalism.

Keywords: *sexuality, pleasure, discourse, magazine*

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INTRODUCTION

The study of media representation of male sexuality in Indonesian media is limited. Previous studies about the representation of adolescents' sexuality in the media only focused on girls. Handajani (2008), for example, wrote about female sexuality as part of her research of the famous Indonesian girls' magazine: *Gadis, Kawanku, and Aneka Yess!* She also wrote research on *Hai* magazine (Handajani 2008), but she did not specifically highlight male sexuality. The discussion of male sexuality is only one part of her research and has not been explored in-depth. This paper pays explicit attention to boys' sexuality.

Discussing adolescence is always interesting. Young people are no longer biologically defined as a particular social position due to their age development. Still, it is a social construction that changes at certain times and conditions (Barker 2009). According to Hebdige (in Barker 2009:341), young people were represented by resistance through soccer hooligans or motorcycle gangs synonymous with violence and deviance; and as consumers of fashion, style, music, and other entertainment activities (Barker 2009).

Changes in the discourse of adolescents began in the period after the world war between 1945-1955. At that time, young people were understood as cultural categories characterized by trends in specific styles, tastes in music, and their involvement in consumption patterns (Bennet 2001). Young people became the target for consumption. Post world war, the development of the economy led to the growth of consumerism. Channey (1996) explained that everyone, including young people, commonly practiced consumerism. The industry realizes that young people are potential markets, thus making them commodities. Young people are finally associated with entertainment activities and popular culture.

In Indonesia, young people are identical to entertainment and popular culture. It was the effort conducted by the New Order authorities. To depoliticize them. The government deliberately standardizes the term "remaja" (adolescent) to protect young people from political problems. Young people who were previously called "Pemuda" (youths) had political connotations, meaning activists or fighters. Anderson mentions the term "Pemuda" in the era under Sukarno's government (Anderson, 2006) to refer to the term warrior who opposed colonialism. Young people spent time joining youth and student organizations and political parties. In the New Order era, the meaning of "Pemuda" shifted into a group of young people

who solved problems with no concern for the applicable law (vigilante), committed violence, and was urban terrorist (Taylor 2003 p.76)

The term "remaja" has consequences for the connotation of apolitical young people with a lifestyle outside of social and political issues, such as fashion or music (Siegel 1986 p.224). Economic growth in the 1970s encouraged this process to create a new lifestyle for young people in Indonesia. The existence of adolescents is no longer taken into account by the government because their scope is limited to two domains that alienate them from government power: the official domain, directed by their parents, and the unofficial field, a means of their expression as seen in popular cultures, such as songs pop, or film (Shiraishi 2001).

As an apolitical and consumptive social class, it is not surprising that adolescents have high media habits. Research shows that adolescents aged 8-18 spend almost 8.5 hours consuming media (Kirsch 2010). Therefore, the media is essential in identifying the roles, performance, and identity of classes in society based on gender, ethnicity, and age. The media strengthens the construction of identity and parts socialized by parents and teachers. The media emphasizes the role models of being masculine men.

Connell defined masculinity as a social construction that forms the gender practice (Connell 2000). Masculinity refers to the male body directly or symbolically, which is not determined by the biological male. For Connell, masculinity is understood in the reproductive arena to explain that the body is not fixed and biologically determined but goes through a historical process (Connell 2005). Masculinity was placed on gender relations, practices that involve men and women and have implications for physical experience, traits, and culture. Morgan explains, "what is masculinity is what men and women do rather than what they are" (Beynon 2002). As a construction, masculinity belongs to men and can also be attached to women.

Men and masculinity are interrelated. It cannot be separated from the assumption that biological assumptions of males' standards influence both. Everyday men, i.e., aggressive, sexually active, or rational, are natural. Tiger, in his phenomenal book *Men in Groups*, offers a theory of masculinity based on the idea that men are from hunter species (Tiger 2005). The male body is a carrier of natural masculinity produced by evolution. Men inherit the genes of masculinity,

which is the tendency of men who are aggressive or competitive. As a result, if a man does not have specific characteristics, he is considered not a real man.

This understanding is contrary to masculinity based on a cultural approach that men and masculinity are not a universal and time-bound concept (Brittan 1989:1). It is a cultural, historical, and geographical construction, which has implications for the complex definition of masculinity. According to Kimmell (2005:25), masculinity is a collection concept of manhood that is constantly changing so that they have different purposes for different people and times. Thus there is no universal or even original definition of masculinity (Reisser 2010).

The variation form of construction emerges the plural masculinity and the plurality of society divided into several dimensions, such as race, ethnicity, religion, social class, age, status, education level, etc. As a result, the relationships between each type of masculinity become complex. Therefore, Connell divides masculinity patterns based on practices and relationships between these types of masculinity: hegemonic and subordinated masculinity (Connell 2000).

It is impossible to separate the dynamics of masculinity in Indonesia from the relationship between hegemonic and subordinated masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is a group of people who carry out patriarchal leadership and are represented by a "father" figure. "Father" symbolizes men who have power over women and their children. In New Order politics, the "father" dominated his loyal followers; the relationship model was then termed bapakism (Pye & Pye 1985). Bapakism was a high-class Javanese priyayi figure becoming an ideal masculine figure. Suharto declared himself a "father" figure by calling himself the "father of development." He had total power over his children and wife or men under his domination, the business sector, and the country (Clark 2004). His calm and authoritative attitude showed the quality of reason or rational logic over lust. This character became the ideal male reference in contrast to young people's personalities, with their movements driven more by passion than logic (Nilan 2009). Hegemonic masculinity in Indonesian culture emphasizes attitudes and authority within the self, called Nilan as moral/personal self-regulation (Nilan 2007), which is different from the western hegemonic masculinity concept that emphasizes physical aspects of corporeal self-regulation.

Handajani mentioned groups of young people, such as students, elites, and the middle class (Handajani 2010), who have the same ties and interests in

fighting patriarchal oppression as subordinated masculinity. This group is referred to as youth. Since the Dutch colonialism era, youth movements and organizations have been engaged in social and political spheres. They are related to nationalism in the context of realizing independence and a better life for the country. Until the Sukarno government's era, the movement continued to develop, halted in the New Order era due to repression from the Suharto government, then reappeared in 1998, overthrowing the New Order era.

If the figure of "father" as hegemonic masculinity shows masculinity defined in terms of heteronormativity and procreative sexuality, then subordinated masculinity is beyond that. Boys are the examples since they are considered asexual and not yet married. Procreative sexuality only recognizes sexuality in marital relationships. KB Lestari Program is an attempt by the state to regulate the sexuality of citizens, which has implications for married men and women. According to Sushartami, this program places single women not as "real women" or real women (Sushartami 2010). The same thing applies to single men. Boys or single men become categories not recognized sexually by the state. They then look for space to identify sexual meanings relevant to them, including through the media.

Masculinity as a gender category is associated with male sexual development. Sexuality is the relationship between men to women. The connection is limited to physical things and an action that involves pleasure, sensation, intimacy, love, mutual care, and dependency (Sprecher and McKinney in Pearson, West and Turner 1995:8). As an act that involves relations between the sexes, and sexuality regulates the sexual roles between men and women. For example, men are more expressive in displaying their sexuality, while women have their sexuality controlled and restricted (Pearson et al. 1995)

Like masculinity, sexuality is a social construction. Kimmel explained, "That we are sexual is determined by a biological imperative towards reproduction, but how we are sexual-where, when, how often, with whom and why-has to do with culture learning, with meaning transmitted in cultural settings" (Kimmel 2005). Sexuality is not merely a biological impulse but is determined by specific socialization at a particular time and culture.

Sexuality has been determined by gender. For men, masculinity or the cultural definition of manhood defines the construction of sexuality. Through understanding masculinity, sexuality is constructed. Through sexuality, one's gender identity is confirmed. Gender confirms sexuality, and sexuality informs gender. As a construction, sexuality is formed and produced in discourse. Discourse, according to Foucault, is "a group of statements which provides a language for talking about -a way of representing knowledge about- a particular topic at a particular historical moment" (Hall 1997). The discourse consists of statements that explain certain things at a particular period. The issue of power relations occurs when discourse is formed. The existence of domination and control causes no fixed definition to answer what and how sexuality is. Discourse is always unstable and situational. Discourse about sexuality is influenced by who is in power at a particular time and place. In his explanation of power/knowledge, Foucault mentioned the relationship between power and knowledge in modern society. Knowledge is not only a form of power but power is also involved in how knowledge is treated (Hall et al. 2013).

It underlines that the discourse of sexuality was formed through a set of rules. It determines the practice of the speech. It is at this point that the inclusion and exclusion process operates. The lesson of sexuality is related to a system that places what is considered proper and not, right and wrong, normal or distorted, defined through the meanings within it.

The discourse of sexuality operates in a system of heterosexual norms and patriarchal culture that explicitly classifies men and women in certain relations. This norm puts men and masculinity at the center of power and regulates sexual relations involving different sexes: men and women. What is considered normal are masculine men. Homosexual men are weak and regarded as having abnormal sexual orientation, so they are excluded and labeled as not male.

The discourse regime's operation on sexuality emerges to Plummer called hegemonic male sexuality (Plummer 2005). The penis determines what and how men are. The penis is not merely a biological characteristic of men but also a symbol of male strength and dominance. Based on the hegemonic view, men are sexually active. A patriarchal system that legalizes male domination of women results in unequal relations, including differences in sexual roles. Men act as actors and women as gatekeepers. Inequality in sexual positions results in the

construction that men are more sexual than women. Men increase their sexual behavior to show their maleness, while women must control their sexual feelings, so they are not despised (Kimmel 2005).

Based on the understanding that sexuality is constructed, we argue that the sexuality of boys is built in media, in this case, in Hai magazine. Hai magazine is the only boy's magazine in Indonesia. This magazine was in circulation for over four decades until it was stopped in 2017 and moved to online media. In producing sex articles, Hai cannot be separated from the contestation of ideas of gender triggered by the shift of the regime of power. The masculine ideology, as part of a gender ideology, looks at how men's position in the dynamic structure, relationships, and social standings affects Hai's production of texts on sexuality. In other words, the change from the New Order regime (authoritarian regime in Indonesia) to a more open and democratic period has produced the discourse of sexual pleasure in Hai magazine.

In particular, this paper discusses how the discourse of pleasure is produced by Hai magazine. Discourse production cannot be separated from interests representing one specific ideology. Thus, this article also explains the ideas which lead to the production of a discourse of pleasure.

METHOD

This research used critical discourse analysis as a method. It focused on articles and rubrics of the sexuality of Hai magazine published during the New Order and post-New Order periods to see the discourse on male sexualities. Fairclough states that speech includes language in written and verbal forms and semiotic activities, including visual images and forms of nonverbal communication (Fairclough 2000). He suggests three dimensions of analysis: text, as a record of events and functions to communicate specific facts; discursive practices concerning the process of producing and consuming text; and socio-cultural practices that see texts as part of particular social and cultural practices (Fairclough, 2000).

This research examined how male sexuality is understood and practiced in culture and society influenced by social, political, and cultural systems prevailing in specific periods. Discourse on male sexuality is a text related to discursive

practices, how the understanding of the gender ideology of Hai magazine's editorial staff, and socio-cultural practice, namely the social, political, and cultural context in which the articles were produced.

This research's data sources are articles and rubrics of sexuality published in Hai magazine during 1995-2004 as the New Order's transition period to the post-New Order. During this period, there was also a rapid development of media and communication technology and Islamization's ongoing process. This period can illustrate the dynamics of the discourse on male adolescent sexuality. Topics studied included sex, gender identity and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, enjoyment, intimacy, and reproduction.

I examined the language as a social discourse and practice so that the analysis was not only carried out on texts but also on the relations between texts, processes, and social conditions, both the conditions of the situational context and the broader requirements of institutional and social structures (Fairclough, 2001). In analyzing the dynamics of the discourse on male sexuality in Hai magazine, I worked on the following stages:

1. The description stage focused on identifying the formal properties of the text. Language does not merely communicate messages but also carries particular meanings. This stage explores these meanings to find the dynamics of the discourse on male sexuality. The steps are:
 - a. Gather articles and rubrics covering topics of sexuality.
 - b. Categorize themes
 - c. The collected data were analyzed by focusing on words, diction, metaphor, sentence structure, paradox, and language style.
2. The interpretation stage focused on the relationship between the text and its interaction with its context. The text is a product of the production process and the source of the interpretation process. I performed an analysis to see the purpose of a particular text that was chosen to display. Consequently, it was essential to do intertextuality and interdiscursivity as a way of interpretation. For example, I analyzed Hai magazine's editorial policies to see the relationship between the gender ideology of Hai magazine and the production of discourses on male sexuality in Hai magazine's articles.
3. The explanatory stage emphasized the relation between text and social context. I analyzed social practices to see the socio-cultural context behind the

text of sexuality in Hai magazine, for example, analysis of government policies, media trends, or social issues during text production.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Hai's Sexual Content and The Potential Young Men Market

The teen magazines industry's tight competition encouraged Hai to have a differentiation strategy, i.e., a unique magazine for male readers. It is described in the tagline "the mirror of boy's life," which confirms that Hai magazine reflects what and how to be a boy.

As a lifestyle magazine for adolescents, Hai tries to put its position in the global and local identity as part of its product marketing strategy. Baulch, who examined Hai's music article (Baulch 2002), mentioned it as "A Trans-national Free-For-All," described the local and global content of Hai's articles as follows:

Hai's mediascape was no romanticization or reification of a Western 'other,' but a kind of global village in which cultural and national barriers appeared non-existent and in which Indonesians and non-Indonesians participated as equals in a free-for-all, transnational youth culture.

It also works when Hai publishes the contents of sex.

Hai presents specific content (fit for a market of adolescents). Besides the reference to fashion, music, film, sports, and hobbies, Hai also publishes content about sexuality. Sexuality content is always interesting to boys. It is controversial because it is considered taboo for a topic and commonly assumed to be damaging to morality. As a result, the sexual theme arouses the curiosity of the boys. As a commercial media institution, Hai doesn't let this opportunity go and has seized this market response.

To avoid polemics, the sexual contents of this magazine addressed to adolescence are discussed through the frame of sex education. It is commonly understood that sex education is essential to adolescents because biologically, their age is the beginning for their sexual organs to be productive. Consequently, adolescents at this stage would start having sexual desires. While in the idea of procreative sexuality, there is only a married couple legal to do sexual intercourse. The implementation of Regulation No. 1/1975 about Marriage which decides the

married age limitation, i.e., 19 years old for the man and 16 years old for the woman, puts a legal restriction on adolescents to get married and, consequently, a constraint from fulfilling their sexual desires. The parents, usually from the middle-class society, want their children to continue studying and availing of higher education.

This gap between sexual desire and sexual realization was encouraged by Hai when it mentioned this period to be "the waiting period," which is perceived to cause a big problem for adolescents. Their organs of reproduction have started to develop sexual urges. According to the dictates of social and religious norms, adolescents may not engage in any sexual activities before the observance of Marriage. In this waiting period, adolescents tend to do actions that are considered to violate social norms and religious norms, such as premarital sex, pregnancy, abortion, or even as a consequence of sexual encounters, acquiring sexually infectious diseases.

For this reason, sexual articles and rubrics in Hai magazine, as sexual education, become the tools to control teenage sexuality. Through sexual education, Hai builds topics on adolescent sexuality, which explain normal, healthy, and safe sexual behavior. Sexual rubrics and articles are published to educate adolescents about sexuality and entertain readers in different age groups.

As a teenage boy's magazine, Hai is built on topics about sexual pleasure. There is a different discourse of sexual pleasure found in boys' and girls' magazines. In girls' magazines, sexual articles describe sex as a sin (Handajani 2008). Those articles always emphasize messages to the girls to be afraid of God and how they would become a target of social punishment if they break the social norms related to sex. A different discourse prevalent in the boys' magazine is explored in this article.

This discourse labels the notion that 'men want sex and women want love' as a myth. Men's testosterone hormone is often mentioned as the cause of men being more passionate about sex than women. So, it is believed that men are sexually active, so men's sexual behavior is considered customary and reasonable. Meanwhile, women are the sexual objects to fulfill men's passion. Social construction about sex has implicated different sexual topics in men and women. The fulfillment of men's sexual desire brings the understanding that sex is a

pleasure for men. While for women, who are considered taboo in the discussion of sex, sex is prohibited.

Sex education cannot be separated from the adults' interests against the adolescents. Giroux stated that adolescents become a social category filled with desires, fantasies, and adult interests (Giroux 1998). The adolescents' desires and behaviors need to be controlled through adult behaviors, including sexuality. Consequently, sex education becomes a means of enacting social construction over what people understand and enforce about normal sexuality (Sauerteig & Davidson 2009). Thus, sex education becomes a political interest between parents/guidance, teachers, school management, educative policymakers, and other institutions, including the media.

Gender Ideology in Indonesia

In 1998, Indonesia's historical event was the New Order's collapse after it had been in power for 32 years. The change of government regime not only put forth political issues but also implicated other social and societal issues. The historical event became a milestone of ideological transformation and gender ideology.

In the New Order Period (before 1998), gender ideology was controlled by the state (government). The state is concerned with establishing a national identity in which women are symbolized as the primary guardians (Alimi 2004). The state has limited the functions and roles of women only in the domestic sphere according to their reproductive function. It became the New Order government's strategy to stem and manipulate women's political power socially, politically, and economically, consequently allowing the state to drive ideologically. For example, by attaching women's labels as the "pillars of the nation" or stating that women should participate in the public domain without forgetting their nature as wives and mothers, the state restricted women from serving husbands and families first. It emphasized women's reproductive function and encouraged the reference of the New Order's gender ideology as an ideology of state ibuism (Suryakusuma 2011).

The gender ideology forwarded the gender category, which was socialized so that it seemed to be a fundamental nature of men and women. Public spaces belonged to men because men were heads of households and had the role of

breadwinners. The state then provided legitimacy for men to exercise control and oversight of women's behavior and sexuality (Wieringa 2003). State intervention in defining this gender role aimed to maintain the stability of the state.

The state also controlled sexuality. The state policy on Family Planning, which required women to limit birth, was a state intervention over women's bodies and reproductive organs (Alimi 2004). The family represented a country where a strong family or household determined the state's power. It encouraged the state to govern the family life and sexual behavior of citizens. The New Order government constructed the informal ideology of gender and sexuality by defining men and women in narrow, limited, and stereotyped roles with the goal of national stability (Suryakusuma 2004). In this era, heterosexual became the only sexual orientation according to the spirit of modernity adopted by the New Order government (Alimi 2004). Also, sexuality is associated with the function of procreation.

Gender ideology had implicated in media's work that represented the dominant ideology emerging in language, both written and visual languages, in each product. The creed was projected on the portrayal of gender and sexuality in media. As the apparatus of knowledge, including gender ideology, the media owns and run a particular ideology. Althusser explains how media became the state's ideological tool (ideological state apparatuses) and acted as part of the state apparatus (Althusser 2001). It happened to the New Order regime, where the state has dominant power over the media, so the press represents the gender ideology produced by the state.

The fall of the New Order era brought consequences to a change in the construction of gender roles. The understanding of gender ideology was decentralized from state power since the emergence of alternative discourses on gender and sexuality. As a result of the open-access information, the address of alternative sex to gender awareness at the global level has influenced the gender ideology of Indonesia. The state-dominance discourse of sexuality started to confront the resistance.

The political democratic situation after the collapse of the New Order in 1998 had driven the disclosure of information, including information on sexuality. Globalization encouraged more intense and open communication and global interaction. The emergence of western franchise media, such as Cosmopolitan

(1997) or FHM (2003), opened the opportunity for styles and trends in the west to be adopted and consumed by Indonesia's people. Slowly but surely, the issue of sexuality emerged in the public sphere. If sexuality was rarely discussed previously, then in this period, sexuality arose in the public sphere and became a commodity.

It introduced the increasingly permissive urban middle-class society to the issue of sexuality. People discussed something more openly taboo. Free sex was part of the adolescent lifestyle. In addition to an increasingly permissive sexual activity, openness to sexuality and the discourse of equality and human rights encouraged gay and transgender groups to appear in the public sphere even though the stigma attached to this group had not changed.

Sex is a Pleasure

Hai doesn't prohibit or allow sex but portrays that sex is a pleasure. It is shown through the illustration, which analogizes sex to apple as shown in the following pictures:

Figure 1.

"Lebih Tahu Tentang Sex?" Article and Illustration



The first picture illustrates a Q and A article on sex, entitled "Lebih Tahu Tentang Sex?" (Do You Want To Know More About Sex?). This article shows a photo of a woman's hand offering a red apple to the man's hand. It is a depiction of a woman pleasuring a man. The second picture in the article "Perjalanan Sperma: Banyak Kesandung Mitos" (Sperm Trips: Stumbled Myths) shows some creatures like sperms encircling an apple. One animal is inside the apple and

smiling. It shows that he feels good being inside the apple. The third picture in the article "Ukuran Keperjakaan: Asal Jangan Main-Main Dengan Alat Kelamin" (The Measure of the Male Virginity: Do Not Play With The Genitals) illustrates the same thing. Even the animals in the picture confirmed the pleasure of being inside the apple. They said, "Ahh..enak bener..!" (Wow, It's Enjoyable). Apple is a symbol of sexual pleasure. Besides, apples have a good flavor and are proven efficacious as an aphrodisiac or sex drive food. Those three illustrations portray that sex is a pleasure. In the article "Masturbasi dan Kondom" (Masturbation and Condom) (Hai XV(6), 12 February 2001:30), Hai describes the sex needs of men and women as follows:

Every people (male/female) has sexual needs. Besides the process of creating offspring, it aims to enjoy our life.

Meanwhile, the article "Pacaran Sehat" (Healthy Dating) (Hai XIII (21), 1999) mentioned that:

In short, with its sexual function, a boy has already produced sperm, and a girl has already created an ovum inside her body. Therefore, sexual function is closely related to the reproduction function (offspring production) and recreation function (the willingness to do sexual activity to get pleasure).

The paragraph above explains that the function of sex is for reproduction and recreation. Hai's statement differs from the discourse on sex that argues that sex is a means for reproduction constructed by the moralist. The paragraph implicitly explains that having a relationship is a way to get sexual pleasure. It is interesting that Hai assertively dares to affirm that sex also serves as a recreational means. It is in contrast to the article about sex before 1999, which only explains the reproduction function of sex.

The same explanation can also be found in the article "Seandainya Gue Menghamili Cewek Gue..." (If Only I had Impregnated My Girlfriend) (Hai XIV(10), 10 March 2000:23-33) stating:

Every accident is a disaster. But pregnancy because of an "accident," because of two peoples' deeds making love, is not a disaster. However, sex is a choice.

The tricky thing is that nowadays, sex is often considered sheer pleasure, meant to have fun. It is no longer a reproduction activity producing a new human being. The existence of a human embryo in the uterus is then considered a disaster. The excuse is that we are still young and neither ready to build a family.

The paragraph above said that pregnancy resulting from free sex is not a disaster but a consequence of an intentional decision to engage in sexual encounter/s.

The Discourse of Pleasure To Promote Safe Sex

The discourse of the pleasure of sex is problematic when Hai makes terms of "seks yang aman" (the safe sex), "*pacaran sehat*" (healthy relationship), or "penyimpangan seksual" (sexual disorientation) in its articles. A sexual pleasure indeed blurs the border between normal and abnormal sexual behavior. Sex is merely an individual's choice to get pleasure over sexual conduct.

In its articles, Hai writes that sex is a choice. It doesn't mean that Hai is permissive toward free sex. The explanation, on the other hand, is not like that. Though Hai gives some options, Hai leads to what the article suggested as the best choice at the end of its article. For example, Hai tells the reader to choose free sex or avoid it. Although it is a choice, the best option (according to Hai) is to stay away from it.

Individual choice is the choice that has been selected, indicating that the choice is a construction. It is similar to sexual pleasure. According to Goode and Gagnon, the possibility of couples getting sexual pleasure is restrained by norms and opportunities (James 2006). Individual choices for sexual pleasure are constructed choices. Hai, as a social institution, produces standards about sexual pleasure. Sexual pleasure, according to Hai, is obtained through normalized sexual behavior. Hai defines sexual behavior as behavior driven by sexual urges. It starts with holding hand in hand, hugging, and kissing until having sexual intercourse (Hai XXV (13), 2 April 2001:25-26).

Meanwhile, sexual pleasure is the pleasure obtained from safe sexual behavior. In the article about condoms, Hai, which advocates for condom use, explains that condom usage doesn't reduce the user's pleasure. "Pleasure" here means safer enjoyment of pleasure. The following paragraph confirms the idea.

It's not true that condom reduces sexual pleasure. A condom is deliciously supple and thin, almost uniting with the skin. Thus, the user and his partner will not feel something propping. Even it will add sexual pleasure because when having sexual intercourse, the condom user and his partner will feel safer (Mitos Seputar Kondom, Hai XXV (15), 16 April 2001:66-67)

For unsafe sexual behavior, Hai calls sexual disorientation or sexual disorder or even calls it mental illness. Dangerous sexual behavior focuses on sexual orientation and activities considered abnormal. Article "Perilaku Menyimpang" (Deviant Behavior) (Hai XIII (17), 7 May 1999: 11-12, Hai XIII (19), 21 May 1999:11-12) explains that sexual deviation or sexual disorientation is a severe problem and it needs careful attention.

The term "disorientation," "disorder," and "disease" are the opposite terms of "pleasure." "Disorientation," "disorder," and "disease" are undesired conditions, while "pleasure" is the desired state. Thus, Hai implicitly explains that there is no pleasure in unsafe sexual behavior.

Hai also explains the means to obtain pleasure. Hai calls the erogenous area an erotic area related to the body, which can arouse sexual desire. Hai says the boys must avoid erotic areas to prevent free sex. Hai even explains that the erogenous area is the source of the problem. Though it is biologically explained that the erogenous area has many nerves, which can generate sexual desire, Hai considers it a danger that needs to be avoided.

Dating location is also a threat to reaching sexual pleasure. Hai considers dating in public places forbidden. It suggests that dating is an activity in private areas under the condition that the couple would restrain their sexual desires. Besides, the suggested activities in dating are kissing and touching.

Based on this explanation, Hai equates sexual pleasure with the safety of having a sexual relationship with the woman. Freud explains the concept of pleasure as a mental condition obtained as compensation for fulfilling human sexual desires (Freud 2008). Those desires cause high tensions, so Freud's psychological area will try to reduce the tensions. It is the performance of the pleasure principle. The effort to reduce the tensions is through hallucinatory or presenting objects through memory. This process occurs in unconsciousness, a condition not standardized by logical norms and rationality.

Hai uses the concept of pleasure, a mental condition obtained when men practice safe sexual relationships with women. Therefore, Hai precisely constructs pleasure in the level of consciousness, i.e., a state formed based on rationality. In this article, it is emphasized as the politics of pleasure or politics for sexual pleasure, where Hai politicizes the concept of pleasure to promote safe sex. Building a discourse of pleasure in safe sex shows Hai's support for normative sexuality. Talking about sexual pleasure indicates that Hai is walking a few steps toward sexual liberalism with another orientation on sexual pleasure. However, sexual pleasure, explained by Hai, is the pleasure that supports normative and conservative sexuality.

Sexual Pleasure in the Name of Love

In some articles, Hai explained that the safest sexual behavior is touching and kissing. At the same time, other behaviors, such as necking, are still considered safe. Sexual activity with lower security levels, such as petting, is dangerous because it is only one step closer to unsafe sexual behavior. Unsafe sex begins with sexual behaviors involving genitals. As stated:

So, don't ever think that petting is safer than having sex. If you only want to have some intimate moment with your girlfriend, it is enough to give a kiss on the cheek, a kiss on the forehead, and a little kiss on the lips. Doing it with love is the most important thing! (Petting, *Apaan Sih?*, Hai XVIII(9), 1 March 2004:42)

The passage above shows the importance of love in doing sexual activity. Touching, kissing, caressing, and hugging are expressions of love toward their partner. Those activities are inevitable. Kissing becomes a common thing to do, and it becomes strange if a couple does not do it.

Kissing would potentially lead to the conduct of free sex behavior. For that reason, Hai emphasizes that a good kiss is based on affection, not lust-driven. The words "still tolerable" and "it's a common thing" in the following quotation describe it.

The truth is that kissing is a way to communicate affection to our girlfriends. If it's a sincere expression (not merely a passion), it is still

tolerable (Kalau Ciuman Pertama Ditolak, Hai XXIV(3), 21 January 2000:32-33).

In particular, condition, expressing love and affection with kissing on the forehead is a common thing (Dangerous Kisses, Hai XXVI(31), 5 August 2002:36-37)

Meanwhile, sexual activities involving genital organs are assumed to be unsafe sex behavior. They are often called free sex. Free sex is considered hazardous because it is done without commitment and responsibility. In the article "Jangan 'Begituan' Sebelum Nikah" (Do not 'Do That' Before Marriage) (Hai XXIII(7), 26 February 1999:30), adolescents are encouraged not to have sex before Marriage and without commitment because they will probably practice the habit of changing sex partners. This unprotected sex puts a person at risk of acquiring sexually transmitted diseases, having an unwanted pregnancy, and having an abortion.

The binary opposition between safe and unsafe sex, according to Hai, contrasts love and lust. Hai's explanation about love relates to emotional issues or personal feelings, commitments, and responsibilities to defend it. The quiz entitled "Kamu Cinta Mati Padanya?" (Do You Love Him?) (Hai XIX(19), 16 May 1995: 28-29) contains questions that would answer the statement, 'Does the reader love, or merely has a crush on his girlfriend.. or is he obsessed with his girlfriend'. In explaining love, Hai writes:

You do love her for how she is. To get her, you need quite a long time. It would be best if you had careful consideration. Make sure to choose. You care for her and always try to make her happy. You don't want to give her any trouble or force her to do something. You also want to be selected for her. Sometimes, you doubt yourself because she is too good for you.

Based on this explanation, love is a feeling which arises based on a rational reason, so there is an attempt to keep it. Love is consciously given to the chosen one, so the individual is willing to give and receive.

These groundings indicate that Hai considers love to have a higher level than mere passion or lust. Passion is a strong impulse or desire to do something. It is different from love due to the thoughtful consideration of an individual. A deed based on passion or lust leads to irrational actions. Therefore, measures based on passion or desire are not considered conscious acts. The passionate person is termed a blazed-out person.

The narration of romantic love is the experience that engages individuals in emotional practices. Romantic love is a heterosexual experience, is marriage-oriented, and is grounded on maintaining the relationship over a long period. This commitment becomes a conscious choice by the individuals involved, not because of others' coercion or encouragement (Illouz 2006). Meanwhile, a relationship based on sexual arousal is called passionate love (Giddens 1992). The strong involvement of individual emotions makes them ignore their obligations. This model of love, for example, happens to someone engaged in a cheating affair under unclear commitments.

According to Hai, free sex and other unhealthy sexual behavior are driven by lust to pursue sexual satisfaction alone. This behavior contradicts the nature of romantic love. In this love-based relationship, a couple can obtain pleasure. Pleasure is gained under the marital bond or based on long-term commitment and responsibility. This idea becomes Hai's subsequent attempt to rationalize the concept of pleasure and becomes another form of the notions arising in the politics of sexual pleasure.

Ambivalent Discourse of Male Sexuality

Hai magazine constructs an ambivalent discourse of sexual pleasure. This ambivalence becomes the realization of Hai's accommodation toward various discourses of sexuality. Some of them are sexual conservatism and liberalism, which existed in Indonesia in the 1990s and 2000s.

The concept of sexual conservatism is an institutionalized sexual value in society's life and is seen as a guide in sexual practice. According to Blackwood, in Indonesia, normative sexuality is delivered through the discourse of family, Marriage, community, and religion (Blackwood 2007). Marriage becomes the only means and space for sexual activity, so sexual encounters are normatively viewed as means to get offspring and form a family. The discourse on sexual freedom comes with accepting sexual behavior outside heterosexual, monogamous, and marital relationships. This discourse is encouraged by the progressive speech about gender equality and criticism of traditional marriage values that have caused many problems. Globalization and the development of

communication technology encouraged the entry of information about sexual freedom, allowing this discourse to develop in Indonesia.

These two ideologies were mutually contested in the discourse of sexuality in Indonesia in the post-New Order in 1990. The changes in the political regime have implications for gender ideology in Indonesia. The contestation of the two ideologies influenced the publication of sexual articles in Hai magazine. I can conclude that Hai builds the discourse on sexual pleasure, which implies ambivalence. Principally, sexual pleasure ignores sexual norms. The norm itself precisely limits the achievement of such satisfaction. However, Hai explains that fun can be gained through respecting sexual standards. Hai promotes sexual pleasure, which is obtained by engaging in safe sex. Safe sex is sex that is in harmony with social and religious norms.

The ambivalence of the same model is also apparent when Hai discusses condoms. Hai, a pro-condom advocate who has seen condoms as an innovative product that could prevent pregnancy and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, supports the idea of plastic sexuality, i.e., the form of sexual pluralism where sexuality is not based on patriarchal heterosexual norms (Giddens 1992). Hai also mentioned that using a condom doesn't reduce pleasure. However, satisfaction is obtained by primarily ensuring safety while having sex. Therefore, Hai's pro-condom position is not following the intended purpose of sexual pleasure in plastic sexuality. Pro-condom socialization, argued by Hai is relevant to the magazine's intention to support reproductive health objectives.

The democratic political atmosphere after the fall of the New Order in 1998 encouraged the emergence of several media outlets with sexual content as the main issue. While sexuality was seldom discussed before, it appeared publicly and became a commodity in this period. Hai magazine includes sexual discussion as a commodity by presenting controversial themes and attracting readers. The piece of sexual pleasure and condoms are examples of it. However, the content of these themes shows contradicting ideas.

As a boy's magazine, which operates under heterosexual norms, Hai gives boys a superior position above girls. This superiority can be observed through the idea of masculinity and the active roles of boys in sexuality. Hai explains the problems of love, commitment, and intimacy in its article as the foundation of a healthy, safe, and blessed heterosexual relationship. This "ideal" relationship

becomes the realization of Hai's awareness to accommodate the issues of gender equality. However, instead of enforcing sexual democratic empowerment, the terms "love," "commitment," and "intimacy" have become "the magic word" for pseudo-empowerment to women in heterosexual relationships, which gives the illusion of empowerment, equality, mutual appreciation, and mutual enjoyment. As a boys' magazine, Hai defined empowerment and equality based on the construction of male sexuality, highlighting patriarchal cultural standards. Then, the pseudo-empowerment of women becomes a logical construction of knowledge production done by men.

These ambiguities show that the normative perspective of sex still strongly influences Hai's idea about sex. The themes related to sexual liberalism are just touched on, following the trend of sexuality in the mass media. But, in content and principles, Hai magazine is still perpetuating the discourse of conservative sexuality.

CONCLUSION

The concept of gender is determined by defining what and how sexuality is. For men, the cultural perspectives of manhood establish the construction of sexuality. Through understanding masculinity, sexuality is constructed. Through sexuality, a person's gender identity is confirmed. Gender confirms sexuality, and sexuality identifies gender. As a construction, sexuality is shaped and produced in discourse. Foucault said that a set of rules has shaped the discourse of sexuality and defines the discourse's practice (Foucault 1990). The lesson of sexuality operates within a system of heterosexual norms and patriarchal cultures that expressly define men and women in certain relationships. The sex articles in Hai magazine show how heterosexual standards and patriarchal cultures have established the discourse of male sexuality, in this case, the meaning production of sexual pleasure. Sex articles, working as sex education material, have promoted safe sex to the readers. This effort implicates the ambiguity in defining sexual pleasure. By mentioning sex as a pleasurable activity in its sex articles, Hai seems to liberate adolescents from enjoying sex. Hai precisely defines pleasure in different ways. Pleasure means safe sex and sex within the bounds of a committed relationship. It indicates that the discourse of pleasure is brought to its

ambivalence. By using the term 'pleasure', Hai affirms heteronormativity and the patriarchal ideology.

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