

**National Imagery in the Indonesian Family Planning Program
(1986-2003)**

Sandra Sudjudi

Department of Media and Information Studies

Curtin University of Technology

sandra_dkv@yahoo.com

sandra.sudjudi@posgrad.curtin.edu.au

Phone/fax: +61 8 9472 0378

Abstract

The Indonesian Family Planning Program has been studied as an important component in the program of development of the Indonesian government (Robinson 1989, Newland 2001, Niehof and Lubis 2003, Hull 2005). In their study, Cammack and Heaton suggested that one reason the government strongly supported the family planning program in Indonesia was to shape a single identity in the country (2001). However, these studies have not included the contribution of visual communication in the formal images published by the National Family Planning Coordination Board to promote the program. This study is exploring the formal construct of nationality within the images in the family planning program applying Kress and van Leeuwen's framework of visual social semiotics (1996). An examination of the general discourse of nationality and identity in Indonesia will serve as a basis to understand the concept of nationality. The construction of nationality suggested by the discourses of the images reveal the conception of nationality within the four themes of the state motto, the state ideology, the Javanese values, and Islam. The conceptions from the visual grammar within the images are directing nationality as more unity than diversity, being 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 to the Indonesian culture.

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This paper argues that the promotional images of the Indonesian Family Planning program (IFPP) was conceptualised and supported by representations of the nation's identity primarily within the discourse of the state motto, the state ideology, the Javanese values, and Islam.

It is acknowledged that the success of the family planning program in Indonesia was achieved because of a budget sufficient for the program and continual strong support from the government (Hull & Hull 1997, p. 129-131, Warwick 1986, p. 457). Cammack & Heaton pointed out one reason the government strongly supported the family planning program in Indonesia was to shape a single identity in the country (2001). The exploration begins with the question of how the concept of nationality for citizen's identity was managed at a visual level in the campaigns of the Indonesian Family Planning Program. Through the framework of analysis of visual social semiotics by Kress and van Leeuwens (1996), this study reveals the four themes of discourses in the images, and how visual materials from the family planning program conceptualised and supported nationality while at the same time promoting the Indonesian government's policy for population.

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The paper examines the official constructs of Indonesian nationality in the images of the Indonesian Family Planning Campaign from 1986 to 2003. The year 1986 was when images in a mass media campaign began to be used in the pilot project of Kondom DuaLima¹ to promote self-reliance family planning in urban areas. The 2003 was the year when BKKBN² should already be devolved to the provincial level in accordance to the Kepres No. 103 Th. 2001³. The conceptualisation of nationality revealed in the images is drawn and structured from the contrasts and similarities of tone between meaning inferred from the discourses of nationality in the general policy of the Indonesian government and those from the discourses of nationality constructed in the images of the campaigns within the same period of time. Two studies showed that the national character of Indonesian citizens is in particular shaped by tradition, Islam, and state ideology (Niehof 2003, Bessel 2004). This paper looks empirically at 'what nationality is' in the images, but this meaning is understood as residing in a socially constructed environment of meaning.

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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

¹ Kondom DuaLima (TwoFive Condom) is a condom brand. The idea of TwoFive is from two children with a five year space in between.

² BKKBN (Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional, National Family Planning Coordinating Board).

³ Kepres No. 103 Th. 2001 (Presidential Decree Number 103 Year 2001).

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 constantly in the process of changing in line with and to keep up with what are demanded by the new 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 changing nature of the national identity (2000). In other words, understanding the nationality emerging in the images of the Indonesian Family Planning Program means tracking down the political cultural practices produced at the time to create the national identity.

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The exploration of several studies about the discourses on national identity in Indonesia showed national identity was shifting with time in line with that demanded by policy. Meaning seems to float within the four themes⁴ that will be investigated later. From these four themes, the first is drawn from the national motto of unity in diversity; the second is integrated from the state's ideology of *Pancasila*; the third is the religious values of Islam as the religion for the majority of Indonesians; the fourth is the application of the ethnic value of Javanese. These four themes might serve as the key signifiers to connote distinctive characteristics of a specific Indonesian nationality as citizen's identity. The four sections below will discuss the visual analysis of images produced for IFPP within each theme. In this paper, there is only one example of an image for each theme but they are chosen for the clarity to illustrate each theme.

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4.1 *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity), the national motto

The first theme of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity), as the motto of the state expressing the intention to unite to form an independent Indonesia from the diversity of ethnic groups in Nusantara islands, was historically a response to Dutch colonialism (Kahin 1952 in Philpott 2000, Anderson 1991). In this sense, the

⁴ 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).

identity of Indonesia as a community is constructed historically through deterritorialisation and in more stable difference to the colonial Dutch. More about the tendency that the 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 between the unity and the diversity, Hooker showed that the unity is emphasised over the diversity in the practices of the New Order period (2001). For instance, she points to how the diversity of Indonesian cultures was diminutively represented for spectacle in the *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah* ([Beautiful Indonesia Diminutive Garden](#)). According to Hooker, the subordinate position of the regional identity to the national is emphasised by 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. Below is an image applying the state motto and the analysis of the conception about nationality revealed by the image.

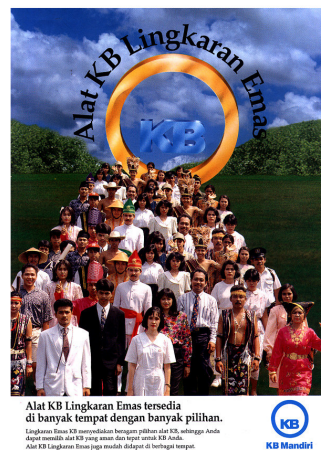


Figure 1 Magazine advertisement of Gold Circle Brand Contraception, 1992⁵.

⁵ The translation of verbal text in Figure 1 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 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.*

This is the magazine advertisement of Gold Circle Brand Contraception to promote self-reliant family planning Campaign. This image has diversity presented in a friendly way to give emphasis on the unity. The represented participants in the image symbolise the Indonesian citizens. Diversity is represented by the variety of professions, gender, and ethnicities in productive age range symbolised by their costumes. The represented participants are in long distance shot stressing them not as individual but as a class, in this case Indonesian citizens. Unity is presented in more subtle way by the composition.

The salience of the gold circle between the two hills makes the composition in a central polarization⁶. The Gold Circle in the central position holds the Indonesian citizens in a marginal position, making the Gold Circle (as the representation of family planning), the important element in the composition with the variety of Indonesian citizens as the supporting elements. Inside the Gold Circle is KB the abbreviation of family planning in Indonesian. The eye contacts from the represented participants demand the viewers to support the family planning program by using the self-reliant contraception of Gold Circle as part of a sense of nationalism. The verbal text accompanying the image describes the positive attributes of the Gold Circle brand. The verbal text states the name of the brand and the fact that Gold Circle brand has a variety of contraception 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 at the above space of the composition saying "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 still within the viewers⁷, as the principle of the family planning program is voluntary.

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4.2 *Pancasila* (Five Principles), the state's ideology

To emphasise unity means creating 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). Morfit noted that the institutionalisation

KB Mandiri (Gold Circle Family Planning contraception could also easily be bought at various outlets).

⁶ Central polarization 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, p. 206, 223).

⁷ High angle from the viewer of an image suggest the power is on the viewer's (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 146, 149, 152, 154).

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 Pengamalan Pancasila*, Guidance for the Understanding and Practice of *Pancasila*). 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 value of *Pancasila* is well distributed to the everyday life of the 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 Muslim groups (Atmosiswoyo 1978 in Lubis 2003).

However, the *Pancasila*, which ~~from~~ 1974 had become an important corporate ideology for Indonesia, declined in importance after the 1990's (Cribb & Brown 1995). In his closing chapter on the political framework of family planning in Indonesia, Hull suggests the focus of *Pancasila* ideally should be restored to the 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).

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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 2 could be an example. She is representing a good citizen in a poster for the promotion of Blue Circle Contraception began in 1987. The Blue Circle Contraception is a subsidised contraception available for all Indonesian married women. The promotion of the contraception was still in the spirit of population control and not reproductive health, which would occur in the program in 1990's. In the beginning, in 1970s, 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 context to the international issue of population control and poverty alleviation that took place in the international conference ~~on~~ population in 1974 in Bucharest. In this sense, the 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.

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Figure 2 Poster of Blue Circle Brand Contraception, 1987⁸.

The conception of a good citizen representing by the woman in Figure 2 is as follows. The image divides into four. The polarization is horizontal with the left as the given information and the right is the new information following our system of reading from left to right (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 186-92).

The two on the left, the given information, are symbols of basic need represented by the food (the verbal text accompanying is: nutritious food) and clothes (the verbal text accompanying is: harmonious clothing). The idea is following the Indonesian popular term for basic needs of *sandang-pangan-papan* (clothing-sustenance-shelter). The certain variety of foods indicates the idea about healthy pattern of food intake in Indonesia, *empat sehat lima sempurna* (literally means four healthy and five perfect [of nutritious daily food intake]).

The two on the right, the new information is about the practice of breastfeeding represented by a mother breastfeeding her baby (the verbal text accompanying is: giving breast milk to your baby) and the use of contraceptive for family planning represented by variety of Blue Circle contraception (the verbal text accompanying is: Blue Circle family planning contraception). There is no eye contact⁹ between the mother and the baby and the viewers, indicates the picture

⁸ The translation of verbal text in Figure 2 is: *Cocok Bagi Anda* (suitable for you). *Makanan Bergizi* (nutritious food). *Memberikan ASI bagi bayi Anda* (giving milk breast for 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).

⁹ No eye contact from the represented participant/s in the image usually indicates an offer of information for the viewer/s while eye contact refers a demand of action from the represented participant/s in the image to the viewer/s (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 124-8).

offers the viewers about the act of breastfeeding; implied in the representation is the benefit of breastfeeding.

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All the four photos are about the same size indicate the same status of importance of the four messages there. However, the use of the same colour of blue for the clothes, the clothes of the mother and the baby, and the blue circle give emphasis of the four messages as a unity of information. Nevertheless, the information as a whole put the mother in the promotion (or more specific the Indonesian citizen) at the same level of the existing basic needs which are sustenance and clothing and also the newly created basic need of Blue Circle contraception. She is not only at the same level with the other three basic needs but also implied, pointing her productive ability to care and breastfeed the baby as the result of birth spacing which is made possible by the contraception. Looking closely from 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 which is at the end of the flow of information. The verbal text closing the bottom end of the space also emphasised this fact by closing the composition with the words "Blue Circle Family Planning".

4.3 Islam, the religion of the majority

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 coloured the Indonesian identity contributed by aspects from 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 deemed 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 Figure 3 below could illustrate the conception of Islamic values to promote family planning.



Figure 3 Poster of Anemia Campaign, 2002¹⁰.

The poster in Figure 3 is published by the BKKBN for the promotion of iron tablets for anemia prevention in 2002. It was after the monetary crisis in 1997 and the fall of New Order¹¹ in 1998. The promotion of iron tablets was in context of the international conference on population back in 1994, when all countries took part in the conference agreed to locate family planning as part of reproductive rights and health. This challenged the previous approach of family ideology in the family planning program in Indonesia, to also include the unmarried women and adolescences.

Unlike other images published for national family planning program, the represented participants in the poster are not related as family. Although they look possible as a 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 the other two female participants in the image.

¹⁰ The translation of verbal text in Figure 3 is: *Ibu Hamil & Remaja BEBAS ANEMIA Minumlah TABLET TAMBAH DARAH Agar Sehat Berkualitas* (Pregnant mothers and girls free of anemia take iron tablets to be in good health). *Tablet Tambah Darah dapat diperoleh di: Apotek, Toko Obat, Bidan, Posyandu, Puskesmas* (Iron tablets could be bought at: pharmacists, medicine shops, midwives, integrated service posts, health centers). *Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional dan Departemen Kesehatan RI* (National Bureau for Coordinating Family Planning and Health Department of Republic of Indonesia).

¹¹ New Order refers to the period of Suharto's military regime in Indonesia during 1966 to 1998. Suharto is the second president in Indonesia.

The image in Figure 3 shows a male as a leader. According to Bessel, the traditional belief system, Islam, and New Order ideology make it hard for Indonesian women to become a leader (2004). In Figure 3, the male is the leader although the target for the iron tablet promotion of the poster was to pregnant women and girls in reproductive age. From the television advertisement for the same campaign, the verbal header is a statement from the male participant. The vertical polarisation¹² of the image composition gives this statement as the ideal information (which is to take the iron tablets) and at the bottom of the poster is the down to earth information about where to get the iron tablets.

The fact that the iron tablet package held by the male participant is also to point out this statement is from him explaining the benefit of the iron tablet. In the composition, the package of iron tablets is held by the male participant but put in front of the pregnant woman (the one most at risk of anemia), indicating the tablets are for her and not for him. Even though the tablets are for women in reproductive age, the opinion leader in the image is the male participant with the two female participants endorsing him. The male as the 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 gesture¹³ is more involving to the viewers indicating his leadership compare to the other two female participants with their bodies presented in oblique angles. In his position as an opinion leader, an association with the dogmatic Islam values might aim to reduce any offence to possible sensitivities regarding his commanding nature about the benefits of iron tablets. This is achieved through his costume with the headdress and top is signifying him as a Moslem in contrast to the other two female participants' costumes which are neutral of any religion.

4.4 Javanese values, the dominant ethnicity

Another theme in the Indonesian identity points to Javanese values. Although the Javanese ethnicity is only one of more than 300 ethnicities 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 target in the early period (1970s) of the national family planning program (Lubis 2003). It is worth to be looked at closely because the Javanese flavour established during the early period of the program might continue to influence the later periods.

¹² 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, p. 193-202)

¹³ Frontal angle indicates involvement while oblique indicates detachment (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 140-3)



Figure 4 Magazine advertisement of Rise Indonesia! Campaign, 1997¹⁴.

The image in Figure 4 was a magazine advertisement from one promotion of several promotions under the *Indonesia Bangkit!* (Rise Indonesia!) Campaign. All the promotions under this campaign were to minimise the negative impact of the economic crisis on the realisation of family welfare. This image was from Prodina (*Produksi Indonesia*, Indonesian Products) promotion published in 1997 to increase the buying of Indonesian products and sponsored by the Ministry of Industry and Trade. At the time, Haryono Suyono, the former chairman BKKBN (*Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional*, National Family Planning Coordination Bureau) was appointed in a higher position as Coordinating Minister for People Prosperity and Poverty Alleviation. Therefore, although the Rise Indonesia!

¹⁴ The translation of verbal text in Figure 4 is: *Indonesia Bangkit!* (Awake Indonesia!). *Memilih produk Indonesia berarti Anda membuka lowongan kerja* (Choosing Indonesian products means you open up job opportunities). “*Saya mengajak Saudara untuk lebih banyak menggunakan buatan bangsa kita sendiri. Sebab, semakin banyak produk Indonesia yang terjual, semakin banyak orang Indonesia yang memiliki hari esok yang lebih cerah. Sadar atau tidak, dengan memilih produk Indonesia, Anda telah ikut membantu saudara kita. Dan Anda telah berbuat sesuatu untuk bangsa Indonesia*” (“I invite you to use more of our own national products. Because, the more Indonesian products sold, the more Indonesian people have a brighter future. Conscious or not, by choosing Indonesian products, you have already helped our relatives. And you have done something for the Indonesian nation”). “*Kupilih Karya Bangsa.*” (I choose my nation creation). *Iklan layanan masyarakat ini terselenggara atas kerjasama Departemen Perindustrian dan Perdagangan dan Media PANJI MASYARAKAT* (This public service advertisement is published from the collaboration of the Ministry of Industry and Trade and Media Panji Masyarakat). *Departemen Perindustrian dan Perdagangan* <http://indag.dperin.go.id> (The Ministry of Industry and Trade <http://indag.dperin.go.id>). *PRODINA kupilih karya bangsaku. Indonesia Bangkit! Meningkatkan Penggunaan Produksi Indonesia* (PRODINA [Produksi Indonesia, Indonesian Products] I choose my nation products. Rise Indonesia! To increase the use of Indonesian products).

campaign was more for acceptors of family planning, the promotions under the campaign were from a variety institutions almost not related to family planning.

The image represented the Indonesian president at the time, Suharto. He was represented in this advertisement as the symbol of Indonesia. His headwear is part of the national costume for Indonesian men. However, as this headwear is also used when attending religious Islam ceremony, it could also signify a good Moslem. The smile is representing friendly in accordance with his popular reputation as the smiling general. As Suharto was also named Father of Development, he is reflecting a friendly father. The no eye contact may signify the offer of friendliness to be familiarized with the important issue discussed about job opportunities. The close up of the photograph of Suharto gives a personal approach to present the issue of prosperity for Indonesian families by buying Indonesian products to open wider work opportunity. The use of the Indonesian word *saudara* (relative) to address the viewers emphasises the invitation of familial relationship between him and the viewers. The use of the same word *saudara* for other Indonesian people expanded the familial relationship between the President, the viewers, and other Indonesians.

The not frontal of the face – although in visual social semiotics is an indicator of detachment – in this picture may be used to represent the Javanese polite approach. ‘Javanese-ness’ permeates the indirect look and use of profile instead of frontality of the smiling President as he demands Indonesians choose Indonesian products to open up job vacancies, for in 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, pp. 43, 53).

At the same time familial relationship is invited through the image, the higher position of the president compare to the viewers is incorporated. The Javanese attitude towards fellowmen of *ajrih* (literally means fear) is used for persuasion in this image. *Ajrih* is one attitude from nine possible attitudes 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 status is highly expected to submit and obey to those with a higher status (Koentjaraningrat 1985, p. 250).

4.5 Conclusion

To summarise, the national character of Indonesian citizens in the images is in accordance with Niehof (2003) and Bessel (2004) which is shaped by tradition, Islam, and the state ideology. However, in this paper, apart from Islam, the tradition showed in the images is more specifically related to the values from the Javanese ethnicities while the state ideology is also enriched by the translation of the state motto into images. Therefore, there are four themes about nationality as citizens’ identity in the images: the values from the state ideology of Pancasila,

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the values from the state motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, the values of Islam as the religion of the majority, and the values of Javanese as the dominant ethnicities. Further investigation about the meaning of nationality into the images with the visual analysis using Kress and van Leeuwen's framework of visual social semiotics, shows the way the four themes are applied to support the family planning program.

The first theme is from the state motto: *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity). The emphasis to unity rather than diversity is in accordance to Hooker's study (2001). In the image, unity is shown in a friendly way by the gestures, costumes, and other varieties of the represented participants. However, the central polarization of the composition in the Figure 1 gives more stories about how the state motto is applied to promote the family planning program. A diversity of Indonesian citizens is arranged in marginal positions to support the important element which is the self-reliant family planning and symbolized by the Gold Circle central in the composition. Through the composition, the identity of the diversity of citizens is marginalized for the success of family planning which is important for the nation.

The nationality in the image of the Figure 2 relates to the second theme of *Pancasila* (Five Principles). The combination of commitment to *Pancasila* with the objective of family planning to reduce the fertility rate resulting from the image has more adherences to the fifth principle, which is about social justice. The composition of the element in the image of the Figure 2 brings out the conceptualisation of the position and contribution expected from Indonesian citizens. The citizen in Figure 2 is classified not only as an equal part of other basic elements in life like food and clothing but also as contributor to the family planning program by accepting the contraception for the development of the nation's welfare.

The third theme of Islam values might first be realised in Figure 3 from the headdress and prominence of the male participant. The male as the leader in the image is realised through the layer of composition and in accordance to Bessel's study about the difficulties of Indonesian women to be accepted in the role of a leader (2004). The persistence of males as leaders is applied in the image to promote iron tablets as important for reproductive age women. However, the association with Islam is combined to enforce the message while at the same time reduce any denials about taking the iron tablets.

The fourth theme of Javanese ethnicities contributed to the familial approach in the Figure 4. The representation of the Indonesian second president Suharto in the image, who is well known as a Javanese, draws in the Javanese familial concept of him as a father. The no eye contact from him is a translation of Javanese understanding about power. The slightly high angle of his image

further strengthened the message by applying his superior position compared to the viewers who are supposed to be obedient.

An aspect in the images to promote family planning that deserves to be noted is the intimacy in the interaction between the represented participant/s 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. Another aspect for further study that might give a different angle and enrich the findings is to relate the themes of the images with a chronological study about the political situation in the country.

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