

Discourse on the shifting of local beauty: Concepts in an Easternization era

Wacana tentang pergeseran kecantikan lokal: Konsep-konsep dalam era Easternisasi

Diana Puspitasari* & Yudi Suryadi

Japanese Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Jenderal Soedirman
Address: Jalan Dr. Soeparno 1 Karangwangkal, Purwokerto, Central Java 53123
E-mail: dianapuspitasari2710@gmail.com

Abstract

The desire to be beautiful among Indonesian women today is influenced by the construction of beauty from outside of the culture. The popular culture of parts of East Asia has entered Indonesia and the Eastern concept of beauty has brought in a different paradigm compared to the local beauty of the Indonesian people. This study is a descriptive qualitative study involving discourse analysis that examines the shift in the construction of beauty held by Indonesian women in the decades 1990-2000 and 2001-2010 through the cosmetic advertisements that appeared on television. Through this research, the shift in the concept of beauty and the discourse hidden behind the present construction of beauty will be revealed. The results found that in the early 1990s, Indonesian women were still oriented towards the reality of the condition that Indonesian women's skin is tanned. This shifted to the concept of fair skin being preferred using traditional ethnic materials in Indonesia. From the 2000s up until the present, the increasingly popular culture of Japan and Korea has made Indonesian women want white skin like Japanese and Korean women. The change is driven by the desire to be beautiful by those who have experienced the shift in the discourse and beauty concept. Capitalists, as the owners of capital, always want to reap the benefits of every phenomenon that occurs in society. The use of different taglines on the beauty products is a beauty discourse construction strategy in itself and it is a form of symbolic violence against women.

Keywords: beauty construction; beauty shifting; easternization; local beauty paradigms discourse

Abstrak

Keinginan untuk menjadi cantik di kalangan wanita Indonesia saat ini dipengaruhi oleh konstruksi kecantikan dari luar budaya. Budaya populer sebagian Asia Timur telah memasuki Indonesia dan konsep kecantikan Timur telah membawa paradigma yang berbeda dibandingkan dengan kecantikan lokal masyarakat Indonesia. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif deskriptif yang melibatkan analisis wacana yang meneliti pergeseran dalam konstruksi kecantikan yang dipegang oleh wanita Indonesia pada dekade 1990-2000 dan 2001-2010 melalui iklan kosmetik yang muncul di televisi. Melalui penelitian ini, pergeseran konsep kecantikan dan wacana yang tersembunyi di balik konstruksi kecantikan saat ini akan terungkap. Hasilnya menemukan bahwa pada awal 1990-an, wanita Indonesia masih berorientasi pada kenyataan kondisi bahwa kulit wanita Indonesia kecokelatan. Ini bergeser ke konsep kulit putih yang disukai menggunakan bahan etnis tradisional di Indonesia. Dari tahun 2000-an hingga sekarang, budaya Jepang dan Korea yang semakin populer telah membuat wanita Indonesia menginginkan kulit putih seperti wanita Jepang dan Korea. Perubahan ini didorong oleh keinginan untuk menjadi cantik oleh mereka yang telah mengalami pergeseran dalam konsep wacana dan kecantikan. Kapitalis, sebagai pemilik modal, selalu ingin menuai manfaat dari setiap fenomena yang terjadi di masyarakat. Penggunaan slogan yang berbeda pada produk kecantikan itu sendiri merupakan strategi konstruksi wacana kecantikan dan itu adalah bentuk kekerasan simbolik terhadap perempuan.

Kata kunci: konstruksi kecantikan; pergeseran kecantikan; easternisasi; paradigma lokal; diskursus kecantikan

Introduction

Asian women are presented to Indonesian society through movies and other popular culture media that encourages Indonesian women to be like someone else. The desire to be beautiful, for women, encourages capitalists to collect profit. A survey conducted by the Indonesian Jafra Tribunnews found

that 68% of women did not feel pretty when they did not use cosmetics, 58% women admitted that they used cosmetics to look beautiful and 28% of women said that cosmetics made them confident (Slay 2013). It can be seen from the results of this survey that women and cosmetics are two things that cannot be separated. Cosmetics are a response to the construction of beauty for women. This phenomenon has been responded to by capitalists in the form of cosmetic products that offer a wide range of beautiful concepts to the consumers. Based on the survey conducted by the marketing research institute Sigma Research, they found that 41.8% of respondents agreed that women with white skin are beautiful women and that 43.1% said that skin problems like acne and black spots are a major part of the beauty of women (Wisnubrata 2017). Starting in 2016, whitening cosmetic products have become bestsellers in the market. The 1980s concept of beautiful women in Indonesia was far from the concept of being white. The cosmetic products in that decade thought that the reality fit the characteristics of Indonesian women's skin. The late 1990s and 2000s, along with the entry of foreign culture into the country through the media such as movies, dramas and music, gradually shifted the concept of beauty for women in Indonesia. Capitalists started to make a profit using the concept of beauty from foreign countries. Local cosmetic products, such as Mustika Ratu, Sariayu, Viva etc, that had previously produced cosmetics with a beautiful Indonesian-style concept. However, they began to shift the concepts behind their cosmetics. They adjusted to the concept of beauty and cosmetics from other countries. The new cosmetic products oriented to the concept of white beauty.

Research about beauty has been conducted by many researchers in the form of thesis projects and journals. Each of these studies have analyzed and criticized the discourse on beauty from various perspectives, thus enriching the diversity of the views within the discourse of beauty itself. Sugani (2016) discussed the myth of beauty that is reflected in the works of Indonesian short story writers. In her analysis, the myth of beauty that oppresses women is that they are to be physically perfect, symmetrical, sexy, lovable, white, with a slim body, a fashionable appearance and that they are both flexible and practical. The representation of beauty is not only for women. This leads to male beauty as well. This appears in the cosmetics advertising of a Korean soap brand paired with the concept that carries with it that of white, soft skin and cleanliness (Vidyarini 2007). She used the theory of Stuart Hall and semiotic methods. Sari (2016) discussed the beautiful representation of the image of women in Indonesia through the television advertising of hand and body lotions. Kusumawati et al (2016) investigated the meaning behind 'beautiful' in labeled halal cosmetics, namely Mazaya. Another study was about tanning the body, a beauty concept that brought up the issue of having a brown skin color like Asian women (Puspa 2010). Nikmah and Liana (2016) used the historical literature to examine the changes in the concept and meaning of beauty in the magazine Femina from 1977 to 1995. In 1977, the trend did not concern using 'white' or other colors to describe beautiful women. In 1981, the magazine emphasized the concept of beauty as that of the women from the upper class (*priyayi*) that includes having an olive skin color. In 1995, the concept of beauty came from foreign women who were white and slim. The beauty discourse is influenced by a variety of things including the dimensions of semiotics, the configuration of genres and styles, and social structuration. From the preceding research, so far no-one has studied the shifting representation of beauty for women in Indonesia through television advertisements during the 1980s and through to the 2000s using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Advertisements on television have more of an impact socially because nowadays people spend more time in front of the television than reading beauty magazines. The focus of this research is to reveal the concept of beauty present from 1980-2000 in order to explain that the shifting representation of beauty is due to the construction process of social praxis. From that discourse, it will be seen who and how the construction is built so then people will better understand the standards of beauty of Indonesian women in the present day.

Research Method

This research used qualitative analysis. The results have been described as a narrative. The method used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The object of the study was cosmetic advertisements on local television such as Mustika Ratu, Sariayu, Viva and Gayatri. CDA is one of the methods of research used to uncover what is wrong in society and then to analyze the source. This is in order

to explain the reasons that are below the surface. In CDA, language is very important because it is not just a communication tool but also an instrument to do something or the means to implement a strategy of power. Through language, the producer is producing the meaning present in the social life. Organizing language means being aware of the role of ideology in social praxis. This is because language represents aspects of the world used to establish, maintain or change the power relations or exploitation present (Haryatmoko 2016:vii).

Results and Discussion

Eastern beauty: Modern colonization of Indonesian women

The Easternization of beauty is a new term that is rarely heard in public compared to the term Westernization. As with Westernization, Easternization arose from the changing movements and socio-cultural aspects of society. Socio-cultural changes occur due to the influence of foreign countries that has spread quickly to other parts of the world because of the ease of modern communication (Soekanto 2009:259). Easternization is the same as Westernization. Easternization is taken from the English “eastern,” which means “east.” If Westernization is processed in a society that follows the lifestyle of all forms of Western nations (Huntington 1996), then Easternization is the process of mimicking the lifestyle of the Eastern countries of Asia. Current global countries in Asia are Japan, Korea and China. Indonesia was invaded by the three aforementioned countries in technology, culture and industry. The entry of popular culture through food, film, drama and music has made the local cultural identity become increasingly eroded. The acceptance and cultural popularity of those countries is constructing a new perception of beauty in Indonesia. The word ‘beauty’ has been reproduced where its meaning has women as the main object and it has begun to change the image of a beautiful woman into something that is cruel and a dilemma to be solved (Wolf 2002:24).

Japan and Korea are Asian countries that are aggressively promoting their cosmetics to Indonesia. Japan and Korea’s concept of beauty is where women have white skin that is soft like snow. This is a new standard for society. The invasion of cosmetics from Korea into Indonesia ranges from the cheapest to the most expensive prices and from middle-class brands to those of the premium class that are very easy to find in malls and online shops (Hasibuan 2018). The Japanese government held Japan Beauty Week 2017 in Jakarta, as quoted in the pages of the newspaper *Pikiran Rakyat*. The reasons why they held the event were because 1) Japan has a lot of beauty products but only a handful of people who know about their quality, 2) to strengthen the image of Japanese beauty products outside of the country itself, and 3) to open up a new market because of the decline in the Japanese population. Hiroshi Tani, as one of the organizers, said that one of the reasons why the event was held was to strengthen the image of Japanese beauty products outside of their home country (Munady 2017). The concept of beauty is where one must have smooth, white skin that is soft like the snow. This has already become hegemonic not only in society but also in the local cosmetics. Advertising language has emphasized “white,” as a concept of beauty that creates a near-phobia among women. The myth has provoked women to things that keep them away from the Indonesian concept of beauty because they want to make their beauty shine. They want men to take an interest in them associated with the label ‘pretty women’ (Wolf 2002:203). Most of the population in Indonesian society is brown-skinned but they are having their minds crammed with a variety of whitening products such as cherry, green tea, berries and other materials that are considered to be substances that can make the skin of Japanese women smooth and white. This was introduced to society in the form of cosmetics titled for “Japanese beauty.” The concept of “pretty,” is interpreted in different ways in different cultures and times as well as when it is under the influence of the media. The concept of “pretty,” is increasingly entrenched in women’s minds. The presence of advertising as one of the mass media outlets is increasingly reinforcing and constructing the views, beliefs, attitudes and norms of the social representations that women use as the inspiration to become “physically beautiful.” This is something that is very important for women (Khadija 2013: 34).

Japanese beauty affects the local products by promoting yam as the basic ingredient that makes the skin become white like Japanese, Korean, and Chinese skin. This is different to the era of the 1990s, where yam was precisely conceptualized as a whitener that makes clean skin fairer. It did not refer to

the concept of ‘white like snow’. Indonesian women did not originally want snow-white skin because Indonesia is not a sub-tropical country. Snow is therefore not a famous metaphor. The Japanese popular culture is marked by the inclusion of anime and manga, but it does not seek to reconstruct this concept of beauty in Indonesia. In the 90s in Indonesia, television began to show Japanese drama but it did not initially have a major impact on women and the cosmetics industry. The great influence came from the country famous for its Korean Hallyu wave phenomena. The Korean wave culture was rapidly increasing among teenagers through popular culture. It once became a headline in Kompas daily “*Gelombang Korea Menerjang Dunia*” or Korean Wave is crashing the World (Muhammad 2012:201). Not only did the Korean dramas become a favorite but there was also the emergence of Korean music, known as K-pop, which became another major impact related to the desire of beautiful women in Indonesia. The popularity of K-pop not only pushed away the popularity of J-pop but it also affected the popularity of the idols from both countries.

At the present time, both Korea and Japan are competing to capture the market of Indonesian women in various segments. Ads must consider their target market for the product and the product’s positioning in the market (Myers 2012:81). The two countries have lured Indonesian women with their own constructions of beauty through the cosmetic products that have invaded Indonesia. The relations that occur between women and beauty are a form of power relationship. Beauty is nothing more than a form of symbolization (Wolf 2002:45). Moreover, many Japanese-owned beauty products companies have an incentive to bring in a new concept of beauty to Indonesia. This is compounded by the invasion of popular culture through movies, dramas, idols and the increasingly perpetuated white beautiful discourse and forgotten local beauty as an asset of the nation’s identity. When women are unable to escape from colonialism in the name of “beauty,” they will always feel that there are shortcomings and divisions concerning the subject. In Lacan’s concept, the person signaled their desire and the divisions and shortages within the subject. Behind it, there are continuing efforts to “be,” and “have,” through the process of a narcissistic libido to self-satisfy (Brancher 2005:30). The libido is embodied by the interest of women in buying cosmetic products that can create beautiful desires in accordance with the market demand. When women are unable to escape from colonialism in the name of “beauty,” the women will always feel that they have personal shortcomings and divisions on the subject.

Online shopping sites like Shopee, during the flash sale of cosmetics, can sell cosmetic products from Korea and Japan. They can become sold out in a matter of minutes. In addition to shopping sites like Shopee and Nihon-mart is also one of the online shopping sites that provide a lot of Japanese products that are frequently accessed by women. The Chairman of the Association of the Company and the Cosmetics Association, Putri K. Ward, complained about the dominance of imported products among retailers and department stores, thus narrowing down the opportunity for local products to compete. According to him, the cosmetics market of the upper middle class is dominated by many products from Europe, Japan, South Korea, and the United States. For the middle class, it is heavily populated by products from Thailand, South Korea and Malaysia (Kementerian Perindustrian Republik Indonesia 2015). To deal with the swiftness of the external cosmetics brands in Indonesia, the government, through the food and drug regulatory agency, tried to record and check the outside circulating cosmetics brands in order to meet the national safety standards for cosmetics while reducing the number of illegal cosmetics that contain harmful ingredients. National Agency of Drug and Food Control or *Badan Pengawas Obat dan Makanan (BPOM)* records the details of cosmetic products that have circulated with harmful contents. However, this is less effective due to the obsession of women. The discourse of beauty has become a primary need that is inherent to women. Moreover, the concept of beauty being white still has not diminished in the present era. In an article published in September 2019, Vice explained that cosmetics for the purpose of whitening are still a target and demand in the market even though they contain dangerous ingredients (Navlakha 2019). In addition to BPOM, the government, in this case represented by the Ministry of Industry, seeks to encourage the growth and spread of the domestic cosmetics industry in order for it to be competitive in terms of quality and price when compared to imported products. Training and mentoring on how to make good cosmetics continues to be done by the government in order to boost the sale of cosmetics in the country.

Construction of beauty in the period 1990-2000: Discourse about traditional beauty and white beauty

Advertisements are one of the media outlets that forms the cultural construction present in the community. Changes in society cannot be separated from the role of advertising. The greatest impact due to ads is a change in lifestyle, such as in relation to fashion, beauty, food, relationships within a group and so on. Displaying ads with models, using the materials that are being promoted, the setting of ads and the words in the ads are the determining factors of what the concept of beauty is that is put forward by each of the advertised cosmetics. The power of word play in advertisement is one of the strategies used to construct and reconstruct a new order system. In this decade, there is a tendency for traditional concepts to be presented in cosmetic products with the labels ‘tan skin’ and ‘white complexion’. Cosmetic products are very active when it comes to crafting a beauty hegemony through ads like, for example, those of Citra. This brand always has a variety of ads every year.

Discourse of traditional beauty

In this era of brand imagery, we can take a look at the cosmetics ad that aired on a television channel called RCTI in 1990-1991 that was uploaded to a YouTube channel belonging to Aufar (2013b). The ad portrays a female figure with her hair curled upward wearing a tank top and Javan jarit. She enters the room through a Java *gebyok* door model with carvings. In a room filled with all sorts of Javanese spices, she then mixes the spices using millstones to make a face cream. She is then dressed in modern clothes, painting in the sun without wearing a hat. Her sunglasses are not used according to their function— they are put on her head as an accessory. This is in contrast to her friend who is using a hat to protect her skin from the sun. The tagline then appears in the advertisement: “smooth, soft and fair skin.”

The television advertisement that aired in 1991-1992 on RCTI still delivered the same concept of beauty as the previous one. This ad was also uploaded to the YouTube account of Aufar (2013b). A woman wrapped in a traditional tank top is mixing herbs for her beauty routine. The ingredients are then smeared on the back of her hands, on her shoulders and on her face. After that, she waters her boding using *siwur* (a Javanese traditional bailer that is usually made of copper). The woman finishes by taking a shower. There is then a yellow body lotion shown on a table beside the photos of a woman dressed in a black Javanese dress (*kebaya*). The woman rubs the body lotion onto her face, hands and neck to the point where almost her entire body is covered with it. The woman then changes into the figure of a modern woman with modern makeup on. The woman turns out to be a designer. From those ads, it can be seen that there are some things that we can note such as the women being models, that the room is full of traditional materials, that there is a mixing of traditional materials, the traditional clothing is worn at the beginning of the ad appearance, that the material is massaged into the body, the body that is exposed to the traditional materials, that the body lotion contains a yellow liquid, that there are photos of noble women dressed in Javanese clothing and the changing events that transition the woman in Javanese clothing into a modern-dressed woman who is a professional designer. The woman in Javanese clothing is wearing the traditional hair bun style while there are various kinds of herbs, *gebyok*, milling stones and a clay jug to drink from which indicates the form of the traditional Javanese culture. In a critical analysis of the discourse, these elements constitute the contextual text and the intertextuality of the elements that are presented. Discourse as a social practice is implied as a dialectical relationship between the events of the discursive situation, institutions and social structures that are crafted by society (Fairclough 1995:135).

The ads imply there to be a connection between the elements of beauty in the semiotic discourse and the text elements. Javanese women in traditional clothing using ingredients such as turmeric represent the Javanese culture. The habit of massaging the body with traditional ingredients has been carried out since the time of the Javanese kingdom. The Royal palace still uses the beauty routine that involves traditional materials. This can be clarified using the photo of a noble woman on the table in traditional clothing with a traditional hair-bun style. Women from noble Java, traditional herb spices, soft skin, smooth and olive is the text used to express the “tagging experience” through intertextuality regarding the complex discourses that involve more than one text (Fairclough 1995:15). The emergence of the icon of a noble woman is used to convey a woman from a higher social class.

Citra encourages women to be part of the label “noble or royalty,” by performing the traditional beauty ritual. The use of the yellow body lotion also implies a traditional material, which is turmeric in this ad. In the context of scientific research, turmeric is a rhizome that has many benefits for health and beauty of the skin, so the Javanese ancestors always used it as a beauty routine ingredient. The tagline that appears in the ad is “soft, smooth, and fair skin,” referring to the local ideal of beauty. By making materials in the form of the local ingredients from a specific area, using the word “tan,” refers to the name of the tropical fruit duku that is light brown. The addition of the word “yellow,” implies a yellow-brown skin color, which is two levels above bright brown skin. There is a further transformation from a woman in traditional fashion into a modern woman wearing a blouse and trousers, implying that women using traditional materials are a good example from the ancestors to be continued by modern women. It does not label traditional women as vintage or outdated. The modern fashion transformation implies the message that even though the concept of beauty is carried out by a particular ethnic beauty, the beauty concept itself is acceptable for all ethnicities. The use of modern clothing is universal and does not carry a particular ethnic label. The imagery in this era theme is “fair,” as the concept of beauty for Indonesian women uses the main elements of the traditional ingredients such as turmeric and other traditional materials.

The use of the traditional Javanese identity can also be seen in the Gayatri cosmetics ads that aired in 1991-1992 on RCTI for two years and on SCTV for one year. The ads were uploaded to the YouTube account TVCoMM (2017). The ads portray a native Indonesian woman who is teaching a dance to three European women. They live in a pavilion and all of the European women are dressed as Javanese dancers. There are also gamelan players, all wearing full Javanese-style dress with the *blangkon* used by young players. The Indonesian dance coach brings her face up to the face of the European women so then both faces are clearly visible. When their faces are next to each other, the Indonesian woman is portrayed together with the European women. In the ad, the Indonesian woman has a pointy nose like a European woman. The Indonesian woman is portrayed as being beautiful because she uses the local cosmetics brand Gayatri. The tagline in the Gayatri cosmetic ad is “*Gayatri kecantikan Mutiara Khatulistiwa.*” The context of the “equator” (*khatulistiwa*) in Gayatri cosmetics is relevant to the real condition and concept of beauty that is promoted by Gayatri cosmetics. It is the key to unlocking the beauty discourse of Gayatri cosmetics. Gayatri cosmetics does not mention tan skin but it does look at the matter geographically. Indonesia is located on the equator, so most Indonesians have brown skin that is not too dark and not too bright. The relevance of “beauty,” and “equator,” is used to refer to the context of brown skin. It must be remembered that “Java,” is not only displayed in the context of cosmetics ads like Citra and Viva that are entering the codes of patrician class or nobility but also non-royal women society. It is, realistically, very unlikely that noble women are uniting with ordinary women in terms of their beauty rituals. The daughter of a noble family has a mother who will help them to conduct their beauty rituals. Gayatri refers to the institutional structure used to represent the beauty of women of Indonesia, especially the Javanese culture but not in a way that is limited to noble women. Although Gayatri is using the traditional Javanese culture, the concept of beauty that is offered is more universal. The concept of beauty of the Javanese is brown skin like Indonesian women in general.

The Viva cosmetic ads aired in 1993 with the concept of ‘tradition’. The ads were uploaded to the YouTube account belonging to Aizudin (2008). The concept of beauty is offered in similar ads with the advertising concept used in cosmetics taking on the concept of Javanese traditional beauty. In this ad, a woman is wearing traditional clothes with her hair in buns mixing together traditional ingredients. The key words in the Viva ad are the beauty of the past tradition, Viva mixes it to you. With *temu giring* extracts for the skin smoothness you crave. Viva Mangir body lotion for the smooth skin you crave. “The past beauty,” (*kecantikan tempo dulu*) leads to the beauty of a noble woman who always performs the rites of beauty through the use of traditional herbs to get bright yellow skin, better known as fair. “Viva mixes it back,” is as if the Viva is trying to reproduce the noble beauty of Java. Modern women do not need to mix spices. They just need to buy the Viva product and then women can be beautiful like the women in the ads. It can be said that noble women become a commodity to sell the products to other women in Indonesia. The use of the concept of “traditional Java,” with the tagline ‘brown skin’ carries with it an understanding of the “uniformity” of the beauty concept in Indonesia.

The Sariayu Kananga flower series aired on Indonesia television in 1993. It brought together all of the ethnicities in Indonesia as part of the beauty concept that was presented. The Sariayu Kananga flower series was uploaded to YouTube by Adlord (2016). The tagline of this cosmetic brand is "*Sariayu mempercantik wanita Indonesia.*" In accordance with the tagline, this product provides a sense of freedom in the concept of beauty for women in Indonesia. The product of Sariayu implies that Javanese women are as pretty as the Balinese ethnicity, and so on. Kananga flowers are one of the ingredients in the products of Sariayu that implies that the product uses traditional materials. As one of the major local brands in a multi-cultural country, Sariayu is trying to accommodate all of the cultures in the uniformity of its presented discourse without accentuating one particular ethnic group. In the discourse of Sariayu, the beauty concept does not have specific color but it has the respective value of the local culture.

Discourse of fair beauty

In 1990-2000, cosmetic products offered fair skin as the predominant beauty concept. In this decade, Japanese drama series began airing on television and this was followed by Korea in the coming decades up to today. The desire to be beautiful like the characters in popular culture makes room for the capitalist economy, where the owners of the capital seek to make a profit. The business opportunities focused on the desires of women in Indonesia have spawned a variety of whitening cosmetic products. Cosmetic brand Sariayu with the tagline "for the beauty of Indonesia," began offering a white complexion concept in their marketing. The two words "white," and "tan," are a mixture of local and foreign. "White," refers to Asian women's skin such as Japan and Korea while "tan," skin refers to that of Indonesian women. The beauty concept is about women with brown skin. The use of a white complexion in the ad indicates that the product indicates the Indonesian women as being brown-skinned but there is an attempt to obscure the impression of mature women as traditional women from the past. The desire to follow the construction of the time is already blurred by the reality of the beauty concept. Tan or brown-skin era has been abandoned and replaced with the fair skin era.

Citra, as a local cosmetics product, created ads with the twins Devi and Deva that aired in 1999-2000 on SCTV uploaded by Aufar (2013a) to YouTube. The ads told a story about identical twin girls who could be distinguished by the color of their skin. Devi has dark brown skin while Deva has bright white skin. Each of the women wore using a white shirt and when their skin was touching, Devi's lover looked towards Deva because of her fair skin. The gaze evoked Devi's desire to have skin like Deva. Being white is a marker of an identity that can lead to feelings of inferiority and anger (Hellinger & Bufimann 2015). The solution to eliminate the feeling of inferiority and resentment is obtained by using a body lotion containing yam extract with a guarantee that after just six weeks, your skin will get fairer, smoother and softer. After Devi used the product, she now feels like she is beautiful like Deva. The keywords in this ad are "with yam extract for your white skin, smooth, and soft within six weeks." Due to the characteristics of the Indonesian race, skin as white as women from China, Korea and Japan is highly unlikely happened. Like the cosmetics brand Sariayu, Citra has begun to gradually shift brown skin to white in terms of their presented beauty concept. However, it tried to stand still by using traditional materials, namely yam extract in the tagline that offered advice about using the product for six weeks for the skin to become white. The use of the word "within six weeks," becomes a profitable sales value used to attract beautiful women with a passion. In the end, yam extract and skin color become the keys to getting access to the market through the discourse of a form of beauty that is attractive, easy to achieve and with fast results. "Get fair skin in six weeks," is one example of a tagline used in the sale of cosmetics products as a form of commodification of language that shows the economic colonization present (Subagyo 2018:16).

The construction of beauty 2000-2010

The popular culture of the 2000s including movies, dramas, songs and the emergence of idols from Japan and Korea changed the paradigm among Indonesian women, especially adolescence through to adulthood, about the beauty concept. Citra, Viva, Sariayu and Mustika Ratu continued with their whitening products to make a profit. Some women still tried to stay consistent with the white

skin concept by using yam extract and other traditional materials following the desire to shift the beauty discourse. A Viva advertisement that aired in 2005-2006 uploaded by Muhammad Fawwaz Aizuddin (2007) focused on a man who was surfing with brown skin. A man was walking and then inadvertently saw a woman in a house using the Viva body lotion to make her skin brighter and smoother. Seeing the subtlety of the woman's body, the man imagined that he was playing windsurf across the woman's curves. Viva imagined the delicate skin as being involved in the game of surfing. In this advertisement, the impression was that the woman's body was another form of pleasure and just another spectacle that is able to attract the opposite sex. The Viva cosmetics in this advertisement consist of five variants, including lotions and yam. Viva's famous tagline "for tropical skin beauty," is used. Viva is trying to understand that tropical skin is not white but rather, it is a light brown color.

The Citra cosmetics ads that aired in 2000-2006 still carry the beauty concept associating white skin with yam. The Citra cosmetics ads in 2008-2009 began to bring in the beauty concept of four countries, namely Indonesia, China, Japan and Korea. The ad was uploaded to the YouTube channel of Ahmadyudistira (2013). The theme of the advertisement was about a musical project to promote a shop. Four women were looking at the deserted shop and they took the initiative to help by doing a musical project. Before starting the show, each woman used a body lotion where the image had somewhat different variants, i.e. yam extract, pearl powder, green tea and mangir. The slogan that appeared when the four women were using body lotion was new image enriched finest natural materials, from across Asia. Yam from Indonesia, pearl powder from China, green tea from Japan and mangir and olives from Java. For your unimaginable beauty. Unimaginable beauty refers to the "pearl powder and green tea," while yam and mangir were not included in this context because yam and Mangir had already been in use since the 1990s. However, pearl powder and tea have not been used in previous cosmetics. Pearls as part of cosmetics were inspired by the ancient Chinese beauty rites where they used pearl powder as a source of amino acids to rejuvenate the skin and to maintain skin firmness. The context of the use of pearls in this ad aims to make their skin pearly white, and as white and bright as the skin of Chinese women. The use of "green tea from Japan," in this context is also in line with the concept of the use of pearl powder in China. Green tea in traditional Japanese society is not only beneficial for the skin but also for health. The green tea variants advertisement offers bright healthy skin. The use of green tea is to enhance their beauty like that of the Japanese: white, smooth, and healthy. Viva did not use green tea extract because they do not offer just the content of the product but also the discourse of what is interpreted through the green tea and powdered pearls.

In the cosmetics advertisements that aired over 2010, the average advertisement tried to shift the white beauty concept towards that of other countries. Advertisements with the headline 'Korea pearl' aired in 2016, in 2017 with the headline 'Sakura' and in 2018 with the title of 'Green tea and yam'. The Citra body lotion advertisement from 2017 uploaded to YouTube by Iklanesia HD (2017) showed that the product used, Sakura Fair UV Body Lotion, can guarantee within seven days fresh white skin that becomes brighter than before. This advertisement is in contrast to the products in the ads from 2005-2006 which still carry the concept of the use of local materials, namely yam. In 2017, the body lotion advertisement features young white women with figures that first have dull skin. She has tried all kinds of lotion but the result is dull. She then tried the expensive lotion and the result is white. The context that appears in the advertisement refers to the identity markers of feeling inferior and insecure due to having dull skin. The identity markers presented using a derogative language can be lead to feelings of inferiority and anger (Hellinger & Bufimann 2015). The woman feels upset and disappointed as expressed through her words and through the facial expressions displayed in the advertisement. In the end, the woman managed to have bright white skin that was flushed after use of the Japanese cherry blossom (sakura) extracts and vitamin B3. Being white in a cosmetics advertisement is different from the concept of a white complexion as found in the cosmetics of Sariayu. For Sariayu, gaining a white complexion still used traditional materials but in this context, it involves referring to the white image of Japanese women. The words "I finally have flushed bright white skin that is shining. How can I? Use sakura with Japanese cherry extract." The sentence is one strategy that is used to indicate that the user knows the right language to provide insights for the other women. As expressed by Haryatmoko (2016:83), the strategy is related to the principles within critical discourse studies. The strategy is the fulfillment of discourse and the realization of

the purpose of communication and social skills through the role of social cognition in the production of meaning. The meaning implicitly contains the assertion that the white produced from yam and the white produced from sakura have different results. Yam is a white-owned beauty concept in the local area while cherry blossoms are a Japanese beauty concept for fair skin. This sentence became the public opinion related to the quality of the cherry blossom as being able to better result in white skin. The assurance is that within seven days of using the product, the user will have white skin. Citra provide another motive is that the cherry blossom extract is better than the yam extract.

Judging the use of language and visuals displayed in the ads makes the viewer increasingly convinced that Indonesian women are being attacked. The reproduction and reconstruction of the beauty discourse is increasingly making Indonesian women experience a crisis of confidence because of their inability to be beautiful like what is presented in the public discourse. Apart from the influence due to the dominance of the patriarchal discourse when reproducing a beauty concept, women have come to colonize themselves to say yes and to be what the capitalists and patriarchy want. If women cannot meet the standards set, then they have already failed as women. A survey conducted by the Indonesian Beauty Confidence Report 2018 showed that 84% of the respondents did not feel pretty. As many as 72% of them believe that success can be obtained by meeting certain standards of beauty (Male 2018). Meutia Hatta, an Indonesian female character on the show ‘Eastern Opulence,’ aired in South Jakarta on Tuesday September 25th 2018, mentioned that these conditions happen due to the culture shaping the idea. Culture overshadows thought.

From the 90s up until the 2000s, the theme of cosmetics focused on brown skin had already been abandoned. It shifted to the Japanese and Korean beauty concept. Cosmetics that use non-local ingredients began to dominate the Indonesian cosmetics market seek to reconstruct the concept of beauty for the women in Indonesia. The farther that the Indonesian women go from the local beauty concept, the more likely it is that one day, the local identity of Indonesian women will result in extinction as in the case in Korea. The intertextuality that appeared in both images and words were strung together in each ad into massive construction strategies related to particular interests. It becomes a reconstruction that will be responded to by the user and it will always be produced continuously.

Conclusion

In the 1990s-2000s through cosmetics advertisements on television, there was a cultural change experienced by women in Indonesia. The cultural change focused on the changing direction of the concept of beauty as perceived by Indonesian women. In the early 90s, Indonesian women were still oriented to the reality of Indonesian women having brown skin. This then shifted to the concept of yellow skin. Despite the shifting beauty concept, the products available still tried to use the traditional materials belonging to the indigenous ethnic groups of Indonesia. From the 2000s up until the present, the rising popular culture of Japan and Korea through movies, dramas, songs and the emergence of idols has impacted on the concept of beauty of women in Indonesia. White skin, like that of Japanese and Korean women, has become the target of women in Indonesia in terms of beauty. The interest of women in Indonesia to become like Japanese and Korean women has made capitalists change their course when producing cosmetics. Gayatri started with a gorgeous tan, Citra and Viva had olive ingredients in their tradition and Sariayu tried to show that beauty is possible for all skin colors. All of these cosmetics brands have produced a whitening series of products. Yam, pearl powder, green tea and cherry blossoms are the symbols of the concept of beauty focused on fair skin.

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