

## HISTORY OF THE FEMALE BODY IN INDONESIAN FILMS

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### **Abstract**

This article discusses the exploitation of women's bodies in Indonesian films from the 1980s to present. Starting from the assumption that a film is a mass communication media that contains certain messages from certain circles and aimed at large masses, then the problem constructed by a film is something that exists in society. A film is a social reflection. The method used is visual narrative analysis. An analysis was carried out based on the period of film production, starting in the 1980s, then stemming to the 1990s and 2000s until now. Objects studied are films that contain the exploitation of women's bodies. The results of the study show that the exploitation of women's bodies was abundant in film production in the 1980s and the peak production in the 1990s. After 2000, this exploitation reduced. The visual narrative of the film in the 1980s represented the female body as an object of male pleasure, the implication of the dominance of masculinity and the helplessness of women against that domination.

**Keywords:** *Exploitation, Gender Bias, Indonesian Film, Masculinity, Women's Bodies.*

### **Abstrak**

Artikel ini membahas tentang eksploitasi tubuh perempuan dalam film Indonesia pada era 1980-an hingga saat ini. Berangkat dari anggapan bahwa film merupakan media komunikasi massa yang memuat pesan-pesan tertentu dari kalangan tertentu dan ditujukan kepada massa luas, maka permasalahan yang dikonstruksi oleh film adalah sesuatu yang ada di masyarakat. Film adalah refleksi sosial. Metode yang digunakan adalah analisis visual naratif. Analisis dilakukan berdasarkan periode produksi film, dimulai pada tahun 1980an, kemudian bermula pada tahun 1990an dan 2000an hingga saat ini. Objek yang diteliti adalah film yang mengandung eksploitasi terhadap tubuh perempuan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa eksploitasi tubuh perempuan banyak terjadi pada produksi film pada tahun 1980an dan puncak produksinya pada tahun 1990an. Setelah tahun 2000, eksploitasi ini berkurang. Narasi visual film tahun 1980-an merepresentasikan tubuh perempuan sebagai objek kesenangan laki-laki, implikasi dari dominasi maskulinitas dan ketidakberdayaan perempuan terhadap dominasi tersebut.

**Kata Kunci:** Eksploitasi, Bias Gender, Film Indonesia, Maskulinitas, Tubuh Perempuan.

### **INTRODUCTION**

A film is a communication media that is used as a means of conveying the contents of certain messages through stories, backgrounds, characterizations and descriptions of a specific

situation. Through the contents of the message, filmmakers construct a view that serves to strengthen or change myths.

In several films that describe the events of 1965 in Indonesia as for example, a particular film, *Pengkhianatan G 30 S/PKI*, reinforced the existing myth, namely the political organization of the Indonesian Communist Party as a party that attempted to take power by force, by carrying out a series of murders against some generals. In the film, the stigma of PKI figures is visualized with cigarettes. On the contrary, in the *Jagal-Act of Killing* film, communist figures are portrayed as victims of mass killings committed by the Pancasila Youth Organization - a youth organization affiliated with the Soeharto regime (New Order). In this film, cigarettes are not used to stigmatize the figures of Pancasila Youth, but as symbols of might, power and bravery or masculinity (Panuju 2018).

Some studies of certain representations in Indonesian films have resulted in the success of the film in expressing women's representation (Go, 2013), the new flow of Islamic feminism in religious films (Hakim, 2013), the representation of women in the cinema industry (Irawan, 2014), and reveals a hidden moral message to maintain the attractiveness of its cinematography (Panuju 2019). According to Meliala & Bezaleel (2016), Indonesian horror films are closely related to antagonists who cause fear to the audience in the form of supernatural beings such as ghosts, demons and so on. The characteristics of the film with the horror genre cause the audience to get carried away by the atmosphere with a frightening storyline. However, some of Indonesia's horror films present scenes that are not polite, some even classified as immoral or pornographic.

In Indonesia, horror films are those that get the attention of the public, which is proven by the existence of this type of film every year. In the view of industry, film as a commodity (merchandise) follows the "law" of demand and supply; the production of goods or services is the fulfillment of market demand. According to the records of Cinema 21, Blitzmegaplex and film producers, which were published by the [filmindonesia.or.id](http://filmindonesia.or.id) account (2018), of the 15 best-selling films in 2018, horror films contributed 7 best-selling films, namely; *Danur 2: Madah* (2.572.672 viewers), *Jailangkung2* (1.498.635 viewers), *Sabrina* (1.337.510 viewers), *Kuntilanak* (1.236.000 viewers), *Sebelum Iblis Menjemput* (1.122.187 viewers), *Rasuk* (900.362 viewers), *Sajen* (792.892 viewers).

According to Erni Herawati (2011) the rise of horror films in Indonesia began to be felt in 2007, namely when the *Terowongan Casablanca* film garnered an audience of 1.2 million people, followed by *Horor* film (900.000 viewers), *Suster Ngesot The Movie* (800.000 viewers), *Pulau Hantu* (650.000 viewers), *Pocong 3* (600.000 viewers), *Lantai 13* (550.000 viewers) and *Kuntilanak 2* (550.000 viewers). In 2008, mystical horror films were included in the top ten, namely *Tali Pocong Perawan* (1.082.081 viewers) and *Hantu Ambulance* (862.193 viewers). In 2009, there were *Air Terjun Pengantin* (1.060.058 viewers), *Suster Keramas* (840.880 viewers) and *Setan Budeg* (700.000 viewers). In 2010, there were 2 films included in the top ten films

with the most viewers, namely *Pocong Rumah Angker* (502.387 viewers) and *Tiran* (Mati di Ranjang) with 418.347 viewers.

From each genre and period of time, in Indonesian films, there is always an illustration of the exploitation of the female body in the structure of the film; stories, scenes and human representations based on certain social classes. Exploitation of women's bodies in the entertainment industry seems to be a necessity in a free market system. Exploitation of women's bodies is found in the television industry, especially soap operas (BD Sukmono, 2015), in advertisements on various products, including the paint advertisement of the Avian brand (Lago, 2017), in the Horror films (Kusnita, 2010) and even for the sex appeal of a magazine devoted to male readers (Ardiansyah 2012).

The phenomenon of exploitation of women's bodies can be viewed from several aspects. In the view of feminist studies, the use of women's bodies in advertisements shows a construction that directs women's sexuality as a way of subjugating women to male power. This is because a woman's body is considered to have a high value so that her figure is commodified to gain as much profit (Prabasmoro 2006). Fitriana (2014) detailed the prominence of the sensuality of women's bodies, ranging from minimal clothing, facial expressions and camera techniques that target certain parts of a woman's body. It shows the dominance of patriarchal ideology where men dominate the world of women.

The question that often arises is whether the patriarchal ideology is realized by the owner of the body so that she is not able to resist it, or whether women are actually aware of it but consider it to be the only way to sustain life? In the study of the female body autonomy for dancers, for example, Benedicta (2011) questioned how women who work as sexy dancers gave meaning to their sexuality; whether it is an object controlled by another party or she becomes an autonomous subject that can determine the direction of herself and her own body. The beauty of the female body of a sexy dancer that contains a unique aesthetic taste is often seen in different contexts. The body is the beginning of the meaning of sexuality and even the meaning of women. Artists or dancers are willing to show their curves as a spectacle because of the meaning of helplessness over the dominance of men's perceptions of beauty, but it can also be because that is how a woman gets a big reward. The large reward is constructed as a wage or payment for her work (showing the body).

In this context, control is actually lost in women when the existence of the body can be exchanged for capital rewards.

This article further analyzes how Indonesian films construct women's bodies from time to time and from the perspective of the film genre.

## **IMPORTANT CONCEPTS**

### 1. Film as a mass cultural product.

Films are produced following the laws of community needs. Heryanto (2017) stated that people make films with the aim of making money. As a commodity (merchandise), films are made to be watched by the public. It is not possible for a trader to make a product with the aim of losing money, because the film follows the taste of the community. Watching behavior, as consumer behavior, will use the best-known, comfortable, and in accordance with the preferences of the social values related to social reality.

### 2. Film as a social representation.

According to Baudrillard (1981), film, as a mass media is a simulation of social reality. The media conducts social reality reconstruction through symbols, narratives and visualization. The media is the product of the ideas of filmmakers who live in certain societies. Through social construction, a filmmaker can do two things at once; describe social reality and express his or her criticism.

### 3. Domination of Masculinity

Spivak (1993) stated the position of women in Indonesia as *subaltern*, both as objects of colonial historiography and objects of rebellion. Community construction is always seen as a victim. Men are constructed as dominant parties. One of his forms is in the *Soekarno* film by Hanung Brahmanyto, which presents the narrative and visualization of the women as victims of abduction (Kartika 2015).

## **METHOD**

This study used a narrative approach, which views a film as a story. The main message is conveyed in a series of events that form certain structures. The message in the film is conveyed through stories that combine scenes, dialogue between characters and social backgrounds where the story takes place. Sobur (2014) emphasized the importance of conflict in the story. A film becomes unattractive without conflict. That conflict makes the audience compare one character and another and, finally, be able to conclude which character is worthy of being an example for life. Narrative without conflict is no more than a description. According to Eriyanto (2013), descriptions can describe in detail the important phenomena and messages in their entirety.

A film that only contains descriptions tends to be documentative information; its existence is important as limited as a data or fact. Journalistic work really needs a description. The audience is satisfied with the spread of the knowledge they contain. A film certainly becomes unattractive

or boring if the content is only a description. Through the narrative contained in the film, the audience is given the opportunity to think and reflect while getting entertainment.

The analysis technique adopted Tzevan Todorov (Eriyanto, 2013), which focuses on three dimensions of the narrative; namely aspects of semantic (philosophy), verbal aspects (dialogue) and a combination of the two. In this study, the aspects of philosophy are identified with the concepts made by Chaney & Martin (2014) as objects behind the narrative. Chaney called it a *backstage culture*, while messages that were revealed through stories (scenes and dialogues) were called *Frontstage culture*. Both cultures are related to the purpose of the goal to embed cultural values or strengthen existing cultural values (enculturation).

## **DISCUSSION**

### **1980s: Violence on the body in the name of masculinity**

In the 1980s, many Indonesian films were found that contained the helplessness of Indonesian women due to poverty. Poverty causes women not to have higher education, which results in entering the labor market as laborers. In the *Dalam Pelukan Dosa* film (1984), the position of weak female workers is often the victim of sexual violence or related behavior from men whose social structure in the company is higher. They are foremen, heads, managers, directors or other designations. Positions of female worker are increasingly helpless when experiencing other problems in their environment, such as being in debt, paying for their children's school and the like, while in the *Dalam Pelukan Dosa* film, the character's difficulty is facing her mother who has lung cancer. At that time (in the 1980s), this type of disease required a large amount of money for treatment. The representation of this story is experienced by a character named Yani, a female laborer in a printing press who is beautiful and has an attractive body. At the printing press, Yani met with the director (Hidayat), who turned out to enjoy tempting his workers. Initially, Hidayat appeared to be kind by giving money for medical treatment for his mother, but it turned out that the money was a trap so that Yani was indebted and then handed over her body. Yani is portrayed as a woman who adheres to moral principles. Hidayat tried to rape Yani but failed, because Yani fought him.

Posters made by filmmakers to attract the attention of audiences (figure 1) shows that the stimulus highlighted in the film is about the female body, which can arouse male lust. The combination of misery in this film is between women's helplessness in the social and economic structure and the arbitrary behavior of men caused by social and economic dominance. As a result, men do not respect the existence of women, assuming the usual exchange of social and economic power with the pleasure of enjoying sexual desires through women's bodies, even with coercion.



Figure 1. *Dalam Pelukan Dosa* film poster (1984). Source:

[http://filmandonesia.or.id/movie/title/lf-d016-84-034287\\_dalam-pelukannya-dosa#.XQh6uYgzbIU](http://filmandonesia.or.id/movie/title/lf-d016-84-034287_dalam-pelukannya-dosa#.XQh6uYgzbIU)

The bad luck of women related to the body is depicted in the film. Yani, who had managed to get out of Hidayat's grip was caught in the trap of her friend, Lina, who worked in a beauty parlor. Lina turned out to sell Yani's body to a photo model entrepreneur named Bambang. Again, here, Yani became a victim of male savagery. Yani lost her virginity after she was raped by Bambang, in a trap room, all the doors were locked. Then, Yani eventually became a high-class prostitute. From the images of *Dalam Pelukan Dosa* film (1984), Figure 2 shows structural violence to the female body.

			<p>The story of this film puts a woman (Yani) who, although initially possessing moral principles, eventually falls due to the power of men</p>
<p>Hidayat (director) tries to seduce Yani (one of his workers)</p>	<p>Bambang tries to seduce Yani.</p>	<p>Bambang managed to snatch Yani's virginity, Bambang's expression of satisfaction.</p>	

			<p>Men respect women from their bodies and are willing to exchange for a certain amount of money.</p>
<p>Yani's mother is helpless, she is dead. Die.</p>	<p>Eventually, Yani became a high-class prostitute</p>	<p>She sold her body to get big rewards.</p>	

Figure 2: women's helplessness and body power.  
 Source: *Dalam Pelukan Dosa* (1984)

The body of women in the 1980 film was constructed as though to strengthen the patriarchal view that women are weak creatures. In the view of the Javanese community, for example, this view is wrapped up in the philosophy of a wife being *konco wingking*, which means that she is in "wingking" (rear). The mind of men towards this concept means that women are considered more ideal when working in the domestic sector, which is helping their husbands to take care of the household, cleaning the house, washing clothes, ironing, cooking and dressing up when the husband comes home. This social view is also influenced by values that are under the teachings of Islam. One example, which was developed from the Saheeh Hadith narrated by Hath-Thabrani that a wife is good if the husband/ man sees it, if she obeys when she is told and takes care of herself and his treasure when he leaves. In fact, even women dressing up is limited for their husbands only. For example, in the Qur'an (An-Nur: 31), there are complete restrictions on women as follows: "And say to the believing women that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty; that they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what (must ordinarily) appear thereof; that they should draw their veils over their bosoms and not display their beauty except to their husbands, their fathers, their husband's fathers, their sons, their husbands' sons, their brothers or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or the slaves whom their right hands possess, or male servants free of physical needs, or small children who have no sense of the shame of sex; and that they should not strike their feet in order to draw attention to their hidden ornaments. And O ye Believers! Turn ye all together towards Allah, that ye may attain Bliss."

Filmmakers try to align the message content with existing social realities. Indonesian audiences tend to compromise with their social values. In the 1980s, a gender equality movement had yet to be carried out, so that the frame of references is still dominated by the assumption of masculine assumptions.

The situation of the community as depicted in Indonesian films in the 1980s resembles the story of factory women in Malaysia when the country transformed from an agrarian society to an industrial society. Ong (1987) describes every detail, from the quantitative and qualitative aspects of how disruption, conflict, ambivalence in the lives of women and families when they make the transition from peasant society to industrial production. Malay workers in Japanese factories, for example, are caught between their culture and the culture of capitalism. There is a lot of violence in an effort to bring together the value of Malay culture with discipline in capitalism. In the end, women are the victims. Harmonization can occur when there is a state

policy that encourages a more just change in the structure of the capitalist economy, which pays attention to women's rights. On the other hand, harmony (between the values of Malay Culture and Capitalism) occurs more quickly when women themselves formulate a struggle to obtain their rights.

In Indonesia, from the 1970s to the 1980s, there were not many women's movements fighting for significant gender equality. So social life colored by gaps in the name of gender was relatively more permanent. Indonesian films produced in the 1980s at least reflected the situation of the community at that time. This is different from the findings of Ong (1987) in Malaysia, who showed a movement of gender equality to produce victory for women in Malaysia

### 1980s: The Body as a Hatred Representation

Film narrative is widely used as a tool to express hatred towards something. Panuju (2018) explained that cigarette smoke was used as an indication of immoral behavior among the elite of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in meetings, designing a rebellion against the legitimate government of the Republic of Indonesia in September 1965. In the 1980s, several films were reported as using violence against women's bodies used to mark the temperament of Japanese soldiers in Indonesia in 1942-1945. In *Budak Nafsu* (1983), Fatima volunteered herself as a substitute for her daughter who was about to be raped by Japanese soldiers. Together with hundreds of other women, Fatima was sent to Malaya to satisfy the lust of soldiers who was lonely. In Malaya, Fatima met Takashi, a Japanese official who was kind, and fell in love with him. But Takashi's love was wasted, Fatima chose to help the Malaya underground fighters. Then, the Japanese headquarters was successfully destroyed, so the detained fighters could be released. Takashi took a shortcut, Harakiri. Fatima got someone's help to be saved, but, because of the Raja singa illness, he was expelled. On the way back to Indonesia, the ship carrying Fatima was attacked by Nica. Fatima became a sex slave to Nica soldiers, but her persistence in participating in the fight never went out. Nica stands for the Netherlands Indies Civile Administration, a government of the Dutch East Indies government, which was tasked with returning Dutch rule after Japan's defeat in World War II (1945).

Some scenes of the savagery of how Japanese soldiers treat Indonesian women's bodies as shown in figure 3 below

 <p>Fatima was made the object of lust by Japanese soldiers</p>	 <p>Fatima and other Javanese girls were transported by the Truck to the Japanese military headquarters</p>	 <p>Transported to Malaysia by ship</p>
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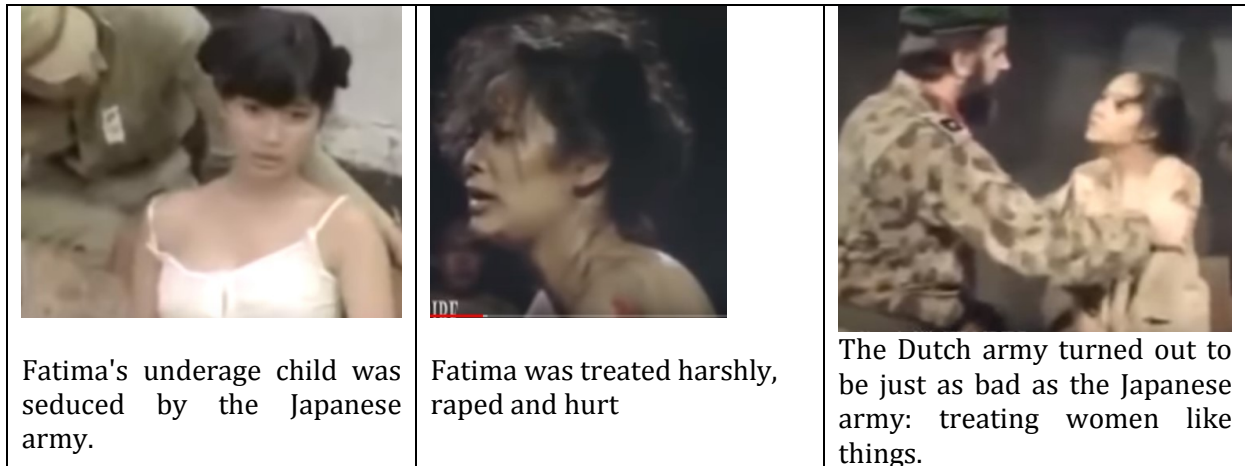


Figure 3: Women's Body and Crime of Invaders.

*Budak Nafsu* Film above shows that invaders, both Japanese and Dutch alike, have low morality, namely by treating women's bodies as an object for lust, even for underage girls.

One more film that tells the savagery of the Japanese army against the body of Indonesian women is entitled *Lebak Membara* (1982). This film tells the story of the rape from Japanese soldiers against Marni. This girl was Herman's lover, a warrior who waged a resistance against Japanese imperialism.

The sentiment of the Indonesian people towards Japan was still felt in the 1980s, because in 1974, there were demonstrations and social difficulties triggered by sentiment towards Japan, which was considered dominant in interfering in Indonesia's domestic economic affairs. The incident occurred on January 15, 1974, so it was often called the "Malari" event.

From the point of view of film marketing, the contents of films are still relevant to the emotional condition of people who are resistant to Japan.

### 1990s: The Body as a Film Attraction Supporter

The existence of a film that contains a lot of show-off scenes in the 1980s invited many critics, because it was not in accordance with social reality; it was also feared to have a negative impact on teenagers and children, but it was precisely these films that could survive the next decade (1990s). At that time, national films declined. National films are unable to compete with imported films from India (Bollywood), America (Hollywood) and from China. Thus, Indonesian films were only able to produce 2-3 films each year. According to *detikhot.com* (2014) almost all Indonesian films are focused on the theme of sex. The title alone gives the impression that the film contains sexuality. Example: *Gairah Malam Yang Pertama* (1993), *Kenikmatan Terlarang* (1996), *Getaran Nafsu* (1996), *Nafsu dalam Cinta* (1994), *Bisikan Nafsu* (1996), *Lampisan Nafsu* (1996), *Nafsu Liar* (1996), *Nafsu Membara* (1998), *Nafsu X* (1996).

In the 1990s, the theme of poverty no longer dominated as in the 1980s. In this period, Indonesian films discussed the opposite, namely the lives of people who are economically successful (The Haves), as shown through the visualization of luxury homes, luxury cars,

luxurious furniture, the lifestyle of the rich (golfing, caring for the body in the gym, hair and face at the salon), liquor, night entertainment at discotheques and the like. In the *Gairah Malam yang Kedua* (1993) film, a wealthy husband does not get sexual happiness at his home, then secretly remarries. His second wife was married secretly and he built a luxurious house guarded by security guards and high fences, far from the neighbors. Social problems arise when this second wife feels lonely and unhappy with all the luxurious facilities. She begins looking for an outside break, going to a discotheque. Here, the mistress meets another woman who is in the same boat. They have interaction in the community as dancers, and eventually both are involved in same-sex behavior (lesbian). In this film, the body no longer tells structural and cultural problems, but rather functions as a spectacle. So the appeal of the body is not dominated by violence. Filmmakers display the body in a number of moments, such as dancing in discotheques, mini clothes at social gatherings or parties and dressing up in the mirror. The female body in Indonesian films in the 1980s was intended as a mirror of social reality (poverty), whereas in the 1990s, it was intended as a spectacle.

Exploitation of women's bodies in the form of flirting scenes between woman and woman shows that not only men manipulate women's bodies. As a structure for Indonesian film texts in the 1990s, there is no longer manipulated gender bias in society.

The exploitation of women's bodies in Indonesian films, which tends to be intended as a spectacle, is shown in figure 4 below:

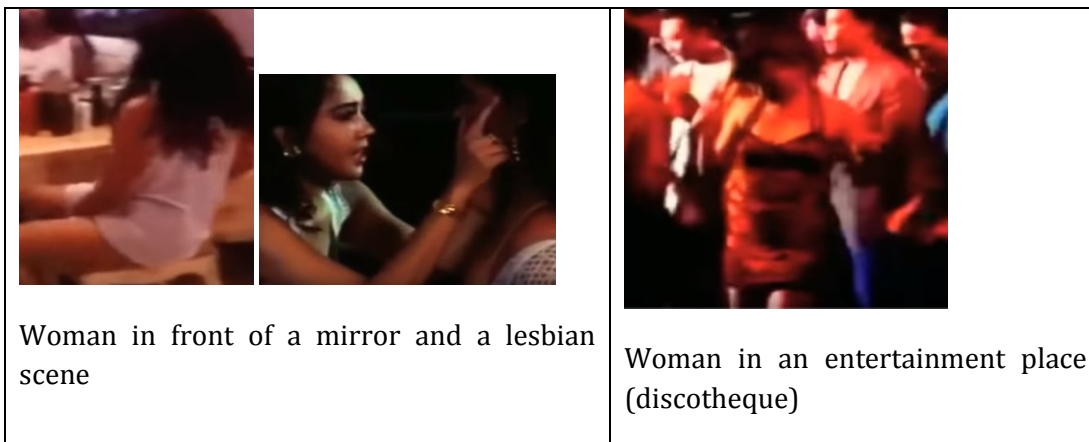




Figure 4: Exploitation of the women's bodies as a spectacle.  
Source: *Gairah Malam Yang Kedua* (1993)

### Post-2000: Market Liberalization and the Body as Interlude

In 1998, Indonesia experienced a reform movement that caused the New Order regime under President Soeharto's leadership for 30 years to fall and change with the reform period. The ideas of reviving democratization was proclaimed during this period, starting with the broadcasting system with the birth of the Broadcasting Law of 2002, Law No. 40 of 1989 concerning the Press, Law No. 14 of 2008 concerning Public Information Openness and many more, which essentially want to change the way of an authoritarian in the life of the nation and state.

Such national political atmosphere also influences liberalization in culture, including in film production in Indonesia. The themes that were raised became more varied following the freedom of opinion that grew in the community. In 2000, many themes of youth life were produced such as *Bintang Jatuh*, *Josua oh Josua*, *Beth*, *Pasir Berbisik*. There are also films that emphasize philosophy that want to redefine the problem in life. For example, the *Bunga (Jangan Ada Dusta)* film tells the story of a child accused of lying by his stepmother, which caused her to be entrusted to an orphanage. *Bintang Jatuh* tells of a young man dreaming of seeing a girl with a blue scarf and a distinctive smell, *Beth* tells of life in a hospital soul and *Tragedi* tells the story of three young men who are in debt to a thug. In 2002, there appeared several films related to politics such as *Marsinah*, telling the story of a female laborer who became a symbol of resistance for fighting for labor rights in her workplace. Marsinah was found dead after leading the action of workers in her place of work. No one knew who did it, because the defendant was released by the Supreme Court. Until 2008, the genre of films based on themes was still dwelling on stories about teen love and household drama. It was only after 2010 that Indonesian films were enlivened with four main genres, namely religion, comedy, action and horror. The question: Wasn't exploitation of female bodies found in all four genres?

Apparently in the horror genre, there are still many exploits of women's bodies as a spectacle. In the *Arwah Kuntilanak Duyung* film (2011) many scenes were found showing women's smooth bodies. There are several backgrounds that are used to show the female body as in figure 5








 <p>Kuntilanak Duyung is swimming in the sea</p>	 <p>A woman's pose When a man is Changing car tires</p>	 <p>Scene of making love in a hotel room</p>
 <p>Girlfriend massage scene</p>	 <p>Kuntilanak Duyung spirit is terrorizing people</p>	 <p>Waiting for guests pose</p>

Figure 5: Exploitation of the women's bodies as a spectacle in the *Arwah Kuntilanak Duyung* film (2011).

In addition to the film *Arwah Kuntilanak Duyung*, there are still many exploits of women's bodies in the Indonesian Horror film. In figure 6, there are several findings of exploitation of women's bodies obtained randomly (random sampling).

 <p>In <i>Malam Jumat Kliwon</i> film (2019)</p>	 <p>In <i>Jailangkung</i> film (2019), scene 29:07</p>
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scene 31:46			
			
In <i>Karak</i> film (2019), scene 49:04		In <i>Arwah Tumbal Nyai</i> film (2019), scene 59:22	
			
In <i>Sebelum Iblis Menjemput</i> (2018), scene 8:41		In <i>Purnama</i> (2018), scene 21:22	

Figure 6. Exploitation of women's bodies in 2018 and 2019 horror films

From a number of Indonesian horror films that portray the elegance of women in figure 5 show indications as "spices" or flavoring, so as to add to the appeal of the whole story. This is evident from the placement of the scene, which generally exists in the middle, i.e. between 10 to 60 minutes scene. This shows that the female body is only a distraction so that the audience is not bored, or as a pause so that there are variations in the tension of the horror elements. Another meaning, these films do not make the female body the main attraction or as the most important thing as the commodification of the media. This is very different from the films of the 1980s, which made the female body the main problem in the story. The body was used as a tool to get money, pay off debts become an outlet for the passions of men who have patriarchal power in society and as a shortcut to poverty / underdevelopment in education, but have high desires / needs.

It seems that the post-2000 narrative of the film has a pattern that is almost the same in the production of stories, namely to make the female body just an interlude, a complement or an added attraction of a film, because the spectacle of the body in action, romance, comedy and adventure is also found. Figure 6 shows the body of actors in the genre above.



Figure 7. The body is an interlude in several Indonesian film genres.

Filmmakers are beginning to realize that exploiting women's bodies actually results in reduced female audience, because films that only rely on women's bodies tend to be watched by men only. In the millennium era, characterized by communication media technology, pornographic content has moved from cinema or television to the internet. Thus, civilization has carried out its own screening of elements of pornography such as body eroticism. Indonesian film audiences after 2000 have experienced good education, so that they have placed films as a means of entertainment that is healthy, educational and seen as a reflection material. Therefore, from the author's research on 56 Indonesian films produced after 2000, only a part of them contained the spectacle of eroticism of the female body. Furthermore, even if there is only an interlude, the duration does not reach 5 minutes of the whole film (generally 90-120 minutes).

## CONCLUSION

The exploitation of women's bodies in Indonesian film production has a long history, but the most prominent began in the decade of the 1980s. In the decade of the 1980s, a woman's body was constructed as a stimulus that became a mainstay as a selling point in the film industry. The visual scene structure that shows the female body shows the dominant scene compared to the scene about other things, while in terms of the narrative structure of the story describes

women's helplessness towards the dominance of men's thoughts and behavior. Women are depicted as helpless due to the structure of social values in society, which considers women to be lower than men. The implication is that women are only entitled to move in the household sector or domestic sector. When women work in the public sector, for example being a laborer in a factory, men assume that they can do anything to women, including making their bodies the object of lust satisfaction and other pleasures. When women try to fight or get out of the shackles of social values, it actually results in obtaining more unfair treatment. Even in some films, efforts to ask another woman for help ended with an even worse fate, for example "selling" her body to her male friend. Thus, the stereotype of a woman's body as an object of male pleasure is also reinforced by women's mindset, which justifies the dominance of men. This explicitly shows pragmatism of extreme women, to have the heart to sell their own body to obtain economic benefits.

Furthermore, the female body was constructed as a sign of the savagery of the Japanese army and Nica in Indonesia, which occupied Indonesia from 1942-1945. From the perspective of the filmmaker, the exploitation of the female body was an expression of hatred towards colonialism. In 1974 there were demonstrations against Japan in Jakarta, known as "Malari". From a political economy perspective, the situation of the people who harbor hatred towards Japan is expected to be a driver of watching films that express the ferocity of the Japanese army towards Indonesian women.

The peak of exploitation of women's bodies in Indonesian films occurred in the 1990s when Indonesian film production declined due to competition from imported films from America, India and Hong Kong. Horror films and action films survive because they show a lot of female bodies.

The 1980s and 1990s represent the period of the New Order government under authoritarian President, Suharto, who was very sensitive to criticism. Even to stem the criticism, the government formed a special body called the National Defense Coordinating Board (Bakortanas), whose apparatus structure reached the villages (called the Village Development Agency, abbreviated as Babinsa). This member of the body is from the Army (military). Critics were arrested for various reasons, such as subversion, spreading the teachings of communism, threatening security and social stability. Likewise, in art production, including films, tends to avoid critical payloads and choose safety. Such situations strengthen the production of horror films and actions that contain exploitation of women's bodies.

After Indonesia underwent a reformation in 1998, which turned authoritarianism into freedom/democracy, Indonesian film production became varied in terms of story narratives and genre types. Not that the exploitation of women's bodies in the film disappeared, but the quantity decreased. Exploitation of women's bodies still exists, but only for interlude. The duration is only 5-10 minutes in each film. One of the allegations that arises is the loss of

pornography in the film because the content of pornography has moved to the internet. So, the cinema films that are boldly exploiting the female body fear not being watched.

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